

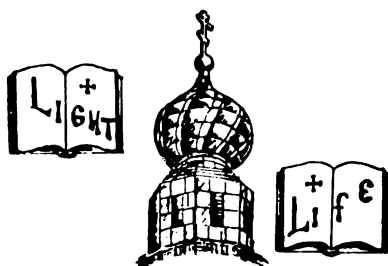
BYZANTINE RITE RUSINS  
IN CARPATHO-RUTHENIA  
AND AMERICA

By

WALTER C. WARZESKI

TO MY WIFE JOAN,  
AND DAUGHTERS  
MARYLEE, JULIE, JEANNE, AND MELANIE

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Dr. Warzeski has had a varied and interesting academic and professional career. He served on the faculty of the Erie School System, has been on the instructional staff of Gannon College and the Allentown College of St. Francis de Sales. While at St. Francis College, he served as acting head of the History Department and was a member of the curriculum committee and the library committee. At Kutztown State College he has been a member of the faculty senate for three years and its vice-president during the past two years. He is also a member of the Merit Increment Committee, and has served on a number of special committees at Kutztown during the past several years. He worked on the revised program of the Liberal Arts and on the Master of Arts program in History.

He is also a contributing member of the translation staff, of Historical Abstracts, for the American Bibliographical Center. He has been a participant at the Duquesne Forum, presenting a paper entitled, "The Soviet Seizure of Carpatho-Ruthenia, a prelude of Czechoslovak Disaster," and is currently engaged in research dealing with Ruthenia prior to and as an aftermath of the Munich crisis.

Dr. Warzeski is married to the former Joan Dzmura and they are the parents of four daughters. He is a member of a number of professional and academic organizations, which include: The American Historical Association (A.H.A.), the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (A.A.S.S.), the American Association of University Professors (A.A.U.P.), and a number of regional and local historical societies.

## PREFACE

Nationalism and religion have been two of the main themes of history. Regarding the people of Carpatho-Ruthenia, an understanding of both is necessary. This monograph deals primarily with the interaction of religion and national consciousness upon the Rusin people. It is a twofold problem, involving the Rusins in the Old Country and those who had emigrated to the United States. There has been no adequate study of either in English. Regarding the Rusins who inhabited the territory of Carpatho-Ruthenia, they had been overlooked by the larger issues of Hungarian expansion, Czechoslovakian centralization, the Ukrainian Question and German and Russian territorial expansion. The external pressures together with the inability of the Rusins as a whole to identify themselves as a nationality or national affiliation has further complicated the problem.

Both in the old and new homeland, there is no question that the religious-denominational issue was paramount, accounting for the emergence of a unifying Ruthenian national consciousness and likewise leading to conflict and disunity both denominational and national.

Finally the relative fewness in number, the poverty of the region, the geographical location and historical context of the Ruthenians help to account for both obscurity and disunity.

To trace the complicated history and the national development of the Rusin people and their peculiar religion in the old and new homelands necessitated the assistance and co-operation of a great many individuals who gave unhesitatingly of their time and resources. I am most grateful to all who assisted me in this study. In particular, Reverend John Onesko, who drew my attention to the topic; Reverend Andrew Dzmura, who opened many hitherto locked doors by his contacts with other clergymen and diocesan officials; and to the Reverend John Kallock and Joseph Hanulya, together with Gregory Zatkovich and Dr. Peter I. Zeedick, who suggested many sources for the study of the problem.

Acknowledgement must also be gratefully extended to Mr. Michael Roman, editor of *Viestnik* and the Reverend Stephen Loya, editor of *Prosvita* who granted me access to the files of these two fraternal newspapers. To the Rusin clergy who loaned me copies of their jubilee publications, and to the au-

thorities of the Byzantine Rite Monastery at Butler, who allowed me use of their library resources; to Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell, whose collection of materials dealing with Czechoslovakia was a valuable aid; and to the members of the History Department of the University of Pittsburgh, who guided me along the path of research, I take this opportunity to extend my appreciation.

The success of this project is due largely to James F. Clarke, associate professor of History at the University, who was invaluable in suggesting additional phases of study, and who painstakingly read the drafts of the monograph. Special thanks is given to my wife Joan, who together with Miss Helen Cuthbert proofread the material, and to Miss Margaret Krivonak, who did such an excellent typing job on the finished product.

Special acknowledgment is extended to Professor Charles E. Bidwell, Professor Emeritus of Foreign Languages at the University of Pittsburgh, who has made valuable corrections to the manuscript and suggested the utilization of diacritic marks for proper names and places. Also, I am deeply indebted to Miss Norine Preedit, who was able to embody my rather sketchy ideas into the beautiful artistic portrayal depicted on the book jacket.

To these individuals and to all others who aided in the production of this work, a heartfelt thank you.

W.C.W.

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## NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY, SPELLING AND DEFINITIONS

To avoid ambiguity in this dissertation, it is necessary to construct a clear-cut terminology of religious and Slavic terms. It is a matter of fact that the terminology in use for Slav history and for the Eastern Christian religion is in a state of confusion. To make for uniformity the following plan has been used:

1. Diacritical marks have been deleted.
2. The spelling of the personal names of the Carpatho-Ruthenian people has followed the method used by the American Rusin Community.
3. The spelling of place names has been in accordance with the designations employed by William R. Shepherd<sup>1</sup>, and by Slav historians such as Francis Dvornik and Oscar Halecki.
4. To provide for uniformity in meaning, a glossary of religious and political terms has been provided.

### A. RELIGIOUS DEFINITIONS

Archimandrite—a monastic rank below that of bishop in the hierarchy of the Orthodox and Uniate Church.

Archpriest—priest who possesses higher authority or is assigned special duties.

Cantor—a precentor, usually learned in music and liturgy.

Consistory—executive body of the Church, or divisions of a church consisting of both clergy and lay representatives.

Divine Liturgy—term employed by the Uniates which is comparable to the Mass of the Latin Rite. Term also used by the Orthodox Church.

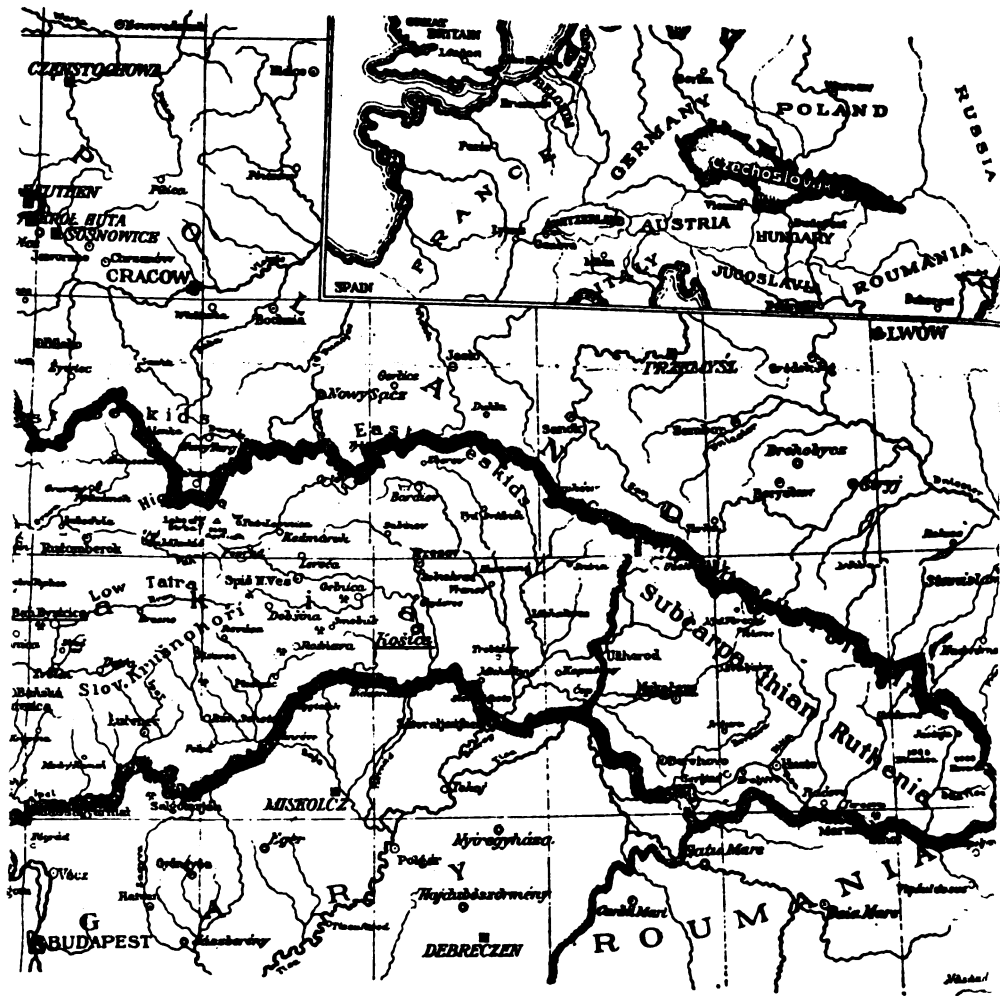
Eparchy—an established Byzantine or Uniate Rite diocese, headed by a bishop or eparch.

Exarchate—a mission diocese of the Byzantine or the Uniate Church headed by a bishop who is referred to as an exarch.

Hierarchy—those holding clerical rank above that of a priest, usually that of a bishop.

<sup>1</sup>William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 8th edition (Pikesville, Md., 1956).

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Map of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Capitol, Uzhhorod. Area: 4874 square miles.  
Population: 725,000

## I. INTRODUCTION

The culture of the United States has been greatly influenced by its European background. Despite the vast changes that have transpired in Europe, one of the oldest and best recognized aspects of prevalent subjects in its history, is the connection and interrelation between nationality and religion, specifically Christianity. The Rusins furnish an illuminating case study of this interaction, both in the Old Country and in America.

The Rusins were a small immigrant group, who settled in the industrial regions of the Eastern States, particularly in Pennsylvania. The people had beside the typical problems of an immigrant group, others which resulted from their relative smallness in number, the obscurity of the homeland, an ill-defined nationality and their membership in a hybrid church. Nevertheless, the Rusins grew in national and religious consciousness in the United States and exerted influence on the home country following World War I, but lost their European gains with the incorporation of Carpatho-Ruthenia into the Soviet Union following World War II.

This work is a case study of the mutual interaction of religion and nationality as revealed by the history of the Pittsburgh Exarchate; comprising historical origins (both ethnic and political), history of the Union of Uzhorod, the cultural revival of the nineteenth century, the immigration of the people and the establishment of the Uniate Church in the United States, the problems and the development of the Rusin community and the establishment of an autonomous Uniate Church in America, the impact of World War I and the creation of Czechoslovakia on Rusins in the United States and disruptive effect of celibacy in the United States, the restoration of religious peace, Ruthenia and World War II, post war developments in the United States and the Soviet Union, the resulting effects of the abolition of Ruthenia, the modernization efforts of the Uniate Church in the United States and the movement toward Christian reunity.

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### A. THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

The homeland of the Rusins was located in Central Europe, south of the Carpathian Mountains. In 1971 the area was bounded on the north by Hungary, on the south by Rumania, on the west by Czechoslovakia and by the Ukrainian Soviet Republic on the east. The Rusin "Irridentists" consider not only the area presently controlled by the Soviet Union but also the Sharish-Zemplin region, including the city of Presov, in Czechoslovakia, the Sihot region and a small strip of territory around the town of Biksad in Satumare County of Rumania and the Maria Poch region of the Haydudorg Diocese located in Hungary. Thus, the area situated between the 47°-50° parallels north and the 20°-25° medians east would encompass Ruthenia at its greatest extent.

Those who advocated the inclusion of all Rusin areas in a "greater Ruthenia," proposed the following boundaries. The western frontier would commence westward from Lubivna, continue along the west side of the Poprad River valley, turning eastward near Kezmarck up to the Torisa River, thence to the juncture with the Hernard River up to the pre-World War II Czechoslovak-Hungarian boundary. The southern boundary would be the common Czech-Hungarian frontier up to the River Tur. It would include Negreshti and then proceed eastward to the White Cheremosh River. The eastern and northern boundaries would be identical to the old boundary established between Hungary and Galicia in 1387 and re-established by a common Polish-Czech agreement in 1919.

The combined area would give Ruthenia a total area of approximately 7,500 square miles inhabited by a pre-World War II population of slightly more than one million. However, the territory assigned to Czechoslovakia by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 was not so extensive, consisting of 4,886 square miles and a population never in excess of three-quarters of a million. The leading cities of Ruthenia were: Uzhorod, Mukachevo, Berehiv, Sevlush, Chust and Jasina; while the towns of Perechin, Velkej Berezne Uzok, Cop a Batu, Svaljanu, Volvce, Vereckyne, Beregsasov, Vyskova, Maramaros Sihot, and Komory are important to the rural economy. Ruthenia was a triangular shaped wedge of territory which formed the easternmost province of Czechoslovakia. Its apex was pointed eastward and its base formed the eastern province of Slovakia. It was separated from Poland on the north by the Carpathian

Mountains. These same mountains in the southeast provided a common border with Rumania, while the River Tisza formed the boundary with Hungary in the southwest.<sup>1</sup>

Carpatho-Ruthenia located in the heart of the Carpathian Mountain range is not suited for extensive agricultural cultivation. These mountains, which are the second largest chain in Europe, are only superseded by the Alps. The Rusin contention that these mountains had been known for over a thousand years as the Slav Mountains has been sustained by such Slav historians as Francis Dvornik and Oscar Halecki.<sup>2</sup> More important to the economy of the region was the extensive beech, pine and oak forests, which gave the region its popular name, "The Wooded Carpathians."

The mountains can be divided into a northern or outer zone and a southern or inner group. The mountains in the two zones vary from two thousand to six thousand feet in height. With the higher elevations being found in the eastern section of the territory. There are six peaks which tower over six thousand feet, while twenty others have elevations over five thousand feet. The physical features of the Ruthenian mountain terrain are worthy of note, for they have played an important role in the history of the area.

As the name "The Low Beskids" implies, this range has neither great elevations nor outstanding physical features. It is a broad district with easily accessible peaks and gentle slopes which do not surpass the two thousand foot level. In both World Wars, this range, which affords several excellent passes to Galicia, has been the scene of bitter conflicts centering around the Dukla and the Lupkow Passes.

The "High Beskids," which boast several peaks that approach the 5,000 foot level, Magura, (4,982); Polonina Rivna, (4,961); and Pikuy, (4,608), also comprise richly wooded area. Above the forest level is an excellent pasturage for cattle, sheep and horses. There are several gaps in the range

<sup>1</sup>M. Kopcan, *Zempeis Republiky Ceckoslovenskes*, (Trnava, 1925), 58-59; R. W. Seton-Watson, *Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontier*, (London, 1934), 39-41; A. Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, (New York, 1954), 11-17.

<sup>2</sup>F. Dvornik, *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization*, (New Brunswick, 1962), 5; O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, (New York, 1952), 7-8.

which make Ruthenia accessible from the north. The Beskid Wyszkower and Uzok passes have figured in the military campaigns of the region.

The Gorgani Range is more remote and consists of higher peaks than either of the Beskid chains. It is primarily important for its vast virgin forests, which, prior to World War II, had scarcely been touched. The outstanding peaks of this region consist of: the Bliznitsa Twins, (6,176); the Negrovets, (5,683); the Strimba, (5,651), and the Kuk (4,477). The only accessible passes in this chain are the Torunsky and Tatar. The Punta Pass, lying between them, is barely passable.

The Chornohora groups round out the outer zone of the Carpathians. These were the most scenic, containing fir forests and above these, areas for pasturage. The peaks are higher but more rounded than the Gorgani range, and this made it more accessible to tourists and residents; within this group are the three highest peaks in all Ruthenia. At a height of 6,750 feet is Mt. Haverla, followed by the First Pip Ivan (Priest John) and Petros, which are both over the 6,600 mark.

The Inner Zone is a mere continuation of the preceding four ranges. There are several ranges which are separated by rivers and valleys. The further south they progress the smaller are their elevations.

The first of these is the Spis-Zemplin chain, which is a prolongation of the "Low Beskids" and consists of extinct low volcanoes. One of its ranges, the Priashiv-Nove Misto, descends into the Hungarian plain forming part of the Hegyalja (foothill)—Tokay wine region.

In the Virholat range, which lies near the cities of Uzhorod and Mukachevo, fine wine comparable to that of the Tokay was produced. This range which is an extension of the "High Beskids," was a great tourist attraction. Near the town of Volovci is the Stih (Stack) Peak which rises to over 5,500 feet. The Stih was utilized by many ski enthusiasts, while at the town of Snina is a mountain lake which served as an attraction for those who were not ardent sports enthusiasts.

The Veliki Dill and the Maramaros Mountains are extensions of the Gorgani and Chornohora ranges, respectively. The former forms an excellent wine area near the towns of Berehiv-Musijovo, Sevlush and Mukachiv. The latter surrounds the Chornohora along the Tisza and Visheva. In this

group are the Fiarko and the Second Pip Ivan, which rise to the 6,300 foot level.

The Ruthenian countryside is drained by the Tisza River which originates in the Carpathians. Even though the Tisza is the most important source of water, several smaller streams were important to the economic life of the people. These streams include the Uz, Turja, Latorica, Borsana, Rika and the Teresoa.

Carpatho-Ruthenia, prior to the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1919, formed part of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. It was perhaps the most backward area of Europe. The people were on the verge of starvation; illiteracy was very high; drunkenness was the chief vice of the people; and, the country was characterized by an almost complete absence of industries. The forest lands, which are the only natural resource of the region, make farming difficult. Those areas which are suitable for cultivation yield a variety of crops. They include: wheat, maize, barley, oats, rye, hay, clover, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, beans, vegetables, and various fruits including apples, pears and grapes.<sup>3</sup>

Following the First World War, the inclusion of Ruthenia into the Czechoslovak Republic largely occurred as a result of the work of the Rusin people in the United States. Like many other hyphenated American groups, the Rusins clamored for an autonomous Ruthenia according to the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations. Consequently, the leaders of the Rusin people participated in the Pittsburgh Agreement, as well as the Philadelphia Council, which drew up the "Declaration of Common Aims."

#### B. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL ORIGINS

The Slavic people who comprise the Pittsburgh Exarchate of the Byzantine Rite trace their national background to east-central Europe. At the height of their migration to the United States, their Carpathian homeland comprised the northeastern

G. Jorre, *The Soviet Union, the Land and Its People* (London, 1961), pp. 264-265; Kopcan, *Zempeis Republiky Ceckoslovenskes*, pp. 27-28 and pp. 56-59; R. W. Seton-Watson, *Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontier*, pp. 39-41; F. H. Simonds, *History of the World War I*, (Garden City), pp. 247-252; Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 11-17; M. Winch, *Republic for A Day* (London, 1939), pp. 2-50.

part of Hungary which, subsequently, became part of Czechoslovakia. The early history of these people is not clearly defined and, as is true with other Slavic groups, open to a great deal of speculation and controversy. The Rusin people, who lived on the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, were on the rim of the supposed original homeland of the Slav race. Much as that of the rest of the Slav people, the early history of the Rusins is derived from archeological discoveries and from secondary sources. Often the accounts are not altogether trustworthy and many times contradictory as well.

The origin of the Rusin people and their settling in the Carpathian Mountain basin is merely an isolated chapter of the history of Slavic migration. Due to fragmentary records very little is known of them prior to the close of the fourteenth century. The origin of the Rusin territory is further obscured by the fact that archeologists and philologists cannot agree on the original home of the Slavic people. Germanic scholars held to the philological theory that the Pripet Marshes basin of Polesie was the original habitat of the Slavs. Recent archeological studies extend the boundaries from the Pripet basin southward toward the Carpathian Mountains and westward toward the Vistula River. Within this larger framework it is conceivable that the area of Ruthenia would be included, thus giving credence to the Rusin contention that people of Slavic stock settled the area prior to the Magyar occupation of the area which was Ruthenia.

It was not until the sixth century that Slavic movements were recorded with any degree of accuracy, yet speculation has arisen from the writings of historians of the ancient Roman empire, such as Pliny the Elder (23-79) and Tacitus (55-120) who noted various tribes as possibly being of Slavic background, notably the Venedi on the Vistula. A map of Claudius Ptolemy of the second century refers to the Carpathians as the Mountains of the Slavs and the Baltic as the Sea of the Slavs.

By the sixth century, the Slavs had separated into three groups which had moved in different directions and had grown apart culturally and politically. These divisions were geographically in scope, namely, the western, which would include the Poles, Czechs or Bohemians, Moravians and Slovaks. The southern group as its nucleus the Bulgarians, Serbs and Croatsians. The eastern group, which is the largest of the three segments, comprise the Great Russians, Byelo-Russians and

Ukrainians. The Rusin people, even though they maintained closer contact with the western Slavic elements and had few contacts with Kievan Rus, because of their cultural heritage belong to the eastern Slavic group.

The first center of Slavic civilization was Kiev, a city ideally situated on the Dnieper River at the dividing line between the forest and the steppe. Although the Kievan state was not a genuine political unity, it did become an important cultural and economic unit. It was during the Golden Age of Kiev, which covered the late tenth and all of the eleventh century, that Vladimir accepted the eastern Christian faith.

Carpatho-Ruthenia did not enjoy a continuous growth or development as did the nations of Western Europe but experienced centuries of foreign domination. The area suffered two such calamities in the course of its development. The first occurred in the tenth century with the occupation of the region by the Magyars. The Rusins were to remain under the Hungarian Yoke for ten centuries. Following World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Carpatho-Ruthenia was granted autonomy within the Czechoslovak Republic. This was to be a short transient period of political development for the Rusins because further changes transpired during the hectic years preceding and following World War II. This was culminated by the Czechoslovak cession of the province to the Soviet Union.

This lack of a political or national organization has resulted in the inability of the Rusin people, in either the United States or in their own homeland to agree upon their national origin. They may be divided into three segments, namely, the Ukrainian, the Russian and Rusin. The only point that these three conflicting groups from the same area held in common was that they were Eastern Slavs in ethnic descent. These groups maintain that they were near one of the early centers of Slav development and because of their Eastern Christian religion would be members of the Eastern Slav group. It is at this point that the unanimity of the people ceased and was replaced by the various factional segments. Although they were in disagreement among themselves in regard to their origin, prior to the end of World War II, they were vehemently vocal in their desire for a Rusin sovereign state, despite the fact that such a state had never been fully organized.

Those who aspire to include the people of Ruthenia within

the Russian framework, claim that the migration of Slavic people to Ruthenia since the late fourteenth century, were largely from areas populated by Russia. The literature of Ruthenia, principally during the nineteenth century was Russian oriented. The works of Adolph Dobryansky and Duchnovich, who had temporarily resided in Russia, were geared toward the formation of a common bond with the Romanov Empire. This Russophil faction claims that the close affinity of the two groups is best exemplified by the welcome given to the Russian army, upon its arrival in Ruthenia, during the Revolution of 1848 and during the two world wars of the present century.

The assertion that the inhabitants of Ruthenia are a branch of the Ukrainian people has greater credibility. The language and the customs are to a great extent identical. Those who espouse the Ukrainian cause maintain that the people of Ruthenia are linguistically and culturally part of the Ukraine. The formation of a Carpatho-Ukrainian republic, during the closing phases of the Czechoslovakian controversy in 1939, is the conclusive proof that they asserted in showing the close affinity of the people of Ruthenia with that of the Ukraine.

The advocates of a purely separate origin, maintain that this area was near the center of the original home of the Slavic people, and as such, because of the lack of mobility on the part of the people, as opposed to that of the other Slavs, have preserved the original and unique inheritance of the primary Slavs. The arguments used to refute a Russian or Ukrainian background are those of religion and territorial possession. Religiously, the Rusins adopted the Christianity emitting from the Pannonian mission of Cyril and Methodius about 870.\* while the Russians, who were heirs of the Kingdom of Kiev were not converted until 988. Territorially, if the principality of Halicz never came under the overlordship of Kiev, then Ruthenia, which was further away certainly was never part of that state. Neither the Primary Chronicle nor the Chronicle of Halicz mentions Carpatho-Ruthenia and the absence of any reference to it would infer that the Rusins never were a part of the Kingdom of Kiev.

The Magyar domination of the area from the late tenth century to the twentieth century is another reason advanced

\* Persistent belief held by the Rusin people. Difficult if not impossible to corroborate. Therefore a legend.

by the Rusin faction to indicate a separate origin and development not only from the Russian nation but also from the Ukrainian people. To further confuse the national origin of the Rusins is the attitude of the Vatican and the pre-World War II Czechoslovak Republic. Rome has generated a great deal of misunderstanding and confusion in its attempt to differentiate between the Uniates and the Orthodox Slavs. It has applied the term "Ruthenian" to the former group, indicating the allegiance of the people to the Catholic religion. The basic weakness of this term is that it does not distinguish on a national basis the various Slavic Uniates. Papal pronouncements, using the term Ruthenian, have confused rather than clarified the problem of the origin of the Rusins.

The pre-war Czechoslovak government has also added to the confusion regarding this problem. In its attempt to incorporate Carpatho-Ruthenia into a closer bond of political affinity, the government at Prague, has supported first one then another of the three contentions regarding Rusin origins.<sup>4</sup>

### C. THE RUSIN UNIATE CHURCH

The religious development of the Rusin people is equally as important as the political evolution. The year 1962 witnessed a renewed interest in Christian reunion as evidenced by the participation of various religious groups as delegates or as observers to the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. One of the subjects on the agenda in 1963, was the religious reunion of the eastern and the western Christian bodies. It is quite conceivable that the Rusin compromise which reunited the

<sup>4</sup> For the Ethnic Origins of the Slav people and particularly the Eastern Slavs see: F. Dvornik, *The Slavs*, 3-28; O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, 7-50, M. Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, (New Haven, 1941); C. A. Manning, *Story of the Ukraine*, (New York, 1947), 172-173; C. A. Manning, *Twentieth Century Ukraine*, (New York, 1951), 117-125; L. Niederle, *Manuel de L'Antique Slave*, (Paris, 1923), 20; H. Pashkiewicz, *The Origins of Russia*, (New York, 1954), 3-20; O. Pritsak and J. S. Reshetar, "The Ukraine and The Dialectics of Nation-Building," *Slavic Review*, XXII, No. 2, (June, 1963), 224-225; I. L. Rudnytsky, "The Role of the Ukraine in Modern History," *Slavic Review*, XXII, No. 2, (June, 1963), 199-216; T. Sulimarski, "Scythian Antiquities in Central Europe," *The Antiquaries Journal*, XXV, (1945), 1-20; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, Vol. I of *A History of Russia*, (New Haven, 1943), 1-37.



people of Carpatho-Ruthenia may serve as a bridge for further Orthodox unions with Rome.

The Rusins, as a result of their reunion with Rome, are referred to as "Uniates" which is a term used to designate a religious body which is aligned with Rome in regard to dogma and faith, but differs in rite and ceremony. The Uniates, unlike their Orthodox counterparts, acknowledge the Pope as the temporal head of the church. This was basically the formula for achieving a reunion of the Orthodox with Roman Catholicism which has been in existence since the Council of Florence in 1439. Through the efforts of the Greek Metropolitans Bessarion and Isidore, who represented the Orthodox Church at the Council of Florence an attempt at reunion was made. The immediate results of this council were almost fruitless, only that part of the Ukraine under Polish domination reunited with the Catholic Church.

The Rusins, as well as other people of east central Europe, apparently received Christianity as a result of the Pannonian Mission of Cyril and Methodius. The missionary activity of these two brothers not only converted the Slavs of the area but more important brought about the construction of the Glagolitic alphabet, which, although it was soon displaced by the Cyrillic, made it possible for the development of a Slav written language.

Another factor in the conversion of the Slavs was the Photian Schism. The two "Slav Apostles" were followers of Photius and technically under his jurisdiction. This breach of Christendom which occurred in the period 863-880, impaired the effectiveness of Christianity in the Moravian state and upon the First Bulgarian Empire of Boris.

The Missionary activity in Pannonia, which encompassed Moravia, northern Hungary and Carpatho-Ruthenia, resulted in the establishment of seven suffragan bishoprics under the jurisdiction of Methodius. Six of the seven bishoprics are named but the seventh is a matter of mystery. Since the area of Ruthenia was not included in the territory of the other diocesan centers, the speculation of the Rusin clergy and intellectuals was that the town of Mukachevo was the see of the seventh bishopric. The heritage of the Slavic eastern liturgy permeated not only Pannonia but also the First Bulgarian Empire, Rumania and Hungary.

#### D. CATHOLIC-ORTHODOX-UNIATE

In the United States, few Roman Catholics and practically no members of other religious groups realize that the Catholic Church has other groups other than members of the Latin Rite. The common misconception that this church is uniform in all its practices, leads to a great deal of confusion regarding the role of the Uniates. It is true that the Roman Catholic Church has unity in regard to faith and morals, but in regard to ritual, diversity is common. Variations in liturgy exist among the various branches of the Eastern Catholic Churches. Whereas, in the west, mass is celebrated in the Latin<sup>1a</sup> with a fixed "modus operandi," its eastern counterparts use many different languages and customs in celebrating the Divine Liturgy.

The Rusin and other Byzantine Rite people take a more active part in their church services than do their Latin counterparts. The Byzantine Rite does not utilize an organ but employs a cantor and choir. Other symbolic differences are the great use of incense, the intonation of various litanies and the difference in the making of the sign of the cross, the joining of the index, middle finger and the thumb. The sign of the cross differs also in that the Eastern Rite Catholic touches the right and then the left shoulder which is the opposite of the Latin Rite.

The sanctuary of the Rusin Byzantine church differs greatly from that of the Latin Rite. Instead of a communion rail separating the sanctuary from the nave an icon screen, or Ikonostas, is used which extends the whole width of the church. On this screen are portrayed the principle mysteries of the Christian faith. These include the Life of Christ and His Mother, together with a representation of the Last Supper. Other icons depict St. Nicholas, St. John the Baptist, the Four Evangelists and the Twelve Apostles. The screen has three openings, the "Royal" door and smaller or deacon doors to the right and left of the main entrance. Directly behind the center door is the main altar and the two side tables, one to the left and the other to the right of the center altar. Other differences include an absence of statues and a three barred cross instead of the conventional cross employed by the Latin Rite.

<sup>1a</sup> The second Vatican Council has terminated the exclusive use of the Latin language in the Mass. It makes provision for the use of the vernacular language.



The western rite consists of five divisions, the Ambrosian, Lyonese, Monastic, Mozarabic and Latin or Roman Rite. The language used in all is the Latin. The Eastern rites are likewise divided into five branches, the Alexandrian, Antiochene, Armenian, Byzantine, and Chaldean. Within each Eastern group are several subdivisions; the Byzantine having ten. Unlike the Western rites, those of the Eastern branch employ more than one language. In theory this is or was the vernacular or the language of the people. By 1962 the Rusin exarchate in the United States was rapidly changing from the use of the Old Slavonic to English. This is not prevalent in other parts of the Eastern Rite for Ukrainian dioceses are changing very slowly.

Although the Uniates, who profess the Byzantine Rite, and the Latins are part of the same religious body, a great deal of misunderstanding has led to a great deal of distrust between these two component parts. The lack of harmony between the two rites is due, in part, to the differences between the two bodies, but also to the similarities which exist between the Orthodox and the Uniate religious bodies. This has led to a great deal of embarrassment, on the part of the Uniates in professing their Catholicity and their union with Rome. In forms and terms the Uniate manner of offering the Divine Liturgy differs very little from the Orthodox, but in their religious beliefs and dogma there are several basic differences. In all there are nine principal dogmatic differences between the Uniates and their Orthodox counterparts.<sup>5</sup>

1. Primacy and Infallibility of the Pope.
2. Purgatory
3. Existence of heaven prior to the Last Judgment
4. The moment of the Transubstantiation
5. The validity of Church Councils
6. Immaculate Conception
7. Filioque

<sup>5</sup>For the doctrinal between the Orthodox, Catholic and Uniate Churches see: D. Attwater, *The Catholic Eastern Churches* (Milwaukee, 1961); F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism, History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948); A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (London, 1916); G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1956); A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1953); N. Zernov, *Eastern Christendom* (New York, 1961).

## 8. Confession

## 9. Divorce

The Rusin Church, and hence the people, are a product of the East-West division of Christendom. The ceremonies of the Uniates and the Orthodox are identical while the dogmatic practices of the Uniates and the Roman Catholics are the same. Therefore, the Uniates, including the Rusins form a bridge between these two Christian religions, and as such could be the mechanism for Christian re-unity. In regard to numbers, the role of the Rusin people in the renewal of contacts between the two bodies is insignificant. It is in regard to providing a workable basis for reunion that the Rusin Uniates might be of importance.

During the first centuries of the Christian era the church was in a state of flux. Churches within the same community often differed in their manner of celebrating the Divine Liturgy. With the passage of time, certain bishops began to exercise more control over their dioceses, while still other bishops began to have jurisdiction over lesser bishops. This was the inception of the office of Archbishop or Metropolitan which in turn led to the creation of the position, "patriarch," and its accompanying territorial jurisdiction.

The primacy of "the bishop of Rome," or pope, was recognized, at various times, by the other sees from a very early period. The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch were second only to the pope but with the establishment of the capital at Constantinople, that city soon superseded the others as the second, and in some respects the most important center of Christendom. During the first seven centuries of Christianity, the east dominated the affairs of the church. Many of the popes, who reigned in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, were of Greek origin. To further show eastern domination, the first eight ecumenical councils were all held in the east and were dominated by the Eastern Rite clergy.

The early church was periodically rent by controversies, Gnosticism disturbed the church in the second century, Arianism endangered the church in the fourth, while Monophysitism and Nestorianism plagued the church in the fifth century. National churches on a level were established in Armenia, Persia and Syria. Throughout the fourth through the eighth centuries, there were constant ruptures of diplomatic relations between Rome and Constantinople. As serious as these

breaks were, the church remained essentially one, from the Council of Chalcedon (October 22, 451) until the Cerularian Schism (July 16, 1054). The only serious breach of this era of relative good feeling occurred in 863, with the excommunication of Photius as patriarch of Constantinople by Pope Nicholas I. This rift was soon resolved and peace returned to the Christian Church. However, one hundred and eighty-six years later, the Cerularian controversy erupted, which permanently ruptured relations between the east and the west. Patriarch Michael Cerularius of Constantinople, attacked Pope Leo IX, closed the Latin Rite Churches in the city and expunged the mention of the pope in the Divine Liturgy.

Negotiations between Rome and Constantinople proved to be fruitless. On July 16, 1054, at the Church of St. Sophia, the papal legates, Cardinals Humbert and Gozelon, with Peter the Archbishop of Amalfi, laid the Bull of excommunication against Cerularius and two of his prelates upon the main altar. This action led to the separation of Constantinople and other Byzantine patriarchates from Rome.<sup>5a</sup>

As a result of the Schism of 1054, the church was divided into an eastern branch called Orthodox, and the western branch which remained under the jurisdiction of the pope. The rift between the two groups did not immediately lead to complete cessation of communication between Rome and Constantinople, but rather to a gradual deterioration of relations. The effects of the Fourth Crusade negated in advance subsequent efforts for union.

To heal this breach between the Orthodox and the Western Christians, various attempts have been made by leaders of both the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Various Protestant groups have made overtures to the Orthodox Greek and Russian Churches. German and English theologians made such attempts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Anglican Church took the lead in this venture during the nineteenth century in order to secure recognition for the Anglican orders. The outcome was a failure, as were the negotiations between the American Episcopalians and the Orthodox during the twentieth century.

The Catholic Church also has been interested in reunion

<sup>5a</sup> Mutual excommunications removed by Pope Paul VI and patriarch Athanagoras.

with the Orthodox Church and attempts to achieve this end have taken place on a number of occasions. The popes have shown a desire to heal this breach almost from the time of the Schism in 1054. This is evident by the two unsuccessful Church Councils of Lyons and Florence, as well as the successful Uniate agreements concluded at Brest in 1595 and Uzhorod in 1646.

Beginning with the pontificate of Pius IX, and extending to that of Paul VI, many popes have worked in the direction of reunion. During this span (1846-1971), the Encyclical "Praeclara Gratulationis" (1880), "Orientalism Dignitas" (1894), "Fidelibus Ruthenia" (1913), "Rerum Orientalium" (1928), "Orientalis Ecclesiae Decus" (1944), "Orientales Omnes Ecclesias" (1945), and "Veritatem Pacientes" (1952), have been issued all aiming for reunion.

The calling of an Ecumenical Council by Pope John XXIII reawakened the quest for church unity and the importance of the Uniate movement. That John XXIII was interested in this problem is evident from his acts during his short tenure as the head of the Catholic Church. In his first Christmas message, he extended an invitation to the Orthodox to come into the fold of the church. Much more important, was the calling of the first Ecumenical Council since that of 1870, which was to seek reunion of all the Christian religious.<sup>6</sup>

In the light of the Vatican's plea for church reunion, there is a corresponding movement in both the Protestant and Orthodox sects to bring the dream into fruition. In the summer of 1962, Patriarch Athenagoras of Istanbul, the leader of Eastern Orthodoxy, called on members of the Orthodox communities in the Western Hemisphere to strive for Christian unity. In a message to the 16th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, he stated that there was "a new atmosphere in the field of inter-church relations and new horizons of activity."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed account of the action of the Roman Catholic Church see the following: *Pius IX Pontificis Maximi Acts*, 4 Vols. (Rome; Tipographia Bonarum Artium, 1855); *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, Vols. XIII, (1894, (1895 Rome); *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* V, (Rome, 1913); *The Popes and the Oriental Church*, (Indiana, 1948); *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, II, (August, 1894); *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI, (April-June 1946).

<sup>7</sup> Patriarch Urges Redoubling of Christian Unity Efforts," *Byzantine Catholic World*, VII, No. 28, (July 15, 1962), 6.

From the point of view of church reunion, the history of the Ukrainian and Rusin unions of Brest and Uzhorod are instructive. That new Uniate movements must be undertaken in mutual good faith, is evident from past experience, especially that of the Rusins, for when their privileges were infringed upon by the Latin hierarchy, many left the Uniate Church. This was best exemplified in reference to a married clergy which was utilized by the Uniate Church.

A factor that must not be overlooked in attempting to bring Orthodox Christians into communion with Rome is that of nationality. As close as the national lines were between the Uniates migrating from Galicia and from Ruthenia, there was antagonism between these groups. It is logical to assume that such friction would be prevalent in other groups, as well. On the other hand, the reunion of the Ukrainian and Rusins has withstood the test of time. Following World War II, the Uniate Church was liquidated in Europe through the joint efforts of the Soviet Government and the Russian Orthodox Church. Although the Uniates are now forbidden to practice their religion in the old homeland, many of their kinfolk in the United States are carrying on their religious beliefs and traditions. With today's quest for Christian reunion, the heirs of the Uniate agreements in the United States might possibly lead the way.

## II. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RUSIN PEOPLE

Eastern and central Europe had undergone vast territorial changes in the first half of the twentieth century. Together with these boundary changes there had taken place a movement for a "Resurrected Ukraine." Both of these factors had a profound effect upon the Rusin people. Although lying outside of the territory ascribed to the Ukrainian movement, Carpatho-Ruthenia had been involved with the attempted solution of the problem.<sup>1</sup> The Rusin attempt to create an autonomous state in many ways is identical to the Ukrainian aspirations in this same direction, although on a much smaller scale.

The inability of the Rusins, the Vatican and the Czechoslovak government to agree conclusively on the origin of the people of Carpatho-Ruthenia is further compounded by the lack of desire for nationalistic reasons, on the part of historians, to agree conclusively on this matter. Hungarian and Slav writers cannot agree and have advanced their theories on the origin of the Rusin people. The twentieth century Magyar historians, who for the most part are revisionists, maintain that Ruthenia, Transylvania, and parts of Rumania were and should be reincorporated into the Hungarian nation.<sup>2</sup> Slavic writers such as M. Hrucevsky, F. Dvornik, G. Vernadsky refute this claim, maintaining that the Slavs inhabited this area prior to the Magyar occupation which can be ascertained both from historical as well as philological evidences.<sup>3</sup> Some of the Rusins contend that Magyar occupation of the Carpatho-Ruthenian region did not occur until the late fourteenth century. This view is also held by a leading authority of the Habsburg empire who states, "After 1382, Hungary em-

<sup>1</sup> I. L. Rudnytsky, "The Role of the Ukraine in Modern History," *Slavic Review*, XXII (June, 1963), 199-216.

<sup>2</sup> This revisionist sentiment is readily seen in such works as P. Telecki, *The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History* (New York, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> Halecki, *Borderlands*, pp. 7-9; Hrucevsky, *A History of the Ukraine*, pp. 3-60; Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 5-97; Dvornik, *The Slavs*, pp. 3-95.

braced a region to the south and west of the Carpathians, sometimes spoken of as Ruthenia."<sup>4</sup>

Little is known of Ruthenia, prior to its inclusion in the Magyar kingdom. Without getting embroiled in the Slav-Magyar controversy, we know that the Rusins had definitely established themselves in the Carpathian area by the late Middle Ages but whether they arrived prior to the Magyar hordes or from what area they emigrated is difficult to ascertain. Undoubtedly, the Rusins did not settle the area at one particular time but had arrived in various waves of settlement. If this was the case it would partially account for the Rusin inability to decide upon origin. Ivan Franko, a leading Ukrainian author, in his historical novel *Zakhar Berkut*, writes of the early democratic life of these people during the Tartar invasions, which would indicate the Rusins possessed a political and social structure prior to that of Hungarian rule. Nominally under the suzerainty of Hungary, the real authority of the kingdom was not well developed in the Middle Ages. Because of the confused conditions prevailing in Galicia, the struggles between Poland and Hungary, and the isolation of the region, it was largely allowed to develop by itself with a minimum of external pressure.<sup>5</sup>

The history of Carpatho-Ruthenia, is merely an isolated chapter in the drama of Slav migration and colonization. In order to place the Rusins into the proper perspective, it is necessary to briefly scan the history of the other Slavic and non-Slavic people who settled most of central and eastern Europe. The earliest important Slav civilization was that of Kiev,<sup>6a</sup> which under its Grand Prince Vladimir, in 988 accepted Christianity of the eastern variety. From that time forward the culture of Kiev was strongly influenced by Byzantium as evidenced by the religious practices and architecture prevalent in the Slav territory.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>A. J. May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, (Cambridge, 1951), 10.

<sup>5</sup>A. Manning, *A Story of the Ukraine*, 173.

<sup>6a</sup>The Bulgarian civilization should be noted as occurring prior to this date. However many historians maintain the Bulgar State as being of a non-slavic background. Mention must also be made of the Polish and Czech developments of this period.

<sup>6</sup>G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, Vol. I of *A History of Russia* (New Haven, 1955), 308-360.

The princes of Kiev extended their rule and influence further westward for the purpose of securing more land and as a new source of raw material. By the conclusion of the eleventh century, the Kingdom of Kiev included all the area drained by the Dniester and bounded to the north by the Pripet. The only power that contended with this western frontier was Poland. The interfamily rivalries among the princes of Kiev led to the decline of the state during the twelfth and thirteenth century. During this period of decline, the western provinces, with their capital at Halicz, kept increasing in importance while the city of Kiev was being ravaged by barbaric forces. Therefore, Halicz during the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century was the focal point or the successor to the Kievan hegemony. The territory of Halicz lay along the Pruth to the mouths of the Danube. Within the principality coursed the River Dniester and part of the Bug while to the north the boundary extended to the Pripet marshes.<sup>7</sup>

Halicz began to decline in the early fourteenth century as a result of Tartar raids and the struggle between Lithuania and Poland for control of the principality. Around 1340, Casimir the Great absorbed Halicz into the Kingdom of Poland. The province, renamed Galicia, was to remain under Polish sovereignty until the late eighteenth century, when it was absorbed by the Habsburgs of Austria. Throughout the Habsburg empire, the term "Ruthenia" was applied in reference to the area of Galicia. Beside Ruthenia itself, other sections were referred to as White Ruthenia, Red Ruthenia and Black Ruthenia. This differentiated the various branches of the people who were once ruled by Kiev.<sup>8</sup>

The people of Carpatho-Ruthenia did not share fully in the glory that was Kiev, for their political history developed separately from that of the eastern Slavs. It was during the period of Slav migration that groups of Eastern Slavs presumably filtered into Carpatho-Ruthenia, either as settlers or as refugees from the nomadic onrush of the Avars, Khazars, Magyars or the Pechenegs. These Slavs, who began their migration in the sixth century, came as colonizers and not as conquerors.

<sup>7</sup>Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, Vol. II of *A History of Russia*, 225-235.

<sup>8</sup>A. Manning, *A Story of the Ukraine*, 28-29.

They constructed crude dwellings, and participated in a semi-nomadic existence of hunting, fishing, raising of cattle and the keeping of bees.

The history of these first settlers is obscure and clouded in mystery. It is not a certainty that these were the original Slavic settlers of the area, for it is merely an assumption, that in the course of the Slavic migrations, which encompassed all of eastern, central and southern Europe, that this region was colonized.<sup>9</sup>

The twelfth century witnessed a steady migration of Slavs from Halicz toward Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Some of this exodus was the small dribbling in of people across the mountain passes. The greater portion was a more organized effort begun under the auspices of the Magyars who had conquered the area two centuries previously. The devastating raid of Batu Khan, in 1241, burst through the Carpathian Mountain wall that the Hungarians had depended upon for protection. The Tartars proceeded to set fire to the Carpathian forests and devastate Hungarian villages in the area. To forestall a repeated Tartar invasion, King Bela IV (1235-1270) began a policy of colonization along his northern mountain frontier. This policy was to continue during the following two centuries. Thus, new Slav people were invited into this primitive domain. To lure new immigration, the Magyar rulers, not only promised the settlers land, but also such fringe benefits as tax exemptions and freedom from bondage.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest account of this migration in the Carpathian region deals with the Zemplin district. This area was given to the impoverished Duke of Chernigov, Rostislav, who also entered into a marriage contract, with Bela IV's daughter. Still another method of enticing colonization was the sending out of agents who began to recruit peasants from Halicz and lead them over the mountains into the "promised land" of Ruthenia.<sup>11</sup>

The Magyars were little concerned with affairs transpiring

<sup>9</sup>A. P. Coleman and G. G. Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," *The Central European Observer*, XVI, No. 17, (August 1938), 260-261.

<sup>10</sup>A. P. Coleman and G. G. Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," 262-263.

<sup>11</sup>G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 239.

in the province of Carpatho-Ruthenia. The seeming neglect of their Rusin interests was partially due to the Tartar menace and partially to dynastic problems of the kingdom. The successors of Bela IV lacked his political acumen. The Arpad dynasty came to an end with the death of Andrew III in 1301. There followed a period of civil wars in which foreign families, who were related to the Arpad dynasty, took turns ruling the Hungarian kingdom. This was brought to an end with the election of the French Anjous of Naples to rule the Magyar realm. Charles I (1308-1342) was succeeded by his son Louis (1342-1382) who carried on a vigorous, imperialistic foreign policy. As a result domestic issues were subordinated. Carpatho-Ruthenia received very little attention during the reign of the Anjou family in Hungary. Louis made war against Venice and in the Balkans, acquired the Polish Crown and became embroiled in a Turkish war. This latter affair was touched off by Louis's meddling in the affairs of Bulgaria and Wallachia. This Turkish adventure of 1366 was to embroil Hungary in Turkish wars until the end of the seventeenth century.

The death of Louis ended the Magyar-Polish Confederation. However, the Hungarian king's younger daughter was chosen to become the queen of Poland. Jadwiga (Hedwig) married Jogaila of Lithuania and thus advanced further the power of Poland by bringing Lithuania into the Polish sphere of influence. This action brought the conversion of Lithuania to Roman Catholicism and destroyed the last vestige of hope that the rising state of Muscovy would be able to convert the area along the lines of the "Pravoslavny" or Orthodox religion. The Jagellonian dynasty added the areas of Halicz, Moldavia, Wallachia and Smolensk to the Polish crown.<sup>12</sup>

Louis's other daughter, Marie, married Sigismund of Luxembourg. Due to the interference of her mother, Elizabeth, as well as Charles III of Naples, who wished to be king, Marie had difficulty in claiming the Hungarian throne. Sigismund not only had his wife proclaimed queen of Hungary but had himself proclaimed co-ruler of the realm. With the death of Marie in June, 1385, Sigismund (1387-1437) became sole ruler of Hungary.

<sup>12</sup>F. Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*, 212-231.

It was during the reign of Sigismund that an important migration of people came to settle the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. These Rusin people who emigrated from Podolia, a region located on the left bank of the Middle Dniester, were under the leadership of Theodore Koriatovich, who has been referred to as "Dux Rutheriom" or Prince of the Ruthenians. Prior to his migration to Ruthenia he was ruler of the Lithuanian territory of Podolia. This position he had succeeded to in 1390, upon the death of his elder brother. His rule was to be short-lived. In 1393, Vitold (Vytautes) the cousin of Jogaila, had succeeded in conquering a great portion of Lithuania, including the manorial possessions of the Koriat family. Theodore, who was imprisoned, managed to escape in 1396 and appealed to the Hungarian king for permission to settle in vacant areas of the Magyar kingdom.<sup>13</sup>

The northern frontier provinces of the Hungarian realm lacked a ruling family. Following the policy of his predecessors in providing for the protection of the kingdom, Sigismund granted this territory to Koriatovich. The area encompassed much of pre-World War II Carpatho-Ruthenia, including the important towns of Mukachevo, Uzhorod, Kosice and Nyiregyhaza, and the region of Markovica and the Hungarian region of Haydudorg. This transaction was completed in 1397.<sup>14</sup>

The loyalty of a vassal to protect the northern frontier was a necessity to the well-being of the Magyar kingdom. It was of particular importance for Sigismund who was desirous of launching a campaign against the Turks. The Rusin leader suited this grand design, for he was an able administrator as well as a practical politician. The Hungarian king acquired his frontier protection but during the crusade of Nicopolis, in 1396, the Hungarian army was crushed. The defeat, which was the low point of Sigismund's reign, was partially offset by the inclusion of the province of Ruthenia within the Hungarian orbit. Koriatovich's power increased with the marriage of his two daughters to influential families. His oldest daughter married Emerich Marcaty, a Hungarian duke, while his

<sup>13</sup> W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Penson, O. Halecki and R. Dybowski, eds., *The Cambridge History of Poland*, Vol. I, *From the Origins to Sobieski* (to 1696) (Cambridge, 1950), 184-204.

<sup>14</sup> V. Hopko, *Greko-Katolicskaia Cerkov*, 1646-1946 (Uzhorod, 1946), pp. 23-27.

other daughter, Anne, married into the family who ruled the Palatinate of Haraya (Garai).

Sigismund was able to recoup the losses he sustained in the Turkish campaign and was able to emerge as Holy Roman Emperor (1410) and King of Bohemia (1419). It was in the capacity of emperor that Sigismund condemned John Hus as a heretic at the General Council of Constance (1414-1419). The assertion that the emperor attempted to enforce religious conformity within his domains is not altogether sound for the Rusins were of the Orthodox Confession. The Catholic faith was not imposed upon the Ruthenians as it was in other parts of the realm. The condemnation of Hus led to religious uprising in Bohemia and culminated in the Jobbagy rebellion in Transylvania, 1437, but had very little effect upon the Rusins.<sup>15</sup>

The period following the death of Sigismund began a steady decline in the power of the Hungarian kingdom. Temporarily the Polish and Magyar crowns were joined in a personal union which came to an end at the battle of Varna, 1440, when Vladislav VI (Wladyslaw VI of Poland) was killed in battle. A short revival took place under John Hunyadi and his son Matthias Hunyadi Corvinus. Domestic reform, which was the keynote of the reign of Corvinus, had little effect upon the Rusins. These reforms, which heralded a cultural revival among the Magyars, had very little effect upon Carpatho-Ruthenia. Following Corvinus's death in 1490, a succession of weak rulers, personified by Ladislav II (1490-1516) and Louis II (1515-1526) witnessed the growing Hapsburg power within the Magyar realm.

The reign of Ladislav II, had one notable effect upon the Rusin people. The area did not have a bishop of its own but was under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox bishop of Przemyśl. In 1491, the king created a bishopric for the Rusins, with John, the Abbot of St. Basil's monastery, being named the first bishop. Monastic institutions played a significant role in the history of Ruthenia. The two most famous were that of St. Basil's located in the outskirts of Mukachevo and St. Michael's at the town of Hrusov.<sup>16</sup>

The fifteenth century which presaged the downfall of Hun-

<sup>15</sup> D. Sinor, *History of Hungary*, (New York, 1959), 105-110.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis* (Union of Uzhorod) (Rome, 1955), p. 16.



gary had important results in Carpatho-Ruthenia. After the death of Koriatovich in 1414, the territory was divided and given to several families within the kingdom. The territory was not to be hereditary but was granted on the basis of service. The only two notable rulers in the fifteenth century were Stephen Lazorovic (1418-1427) and Stephen Brankovic (1427-1440).<sup>17</sup> During the remainder of the century it was to be ruled directly by the Hungarian crown.

The battle of Mohacs fought in August 1526, was one of the most crucial battles in the history of Hungary. It ended in complete disaster, for not only did the Turks overwhelm the Magyar Army, but the King, Louis II, was killed. This event led to Turkish influence and occupation of part of Hungary that was to prevail until 1711. Even more disastrous to the independence of Hungary was the division within the nation concerning the royal family. One faction favored union with the Habsburg empire while the other preferred the election of a Magyar family to rule the truncated Hungarian domain.

This development had a lasting effect upon Transylvania and the area of Ruthenia which was ruled by the Transylvanian princes. In the years 1526-1528, two kings for Hungary were elected. A great part of the nobility, desiring aid from Austria against the Turks elected Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg. Previous to this election, the national faction elected John Zapolya as their king. Zapolya was a mere vassal of the Turks but by the treaty of Nagyvarad, the Hungarian kingdom was divided into two sectors, one ruled by Zapolya the other by the Habsburg family.

During this troublesome period Suleiman once again invaded Hungary. By 1541, his forces had occupied Buda, and the territory was parcelled out into three sections. The central region, which was the largest was governed by the Turks; the northern and western border regions came under the control of the Austrians; while the area of Transylvania and Carpatho-Ruthenia was ruled by the Zapolya family, who remained vassals of the Turks.

Areas of Ruthenia were bartered freely between the Austrian and Hungarian rulers. Maramaros County was incorporated under the rule of the Zapolya family as early as 1526. With the civil wars increasing in intensity, the Rusin territory was

<sup>17</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 6-8.

occupied first by one side and then by the other. These conditions prevailed well into the seventeenth century. After the rebellion of Stephen Bocskay was settled by the peace of Vido-bonen, on July 23, 1606, four Rusin counties were annexed to Transylvania, namely: Szatmar, Szabolcs, Ugoca and Bereg. These were restored to the Habsburg monarchy at the death of Bocskay, but during the rule of his successor Gabor Bethlen (1613-1629) a renewed struggle for the possession of these Rusin counties erupted. By the peace treaty of Nikolsburg, July 1, 1622 seven Rusin populated counties were added to the rule of the prince of Transylvania. Beside the four aforementioned counties, Zemplin, Abauj and Borsod were annexed. The rule of George Rakoczy I witnessed the absorption of all of Ruthenia by the Transylvania princes. The hopes and aspirations of the Hungarians were dealt a severe blow by the policies of George Rakoczy II. His imperialistic ventures in the direction of a Swedish alliance and the attempt to gain the Polish throne brought on a war with the Turks.<sup>18</sup> It proved a disaster for Transylvania and Rakoczy personally for it put an end to his rule in the territory. The unsettled state of Hungary led the Habsburgs to try to absorb as much of the territory as possible. The Austrian emperor worked hand in hand with those who sought religious conformity and the persecution of the Protestant minority. This persecution led to the rebellion of Imre (Thokoly) which, after initial gains, collapsed.<sup>19</sup>

The Austrian emperors, in the protracted struggle against the Turks, began to gain the upper hand in the closing decades of the seventeenth century. The successful defense of Vienna in 1683 was followed by victories at Buda 1686, Mohacs 1687, and Zenta 1697. By the treaty of Karlowitz, of January 26, 1699, all of Hungary, except the Banat of Temesvar, was given over to the Austrian emperor.<sup>20</sup>

The absorption of Ruthenia by the Habsburg rulers made no perceivable change in the social, economic or political structure of the territory. The Rusins were still subject to either Magyar or foreign landlords and performed the menial tasks

<sup>18</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 9-15.

<sup>19</sup> V. Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War* (Garden City, 1961), pp. 141-196, 174-186.

<sup>20</sup> H. Macki, *Borderlands*, pp. 219-223.

on the manorial estates. The province itself was subdivided into several sections. The most important area was Bereg County with the principal city being Mukachevo. Beginning with the middle of the fifteenth century, first the Hungarian kings and later the princes of Transylvania administered the territory. By the late sixteenth century the following families controlled the territory of Bereg:<sup>21</sup> Sigismund Rakoczy (1588-1606), Stephen Bocskay (1606), Francis Magocsy (1606-1612), Nicholas Eszterhazy (1612-1622), Gabriel Bethlen (1622-1629), Catherine of Brandenburg (1629-1633) widow of G. Bethlen, George Rakoczy I (1633-1648), received Bereg as a hereditary territory, Susan Lorantiffy (1648-1660) widow of George Rakoczy I, George Rakoczy II (1660), Sophie Bathory (1660-1680) widow of George Rakoczy II, Helena Zrinyi (1680-1688) widow of Francis Rakoczy I, Francis Rakoczy II (1688-1711), Royal rule (1711-1728), Schonborn family (1728-1919).

Maramaros County, whose main city was Bockov, was ruled by the Bathory family. It later became incorporated into Transylvania. The Drugeths, whose family was one of the first groups to migrate into the area, ruled the counties of Zemplin and Ung. The Drugeths under the leadership of Philip I (1322-1327) received a land grant by the Hungarian king, Charles I. The territory was subdivided by the successors of the Drugeths, into an Uzhorod and a Humeni district. The Drugeth family absorbed the areas of Vranov and Trebisov which placed them in rivalry with the Rakoczy family for Rusin leadership.

The other ruling families in Ruthenia, although not as powerful as either the Rakoczy or the Drugeth family, were nevertheless important. The lesser nobility included the following families who ruled in the Counties of Saris, Zemplin and Szepes.<sup>22</sup> Ladislaus Rakoczy, Petheo, Telegdy (later Barkoczy), Alaghy, Sztaray, and Erdody.

Having acquired very little change in their social status with the absorption of Ruthenia by the Habsburgs, the Orthodox clergy began to seek methods to improve their condition. As the Habsburgs were staunch followers of the Roman Catholic religion, the Rusin clergy began to explore the possibility

<sup>21</sup>Lacko, *Union Uzhorodensis*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>22</sup>Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 7-9.

of re-union with that church. By doing so, they hoped to free themselves of the servile duties imposed by the manorial system. This movement in Ruthenia was climaxed with the formation of the Union of Uzhorod.

The people of Carpatho-Ruthenia were greatly influenced by the religious union formed on December 23, 1595 and ratified at Brest Litovsk on October 6, 1596. The union of Brest brought the Ukrainians, who were ruled by the Polish Commonwealth, under the religious jurisdiction of Rome. The Poles, initiated this movement not because of religious zeal but for the sake of political expediency for they hoped that this agreement with the papacy, would bring their Ukrainian subjects closer to the Commonwealth by driving a wedge between the Ukrainians and the Orthodox Slavs of Russia.<sup>23</sup> The Uniate agreement was another attempt to weaken the state of Muscovy. The creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569, the interference in the internal problems of Muscovy following the death of Ivan IV, and continuing throughout the "Time of Trouble" to the accession of the Romanovs in 1612, were all part of the general Polish plan.

The Uniate agreement concluded at Brest was only partially successful. Throughout the years the Polish gentry continued to discriminate against the Uniate religion while the Ukrainians did not remain steadfast in their allegiance to Poland. The early seventeenth century was a period of antagonism between the Orthodox and Uniate religious bodies in Poland.<sup>24</sup>

Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had not been a part of the movement for a "Resurrected Ukraine," was to follow a somewhat different manner of achieving union with the Roman Catholic Church. The Rusin clergy and not the state initiated the movement and because of their relative smallness in number never had the influence that the Uniates possessed in the Polish Commonwealth. The Uniates of Poland exerted this power, because of their participation in the Cossack movement which began in this period. The gains that were achieved by the

<sup>23</sup>Reddaway, et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Poland*, I, 414, 508 and 562.

<sup>24</sup>O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Rome, 1958), stresses not only the beneficial aspects of the Union for Poland but also the Ukrainian problem.



Ukrainians of Poland which resulted from the fluctuation of their sympathies between Poland and Moscow did not prevail in the Carpatho-Ruthenian region.<sup>25</sup>

The Union of Brest, which was the first successful Uniate attempt at bringing about a return of the separated Orthodox people, was more politically inspired than that of the Union of Uzhorod. The union within Poland was important for the Rusins in that it contained the formula for becoming part of the Roman Catholic Church. Unlike their Galician brethren, the Rusins did not use the forms of religion for the purpose of political gain but for the improvement of their social and economic position in the Habsburg empire.

<sup>25</sup> V. A. Mjakotin, "Die Vereiniigung der Ukraine Mit dem Moskauer Staat," *Zog*, VII, (1933), 321, contains both a Russian and an Ukrainian view of the origins of the Ukraine.

### III. THE UNION OF UZHOROD

The seventeenth century was largely dominated by religious issues in Carpatho-Ruthenia. Unlike the Poles and Czechs, the Rusin people accepted Christianity not from Rome but from Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> The quarrels between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Byzantium which culminated in the schism of 1054 resulted in the separation of the Rusins from western cultural influences. Unlike the Church of Rome which demanded the use of Latin, the Byzantine Church permitted the use of vernacular languages for the Divine Liturgy. The use of the Rusin dialect indirectly led to a poorly educated clergy and initiated a particular cultural lag in Rusin life.<sup>1a</sup> To overcome these conditions the Rusin bishops began to explore the feasibility of seeking a union with the Roman Catholic Church which was achieved by the Union of Uzhorod in 1646.

Certain events which transpired during the period facilitated the formation of the Union of Uzhorod. The Protestant Reformation of the previous century and the renewal of religious hostilities between the Catholic and Protestant groups which erupted into the Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648 were of primary importance. The Habsburgs of Austria, who were the leaders of the Catholic forces during this struggle claimed the area of Carpatho-Ruthenia. The acceptance of the Uniate formula would not only result in the strengthening of the Habsburg claim to the area but would further weaken the power of the Calvinist inclined Transylvanian princes who ruled the province.

Parallel with the Protestant Reformation in Germany was the expansion of Ottoman power which under Suleiman the Magnificent (1522-1566) destroyed the Hungarian kingdom and threatened the imperial house of Habsburg.<sup>2</sup> The Ottoman power, although checked following the death of Suleiman, became a serious threat in the following century. The Turks were re-organized by Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) and a

<sup>1</sup> George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, (New Brunswick, 1957), pp. 202-204.

<sup>1a</sup> Viewpoint of Latin Rite Clergy prior to Vatican II and the use of the Vernacular in the service.

<sup>2</sup> Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, pp. 197-222.

series of grand viziers who temporarily seized large areas of the Ukraine and again besieged Vienna. It was advisable as a result of the Ottoman threat to bring Carpatho-Ruthenia into closer religious affinity with the Habsburgs. The Union of Uzhorod served all of these purposes.

The Union of Brest had a profound influence upon the Rusin clergy and indirectly led to the Union of Uzhorod. Even though communication between Ruthenia and Galicia was difficult, several of the Rusin clergy learned of the reunion of the Galician Church with that of Rome. They, therefore, began to move in this same direction, but found that little progress could be made among the conservative Rusin peasants. This was due to several factors, among which were illiteracy, superstition and distrust among the various provinces. The last of these was due to the various waves of settlers into Ruthenia. Some traced their ancestry to the original Slav people;<sup>3</sup> others arrived during the thirteenth century in the reigns of the Hungarian kings, Andrew II, 1205-1235, and Bela IV, 1235-1270; while the migration of Koriatovich, in the late fourteenth century, brought still another group into the area.<sup>4</sup>

Together, with the other eastern Slav people, the Rusins had severed their ties with Rome following the Cerularian Schism. In Ruthenia, this split was to continue well into the seventeenth century. During this period of Orthodox dominance, a great many monasteries were established. The oldest of these was at "Cerneca Hora" (Black Hill) in Mukachevo, which was founded during the late twelfth century. Another famous Rusin monastery was St. Michael's at Hrusov. Its origin is not quite clear but it did exist prior to the Tartar onslaught of 1243. It was during that year that the Orthodox monks petitioned the Hungarian King Bela IV (1215-1270), for a grant to refurbish their library which was destroyed by the Tartars. This monastery played an important role in the cultural history of the Rusins, for it was at Hrusov, that Scheifeld Fiel

<sup>3</sup>The Czech scholar L. Niederle, in "Origins of Carpathian Ruthenia," as reported in Fancis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, (London, 1949), pp. 214-215, reports that Slav tribes penetrated the area in the tenth century.

<sup>4</sup>Donald Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East*, Vol. I *Churches in Communion with Rome*, (Milwaukee, 1947), p. 88.

started a printing shop in the early sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Rusin monasteries multiplied in number during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the district of Maramaros, containing at least seven.<sup>6</sup>

The Orthodox Church in Ruthenia received neither financial nor material assistance from the Hungarian government. During the rule of Louis of Anjou, 1342-1382, the Rusin Orthodox Church was in a very precarious position. This occurred as a result of the king's campaign to rid Hungarian areas of schismatic groups. Although the campaign was unsuccessful, a great deal of church property in Ruthenia was confiscated.<sup>7</sup>

The Rusin historian, John Basilovits, asserts that the diocese of Mukachevo originated during the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> It was in 1458 that the Presbyter Luke was named pastor of St. Nicholas Church in Mukachevo. This was the first mention of the Mukachevo diocese and the beginning of the misconception that Luke was the first bishop of the diocese. Prior to the end of the fifteenth century, the Rusins had no bishop and depended on the Orthodox Bishop at Premysl or the Metropolitan of Moldavia to ordain their priests. The appointment of priests to the various parishes was handled by the numerous monasteries in Ruthenia. In 1491, the Hungarian king appointed John, the archimandrite of St. Nicholas monastery of Mukachevo, to be the first Rusin Bishop.<sup>9</sup> His episcopacy lasted until 1498. There is a lack of historical records for the period 1498-1551, which is due to the strife that occurred during the civil wars. The Orthodox bishops of Mukachevo in the period prior to the Union of Uzhorod included:<sup>10</sup> Ladislaus 1551-1556, Hilarion 1556-1561, Ladislaus 1568-1569, Peter 1600, Sergius 1600-1614, Sophronius 1620, Peter 1623-1627, John Gregorovic 1627-1633 and Basil Tarasovic 1633-1651.

<sup>5</sup>Basil Hopko, *Greko-Katoliceskaja Cerkov, 1646-1946*, (Presov, 1946), p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>Kamil Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," *The Slavonic Review*, XXX, 1934-1935, 611.

<sup>7</sup>Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," 611-613.

<sup>8</sup>*Brevis notatia foundationis Theodori Koriatovich, olim ducis de Munkacs*, Vol. I, (Munkacs, 1799), 5-50.

<sup>9</sup>Attwater, *Churches in Communion with Rome*, I, 88-90.

<sup>10</sup>Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 257-258.

The reformation had very little effect upon the Rusin peasants, even though their Hungarian overlords were exponents of Protestantism. The earlier doctrines of John Hus likewise had failed to make much headway in Ruthenia. Only a small part of the country of Uzhorod fell under the influence of the Hussite movement. Nor was the area affected by the long rule of Jan Zizka which held sway over most of Slovakia.<sup>11</sup>

The religious question in Ruthenia was subordinated to the struggle of the Habsburgs and the princes of Transylvania for the Hungarian crown, a struggle compounded by the Turkish menace to the territorial integrity of central Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ruthenia together with Bereg and Ugoca counties remained under the rule of the Protestant princes of Transylvania. Only sixteen parishes out of more than a hundred in Maramaros County accepted the Calvinistic doctrine of their Protestant landlords. Using the principle of "Cujus Regio, ejus Religio," the nobility tried to force Protestant doctrine upon the Rusins.<sup>12</sup>

The rulers of Carpatho-Ruthenia, who had accepted the Calvinist religion, dealt harshly with the members of the Rusin Orthodox Church. Both the peasants and the clergy were treated as serfs, illiteracy was extremely high, and the economic and political conditions left a great deal to be desired. The monasteries had lost most of their wealth from the encroachment of the Hungarian princes, and the bishops were forced to live on fees collected from the ordination of the young priests and the annual bishop's collection in the Rusin Churches. The bishops of Mukachevo had neither land, income or jurisdiction. In all matters, whether civil or clerical, the consent of the overlord had to be secured. By 1573, the several villages given to the Basilian monastery at Mukachevo were confiscated.<sup>13</sup>

The Orthodox clergy in Ruthenia were desirous of improving their position both socially and politically. In order to do this, it would be necessary to remove the servile duties which

<sup>11</sup> S. Harrison Thomson, "Medieval Bohemia" in *A Handbook of Slavic Studies*, ed. Leonid I. Strakhovsky (Cambridge, 1949), p. 111.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Zeedick, "Korotkij ocerk istorji naseho naroda," *Golden Jubilee*, 282-283.

<sup>13</sup> Clarence A. Manning, *The Story of the Ukraine* (New York, 1947), pp. 172-173.

were imposed by their territorial rulers. The Latin Rite priests were not under these feudal restrictions, and this factor was very important in convincing the Orthodox priests in Ruthenia to rejoin the Roman Catholic Church. The Union of Brest was the beacon that the Bishop of Mukachevo employed in uniting the Ruthenian Orthodox Church with Rome. This task was not accomplished without a degree of peril. It was necessary to educate the illiterate peasant and the clergy to the value of the union. Likewise, the approval of the civil overlords must be secured. The nobility were hostile to the union movement because they realized any gains won by the clergy would be at the expense of the civil authority. These gains would entail a corresponding decrease in the manorial dues.<sup>14</sup>

The nobility of Ruthenia were followers of the Protestant religions. In 1522, Luther's teachings permeated the area of Ruthenia. The lords of Ruthenia, including the families of Rakoczy, Bethlen, Drugeth, Perenyi and Dragffy became members of the new religion that swept Hungary. At Zemplin, which was ruled by Peter Perenyi, a Protestant theological school was established in 1569. The conversion of the peasants was very slow. The new doctrines made very little headway among the illiterate peasants. They rejected this new religion, because psychologically, it was against the old order: socially, it was the religion of the nobility; nationally, it was tied up in a Magyar revival and culturally, it was a dispute involving Catholic theology and not that of the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>15</sup>

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the religious situation in Ruthenia in a state of confusion. There were advocates of all three Christian groups attempting to proselytize the Rusin peasant. The Catholic reformation in this district of Hungary occurred at this time. Led by Cardinal Peter Pazmany, and under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, several of the Ruthenian noble families were converted, including the Esterhazy, Forgach, Zrinyi, Erdody, Balassa, and Jakusits. In 1605, George Drugeth, of Homonna, was converted together with the area of Zemplin and Ung counties. The movement

<sup>14</sup> John Slivka, *Eastern Rites of the Catholic Church* (Mount Vernon, N.Y., 1952), pp. 56-57.

<sup>15</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 27-34.

was primarily directed toward Transylvania which was ruled by George Rakoczy, who also possessed land near Mukachevo.

This new Catholic noble sent for Latin missionaries who were to assist in the spiritual revival, rehabilitate the Catholic religion, convert the Protestants and work for reunion among the Rusin Orthodox people. Various missionary groups labored in Ruthenia, including the Paulists and the Jesuits. This missionary activity was restricted to the areas near Kisvarda in Szaboi, at Kouice in Abeuj, at Chust in Maramaros and in Szatmar, Spis and Zemplin Counties.<sup>16</sup>

In 1608, George Drugeth, ruler at Homonna, petitioned for three Jesuit missionaries to work for the reunion of Orthodox Churches of his estates with the Catholic Church. The work progressed to such an extent, that in September 1613, Drugeth invited Bishop Athanasius Krupecki of Premysl, to bring about reunion in Ruthenia. The clergy was in favor but the majority of the peasants were opposed. While participating in the dedication of a church at Krasznabrod, the bishop was fired upon and slightly injured. The people wished to seize Krupecki but this action was averted by the arrival of Count Drugeth and his retinue. Thus, the first attempt at reunion in Ruthenia ended in failure. Regardless of the desire of the clergy, the majority of the people preferred to remain Orthodox.<sup>17</sup>

From time to time, the bishops at Mukachevo explored the feasibility of reunion. During the episcopacy of Sergius 1600-1613, the first concrete attempt was undertaken. However, it was not until the period of Basil Tarasovic 1633-1651, that the Ruthenian bishops formally sought union with Rome. This desire for union was opposed by George Rakoczy I, the ruler of Transylvania and Ruthenia, who was an advocate of the Protestant cause in Ruthenia.

Tarasovic carried on a correspondence with George Lippey the Latin Rite bishop of Eger, concerning reunion.<sup>18</sup> Negotiations between the two began in 1639 and were to carry on until 1642. Tarasovic not only promised to make a public profession of faith, but also agreed to convert the whole dio-

<sup>16</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 27-37.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Lacko, "Uzhorodska Unia," *Most V. No. 3-4*, (1958), 109-113.

<sup>18</sup> Lippey was made archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary in 1645.

cese. Despite the co-operation of the two bishops, the idea of reunion advanced very slowly because of the hinderances of the conservative peasants and the anti-union Rakoczy faction.

Final arrangements for this profession of faith were to take place on October 18, 1640, at the city of Jaszo. However, John Ballingh, the commander of the fort at Mukachevo, heard of the contemplated action and sought to forestall it. He ordered Tarasovic to be seized and sent to a prison in Transylvania. Ballingh acted on the conviction that the union would have done harm to both the people and to the state.<sup>19</sup>

When news of this action reached the diocesan center of Eger, the Vicar-general, Czegledy Albert, reported the whole affair to Lippey, who was at Regensburg. Lippey interceded and reported the whole affair to the Royal Council. Very little was done until June 24, 1641, when through the efforts of a royal commissioner, Tarasovic was released but not reinstated in his bishopric. Still seeking a basis for reunion, Tarasovic, travelled to Vienna to sound out the Latin hierarchy concerning this matter. On September 22, 1642, Tarasovic made his full profession of faith and wished to be reinstated as bishop of Mukachevo. The efforts of the Austrian emperor and the Bishop of Eger proved fruitless, and Rakoczy named John Jusko as the new Orthodox bishop of Mukachevo. Tarasovic received a pension of two hundred florins and was sent to the monastery at Nagy Kallo. There, he broke his uniate agreement.<sup>20</sup>

It was on April 24, 1646, that the first union with Rome transpired. Sixty-three priests from parishes in eastern Slovakia and western Ruthenia pledged their loyalty to Rome at the Chapel of the fort in Uzhorod. All that occurred was conducted orally; consequently, there are not any documents attesting to this event.<sup>21</sup>

The union of 1646, was confined to the Rusin populated areas of Ung, Zemplin, Saris, Abauj, Turna, Spis, and Gemer. The remaining areas remained under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox bishops. After the union, there were successively three Orthodox bishops at Mukachevo, John Jusko (1643-

<sup>19</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 66-82.

<sup>20</sup> Dudas, "The Participation," *Golden Jubilee*, 365-366.

<sup>21</sup> Anthony Hodinka, *A Munkacsi gorog katholikus puspokseg tortenete* (Budapest, 1909), p. 297.

1651), Jacob Zejkan (1651-1686), and Methodius Rakovecky (1686-1693). The only reference to the union was a letter written by J. Lippey of May 14, 1648 in which he states, ". . . in the preceding years, George Jakusits of Orbova, once bishop of Eger, under the inspiration of the Lord's Spirit reaccepted to the bosom of the Catholic Church some Ruthenians of the Greek Rite, i.e. priests."<sup>22</sup>

Two years later, 1648, a number of Rusin clergy led by Peter Parthens Petrovic appeared at a Roman Catholic Synod at Trnava in Slovakia, and sought to be accepted as uniates. Again there is a lack of direct evidence attesting to this event, but from a document of January 4, 1660, a written report of the meeting is contained giving an account of the acceptance of the uniates by archbishop Lippey.<sup>23</sup>

With the death of Tarasovic in 1651, chaotic conditions increased in the region. Rakoczy had named an Orthodox bishop, his widow later named a Protestant bishop, while the uniate priests elected Peter Parthens Petrovic as their head. If the manner of accepting the union was unorthodox, the naming and the consecrating of their first bishop was even more unusual. The events leading to the consecration of Parthens was both irregular and contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church. He was consecrated bishop on September 5, 1651 by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania, Stephen Simonovic (1643-1653). This action made Parthens irregular by the dictates of Roman Catholicism because he did not receive the appointment to the bishopric from Rome, and he was installed by a non bona fide bishop.<sup>24</sup>

Lippey, not knowing of the irregular naming of Parthens as bishop, proceeded to report the Union of Uzhorod to the papal authorities. The conditions of the union granted three concessions to the Rusin clergy. They were able to retain their rite, elect their own bishop, and have equality with the clergy of the Latin rite. It was the second condition, namely, that of

<sup>22</sup>J. Lippey letter of May 14, 1648 quoted in Dudas, "The Participation," *Golden Jubilee*, 365.

<sup>23</sup>A. Hodinka, *A Munkacsi Gorog Szert, Puspoksek Okmanyara*, I, 1458-1715, (Ungvar, 1911), Nos. 117-141; Hodinka, *Tortenete*, 308-309, 336-337.

<sup>24</sup>Hopko, *Greko-Katolicszkaja Cerkov*, pp. 32-35.

naming their own bishop which was to have severe repercussions among the Rusin clergy and people. Rome never directly acknowledged this right. Lippey did not press this point in his correspondence with Rome, nor did he mention the election of Parthens in his letter of July 23, 1651. Rather, he stated that in the dioceses of Esztergom and Eger resided many schismatic Ruthenians, many of whom desired to reunite with Rome. He further wrote, that if a Greek Catholic Diocese were created, four hundred more priests and their parishes would join the Uniate Church. Lippey received no answer to this communication and on his own authority, named Parthens as the Apostolic Visitor for all the Hungarian Ruthenians who professed the Greek Rite. On September 15, 1651, Lippey again inquired about the feasibility of naming a Rusin bishop. Having learned of the irregularity of Parthens consecration as bishop, he also asked Rome to absolve the Uniate bishop of his faulty installation. Again, there was no reply forthcoming from Rome.<sup>25</sup>

In early 1652, Parthens called a meeting of all the Rusin Uniate clergy. It was at this meeting of January 15, 1652, that a petition was sent to Pope Innocent X regarding the Union of Uzhorod. It contained a written account of the original agreement and was signed by six archdeacons who listed the names of sixty-three priests who had participated in the original movement. Affixed to the document were the signatures of the four hundred priests who attended the meeting of 1652. This document was forwarded to Lippey, who was to send it to Rome; but according to the files of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the document was not sent until December 17, 1711.<sup>26</sup>

It was not until May 13, 1655, that Parthens was confirmed as bishop, and on June 8th, the papal bull giving Parthens episcopal power was granted. On July 12th, Lippey absolved him of all irregularities and gave him jurisdiction over all Ruthenian Catholics in Hungary. However, nothing in the communications from Rome mentioned the creation of a new diocese of Mukachevo, and for all practical matters, the Rusin

<sup>25</sup>Hodinka, *Okmanyara*, I, Nos. 116-123; Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 338-340; Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 212-214.

<sup>26</sup>Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 300-351.

bishop was merely a vicar-general of the Latin rite bishop of Eger.<sup>27</sup>

Two other installments of the Union transpired at later dates and completed the return of the Hungarian Rusins to the Catholic Church. The first of these occurred in 1664 and brought in the areas of Bereg, Ugoca, Szatmar, and the areas that later comprised the Haydudorg in Hungary. The second, taking place in 1713, brought in the Maramaros region.

The union agreement was the work of several influential persons, both lay and ecclesiastical. In the latter category, representing the Rusin clergy, would be Tarasovic and Peter Parthens Petrovic, as well as the Basil monks. For the Latin clergy, mention would have to be made of the bishops of Eger, who included not only George Lippey and George Jakusics, but also Benedict Kiedi and Thomas Palffy. Laymen would include: the Austrian emperors Ferdinand III 1637-1657, and Leopold I 1657-1705. The Rusins would be represented by the Drugeth family, especially Anna, the widow of Count John Drugeth, and Sophia Bathory, the widow of George Rakoczy II, who after her conversion in 1660, became an advocate of the Uniate idea.<sup>28</sup>

The union of 1646, was the foundation of the Byzantine Rite for the Rusins in Ruthenia, as well as those in the United States. Other areas affected by the Union were in Hungary and Transylvania. The previously mentioned benefits accruing from the Union were assured in the message of Lippey of May 14, 1648. The Rusin clergy, although they received the guarantees of various Ruthenian lords, were doubly confirmed in their new gains by a letter of privilege granted by Emperor Leopold I on August 16, 1692. This communication of the Austrian ruler has been referred to as the "Declaration of Independence" of the Rusin Uniate Clergy.<sup>29</sup>

The agreement benefited the clergy in a religious, political and economic manner, but did not basically alter the lot of the Rusin peasants. The clergy were now on par with their counterparts of the Latin Rite, for both were now exempt from performing any of the servile tasks associated with the mano-

<sup>27</sup> Hodinka, *Okmanyara*, I, Nos. 124-131; Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 341-350.

<sup>28</sup> Dudas, "The Participation," *Golden Jubilee*, pp. 368-369.

<sup>29</sup> Hodinka, *Okmanyara*, I, Nos. 113, 129, 220, 268 and 456.

rial system. The peasants, nevertheless, did not gain by the union. The menial and ignoble tasks in this Hungarian province were still fulfilled by the Rusin people.

There was a gradual decay in the Uniate movement following the death of Parthens in 1664. The papacy, either through a policy of omission or neglect, did not select a replacement until 1689. This was a particularly difficult period for the Uniates because of the renewed activities of the Orthodox Bishops of Mukachevo, who seriously impaired the Uniate movement. This situation was remedied by Cardinal Kolonics, the Archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary, who in 1690 nominated Joseph de Camelis (1690-1705), as the Apostolic-Vicar for the Greek Catholics residing in Hungary. This nomination was approved by Pope Alexander VIII, and Emperor Leopold I appointed the new bishop of Mukachevo on March 11, 1690. Prior to his appointment, de Camelis was the procurator of the Basilian Order at Rome; and although of Greek ancestry, he was proficient in languages, including Rusin. He was installed as vicar-general of the Rusins in the presence of the former Orthodox Bishop of Mukachevo, Mathodius Rakovecky, who in 1693, was appointed the Uniate Bishop of Maramaros.

During the episcopacy of de Camelis, the union was strengthened both religiously and economically.<sup>30</sup> In this connection, he held synods at Mukachevo and Szatmarnemet. This was done, ". . . to remedy, if I can the many and great disorders, which I see and hear of."<sup>31</sup> In order to strengthen the religious bond of the clergy, he offered a comprehensive program of education and training. It reformed the clergy by requiring to priests to:<sup>32</sup> be more virtuous than the laity, keep clear of scandal, wear cassock and refrain from menial work, urge the people to confess at least four times a year, keep an accurate account of marriages, baptisms, and deaths, follow the prescribed absolution formula, post the wedding bans of young couples, follow the prescribed matrimonial position for married clerics, receive episcopal authority to function in areas away from their parishes, be better trained, priests should be

<sup>30</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 114-136.

<sup>31</sup> De Camelis letter of May 1690 as quoted in Dudas, "The Participation," *Golden Jubilee*, p. 369.

at least twenty-four years of age and assist at a church for at least three years, and adhere to the union.

The Rusin bishop was able to reclaim the monastic property and villages which had been confiscated by the family of George Rakoczy I. To further strengthen the equality of the Rusin clergy, he petitioned Cardinal Kolonics to absolve all the Uniate clergy from servile labor and requested that they be afforded all the rights and privileges their Latin Rite contemporaries enjoyed. This immunity was granted on August 23, 1690. The bishop of Mukachevo did not have any independent jurisdiction, but remained a mere Vicar-general for the Rusins in Hungary. This troublesome condition often led to disputes over jurisdiction between the Latin Rite bishop of Eger and the Rusin Vicar-general. The bishop of Eger, George Fenesy had many disputes with de Camelis over jurisdiction and authority, but these problems were peacefully solved, and Fenesy became a great defender of the rights of the Uniates and a great help to the Rusin bishop.

The union, during de Camelis's episcopate, not only encompassed most of Ruthenia, but also spread into the area of Transylvania. At the town of Satu Mare a union was concluded in 1699 and this seemed to be the death knoll of Orthodoxy in northern Transylvania. The Orthodox Church had trouble in electing a bishop. Doritheus Turca claimed to be consecrated bishop in Wallachia and began to ordain. Forbidden to continue as Orthodox bishop in the Satu Mare region, Turca found his way into Carpatho-Ruthenia and in the end, became a Uniate and bishop of Mukachevo.<sup>32</sup>

On March 21, 1695, de Camelis reported that the union was catching hold in Rumania, and by April 19, 1700, he announced that fifty-nine Rumanian priests and their parishes became Uniates. De Camelis's episcopate came to an end with civil disorders in Ruthenia. The bishopric, at this time, comprised thirteen counties composed of 823 Ruthenian and 499 mixed districts. There were 858 parishes and 690 priests who were under the archbishop of Erlau.<sup>34</sup> Before he left the city of

<sup>32</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, pp. 137-141.

<sup>33</sup> R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 174-175.

<sup>34</sup> Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," *The Slavonic Review*, 618.

Mukachevo to take up residence in Eperjes, he appointed Genadius Bizanci as his substitute, giving him jurisdiction over the Rusins. On August 26, 1706, de Camelis died.<sup>35</sup>

Following the death of de Camelis, the movement again declined. This period also witnessed the weakening of the second reservation of the agreement reached at Uzhorod. In 1712, Charles III became archduke of Austria and king of Hungary. He wished to appoint as Apostolic-Visitor for the Rusins, Michael Hodermarsky, who was elected to that post by the Rusin clergy, but whom the papacy was unwilling to accept. On May 6, 1712, the Austrian emperor wrote the pope stating that the Rusin clergy had reserved for itself the free right to elect its own bishop and this privilege was confirmed by Pope Innocent X, who had appointed Parthens bishop of Mukachevo.<sup>36</sup>

The Rusin clergy started a simultaneous action in December 1712, at the Synod of Mukachevo. They sent a petition to the pope and the prince-primate of Hungary, stating that they were surprised to learn that the bishopric of Mukachevo was not canonized, and for this reason, their choice, Hodermarsky, could not be named bishop. They further stated that for over a century and a half, Rusin schismatic bishops had this title, and that the formulators of the union reserved for themselves the right to have bishops elected by the clergy and confirmed by Rome. To this communication Rome refused to answer but several times announced that Hodermarsky was unacceptable and therefore, Rome would not confirm the appointment.<sup>37</sup>

The dispute over the confirmation of Hodermarsky as bishop of Mukachevo led to one of the most important synods of priests in Ruthenia. This meeting took place on March 7, 1715, in the Basilian monastery at Mukachevo. A large majority of priests of the bishopric attended this meeting, just as they had done at the synod of January 15, 1652.<sup>38</sup> The delegates compiled an important document, copies of which they sent to the Pope, to the Congregation for the Propagation of

<sup>35</sup> Hodinka, *Tortenete*, p. 481.

<sup>36</sup> Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 481-483.

<sup>37</sup> Hodinka, *Okmanyara*, I, Nos. 460-475. Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 482-492.

<sup>38</sup> Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 504-508.



the Faith, and to the prince-primate of Hungary. In regard to the election of their bishop, they stated:<sup>39</sup>

Since Prince Theodore Koriatovic (Korjatovic), about 300 years ago endowed and the Hungarian kings ratified the Bishopric of Mukachevo, what His Majesty throughout lengthy controversy between himself and the Holy Apostolic See amply proved by sufficient documents, and we also are ready to prove, we strenuously cling to our election and the appointment of the one elected by his Majesty, and with the consent of all announce that neither in the present nor future, shall we—together with our successors—accept and allow an Apostolic Vicar to be sent to us, being satisfied in the future with the bishop elected, or to be elected, by us, from whom we solely demand that he tarry not to receive consecration as soon as possible.

To combat this revolutionary measure, the prince-primate sent a letter to the clergy on March 27, 1715. In it, he asked that several of the clergy who were thoroughly familiar with the proceedings of the synod, come to him at the city of Pozsony prior to the Easter holidays. They were to bring with them all the relevant documents regarding the establishment of the bishopric of Mukachevo, and all other privileges granted them, so that they could fully inform the Roman pontiff. This call was ignored by the Rusin clergy. Thus the Rusin clergy, by default, lost the right of naming their own bishop. Not one priest appeared at Pozsony, and the petition adopted by the synod was transmitted to Rome as received by the prince-primate.<sup>40</sup>

Cardinal Albani, of the Roman Curia, referred the petition to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith on May 7, 1715. This agency of the Catholic Church had three problems concerning the Rusin Church. Two of them involved the appointment of the bishop. The first of the two groups seeking the sole right of appointment were the Rusin clergy, who claimed this right by the Union agreement.<sup>41</sup> Hodermarsky sent a copy of the document to Rome on December 17, 1711. In this, it is stated that the clergy elected Parthens bishop and

<sup>39</sup> Hodinka, *Okmanytara*, I, Nos. 526. Hondinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 504-509.

<sup>40</sup> Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 503-508.

<sup>41</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, p. 95.

asked the papacy to confirm him. The Roman Curia merely answered that since he was already consecrated (although illegally, the pope would decide whether or not to confirm him. Searching through their files they could not find any document confirming Parthens as Bishop of Mukachevo, but merely as bishop for all Catholic Ruthenians in Hungary. The other party which sought the right of appointment was the Hungarian king, who reasoned that if he could appoint all Latin Rite bishops to their posts in Hungary, then he should have this right in regard to the Byzantine Hierarchy. The third problem confronting the Congregation hinged upon the solution of the other two, namely, whether Mukachevo was a duly consecrated bishopric. Cardinal Albani openly announced that this bishopric did not exist. The name was given by the schismatics, a fact that both the clergy and the primate of Hungary admitted. Both parties had acknowledged this in their communication to the Congregation in their letters during the year 1708. Therefore, since a bishopric did not in reality exist, neither the Rusin clergy could elect, nor could the Hungarian king appoint a person for a non-existent bishopric.

The Congregation recommended the following steps in settling the dispute and forwarded them to Vienna. First, seek a person suitable for the position of vicar for the Rusins. Second, disqualified Hodermarsky's candidacy. Third, asked the full support of the primate in this matter. On June 6, 1715, the primate recommended that Andrew Bizancy be appointed to this position. Hodermarsky sensed the loss of his cause and resigned from the bishopric and took up a monastic existence.<sup>42</sup> The king accepted the resignation and forwarded the name of Bizancy as vicar general for the Rusins to Rome.

The Rusin clergy, although they knew the cause for Hodermarsky was lost, nevertheless, sent a protest on August the 10th, to the Bishop of Eger. This latest matter received the attention of the primate, who, on August 26, 1715, ordered the bishop of Eger to seriously reprimand the clergy who stubbornly refused to heed the dictates of the Sacred Congregation in this matter.<sup>43</sup> This rebuke brought to an end the opposition of the Rusin clergy.

<sup>42</sup> Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis*, p. 185.

<sup>43</sup> Hodinka, *Tortenete*, pp. 510-511.



This is the history of the uniate agreement which brought into the folds of the Roman Catholic Church another of the Eastern Slav groups. Unlike the union reached at Brest-Litovsk in 1596 which created the Uniate Church in Poland, the union of Uzhorod was not put down in writing nor was it fully approved by Rome. The absence of a document attesting to the Rusin agreement of 1646 has caused a certain amount of speculation among authorities on the exact date of the creation of the Rusin uniate agreement.<sup>44</sup> This confusion was caused by the inability of earlier Rusin writers to agree upon the event that created the union. One of these schools of writers maintain that the Synod of Trnava in 1648, brought about the Uniate Church in Carpatho-Ruthenia.<sup>45</sup> Another faction asserted that the union occurred in 1649,<sup>46</sup> while still another group claimed that the union took place in 1652<sup>47</sup> with the forwarding of a petition to the primate of Hungary of a uniate agreement.<sup>48</sup>

Recent studies of the Rusin Uniate agreement, refute these theories. Although the agreement of April 24, 1646 was concluded orally, contemporary accounts of that period verify the assertion that the union must have occurred prior to 1648. The letter of Archbishop Lippey<sup>49</sup> is the main basis for this contention.

The Union of Uzhorod, which guaranteed the Rusin Uniates certain privileges was the basis for the return of these people to the Roman Catholic Church. As faulty as the agreement seemed and as unorthodox as were the methods used in having it approved, the union has continued to exist among the Rusin people. The Communist overthrow of Czech control in Car-

<sup>44</sup> Hodinka, *Tortene*, pp. 297-350.

<sup>45</sup> Basilovits, *Notitia Fundationis*, II, 52.

<sup>46</sup> John Praszko, *De ecclesia Ruthena catholica sede metropolitana vacante 1655-1665* (Rome, 1944), 220.

<sup>47</sup> Alex Petrov, "Staraja vera i unija v XVII-XVIII vekach," in *Materialy dl'a istorii Ugorskoj Rusi*, II, 21.

<sup>48</sup> The petition of January 15, 1652 was not immediately forwarded to Rome. According to the files of the Sacred Congregation of the Faith, the document was not received until December 17, 1711. See Hodinka, *Tortene*, pp. 341-350.

<sup>49</sup> Lippey letter of May 14, 1648 quoted in Dudas, "The Participation," *Golden Jubilee*, 365.

patho-Ruthenia brought with it an abridgment of the agreement but in the United States the Rusins continue the Uniate religion.

The union of 1646 which was the basis for the return of the Rusins to the Roman Catholic Church, has never been fully acknowledged by Rome. It has been modified by the events that led to the disqualification of Hodermarsky and the appointment of Bizancy as bishop for the Rusins. Therefore, the events that culminated in 1715, were the real basis for the Uniate union of the Rusin people. The Hodermarsky-Bizancy controversy is significant for three reasons. The first being that in this conflict, Rome fully acknowledged the existence of the Union. Second, that at this early date, the liberties that the clergy believed inherent in the Union document, simply did not exist. For although Rome accepted the Rusins into the church, there never was papal approval to the reservations. Finally, the fight for the confirmation of Hodermarsky differed from the plight of the American Rusins of the Twentieth Century, only in time, place, and personalities. There was a valuable lesson in the fight of the Rusins in the Eighteenth Century. Yet the Rusins in America overlooked this lesson, and before their struggle was over, they had lost many of their members to the Latin Rite and the Orthodox Church. This will be the theme of subsequent chapters.

#### IV. THE UNIATE CHURCH IN CARPATHO-RUTHENIA (1715-1940)

The Uniate agreements reached at Brest and Uzhorod had later repercussions in the Slav areas of the Habsburg empire. Uniate missionary activity among the Orthodox Slavs of the empire came under the jurisdiction of either the Hungarian or the Austrian governments. The Orthodox ruled by the Magyars who became Uniates were motivated by the Union concluded at Uzhorod while those under Austrian domination were influenced by the union reached at Brest. Rusin religious influence was limited to the Carpatho-Ruthenian and Transylvania areas of the empire. Since the bulk of the non-Rumanian people of northern Transylvania were of Rusin extraction, the Uniate movement spread into that area. The Transylvanian Rumanians who were likewise affected sought union with Rome based on the provisions of Uniate agreements of Brest and Uzhorod.<sup>1</sup> The Slav language and liturgy which had been in use for several centuries by the Transylvanian Rumanians, continued until their Uniate agreement of 1699.<sup>2</sup>

The Rusin Uniate Church, which was so important in the cultural life of the people, did not escape religious controversy. The inability of the Rusins to secure a self ruling independent diocese, brought the Uniates into conflict with the Latin rite bishops. The problems of naming a bishop, which the Rusin clergy believed to be within their sphere, further complicated the position of the Uniate Church. In the period 1705-1715, the Rusin clergy and the Hungarian authorities had chosen Joseph Hodermarsky, the papal staff selected Alexander Fillipovich an archdeacon of Presov, while the Bishop of Eger together with the rulers of Transylvania named Gregory Bizancy as their candidates. Although, the comic scenes of 1705-1715 of naming three men to the vacant see were not repeated

<sup>1</sup> Dvornik, *The Slavs*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Several synods were held that concerned the Transylvania Rumanian union with Rome. These were on March 21, 1697, June 10, 1697 and October 7, 1698. On February 13, 1699, King Leopold I approved the Union. On the influence of Slav relations upon the Rumanians, see G. Nandris, "The Beginnings of Slavonic Culture in the Rumanian Countries," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXIV (1946), 160-171.

again, the Uniate Church, nevertheless, experienced similar problems of organization and administration.<sup>3</sup>

The first century following the signing of the union agreement was one of constant turmoil in Carpatho-Ruthenia. This was primarily due to the large segments of Rusins who adhered to the Orthodox Church. Records of the number of Uniates and Orthodox people during this period are unavailable, however, it was not until 1713 that the Uniate agreement was extended to the Maramaros region. With the death of the Orthodox Bishop Dositheus Theodorovic the last of the Rusin areas adopted the Uniate religion.<sup>4</sup>

The problem of jurisdiction concerning the Uniate bishops and their appointment which was not successfully resolved until the latter half of the eighteenth century, also contributed to the Uniate problems. The appointment of the bishop was a complicated matter, requiring the Roman authorities to secure the approval of the Hungarian Chancellery. This lengthened the time necessary for the completion of the clerical appointments. These problems, together with a lack of episcopal authority because the Rusin bishop was merely the Vicar-General of the Latin rite bishop of Eger, were the issues during the episcopacy of Gregory Bizancy (1715-1733).

Bizancy's attempt to heal the religious breach within the area was seriously impaired by Erdody, the bishop of Eger. The compromise which brought Bizancy the title of bishop also provided for the elevation of Fillippovic to the archimandrite of the Uniate monastery at Pinsk, in Poland, and the installation of Hodermarsky as the head of the Basilian monastery at Mukachevo.<sup>5</sup> Erdody appointed Hodermarsky as the auxiliary bishop to Bizancy. This appointment created dual jurisdiction among the Uniates with Hodermarsky as archimandrite of the monastery rivalling his superior in actual religious power in Mukachevo. The death of Hodermarsky and the subsequent election of Bizancy to the archimandrite of the Basilian mon-

<sup>3</sup> Hodinka, *Tortenele*, pp. 482-514.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie*, II (Bucarest, 1940), p. 44 in Lacko, *Unio*, p. 258, states that Seraphinus Petrovan, bishop of Maramaros (1711-1717) concluded the Uniate movement in Maramaros.

<sup>5</sup> Lacko, *Unio*, pp. 173-174.

astery brought to an end this dual jurisdiction among the Uniates.<sup>6</sup>

The hostility that developed between Erdody and Bizancy over jurisdiction was even more serious, threatening to bring an end to the Uniate religion in Carpatho-Ruthenia. This was brought about by a scandal involving the Uniate clergy. Several had remarried following the death of their wives. This was contrary to Canon Law and because Bizancy had refused to act this offense was reported to Erdody. The bishop of Eger forbade Bizancy to ordain new men to the priesthood or to increase the number of Uniate churches under his jurisdiction. The question involving the jurisdiction of the Uniate bishop continued to plague the Rusins until the erection of the bishopric of Mukachevo in 1771.<sup>7</sup>

As bleak as was the episcopacy of Bizancy, nevertheless, he was able to gain one achievement. Bizancy, by order of Emperor Charles VI (1711-1740), was to secure the confiscated estates taken by the Rakoczy and Bercesenyi<sup>8</sup> families. The Uniate clergy were confirmed in their rights of being excluded from servile labor, and became members of the "slachta" or privileged class. A lesser accomplishment dealt with church finances. Bizancy instituted the practice of keeping accurate records dealing with church finances.

The death of the Uniate bishop in 1733 still left unsolved the thorny problem of jurisdiction between the Uniates and the Latin Rite. This problem plagued Bizancy's successors, Simeon Olsavsky (1733-1737), Gregory Blazovsky (1738-1742), and Michael Olsavsky (1742-1767).<sup>9</sup>

Very little is known of the rule of Simeon Olsavsky, the Uniate bishop of Mukachevo. There were no noticeable changes in the affairs of the Uniate church during this short administration. In regard to Olsavsky's background the following is known. The family name was Zidik but was

<sup>6</sup>Hodinka, *Tortnetete*, pp. 512-514.

<sup>7</sup>Hodinka, *Tortnetete*, pp. 622-625.

<sup>8</sup>Nicholas Bercesenyi married the daughter of George Drugeth and upon her death in 1691 received the area around Uzhorod. See Lacko, *Unio*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup>Nicholas A. Beskid, *Iz minuvsoho odnoj krestanskoj semji* (Homestead, Pa.), (1936), p. 95.

changed to the name of the village, Olsavicja which is located in Spis County. This was done because the stem of the family name, Zid referred to either the Jews or selfish possessors of money, which was not considered a suitable name for either a priest or bishop.<sup>10</sup>

With the death of Olsavsky, Gregory Blazovsky became the Uniate bishop of Mukachevo. As was the case with Olsavsky, the new Uniate bishop, whose family name was Mankovic, had assumed the name of the village for his own surname. The village of Blazov was located in Saris County. During Blazovsky's brief tenure as bishop an attempt was made to improve the financial position of the Uniate clergy.<sup>11</sup>

After Blazovsky's death, Michael Olsavsky (1743-1767), the brother of Simeon Olsavsky, was appointed by the Bishop of Eger, Gabriel Erdody, as his vicar at Munkacs. His name was approved by Empress Maria Theresa and confirmed by Pope Benedict XIV in two briefs dated September 5 and 6, 1743.<sup>12</sup> It was during this Olsavsky period that Rusin bitterness erupted against the Latin Rite Bishop of Eger. It was occasioned by the anti-Uniate policy of the Latin Bishop Francis Barkoczy (1745-1761). He ordered that all incomes of the Uniate parishes were to be turned over to the Latin pastors, on the premise that the Uniate priests were only their assistants. Barkoczy, during a canonical visit to Mukachevo in 1748, further intensified the rift between the Uniates and the Latin Rite by demanding that all of the Rusin priests renew their oath of allegiance. At this meeting the Latin Rite priests were given precedence over Bishop Olsavsky.<sup>13</sup>

The Uniate clergy sent letters of protest both to Vienna and Rome, declaring that the policy of Barkoczy was an infraction

<sup>10</sup>Simeon Olsavsky was nominated by Emperor Charles VI on August 26, 1733, and confirmed by Pope Clement XII on May 18, 1735.

<sup>11</sup>Anthony Hodinka, "Istorija Mukacevskoj jeparchii," in Michael Roman, ed., *Greek Catholic Union of the U.S.A. Golden Jubilee* (Homestead, 1942), p. 224.

<sup>12</sup>Michael Lacko, "Documenta spectantia regimen episcopi Mukacevensis Michaelis Manvelis Olsavsky 1743-1767," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXV (1959), 55-57.

<sup>13</sup>Michael Lacko, "The Pastoral Activity of Manuel Michael Olsavsky Bishop of Mukachevo," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXVII (1961), 150-153.

of their rights as guaranteed by the Union of Uzhorod.<sup>14</sup> Barkoczy attempted to justify his position by accusing the Uniate clergy and bishop of various abuses. To preserve religious peace and determine the validity of the accusations, Empress Maria Theresa appointed Olsavsky to undertake a canonical visitation of all Uniate parishes. The report of these visits by Olsavsky during 1750-1752 is the best source of information concerning the Uniate Church in Carpatho-Ruthenia. The report lists thirteen counties as centers of the Uniate religion. These included: Saris, Zemplin, Abauj, Borsod, Gemer, Turna, Szabolcs, Spis, Uz, Szatmar, Bereg, Ugoca, and Maramaros. The Uniates lived in 823 entirely Greek Catholic communities, and in 499 mixed villages. The people were served by 848 churches, staffed by 690 priests. Olsavsky listed the Uniate population, excluding children, at 145,107.<sup>15</sup>

Barkoczy's successor as Bishop of Eger, Count Charles Eszterhazy, further compounded the difficulties between the two Catholic groups, by requiring once more the renewal of the oath of allegiance. Refusing to renew the oath of allegiance to the Latin rite bishop, Olsavsky instead sent a delegation to Vienna headed by John Bradac, the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Mukachevo, to solicit for a redress of the Rusin grievances. The need for a separate diocese for the Uniates was agreed upon by the Austrian empress; and on September 15, 1756, Maria Theresa dispatched this request to Rome. Pope Clement XIII, delayed a decision pending a recommendation of the Latin rite bishop of Eger. Eszterhazy, in his reply, cited 113 reasons why the Uniates of Ruthenia should remain under his jurisdiction.<sup>16</sup>

Unable to secure a separate diocese for the Ruthenian Uniates, the empress wrote letters to both Olsavsky and Eszterhazy, on August 24, 1768, attempting to establish religious

<sup>14</sup>For the letter of Protest of the Ruthenian clergy, see Lacko, "Documenta spectantia," pp. 63-65.

<sup>15</sup>J. Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, II, 73-74. For a detailed account of the visit, see V. Hadzega, *Dodatky k istoriji Rusinov i Russkich cerkvej v Zupe Maramaros, Ugoca, Uz Zemplin* (Uzhorod, 1924, 1927 and 1936); A. Petrov, *Kanoniceskija vizitaciji 1750-1776 v varmedach Zemplin, Saris, Spis, Absuj* (Uzhorod, 1924); and Andrew J. Shipman, "The Byzantine Rite," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 13th edition (New York, 1913, 277-281).

<sup>16</sup>Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, II, 75-124.

peace by proposing the following compromise: Olsavsky was to take the oath of obedience to the Latin Bishop, who in turn was to concede to the Uniates their established privileges. The Uniate priests were to be treated with due respect, as was their bishop. This was the basis of agreement between the two groups which temporarily alleviated the problem.<sup>17</sup>

That this was to be only a temporary solution, is evident by the action of Maria Theresa, when after the death of Pope Clement XIII, she petitioned his successor for the establishment of the Mukachevo diocese. Finally on September 19, 1771, Pope Clement XIV in the Papal Bull, "Eximia Regallum Principum," canonized Mukachevo as a resident Uniate diocese.<sup>18</sup> The ties which bound the Rusin bishop to the Diocese of Eger were broken, and Mukachevo took its place as one of the diocese of Hungarian ecclesiastical province of Esztergom.<sup>19</sup> The Habsburg empress was convinced of the necessity for her action on the premise that if the Uniates were denied an independent diocese, they might in their disappointment, break their bonds with the Catholic Church.<sup>20</sup>

The struggle in Carpatho-Ruthenia for the establishment of a resident diocese was a great milestone in the history of the Uniate Church, only surpassed by the agreement reached at Uzhorod in 1646. A resident See enabled the Rusins not only freedom of action but also silenced the Orthodox Claims of a Latin take-over of the Uniate Church. The struggle waged by the Uniates for a separate diocese, was to be repeated by the Rusins in the United States during the Twentieth Century.<sup>21</sup>

The victory in the struggle for the erection of the independent Mukachevo eparchy was not concluded by Olsavsky. In 1767, he had obtained the confirmation of John Bradac as his auxiliary. Upon the assumption of the duties by Bradac on

<sup>17</sup>Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, II, 127-134.

<sup>18</sup>Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, II, 197-206.

<sup>19</sup>Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East*, I, 88-89.

<sup>20</sup>M. Lacko, "The Pastoral Activity of Manuel Michael Olsavsky Bishop of Mukachevo," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXVII, (1-1961), 4-6.

<sup>21</sup>The Exarchate of Pittsburgh was divided into two resident dioceses in July, 1963. In 1969 the Metropolitan district of Munhall was erected with the two suffragan eparchies of Passaic, New Jersey, and Parma, Ohio.

November 5, 1767, Olsavsky died and was succeeded by his newly assigned auxiliary. The old bishop expressed the wish that he be buried at Maria-Pocs, rather than Mukachevo.

Maria-Pocs which was located in Szaboic County was a region inhabited by Rusin settlers. The small Uniate church located there contained an icon of the Virgin Mary, which in 1696, reputedly shed tears. Emperor Leopold I ordered the icon sent to Vienna and a copy of it was placed in the Rusin church in Maria-Pocs. However, in 1715 this copy also shed tears which resulted in making Maria-Pocs a place of great veneration by both the Uniates and the Latin Catholics of the area. In 1731, a new church was begun under the auspices of Bizancy but because of slow progress in the construction it was not completed until 1756. Olsavsky secured Basilian monks to staff the Church in 1749 and had a small monastery built for them.<sup>22</sup> As in his other undertaking, Olsavsky was opposed by the Bishop of Eger, who protested that the monastery infringed upon the interest of the Latin Mendicant Orders of the area. These protests were to no avail. The cause of the Uniates was enhanced by the generosity of Count Francis Karolyi and his administrator, Demetrius Racz, who donated land and money for the monastery.

Olsavsky also contributed to the material and spiritual welfare of the Uniates by separating the diocese from the monastery of St. Nicholas. This resulted in the clarification of the material possessions of the two organizations. In 1751, the bishop established his residency in Mukachevo. Olsavsky also sought to arrange for the proper education of the Uniate Clergy which he accomplished with the erection of a minor seminary in Mukachevo.<sup>23</sup> Prior to his death he received permission to establish a major seminary<sup>24</sup> at Mukachevo, a project which was realized by his successor.

As important as these activities of Olsavsky were, his greatest was in the consolidation and propagation of the Union. In 1742, he sought to alleviate the schismatic movement begun in the Szatmar County region of Transylvania. Together with the Uniate bishop of Transylvania, Innocent Micu-Klein, Olsavsky strove to remove the danger of schism which was be-

<sup>22</sup> Lacko, "The Pastoral Activity," pp. 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> Lacko, "New Documents," Doc. 7, 31.

<sup>24</sup> Lacko, "New Documents," Doc. 10, 87-88.

gun by the Orthodox Serbian monk Bessarion. Olsavsky sought to curb another outbreak in that area in the period 1759-1761. This schismatic undertaking was led by a monk named Sophronius, who was able to lead 60,000 people into schism.<sup>25</sup> Through the efforts of the Rusin Uniate bishop a large portion of these people returned to the Union.

It is because of these various activities that Michael Olsavsky was considered as one of the great Uniate bishops of the Rusin people. As a result of his struggles the Uniate Church was able to prosper and grow in Carpatho-Ruthenia. A growth which was enhanced by establishment of the Mukachevo diocese.

#### A. THE DIOCESE OF MUKACHEVO

Maria Theresa petitioned the Roman Curia on December 11, 1767 for the confirmation of John Bradacs (1767-1772)<sup>26</sup> as a suffragan to the bishop of Eger. Bradacs continued the work of his predecessor and realized the establishment of a major seminary at Mukachevo.<sup>27</sup> It was during Bradacs's tenure that the independent eparchy of Mukachevo was created. His occupancy of the new eparchy was relatively brief, encompassing the period from September 26, 1771 to July 4, 1772.<sup>28</sup>

His successor, Andrew Bacinsky (1773-1809) was approved by Rome on March 8, 1773. His tenure of thirty-six years witnessed the complete reorganization of the diocese. He moved the diocesan center from Mukachevo to Uzhorod and established a seminary in the former castle of the Drugeths. To alleviate the delays pertaining to ecclesiastical matters, he divided the diocese into vicariates at Szatmar and Maramaros; in 1786 the vicariate of Kassa was added. The last of these religious subdivisions was transferred to Presov in 1806 and because of the need for another Uniate See, was raised to the rank of an independent diocese in 1816.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, II, 40-43. Basilovits blamed the schism on attempted Latinization of the region. He estimated 11,000 people in Szatmar County went into schism.

<sup>26</sup> Lacko, "New Documents," No. 11 dated December 11, 1767, 88-90.

<sup>27</sup> Lacko, "The Pastoral Activity," pp. 8-9.

<sup>28</sup> Hopko, *Greko-Katoliceskaja cerkov*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>29</sup> Slivka, *Eastern Rites of the Catholic Church*, pp. 58-59.

It was in the cultural realm, even more than in the religious field, that the main contribution of Bacinsky was felt. He donated over 9,000 volumes to the seminary library at Uzhorod and worked for the adoption of the Old Church Slavonic instead of the Rusin dialect, as the literary language of the area.<sup>30</sup> He encouraged the literary activities of Ivan Orlay and John Basilovits, the Rusin historians; Peter Lodi, the Rusin philosopher; Michael Lucskay, the grammarian; and others such as George Venelin,<sup>31</sup> the Bulgarian scholar and Michael Baludjansky, the Rusin teacher at St. Petersburg.

At the death of Bacinsky, his co-adjutor Michael Bradac (1808-1812) became the administrator of the diocese. Bradac who was not related to former Bishop John Bradacs, was never fully confirmed as bishop of the Rusin Uniates. This led to jurisdictional trouble with the Latin Catholics which was further compounded by the slow manner in approving his successor. The Uniates were without a bishop during the period 1812-1816. During the episcopacy of Alexis Povcij (1816-1831), this diocese underwent vast changes. The former vicariate of Presov was raised to an independent diocese on September 22, 1816; the Rumanian parishes of the diocese were placed under the jurisdiction of the Rumanian Bishop of Nagyvarad; and an orphanage for the children of priests was established. Following his death in 1831, the See was left vacant for six years and was administered by John Churgovich who, beside his clerical role was a Rusin writer. Churgovich is reputedly referred to as the "Rusin Plutarch."<sup>32</sup>

The episcopacy of Basil Popovic (1837-1864), was one of transformation and growth for the Uniates of Ruthenia. Popovic successfully bridged the animosities occasioned by the Revolution of 1848 and was able to keep the Church clear of political entanglements. During the Popovic administration, the diocese prospered materially. A great many stone churches were constructed, replacing the famous old wooden churches of Ruthenia; schools were built and the popularizing of education among the peasants was undertaken. The Rusin dialect

<sup>30</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>31</sup> James F. Clarke, "Serbia and the Bulgarian Revival (1762-1872)," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, IV, No. 10-11 (December 1945), 15.

<sup>32</sup> Hodinka, *Tortene*, pp. 552-560.

replaced Latin as the official language of the diocese, with all episcopal letters being written in the language of the people. With the establishment of the Uniate episcopal sees at Szamosujvar and Lugos in 1853, ninety-four more Rumanian parishes were removed from the jurisdiction of the diocese of Mukachevo.<sup>33</sup>

The Magyar oriented, Stephen Pankovic (1866-1874), succeeded Popovic and immediately began a program of Magyarization and Latinization of the diocese. During this period, the Austrian emperor had to grant concessions to the Hungarian elements, occasioned by Austrian losses sustained in the Italian War (1859) and the Seven Weeks War (1867). The Magyar element, now elevated to a position of equality in the Dual Monarchy, dealt harshly with the minorities under their rule. Pankovic supported this Hungarian policy by suppressing the pro-Russian weekly, *Svit* (The Light), and substituting in its place the *Novyj Svit* (New Light), with Victor Gebe as editor and later *Karpat* (Carpathian) with Nicholas Homisko as editor. Although Rusin writers, namely J. Silvay and B. Kimak, attempted to block the Magyarization of Ruthenia, Pankovic, with the support of the Hungarian government, was able to accomplish his purpose.<sup>34</sup>

During the Pankovic era, another concession given to the Magyarized Rusins was the establishment of the vicariate of Hajoudorog. The policy of Magyarization which resulted in the Rusin loss of identity worked so well that Emperor Franz Josef petitioned the papacy to raise the vicariate to a full fledged diocese. This was granted by Pope Pius X on June 8, 1912, and Haydudorg became the first Uniate Diocese which conducted the Divine Liturgy in the Hungarian language. It was followed with the appointment of an Apostolic Administrator at Miskole in 1923, and the erection of the Maramaros diocese on June 5, 1930.<sup>35</sup>

Following the death of Pankovic, the Rusin element was

<sup>33</sup> A. Hodinka, "Istorija Mukacevskoj jeparchii," *Golden Jubilee*, 229-230.

<sup>34</sup> Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, 32-33; Geba Homisko, Silvay and Kimak were all Uniate priests who contributed to the development of Rusin literature by their articles, poems, and books.

<sup>35</sup> J. Grigassy, *History of the Church of Christ*, (McKeesport, 1943) pp. 90-96; S. Gulovich, "The Ruthenian Tragedy," *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, XLVI, No. 8, (May, 1946), 576-577.

successful in securing the appointment of John P. Kovac (1874-1891) to the bishopric. He was primarily concerned with the problem of education in the diocese. Through his efforts the seminary at Uzhorod was enlarged and a school for girls was undertaken. In the religious realm, a diocesan general council (Jeparchialnyj Sobor) was conducted. It was during this period that the beginning of Rusin immigration to the United States took place.<sup>36</sup>

The quartet of bishops including Julius Fircak (1891-1912), Anthony Papp (1912-1923), Peter Gebej (1923-1928), and Alexander Stojka (1928-1945), was held in high esteem by the descendants of the Rusins in America. Bishop Fircak's accomplishments were the beginning of a diocesan school system and an attempt to raise the Rusin standard of living. He cooperated with Edward Egan, a Hungarian official of Irish ancestry who attempted to stamp out illiteracy, poverty and drunkenness.

Bishop Papp was confronted with the problem engendered by the First World War. The ravages of war left Ruthenia in a chaotic state. The material devastation was tremendous but it was remedied by international organizations and the Czechoslovakian Republic, which now governed Ruthenia. A far graver problem concerned the schism erupting in Ruthenia during the early 1920's. One out of four Uniates left the Catholic Church and became either members of the Orthodox Confession or members of a Protestant sect. In 1923, the Czechoslovak government because of Papp's pro-Hungarian attitude declared him a "persona non-grata," and he was forced to take up residence in Hungary.

Peter Gebej (1923-1928) was able to stop the schismatic movement in Ruthenia and attempted to reorganize the diocese. Two other significant accomplishments of his episcopacy was the uplifting of material and cultural well-being of the Ruthenian people, and the nomination of Basil Takach, as the first bishop for the American Ruthenians.

Stojka was faced with the problem of the re-incorporation of Ruthenia into Hungary which occurred in March, 1939. He, for the most part, supported the Hungarian program and was allowed to continue as Bishop of Mukachevo during the Hun-

<sup>36</sup> Hopko, *Greko-Katoliceskaja cerkov 1646-1946*, p. 43.

garian occupation. The American Rusins hold Stojka high in their affection because of his attempts to help mediate the celibacy struggle in America, and because his parents left their homeland to make a new life in the United States.<sup>37</sup>

## B. THE DIOCESE OF PRESOV

The need for a separate diocese was necessitated by the vast distances and poor communications along the Carpathian Mountains of Hungary. Conditions in the early nineteenth century made it impossible for the Bishop of the Mukachevo Diocese to administer the area in the Rusin counties of Slovakia. The Kosice subdivision of the Uniate diocese of Mukachevo, which included the counties of Spis, Gemer, Saris, Abauj-Torna, Borsod and Zemplin, was made into a new diocese. Because none of the vicars resided in Kosice, it was decided to make the city of Presov the diocesan center. As early as September 1806, Emperor Francis I established a monastery and a co-cathedral for the Greek Catholics in that city. The diocese was instituted in 1815 and was formally canonized on September 22, 1818.<sup>38</sup>

The Vicar of the Mukachevo diocese at Presov, Gregory Tarkovich (1818-1841), was named the first bishop of the new diocese. By nature Tarkovich was an ascetic, who entrusted the administration of the diocese to his secretary. The diocese was poor and in need of vast sums of money to meet the ordinary expenses of the Chancery. The Austrian emperor granted the new diocese a gift of 6,000 florins,<sup>39</sup> but this was insufficient to place the diocese on a firm foundation. Tarkovich had the Jesuit lands in Abauj and Saris counties placed under the jurisdiction of the Presov diocese, and in this manner placed the Presov diocese on a firm foundation.<sup>40</sup>

In the field of literature, Tarkovich led the way to a cultural revival among the Rusins in his diocese. Through the gift of 5,000 books by John Kovac, a former schoolteacher, and an

<sup>37</sup> Hodinka, "Istorija Mukacevskej jeparchii," p. 230; Slivka, *Eastern Rites of the Catholic Church*, pp. 65-70.

<sup>38</sup> Gulovich, "Ruthenian Tragedy," p. 576.

<sup>39</sup> A gold florin was then equivalent to forty cents in American money.

<sup>40</sup> B. Shereghy, "Istorija Prjasevskej eparchiji," *The Queen of Heaven*, XXIV, No. 11, (Oct.-Nov. 1950), 9-10.



annual sum that ranged from one hundred to five hundred florins, a library was started. Others contributed to the fund, the largest contributor being Ivan Lackovy, who in 1826 made a contribution of 3,000 florins. During the lifetime of Tarkovich, the library expanded from the original 5,000 to 12,000 volumes, the oldest dating back to the year 1472.<sup>41</sup>

The long episcopacy of Joseph Gaganec (1842-1875), witnessed material as well as spiritual growth in the diocese. New churches were constructed, as well as a new bishop's residence at Presov, together with the building of a school for the education of poor but promising boys. In his thirty-four year administration, Gaganec ordained 237 priests to staff the expanding number of churches in the diocese. Gaganec ruled the diocese during two critical periods. The first was during the revolution of Louis Kossuth, in which he favored the Austrian Habsburgs. The second was during the formation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, in which he alienated the Magyar rulers by his opposition to this compromise.

With the death of Gaganec, Dr. Nicholas Toth (1876-1882) was named to the Bishopric of Presov. He was against the Magyarization of the area which took place after the formation of the Dual Monarchy. He resisted the efforts of the Hungarian oriented Rusins who sought to use the Magyar language in the Divine Liturgy. To stop the inroads made by the Hungarian he attempted to have the schools in his area teach the Old Slavonic language and in order to provide for a more plentiful supply of priests, he organized a seminary at Presov in 1880.

His successor, John Valij (1882-1911), became so involved in the spiritual realm of the diocese that he neglected the political sphere. He was the first of the Rusin bishops to aid the immigrants in America. He sent Uniate clergy to the United States and actively supported the American Rusins in their program to secure a bishop for the Church in the New World. The program in his diocese stressed the construction of schools and aid for the poor, orphans and widows.

The advent of the World War and its changes upon Carpatho-Ruthenia prevented Stephen Novak (1914-1919), from making any significant contributions to the diocese. His Mag-

<sup>41</sup>A. Hodinka, "Istorija Prjasevskoj Jeparhii," *Golden Jubilee*, 236-238.

yar orientation led to disputes with the Czech government which led to his exile. He left Presov for Budapest and was relieved of episcopal jurisdiction by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1920.<sup>42</sup>

During the period 1922-1927, Dionisij Naradij was named as apostolic administrator. On February 20, 1927, Paul Gojdic (1927-1960) was appointed the last Greek Catholic Bishop of Presov. He guided the diocese during the Munich Crisis, the Second World War and the "return to normalcy" following the conflict. This "normalcy" included the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia.<sup>43</sup> During his first three years as bishop, Gojdic was faced with a schismatic movement that broke out among the Rusin Uniates.

A Russian Orthodox monk of Poschev in Poland, John Vitaly, became the leading exponent of the Orthodox Confession in Carpatho-Ruthenia. In 1920, Vitaly migrated to Slovakia and founded a monastery and book publishing house. He was able to capitalize on a number of developments that transpired in the Carpathian area following the war. The fear of the Latinization of the Uniate dioceses was once again feared by the Rusins. This coupled with the Czech policy of favoring the Slovak groups spread fear among the people. Also of significant note was the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Prague regime which made Carpatho-Ruthenia a prime area for Orthodox Missionary activity. All these factors aided Vitaly who by 1923, was able to secure the adherence to the Orthodox Church of seventy villages and over 100,000 former Uniates. The Uniate clergy indirectly aided Vitaly, through their inability to identify themselves with the needs and desires of the Rusin peasants. Thus, the Orthodox religion was looked upon as the religion of the true Ruthenian. To counter the militant Orthodox program, Gojdic resorted to a plan of education for both the clergy and laymen of the diocese. He further provided for the upgrading of the life of the clergy and the building of monasteries and convents throughout the diocese. Through this program of education and the attempted identification of the Uniate clergy with the peasant population, both culturally and socially, the schism was mended to a

<sup>42</sup>Shereghy, "Istorija Prjasevskoj eparchiji," pp. 11-14.

<sup>43</sup>Bishop Gojdic Reported Dead," *Byzantine Catholic World*, V, No. 34 (August 31, 1960), 1.



considerable extent, but it did leave a deep wound upon the Uniate Church.<sup>44</sup>

The Uniate Church, despite opposition by both the Latin Catholics and Orthodox religion, was the largest group in Carpatho-Ruthenia prior to the communist take-over in 1945. The almost three hundred year history of the Uniate Church among the Rusins experienced both successes and setbacks. The long struggle for the erection of a separate jurisdiction for the Uniates was finally crowned with success by the establishment of the eparchy of Mukachevo. This eparchy in turn became the mother diocese for Presov, Haydudorg, Maramaros, and the Apostolic Administrative unit of Miskolce in Europe, together with that of the Pittsburgh Exarchate of the Byzantine Rite. The number of Uniates in the pre-World War II period who traced their origins to the Union of Uzhorod were in excess of one million people. The year 1929 was the last year of peace among the Uniates. That year marked the beginning of the schism in the United States, which occurred as a result of the Papal publication of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree. This resulted in a great loss of American Uniates to other religions. The 1940's which saw a restoration of order within the Byzantine Church in America, was one of disaster for the Uniates in Europe. As a result of the Second World War both Galicia and Carpatho-Ruthenia were incorporated into the Soviet Union with the subsequent total collapse of the Uniate Church in those territories. This did not result in a complete destruction of the Uniate Church, for in the United States and other parts of the Western Hemisphere the church has continued to function.

<sup>44</sup>Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East*, I, 95.

## V. THE ROOTS OF RUSIN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The political activity of the people of Ruthenia, prior to the First World War, was practically non-existent. There were several notable exceptions to this statement, as evidenced by the Rusin participation in the campaigns of Francis Rakoczy and in the Revolution of 1848. For the most part, these wars of liberation were neither Rusin led nor did they have as their goal the independence or autonomy of Carpatho-Ruthenia. This lack of Rusin leadership was due primarily to the complete domination of Carpatho-Ruthenia by the Magyars who monopolized the political agencies of the territory, and secondarily to the illiteracy and backwardness of the Rusins who were denied social and economic opportunities.<sup>1</sup> This oppressive Magyar policy created a Rusin cultural lag and kept the people ignorant of the revolutionary principles of nationalism and equality of man, which swept through Central Europe in the early nineteenth centuries. Despite the oppressive policies of their rulers, the Rusin people remained loyal to their Magyar rulers until the downfall of the Habsburg Empire.

The Union, which had its beginning in 1646, had profound national effects as well as those of religious connotations. The Rusin people, having achieved a degree of religious unity, began a slow process of attaining cultural and national autonomy. In the secular realm, this feeling of oneness was more difficult to attain and effect because of the Magyar oriented nobility in Ruthenia. For the most part, the princes of Transylvania also controlled the territory along the Carpathian Mountains. In the triangular struggle for control of Hungary, among the Austrians, Ottoman-Turk and Transylvania factions, the territory of Ruthenia was allied with the Magyar rulers of Transylvania.<sup>2</sup>

From the time of Stephen Bocskay (1604-1606), the Rusins undertook to support their Magyar overlord even

<sup>1</sup>Peter F. Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," *The Slavic Review*, XXII (March 1963), 16.

<sup>2</sup>Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire, Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918* (New York, 1950), I, 125-132.

though the nobility began the introduction of the dogma of the Calvinistic religion in Ruthenia. This policy was continued by the successors of Bocskay, notably by Bethlen Gabor (Gabriel Bethlen) (1613-1629), and George Rakoczy I (1630-1648). The latter took advantage of the growing weakness of the Turkish state to secure a large measure of autonomy for Transylvania and his possession of Ruthenia. This sudden burst of glory and power were short lived, for in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the greatness of Transylvania underwent a marked decline. The ambitious dynastic policy of George Rakoczy II (1648-1660), who desired to become King of Poland, led to further wars with the Turks, which resulted in his abdication.<sup>3</sup>

The Habsburgs, following victories over the Turkish forces at Vienna (1683), Buda (1687), and Mohacs (1687), became the dominant force in central Europe. By the peace treaty of Karlowitz (January 26, 1699), the Habsburgs annexed all of Transylvania including Carpatho-Ruthenia, except for the region of the Banat of Temesvar.<sup>4</sup> In this period of strife, the Rusins were drawn into the culture of western nations, as contrasted to an earlier period when the area was isolated along the periphery. These influences were brought to Carpatho-Ruthenia by the various European armies who were fighting the Crusade against the Turks in Hungary.<sup>5</sup>

The political situation in Carpatho-Ruthenia during this period proved disastrous for the Rusin peasants. The Habsburg monarchs adopted an anti-Slav policy toward their Ruthenian possessions. Although the economic lot of the peasants did not materially decrease under Austrian rule, this anti-Slav policy of the Habsburgs alienated the people of Ruthenia. The people, who lost contact with their ethnic origins, identified themselves with the policy of the Magyars which was essentially anti-Habsburg. This pro-Magyar sentiment was largely due to the clergy who were oriented along the lines of Hungarian culture and society.<sup>6</sup>

With the downfall of George Rakoczy II, the territories of

<sup>3</sup>Manning, *The Story of the Ukraine*, pp. 179-182.

<sup>4</sup>Halecki, *Borderlands*, pp. 219-223.

<sup>5</sup>Arthur P. Coloman and George C. Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," 263.

<sup>6</sup>E.O.S., *Hungary, and Its Revolutions* (London, 1854), pp. 161-172.

Transylvania and Ruthenia were no longer united. The Rusins were to be governed by Sophia Bathory (1660-1680), the widow of George Rakoczy II, while Transylvania was under the administration of Michael Apaffy. The Habsburg rulers levied oppressive taxes which resulted in the complete insolvency of both regions. The peasants were faced with two harsh alternatives. Either they could pay the taxes, which would subject the peasants to a process of gradual starvation, or they could refuse to pay the levies, which would result in the ultimate loss of their property and/or prison. Coupled with the intolerable state of affairs was the Austrian system of military conscription. This "draft" placed the able bodied peasants at a complete disadvantage with other groups of the Habsburg Empire. Because of the high rate of illiteracy, the Rusins could not expect to advance to that of a non-commissioned officer. Promoting a Rusin to a higher rank was so rare that it was almost unheard of during the two centuries of Habsburg rule. In the main, the Ruthenians were subject to the most humiliating and servile tasks of the Austrian military establishment.<sup>7</sup>

In the light of the events of the seventeenth century, the complaints of the Rusin people seem justifiable. Taxes were high, educational opportunities were limited, the Orthodox clergy were denied any rights or privileges, their bishops were subjected to indignities and persecutions; and the people were barely able to eke out a sustenance living. Finally, whatever prosperity the area enjoyed was destroyed by the downfall of George Rakoczy II, in 1657. Ruthenia was dealt with severely by the new Habsburg rulers thus completing the economic ruin of the area.<sup>8</sup>

The Magyar domination of Carpatho-Ruthenia hindered the development of nationalism among the Rusin peasants. The struggle for control of Hungary between the Habsburgs and the Rakoczy family overshadowed affairs in the Rusin homeland during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, it must not be forgotten that the Rakoczys who were

<sup>7</sup>Michael Roman, "With Francis Rakoczy," *Greek Catholic Calendar*, 1957, (Munhall, 1957), 75.

<sup>8</sup>Hans Kohn, *Nationalism Its Meaning and History*, (New York, 1955), p. 528 and Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 263.

princes of Transylvania had the center of their estate in Carpatho-Ruthenia. This estate in Rusin territory encompassed approximately 1,500,000 acres and was the core of the Rakoczy economic and political power.<sup>9</sup> The Rusin peasants who for the most part were illiterate, ignorant and financially dependent upon their landlords, lacked adequate leadership. Those Rusins who had some semblance of an education identified themselves with the Magyar rulers and by so doing prevented a Rusin nationalism from developing. Instead, the people of Carpatho-Ruthenia continued to identify themselves with the Magyar rulers. This situation which prevailed until the mid-nineteenth century, came to an end as a result of the Revolutions of 1848.

The lack of a Rusin nationalism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was replaced by a thoroughly blind allegiance to their Magyar landlords. The Rusin peasants were sympathetic to the Rakoczy leadership of Hungary and fought alongside the Magyars against the Habsburg claim to the throne of St. Stephen. Although the Rusins were not active leaders of the movement, they contributed to its development. The loyalty to the Magyars was manifest as early as 1662, when the Rusins fought against the Austrian advance into Carpatho-Ruthenia and Transylvania. The campaign was under the leadership of the Italian general Montecuculi, and had as its major objective, the stamping out of the Protestant doctrine in the region. By 1668, Peter Zrinyi, Francis Rakoczy I (who had married Helena Zrinyi), Count Frangipani, and Michael Apaffy, had begun one of the frequent rebellions against the Austrian emperor. Zrinyi and Frangipani were seized, imprisoned and executed, while Rakoczy was pardoned on condition of swearing allegiance to Leopold I and paying a large war indemnity.<sup>10</sup>

Rather than alleviate the religious conditions that led to the revolt, Leopold in 1683, further aggravated the condition. Protestant churches were closed, many ministers were sent to prison, and the members were persecuted. Apaffy organized another revolt, but it was easily crushed by Austrian troops. This led to guerilla activity on the part of the peasants, who

<sup>9</sup>Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," pp. 16-17.

<sup>10</sup>D. Sinor, *History of Hungary*, (New York, 1959), pp. 218-224.

organized into roaming bands called the Kuruc. Although they were of no practical military value, they continued the struggle against the Austrians, who were involved in a war with Louis XIV of France. The Kuruc, in 1676, launched a campaign under Imre Thokoly against Imperial authority. By 1681, the Austrian emperor desired peace, but Thokoly desired the control of not only Carpatho-Ruthenia and Transylvania but also all of Hungary.<sup>11</sup>

With the death of Francis Rakoczy I, Thokoly desired to marry his widow Helena Zrinyi, who in 1680 had inherited the Carpatho-Ruthenia territory. After making an alliance with the Turks and Apaffy, he renewed hostilities against Austria, capturing Buda in 1682. The following year, the combined armies moved against the Austrian capital of Vienna. The city held out until the timely arrival and relief of the city by John Sobieski, the king of Poland. This was the high water mark of Turkish expansion into southern and central Europe.

Thokoly was forced to flee while Michael Apaffy concluded a treaty of peace with Leopold. Helena Zrinyi made a stand at Mukachevo which she defended with the aid of the Rusins against the Austrians until 1688. The region around Mukachevo was under the military control of Count Caraffa, who proceeded to punish the people for the ill advised rebellion. At Presov, he built a scaffold for the execution of those traitors who participated in the revolt. The emperor was forced to remove Caraffa, not because of the complaints of the Rusins, but because of the petitions of the loyal Magyar nobles led by Peter Esterhazy.

With the death of Apaffy, Transylvania was without a ruling family. The Turks appointed Thokoly prince of Transylvania in June 1690, but were forced out of the area in the following year. In the meantime, Thokoly's wife and two children were sent to Vienna. Francis was to be educated by Jesuit missionaries while his sister was sent to an Ursuline convent.

Another revolt broke out in the Carpathian Highlands, during the summer of 1697, which was led by Francis Tokaji. The Rusins who participated in the revolt met success in the attacks against the fortified castles at Saris and Tokay. This

<sup>11</sup>Sinor, *History of Hungary*, pp. 224-228.

early bloom of victory was soon dispelled by the appearance of Count Shleen and the Austrian calvary. The peasants, who were armed with spears, scythes and pitchforks, were no match for the Austrian regulars. In September 1697, the city of Mukachevo capitulated, and with its fall the rebellion came to an end. This rebellion was quickly quelled but the ingredients for a future revolt were still present, merely lying dormant, awaiting the arrival of a new leader. This personage was to be Francis Rakoczy II, who began the revolt in 1703, an uprising that was to consume eight years before peace was restored.<sup>12</sup>

Of significance for this study, is the aid given Rakoczy by the Rusins. These people were oppressed by both the Austrians and Hungarians, but because their "intelligentsia" was Magyar oriented, they fought for the liberation of Hungary. Whether Rakoczy would have granted the Rusins reform is a matter open to speculation, however the Rusins had been granted freedom of religion. This was of great value to the Orthodox of Maramaros County as well as for the Uniates whose rite was on par with that of the Latin Church. This, in itself at the time, was of sufficient merit for the Rusin people to adopt the Rakoczy cause as their own.

Francis was born on March 27, 1676, the son of Francis Rakoczy I and Helena Zrinyi. Both families were opposed to Habsburg rule and participated in the Weelenyi Conspiracy, which was one of the first anti-Habsburg conspiracies of the seventeenth century. When Francis was only an infant, his father died and Helen Zrinyi married Imre Thokoly. After the fall of Mukachevo, Francis was entrusted to the care of Cardinal Leopold Kollonich, who attempted to alienate the boy from Magyar sympathies and to attach him to the Habsburg dynasty. At the age of sixteen, he was allowed to return to his Ruthenian estate.<sup>13</sup>

During his first years as the ruler at Mukachevo, he conducted himself in accordance with the dictates of the Habsburg rulers. Although the people looked to him as their leader, he remained aloof, refusing to participate in the Tokaji rebellion. To avoid suspicion, Rakoczy returned to Vienna and did not come back until 1698. Upon his return, he reorganized

<sup>12</sup> A. J. May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, pp. 75-102.

<sup>13</sup> Halecki, *Borderlands*, pp. 229-254.

his estates and attempted to alleviate the depressed conditions of the peasants.<sup>14</sup>

Through the efforts of Nicholas Bercsenyi, Rakoczy was drawn into the struggle for Magyar independence. In 1700, while in Vienna, he wrote to the French king requesting aid in case of war against Austria. Louis XIV's Minister of War reply was intercepted by the Austrian secret police. Francis was forced to flee Mukachevo, while his lands were declared forfeit to the crown. His advisor, Bercsenyi who was governor of Uzhorod, was able to elude the Austrian police but Rakoczy was not so fortunate, being captured on April 28, 1700. He was sentenced at Presov to a long prison term at Wienerneustadt, which was in lower Austria. After serving eighteen months, Rakoczy made his escape on November 6, 1701, and made his way into Poland. There he was joined by Bercsenyi, and together they plotted the liberation of their homeland.<sup>15</sup>

The conditions necessary for a revolt were present. All strata of society were represented; the nobility, the clergy, and the Kuruc as well as the Rusin peasants desired an alleviation of the conditions prevalent in Ruthenia and other parts of Hungary. Several appeals were made to Rakoczy, ranging from the petition of Thomas Esze, who represented the peasants, to that of Michael Papp and Basil Biche, who were clergymen. Rakoczy hesitated and delayed giving a positive answer pending the return of observers who were sent to the Mukachevo area to ascertain the feelings of the people. In the meantime, Rakoczy attempted to enlist the help of both France and Poland, but this was fruitless. Receiving a favorable reply from his observer, Rakoczy assured the emissaries that he would take the lead against the Austrians. As a token of his good faith, he sent several banners to the Rusin people. The rebellion was premature, and before Rakoczy returned to Ruthenia, the people had already begun their revolt, but again, the Rusin force was defeated. Near the town of Dolho, a peasant army numbering eight thousand peasant soldiers was massacred by the Austrians. Only two thousand of the original deployment of men remained.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> D. Sinor, "The Rakoczi Rebellion," in *History of Hungary*, 218-228.

<sup>15</sup> Halecki, *Borderlands*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>16</sup> Roman, "With Francis Rakoczy," p. 79.

On May 7, 1703, Rakoczy issued his Manifesto, stating the reasons for the revolt and the freedoms that would be granted if their cause was victorious. The manifesto was well received and many flocked to the Rakoczy banner. A large number of Rusins was recruited but this army was routed by an Austrian army led by Count Alexander Karolyi. Rakoczy, on June 14, 1703 arrived in Carpatho-Ruthenia and was dismayed by the remnants of the army which numbered less than 500 men. There was great rejoicing in Vienna following this victory. The Austrian general staff felt sure that the revolt was crushed. This exuberance was a bit premature, for by November, over thirty thousand men had rallied behind Rakoczy. Many towns fell to the conquering Hungarian hero and his motto, "Recrudescent vulnera inclytae gentre Hungarie," caused many nobles to join his cause. The greatest moral victory scored by the insurgents was the arrival of Count Karolyi, the former foe of the rebellion.<sup>17</sup>

At the peak of his success, Rakoczy's army numbered near seventy-five thousand men. These troops were not disciplined and a great majority of them were illiterate Rusin peasants. Nevertheless, this motley collection of individuals was able to win engagements against the Austrians, but never were they able to score a decisive triumph. Rakoczy, who was the symbol of the Hungarian revolt, was not a military genius and he committed several tactical blunders. Even with these shortcomings, the battle for the liberation of Hungary continued for a period of eight years. The high level mark for Rakoczy's followers occurred in 1706. In that year, they had control over Transylvania, Ruthenia and several other parts of the Hungarian territory. This crest was short lived for the tide of Rakoczy's success began to ebb and quickly disappear. By 1707, the area of Transylvania was reconquered by imperial troops. The loss of his more capable lieutenants, the desertion of his troops, and the ravages of the black death which struck his army in 1708, all contributed to the eventual destruction of his military forces and the loss of his campaign to liberate Hungary. The war came to a close at the Battle of Trencin, where Rakoczy's army, which was composed mostly of Rusin peasants, was soundly defeated. Peace was restored on May 1,

<sup>17</sup>C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors, The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919-1937*, (London, 1937), pp. 199-201.

1711. Rakoczy was forced to flee and he died in exile during the year 1735.<sup>18</sup>

The suppression of Rakoczy's revolt brought political and social benefits to the Rusin people. The Magyar landlords of Carpatho-Ruthenia forfeited their estates to the victorious Austrian ruler and for a period of seventeen years (1711-1728) the territory came under the direct control of the Habsburg family.<sup>19</sup> Direct Austrian control came to an end with the deeding of the territory to the Schonborn family in 1728. Unlike the Rakoczy family whose possessions also included Transylvania, the Schonborn landlords (1728-1918), were to control only the territory of Carpatho-Ruthenia.<sup>20</sup> The Habsburg policy of curtailing the authority of the Magyar rulers, which was begun by the Austrian archduke Charles VI (1711-1740), was intensified during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and her son Joseph II (1780-1790).<sup>21</sup> Empress Maria Theresa became interested in the Rusin people; she decided to improve the conditions of the Uniate clergy,<sup>22</sup> and opened schools in Carpatho-Ruthenia which used the "local language" for instruction.<sup>23</sup> It was largely through her efforts that the first Uniate eparchy was founded in Carpatho-Ruthenia.

The eighteenth century was a period of growth and consolidation for the Habsburg empire. It was also a period of conflict which marked the succession of Maria Theresa to the rule of Austria. The Rusin people<sup>24</sup> were not directly involved in either the diplomatic or military aspects that were taking place. Indirectly, the territory of Carpatho-Ruthenia became a party to the Pragmatic Sanction when it was approved by

<sup>18</sup>Sinor, *History of Hungary*, pp. 221-228; Peter Zeedick, "Korotkij istorijii," *Golden Jubilee*, 284-285; Roman, "With Francis Rakoczy," p. 79.

<sup>19</sup>Lacko, *Union Uzhorodensis*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>20</sup>Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," pp. 16-17.

<sup>21</sup>Joseph II succeeded his father Francis I (1745-1765) as Holy Roman Emperor and co-ruler of Austria in 1765.

<sup>22</sup>Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, p. 433.

<sup>23</sup>Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, p. 470.

<sup>24</sup>The imperial title which contained the various areas under Habsburg rule, does not mention the area of Carpatho-Ruthenia.

Transylvania and Hungary in 1722-1723.<sup>25</sup> The refusal to abide by the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction by Frederick II of Prussia, plunged Central Europe into the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War but neither war involved Rusin participation.<sup>26</sup>

Of greater significance to the people of Carpatho-Ruthenia was the first partition of Poland which occurred in 1772. The Austrian empress annexed the western Ukrainian territories of Belz and parts of Podolia, Volynia and Kholm, which had belonged to the former kingdom of Galicia-Volynia, claiming that these territories had at one time been under the control of the Hungarian kingdom. However, after annexing the territory, Empress Maria Theresa placed the whole area under Austrian rule rather than Magyar control. In 1774 she seized a part of northern Moldavia<sup>27</sup> from the Turks. This area included Chernivtsi, Seret, and Suchave—which make up the territory of Bukovina. Although Galicia and Bukovina contained people of the same ethnic stock as the Rusin and who professed similar religious beliefs, nevertheless the areas experienced a different political and cultural evolution. Carpatho-Ruthenia was to remain a backward province ruled by the Magyars while Galicia and Bukovina which were under Austrian control, led the way for a Ukrainian cultural revival.<sup>28</sup>

During this critical period the Rusin people were content to live their lives much the same as their forefathers did before them, making few advances and remaining loyal to their religious beliefs. Although the world around them was experiencing many radical changes, the life in Ruthenia was basically unchanged. The impact of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Era and the Revolution of 1830 were hardly felt in Carpatho-Ruthenia. However, the legacy of Napoleon which

<sup>25</sup>Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," pp. 3-4.

<sup>26</sup>Halecki, *Borderlands*, pp. 242-257.

<sup>27</sup>This was made possible by the Russo-Turkish war which was concluded in 1774 by the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji.

<sup>28</sup>Hruchevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 462-466. Of the three partitions, Austria participated in two while Prussia and Russia were involved in all three. For an excellent account see: W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Penson, O. Halecki and R. Dyboski (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Poland*, II, (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 88-177.

was the genesis of modern nationalism began to stir the people of the Carpathians.<sup>29</sup> The first manifestations of this new Pan-Slav Nationalism was not felt in Carpatho-Ruthenia but primarily involved the western Slav (Czechs and Slovaks), and the southern Slav (Croats and Serbs) groups.<sup>30</sup>

The national consciousness of the Rusin peasants was slowly being kindled. This was not an easy task for many factors hindered the awakening of Rusin nationalism. There never was a Carpatho-Ruthenian independent state;<sup>31</sup> the Rusin peasant was still in a state of illiteracy; he had a difficult time to grow enough food to sustain himself and his family; and he was completely dominated by the Magyar landlord.<sup>32</sup>

Prior to the First World War, this part of the Habsburg realm was completely dominated by the Magyar element of the Dual Monarchy. The people being largely illiterate and having few contacts with the outside world, did not develop any great degree of national consciousness until the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848.<sup>33</sup> Prior to the revolution, the Rusins were docile followers of their Magyar rulers. The complete adherence of the Rusins to their landlords was demonstrated during the rebellion of Francis Rakoczy. It was during this struggle that the Rusins received the title of "Gens Fidelissima" or "most faithful people," from their Magyar ruler.<sup>34</sup>

The year 1848, marks a new period in the development of Rusin nationalism. In this difficult period the Slavs of the empire were in a very favorable position, for both the Austrian and Hungarian factions were striving to gain their good will and support. Since the Austrian and Hungarian fortunes were in the balance, the Rusins were able to gain important privileges by playing off the Magyars against the Habsburgs and vice versa. One of the special concessions granted the Carpatho-Ruthenia people was the use of the Rusin language by both the Orthodox and Uniate clergy.

<sup>29</sup>Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism Its History and Ideology* (Notre Dame, 1953), pp. 62-63.

<sup>30</sup>Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, pp. 11-60.

<sup>31</sup>Hruchevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 427-429.

<sup>32</sup>Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," pp. 16-17.

<sup>33</sup>J. B. Heisler and J. E. Mellon, *Under the Carpathians, Home of a Forgotten People* (London, 1946), pp. 110-114.

<sup>34</sup>Zeedick, "Korotkij ocerk," p. 285.

The outbreak of the Revolution of 1848 in France spread throughout western and central Europe. The barricades that the Paris Commune erected were duplicated in other areas of the continent. The Habsburg possessions did not escape the effect of this revolutionary spirit, for all the non-Germanic groups of the realm became infused with a nationalistic fervor. The year 1848 saw the organization of Magyar, Czech, Slovak, and Ruthenian societies clamoring for independence. In the forefront of this revolutionary activity were the pro-Magyar groups.

The Habsburg possessions were composed of a great many different national groups, none of which comprised a majority of the people. It is an erroneous assumption to consider the Slavs a minority group within the Habsburg dominion. Not the German nor the Magyar but the Slav faction was the most populous group within the empire. Whereas, the Croatian group sought the overthrow of Hungarian as well as Austrian domination, the Ruthenians were content to remain alongside their Magyar rulers during the revolutionary struggle. It was still too early to detect strains of real nationalism in the Ruthenian character. On March 3, Louis Kossuth made an anti-Austrian speech which demanded responsible government for all parts of Austria. Kossuth was the leader of the radical Magyar group, while Count Stephen Szechenyi was the spokesman for the moderate group. Between these two extremes was the faction, headed by Francis Deak, whose party wanted autonomy and parliamentary reform. By March 15, Hungary received her autonomous status and for all practical purposes was independent. This was the height of the revolutionary gains, but the Slavs, including the Rusins, failed to gain any recognition or privileges. They were keenly disappointed with the position granted Hungary and now wished to get themselves free of all Magyar domination.<sup>35</sup>

At the city of Prague, in early 1848, a Pan-Slavic Congress took place. The delegates were mostly Czech and they chose one of their own, Francis Palacky, as president. It proclaimed the solidarity of the Slavic people, but stressed also, the equality of all people in the Austrian Empire.<sup>36</sup> At this first Pan-Slavic Congress, the Ruthenians were in attendance. Their

<sup>35</sup> Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, I, 117-128.

<sup>36</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, pp. 61-83.

delegation was headed by Adolph Ivanovich Dobryansky who wanted all the Ruthenian counties of Hungary placed in a single unit possessing autonomy and free linguistic development.<sup>37</sup>

The revolutions in the Austrian Empire, which began with a great flourish of success, had an equally startling and disastrous climax. The Austrian forces under Prince Windischgratz, Baron Jellachich and General Radetzky, began their counter-offensive. In June 1849, Tsar Nicholas I of Russia, placed a Russian Army of one hundred thousand men, commanded by General Paskievich, at the disposal of the new Austrian Emperor, Franz Josef I. The campaign against Hungary consisted of a two pronged offensive. The Russians invaded from the North while an Austrian army, led by General Raynau, moved in from the West. To further complicate the defensive position of the Hungarians, revolts broke out among the Serbs, who inhabited the southern part of Hungary, and by the Rumanians in Transylvania. The Hungarians were decisively defeated at the battle of Temesvar and the revolt came to an end.<sup>38</sup>

The appearance of the Russian Army was a significant event for the people of Ruthenia. There arose a strong Rusophil sentiment among the Rusin peasants, who believed that the Russians were of the same stock as the inhabitants of Podcarpathian Rus. The people were particularly impressed by the Russian military and political power. The Rusins felt a certain kinship toward their big brothers, the Russians. To halt the rising nationalism, not only in Ruthenia, but in all other non-German parts of the empire, a vigorous policy of Germanization was launched by the Austrian Minister of the Interior, Alexander Bach. Hungary lost its historic identity and was divided into five administrative provinces, directly responsible to Vienna. One of these areas comprised the Ruthenian district. This area included the Rusin counties of Uzhorod, Bereg, Ugoca, and Maramaros. It was to be administered by Adolph I. Dobryansky.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs, and Slovaks," pp. 619-620.

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed, interesting colorful and impartial survey of the Hungarian revolutionary movement see Priscilla Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History* (Princeton, 1952).

<sup>39</sup> Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," *Slavonic Review*, XIII (1934-1935), 620.



Ruthenia had never before had its national ambitions so stirred. Unlike the Rakoczy rebellion of the previous century, the Rusins began to think of themselves as Slav people rather than as serfs of the Magyars. In the whole period 1848-1866, the Rusin "intelligentsia" entertained high hopes of autonomy for Ruthenia. In this respect, they were encouraged by Vienna, who used the Rusins in order to irritate the Magyars. A delegation of Rusins, led by Dobryansky, and including Michael Visanika, Vincent Aleksevica and the Reverends John Soltisa, Victor Dobrjansko, and Alexander Janicki, was sent to Vienna to plead the cause of Ruthenian autonomy. Six reforms, that the delegation presented to the imperial authorities are worth noting:<sup>40</sup>

1. The Ruthenian district was to have autonomy.
2. Ethnographic borders should be established for the purpose of delimiting administrative responsibility and power.
3. Within the Ruthenian district, a system of compulsory education should be established. Beside primary schools, Gymnasium, Academy and University training sites should be founded.
4. All non-Ruthenian administrators within the district should be replaced by Rusins.
5. The central government was to encourage the foundation of Rusin journalism.
6. The army within Ruthenia was to be composed of and officered by inhabitants of the region.

The creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867 brought to an end the Rusin dream of equality within the empire. The people of Ruthenia, as well as the other Slavs, realized at last, that neither Vienna nor Moscow would deliver them from foreign domination. This had to be accomplished by their own efforts. It was a formidable task, which required the education of an illiterate, backward people before any great progress could be expected. In Ruthenia the leaders of the social and political sphere were in the main the Uniate clergy. These priests were Magyar oriented, and therefore, against Ru-

<sup>40</sup> Zeedick, "Korotkij ocerk," pp. 288-291.

thenian autonomy. Occasionally, a lay person such as Dobryansky, would arise and lead the people, but this was an exception rather than the rule. In order to overcome this lack of competent, educated non-clerical leaders, a revival of the Rusin language, customs and culture was instituted in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Led by Dobryansky and others such as Alexander Dukhnovich, who was a leading literary figure in Ruthenia, and Ivan Rakovsky, who began the program for the education of the masses, a revival took place. The greatest change was the awakening of the national feeling of the Rusins. This national consciousness, that many of these people brought over to the United States during the period of their immigration, was instrumental in the creation of the autonomous state of Carpatho-Ruthenia following World War I. It was created by the efforts of their leaders, together with the formation of Rusin culture, which was transmitted through the literary and cultural outlets in Ruthenia.

## VI. THE FORMATION OF A RUSIN CULTURE AND LITERATURE

The Revolution of 1848 helped awaken the dormant Rusin national consciousness. It also served as a stimulus in developing the cultural and artistic life of Ruthenia. Various factors hindered the artistic attainment of the people. Ruthenia was probably more underdeveloped politically, socially, nationally and culturally than any other area of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>1</sup> The population was small, never exceeding three-quarters of a million. Ruthenia also served as a buffer zone, and as such, suffered from the devastation of the invaders. The mountainous areas of the Carpathians was not conducive to extensive agricultural development, while the lack of mineral deposits and the almost complete absence of industry kept the Ruthenian people on the verge of starvation. Poverty does not stimulate artistic nor literary attainment. Being a subject people of the Hungarians and later of the Austrian monarchy, the Rusins were not presented with the opportunity to develop their culture.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Rusins adhered to the Orthodox faith, which was a minority religion in the Habsburg realm. The clergy, who were practically the only educated group, became Magyarized and therefore did not play an active role in the national policy of the people. The Hungarian Magyar rulers wanted to assimilate the people by forcing their language upon the Rusins and preventing the development of extensive cultural or nationalistic undertakings. The Magyars passed legislation which impeded the minority groups under their rule from developing either educationally, politically or economically.<sup>2</sup>

The Carpatho-Ruthenian region was the most western habitant of the Eastern Slav people. The Slavic Ulichians and the Tivercian tribes, who took refuge in the Carpathians, are the

<sup>1</sup>Manning, *A Story of the Ukraine*, pp. 264-265.

<sup>2</sup>R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Racial Minorities in Hungary and Czechoslovakia*, (Prague, 1922), pp. 1-17. Contains the Magyarization laws in Appendix III, 37-41.

ancestors of the modern inhabitants of this region.<sup>3</sup> If according to the *Primary Chronicle*, the Eastern Slav people possessed a common language, the Old Slavonic, it is entirely conceivable that the Rusin people because of geographical isolation, still use the primitive Slav language. However, the language of the Divine Liturgy, which is referred to as the Old Church Slavic was based on the Bulgarian language of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup>

The Rusin people, as a result of their isolation from the other Slav people and the Magyar occupation, developed a separate Rusin language and literature. The combination of the people's inability to identify themselves with either the Russian or the Ukrainian literary circles and the Magyarization of the clergy and Rusin "intellegentsia," resulted in the unique development of Rusin literature and language.<sup>5</sup> The language in Carpatho-Ruthenia had undergone very few modifications throughout the centuries. Very few non-Slav words had been added, and although the Carpatho-Ruthenian region had been scarcely touched by the Ukrainian revival of the nineteenth century, strides were made to uplift the cultural activities of the people.

A neglected area of Slavic Studies is that of the Carpatho-Ruthenia. There are no books devoted to the treatment of the Rusin culture and where the subject is treated, the language is discussed as being Ukrainian. That there is a close resemblance cannot be disputed, however, those Ruthenians emigrating from Galicia spoke a dialect of the Ukrainian language more closely resembling the Polish language than that of the Rusin region. The erection of separate Uniate Churches in the United States, for the newly arrival immigrants from Carpatho-Ruthenia and Galicia, bears out the marked linguis-

<sup>3</sup>Samuel H. Cross, *Slavic Civilization Through the Ages* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 41-48. A detailed account of the various Slavic migrations can be seen in Samuel H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, 1930).

<sup>4</sup>Alfred Senn, "Slavic Linguistics," in Leonid I. Strakhovsky *A Handbook of Slavic Studies* (Cambridge, 1949), 44-62. The territory between the river Tisza and the Carpathian Mountains belonged to The First Bulgarian empire. This area included Carpatho-Ruthenia, see Dvornik, *The Slavs*, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup>Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," pp. 11-17.

tic differences. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the development of a Rusin literary language took place during the episcopacy of Andrew Bacinsky (1772-1809).<sup>6</sup>

The isolation of the Rusin people, geographically and politically resulted in the unusual cultural development of the region.<sup>7</sup> The Magyar rulers attempted to keep the Rusins illiterate and ignorant as opposed to the Austrian policy of permitting a cultural awakening in Galicia and Bukovina. Carpatho-Ruthenia which "was centuries behind even the other Ruthenians north of the mountains,"<sup>8</sup> nevertheless developed a literary tradition. Although these factors hampered the development of cultural accomplishment, they were unable to prevent the beginnings of a Rusin intellectual awakening. Although their cultural undertaking cannot compare in quality or quantity to that of the Ukrainian or other Slavic group, the significant fact is that even though the people had never had an independent existence, they kept their national and cultural identity.

It is useful and convenient to separate the development of Rusin literature into a number of chronological periods. They are:

1. The ancient church Slavonic period which extends through the end of the sixteenth century.
2. The Uniate Development period from the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century.
3. Beginning of secular literature embraced the period 1750-1848.
4. The struggle for Rusin autonomy that took place during 1848-1867.
5. The local dialect period 1867-1900.
6. The period of self-determination which began with the First World War and closed with the Second World War.

The first of these periods, although the longest in times, is common to all Eastern Slav people.<sup>9</sup> From this period there are few noteworthy remains. The writing was exclusively in

<sup>6</sup>Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, p. 470.

<sup>7</sup>I. Mirchuk, ed., *Ukraine and Its People* (Munich, 1949), pp. 25-29.

<sup>8</sup>Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," p. 17.

<sup>9</sup>Samuel H. Coss, "Primitive Civilization of the Eastern Slavs," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, V, nos. 12-13 (1946), 51-87.

the Old Church Slavonic and whatever fragments there are have very little intrinsic importance to the development of Rusin literature. The most important work was the translation of the Bible and other Church books into the Glagolitic by Cyril and Methodius, dating back to the ninth century. This is not a Rusin work but it laid the foundation of a written language for all the Slavs, of which the Ruthenians are a part.<sup>10</sup> This ancient Slavonic culture was preserved by the Rusins because of the mountainous terrain, which made communication with other areas extremely difficult and hazardous. However, the evolution of the literary language was severely hindered because of these same geographic conditions. The other fragmentary works, with the exception of *Mukacevskaja Litopis*, *XV Stolit'*<sup>11</sup> were exclusively translations of Old Church Slavonic literature.<sup>12</sup> These include: *Fragments of Minea and Gospel of Mukac and Imsticev*; *Book of Psalms*; *Minea of Feasts*; *Triod of Polane-Kobyleck*; *Prolog of Terebla*; *Explanatory Epistle of Garlacho*; *Lessons and Gospels*; "Letter of the Holy Father of Mount Athos," *Dogmatic Handbook*; *Gospel of Hukliv*; *Skotar History*; *Rumanian Gospel*; *Priests' Prayerbook*; *Pentekostarion*; and *Triod*.<sup>13</sup>

The second period of Rusin cultural history opens a critical hundred and fifty years. The sixteenth century had seen the region drawn into the western cultural scheme, the reformation and counter-reformation, the struggle against the Turks and breakdown of the "Pravoslavny" (Orthodox) allegiance in Galicia. The seventeenth century was one of further disaster for the Rusins. Habsburg rule had imposed heavy taxation, and the shortsighted ambitions of the Transylvanian princes, who were also rulers of Ruthenia, had produced havoc in the economic realm.<sup>14</sup>

A great deal of literature dealing with a religious nature was provoked by the Uniate controversy. Both groups had

<sup>10</sup>Dvornik, *The Slavs*, pp. 147-188.

<sup>11</sup>*History of Mukachevo in the 15th Century*.

<sup>12</sup>Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>13</sup>Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 117-120. A great deal of early Slav literature came from either Bulgaria or Byzantium. See N. K. Gudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature*, trans Susan Wilbur Jones (New York, 1949), pp. 22-57.

<sup>14</sup>Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 427-430.

their defenders, military as well as literary. Ruthenia went through a religious struggle during this period, which was analogous to Bohemia's resistance to the Catholic Reformation. The Orthodox did not win, but it left a marked cultural influence which is evident today. Most of the writing bore a close resemblance to the Church Slavonic with certain modifications of a Polish and Rusin influence. The best collection of writings of this period is P. Teslovcev, *Sermons*, written in the early seventeenth century, which are basically religious dissertations.<sup>15</sup>

The Uniate bishops countered with a program that provided for a better educated and trained clergy. This brought about a more erudite priesthood and indirectly, a boost to Rusin literature. Some Uniate bishops authored church works, these included: Joseph de Camelis who wrote, *Catechism* (1698), and *Christian Teaching* (1704); Bizancy, *Casuistics* (1727);<sup>16</sup> and Michael Olsavsky,<sup>17</sup> whose *Instruction About the Union* (1740), was directed against the schismatic disturbance in Szatmar County.

The first evidence of a non-religious subject in Ruthenian literature dates back to the early seventeenth century. It was written in the Rusin language, its theme portraying man's dismal fate, and his unsuccessful quest for happiness. In this poem, "Misery on Earth," the anonymous poet sings,<sup>18</sup>

Here lies this man, an orphan he;  
O people, passing by, who ask who may be:  
Here lies a man who has no family!

In the third period of Rusin cultural history we encounter the first literary personality, Arsenij Kotsak (1734-1800). He studied at both Krasny Brod (Krasinibrod) and Trnava. He taught philosophy and language at Krasny Brod, Imstice and Maria Pocs monasteries. He became abbot of the monastery of Bukovec and died in the monastery at Mukachevo in 1800.

Kotsak's ambition was to build Ruthenia's culture along the foundation of its Eastern origin. He hoped to establish the rules for the literary language of the Rusin people, but, in his

<sup>15</sup>Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," pp. 262-263.

<sup>16</sup>Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, p. 23.

<sup>17</sup>Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, II, 40-43.

<sup>18</sup>Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 280.

grammar, the rules were contrary to the Eastern principles prevalent in Russia. In writing his *Grammatika Rusakaja* (1768), which is preserved at the monastery at Mukachevo, he wanted the Rusins to have their own grammar so that other people "would not judge our unfortunate Rusnaks as being simpletons and illiterate."<sup>19</sup>

The Rusin writers of the period, for the most part, were educated in the Latin tradition at either the Jesuit college at Trnava, in Budapest, or Vienna. Upon their return to Ruthenia, they found that they were forbidden to teach in the Latin language. This necessitated the translation of works from the Latin to the Old Church Slavonic.

The priests who were trained at these seminaries were firmly in favor of the Union agreement, as a means of protecting their form of worship from those in Vienna who wanted to destroy it. The first Greek Catholic Bishops were merely vicars of the Latin Rite, Bishops of Eger. Not until Empress Maria Theresa created the new bishopric for Ruthenia at Mukachevo in 1772, was friction between Greek and Latin Rite Catholics overcome. The appointment of Andrew Bacinsky witnessed the beginnings of a Rusin educational and cultural renewal. With the help of Maria Theresa the Uniate bishop awoke the Rusins from their long cultural sleep.<sup>20</sup> Bacinsky also encouraged the building of libraries, including his own personal library which numbered approximately nine thousand volumes. There are no literary contributions by Bacinsky except for the translation of a five volume *Bible* into the Old Church Slavonic.<sup>21</sup>

A contemporary of this bishop was the monk, John Basilovits (1742-1821), who can be called the first Rusin historian. His two volume history of Theodore Koriatovich was one of the most important productions of this period.<sup>22</sup> The importance of this work lies in its pioneering enterprise rather than in its historical accuracy. Basilovits defended the Rusin cultural heritage and identified them with the Eastern Slavs, particularly with the Great Russians.

<sup>19</sup>Michael Roman, *Short Biographies of Famous Carpatho-Russians* (Munhall, 1962), pp. 14-15.

<sup>20</sup>Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, p. 470.

<sup>21</sup>Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, p. 41.

<sup>22</sup>*Brevis notitia foundationis Theodori Koriathovits*.

The custom of writing in the Latin language continued. Michael Lucskay wrote the *Historia Carpatho-Ruthenorum and Grammatica Slavo-Ruthena*, but the most important trend was that of the growth of the Rusin language. A significant contribution to this growth was made by John Kufka (1750-1914), professor of Theology at the monastery at Mukachevo, whose works were written in Church Slavonic mixed with the local dialect.

Two others who were the recipients of higher education through western schools were Basil Doglovich (1787-1849), and John Churgovich (1791-1862). Doglovich studied first at Chust, and later Trnava, was appointed pastor in Dovho and later at Great Luchki, Mukachevo and Chust, where he died in 1849. He was a poet, writer of Catechism as well as a scientist. In the field of astronomy and philosophy, his *Study of the Constellations Beyond Cartes and Newton*, won him a place as a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy.<sup>23</sup>

Churgovich attempted to elevate the cultural level of the territory. As the organizer of the gymnasium at Uzhorod, he attempted to reform the school. Besides being a writer, he also possessed a large library. It contained volumes written in Russian, Greek, Latin, German, Hungarian, Italian, Serbian and Bulgarian.<sup>24</sup>

The Revolutions of the year 1848, brought the third period of Rusin culture to a close. Earlier, scholars in Europe began to concern themselves with the Slav languages. The vernacular began to challenge the Latin as the literary language throughout central Europe. The problem was most acute for the Ruthenians of Hungary. Latin was the official language used by the Magyars, but this language was forbidden in Carpatho-Ruthenia where Church Slavonic was recognized as the literary language.

This problem of a literary language was most perplexing for the Rusin people. Should the local dialect be accepted as the literary language, as was the case with the Czechs, Slovaks and Serbians? Although the problem was of little concern to the peasants, it was of great concern to the Rusin intelligentsia.

<sup>23</sup> Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 295.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Roman, "Rt. Rev. John Churgovich—The Carpatho-Russian Plutarch (1791-1862)," *Short Biographies*, 5.

Should Church Slavonic, Russian or Rusin be the literary language of Ruthenia?

Two Rusins who were troubled over this problem and made strides to help solve it were Michael Lucskay (1789-1843) and John Fogarashij (1786-1838). Both hailed from small Rusin villages, were priests, and at one time studied under the great Slovenian scholar Bartholomew Kopitar and the Czech linguist Joseph Dobrovsky, who were two of the great teachers of Slavonic Philology.<sup>25</sup>

Lucskay served in the Bishop's Chancery at Uzhorod, until 1829 when he was sent to Lucci, Italy. The reason for this move was a request by Prince Karl Ludwig Bourbon, the Spanish Infanta, who had hopes of ascending the Greek throne and wanted to introduce the Byzantine Rite at his Court. He remained at Lucci for four years; and although the plans of Prince Karl failed to materialize, Lucskay found time to pursue his scholarly work. He compiled the *Grammatica Slavo-Ruthenia* (1830),<sup>26</sup> in which he presented the thesis that the literary language for all Slavs should be the Church Slavonic. He criticized those groups who desired to have their local dialects made the literary language. His most important literary work was the *History of the Carpatho-Ruthenians* (1835), a five volume work which made a systematic approach to the history of the area. It covered the political, religious and national life of the Rusins. However, there are no existing copies of this work but John Dulishkovich, used excerpts from it in his book, *The Historical Characteristics of the Uhro-Rusins* (1880).<sup>27</sup>

Fogarashij was also opposed to the evolution from local dialects of a literary language. He firmly believed that every Slav should not only know how to speak in his own dialect, but also be able to write in Church Slavonic, the tongue that he envisioned should be the literary language of the Slavs. His most famous works were the *Ruthena Ungarica Grammatica* (1833) (Hungarian-Ruthenian Grammar), in which he claimed the Hungarian language was indebted to the Rusin tongue;

<sup>25</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, pp. 56 and 255.

<sup>26</sup> Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 487-488. Joseph Lozinsky, a leader of the Ukrainian National Rebirth in Galicia criticized Lucskay's work because of its opposition to the Ukrainian.

<sup>27</sup> Roman, *Short Biographies*, p. 16.

and *Inductio Slavo-Orientalis Ritus, seu Ruthenae Ecclesiae in Ducatu Luccensi in Italia*, which was written in 1830, but not published until 1918.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, Rusin writers were forced to have their works published outside of Ruthenia, usually at Trnava, Kosice or Vienna. Books arriving from Kiev were usually confiscated for the purpose of preventing a closer cooperation between the Ruthenians of Russia and Hungary. Books printed at Kosice or Trnava were not of a religious nature. Some were printed in the Rusin language and became very popular with the people, for example, *The Home Doctor* by Nicholas Theodorevich. This tendency of using the local dialect was checked in the nineteenth century by the group who favored the use of the Russian language as the literary language of Ruthenia.<sup>29</sup>

The censorship practiced by the authorities and the Magyarization policy of the Hungarian landlords caused a steady exodus of Rusin scholars to other eastern and central European areas, in particular to Russia. Several of these exiled Rusin scholars gained fame outside of Carpatho-Ruthenia. This group included, John Orlay (1771-1829), John Zemanich (1771-1829), Michael Baludyanski (1769-1847), and George Venelin (1802-1839).

Orlay studied at institutions in Lemberg, Budapest and St. Petersburg. He was a doctor, historian and educator. In the educational field he served as director of the gymnasium at Nizhin and at Odessa.<sup>30</sup> His most important historical work was the *Krotkaja istorija o Karpato-Russach*<sup>31</sup> (1822). Orlay praised the Rusin people for maintaining their ancient heritage. There are Rusin scholars who maintain that Orlay influenced Nicolai Gogol's *The Terrible Vengeance* and *Taras Bulba*.<sup>32</sup>

The Rusin scholars Zemanich and Baludyanski, both stud-

<sup>28</sup> Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 296 and Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, p. 52.

<sup>29</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, p. 62. A. Dobriansky was the leader of the Russian literary language faction in Carpatho-Ruthenia.

<sup>30</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia*, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>32</sup> D. S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature*, ed. Francis J. Whitfield (New York, 1949), pp. 143-155.

ied at Vienna. Zemanich<sup>33</sup> was a professor of physics and mathematics at the University of Lemberg and Baludyanski<sup>34</sup> served as a professor of political economy and later as rector of the St. Petersburg Institute.

Venelin was perhaps the most famous Rusin scholar. He was the son of a priest and had studied at Lvov. In 1825, while at Moscow, he joined the Slavophiles and won support for the freedom of Bulgaria.<sup>35</sup> Venelin was considered the prime mover of the Bulgar renaissance, a position that he later had to relinquish to Father Paissi.<sup>36</sup> Venelin published works on Bulgarian grammar, history and folklore. His best known work was *Old and New Bulgarians* (1827). On the subject of the Rusin people he wrote the article, "Few words about the Russians of Hungary." In this article he attempted to prove the early Rusin settlement of the Carpathian Mountain region.<sup>37</sup>

The year 1848, marked the beginning of an important new period in Rusin culture. The people of Carpatho-Ruthenia were shaken by the revolution of 1848. The Habsburg rulers, with the help of Russian troops, succeeded in suppressing the Hungarian revolt. The Austrian government decided to weaken the future influence of the Magyars by supporting Slav national groups.<sup>38</sup> In Carpatho-Ruthenia this Austrian policy led to the creation of a Rusin nationalism which aspired to gain for the people, political autonomy and cultural revival.

The cultural-political revival was headed by three individuals. Adolph I. Dobryansky, one of the first non-clerical leaders, was responsible for the political activity of the Rusin people during this period. In 1843, he was the Ruthenian representative at the first Pan-Slavic Congress at Prague. As a result of his political activities, he was forced to flee to Galicia where he became a member of the Ruthenian National

<sup>33</sup> Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, p. 74.

<sup>34</sup> Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 296.

<sup>35</sup> Clarence A. Manning and Roman Smal-Stocki, *The History of Modern Bulgarian Literature* (New York, 1960), p. 188.

<sup>36</sup> James F. Clarke, "Serbia and the Bulgarian Revival (1762-1862)," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, IV, Nos. 10-11 (December, 1945), pp. 141-162.

<sup>37</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>38</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, p. 62.



Council. He became a spokesman for the group which advocated a union of the Uniate people of Galicia and Ruthenia.<sup>39</sup> Through the efforts of Dobryansky, the Rusins gained a certain measure of administrative autonomy and the right to use their own language. This semi-autonomous state for the Rusins came to an end with the formation of the Compromise of 1876, which created the Austro-Hungarian or Dual Monarchy. The Hungarians, who were given control of Ruthenia, inaugurated a campaign of complete Magyarization of their province.<sup>40</sup>

The cultural activity of the Rusin People during this Golden Age was awakened by Alexander Dukhnovich (Duchnovich), a Uniate priest and historian who was a writer of poetry, drama, and newspaper editorials. As a poet, his most important contribution was the poem, "Ja Rusin Byl" (I was a Rusin), which was set to music and became the national anthem of Ruthenia during the period of Czechoslovakian suzerainty.<sup>41</sup>

His most important contribution, during the mid-nineteenth century, was as a newspaper correspondent. His writings appeared in newspapers of Kiev, Lvov, and Vienna, under the byline of "Correspondence from Presov." These were widely read by the Uniates of Ruthenia, Galicia, and Slovakia, and had an influence upon the cultural resurgence of these people.<sup>42</sup>

The third individual responsible for this Rusin Renaissance was Ivan Rakovsky (1815-1884). His importance lay in the field of education. For a nine year period (1850-1859), he served as the official translator of State laws from the Hungarian into the Carpatho-Rusin language. He, together with Dobryansky, organized the St. Basil Literary Society, striving to make Russian, the literary language of Ruthenia Rutheria.<sup>43</sup>

Through the efforts of the St. Basil Society and the Slavic organizations located in Vienna, Trnava and Kosice, the Carpatho-Ruthenian area was enwrapped in the Pan-Slav movement. Through the work of Joseph Dobrovsky<sup>44</sup> (1753-1829),

<sup>39</sup> Heisler and Mellon, *Under the Carpathians*, pp. 112-115.

<sup>40</sup> J. Suhaj, *Carpathian Ruthenia on the Warpath* (London, 1944), pp.4-6.

<sup>41</sup> Roman, *Short Biographies*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>42</sup> Zeedick, *Korotkij ocerk*, pp. 290-291.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Roman, "Rev. Ivan Rakovsky, 1815-1884," *Greek Catholic Union Messenger* (Munhall, Pa.), August 31, 1961, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Clarke, "Serbia and the Bulgarian Revival," p. 150.

the "Father of Slavistics;" P. I. Safarik<sup>45</sup> (1795-1861), whose research enriched south Slav scholarship; John Kollar<sup>46</sup> (1793-1852), the first Pan-Slav poet; and Francis Rieger<sup>47</sup> (1818-1903) who desired equal rights for the Slavs of the Habsburg empire, strongly influenced the development of Rusin political awareness. The creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, further intensified the Rusin intelligensia's adherence to the Pan-Slav ideal. Through the St. Basil Society, the Rusins sought to identify themselves with the Russian literary and cultural heritage.<sup>48</sup>

The Magyar period (1867-1914) saw a decline in the political activity of the region, but it was also a period of progress in the production of popular literature. The cultural life of the Rusins divided into many factions. The Russian faction was still active because of the efforts of Eugene Fencik (1844-1903) who edited the last of the journals during the period 1867-1900, namely, *The Listok* (Letter).

The Magyar period also witnessed the resurgence of those who sought to make Ukrainian the literary language of Ruthenia. The movement had its start in the Ukraine, but its center during the nineteenth century shifted to Lvov in Galicia. In order to include all Ruthenians, literary overtures were made to Carpatho-Ruthenia, to whom the Ukrainians looked as a "wounded brother." In the early nineteenth century Osip Fedkovich<sup>49</sup> ventured into Ruthenia in search of native folklore. In 1837, he published one article on his folk poetry of the Ukrainian Slavs.<sup>50</sup>

It was Mykhaylo Drahomanov (1841-1895) who sought to identify Ruthenia with the Ukrainian movement. Drahomanov<sup>51</sup> provided a program for Ukrainian rebirth, not only within the Ukraine but also in Galicia and Ruthenia. He was the pioneer builder of Ukrainian culture among the Hungarian Rusins,

<sup>45</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, pp. 71 and 256-257.

<sup>46</sup> Halecki, *Borderlands*, p. 307.

<sup>47</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, pp. 141-150.

<sup>48</sup> Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," pp. 619-621.

<sup>49</sup> Fedkovich was a distinguished Ukrainian poet of Galicia.

<sup>50</sup> Arthur F. Coloman, *Brief Survey of Ukrainian Literature* (New York, 1936), p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Mikhalyo Drahomanov was the Ukrainian historian who sought to prove the independent character of the Ukrainian people.



making two trips into the area during the period of 1875-1876. Drahomanov was shocked by the misery and the exploitation of the people of the Hungarian Carpathians. Through his efforts, he kept the plight of the Subcarpathian Rusins before the Ukrainian people. Shortly before his death he wrote:<sup>52</sup>

I was the first Ukrainian to visit Hungarian Rus. I saw that spiritually it is farther separated even from Galicia than Australia is from Europe. I swore to myself on "an oath of Hannibal" to work for the integration of Hungarian Rus into our national democratic and progressive movement, for only thus can it find salvation . . . I have not been able to fulfill my oath, but today I lay it upon the heads of the whole Ukrainian people.

Ivan Franko (1856-1916) a Ukrainian poet, also sought to identify the Carpathian Rusins with the larger Ukrainian element. In his survey of national literature, Franko devotes a portion of his review to the cultural contributions of the Carpatho-Rusins, of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the "Great Russian" current, which was so powerful in 1848, and the "Ukrainian" element, which radiated from Galicia, began to be repudiated by the Rusin intellectuals. Certain Ruthenian scholars, namely Victor Gebe, George Zsatskovich, and Anthony Hodinka, began a movement to elevate the Rusin dialect to that of the literary language of Ruthenia. This Rusin separation was encouraged by Budapest for the purpose of halting propaganda stemming from Russian, Austrian and Galician agitators. In 1880, the Hungarian government sent an agent to encourage this Rusin "national" movement. This was done by encouraging the printing of textbooks and other publications in the Rusin vernacular. Rusin-Magyar dictionaries were published as well as a manual of Rusin grammar written in Hungarian by Evmenij Sobov (Eumen Sabow).

During the early years of the twentieth century, Reverend Augustin Volosin continued the struggle to make Rusin, the lit-

<sup>52</sup> Statement of Mykhaylo Drahomanov as quoted in Ivan L. Rudnyak, "Drahomanov as a Political Realist," in Mykhaylo Drahomanov, *A Symposium and Selected Writings* (New York, 1952), II, No. 1 (Spring), 116.

<sup>53</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, p. 313.

erary language of Ruthenia. This individual published a Rusin grammar in 1907 and edited the *Najka* (Lesson), a literary digest supporting the "local Rusin" movement. Volosin has the distinction of not only leading the Rusins in their cultural undertakings of the first half of the twentieth century, but also of leading the people in the political realm.<sup>54</sup>

In the twentieth century, the struggle among the Russian, Ukrainian and Rusin factions continued. The Hungarian government used the old axiom of "divide and conquer" in its relation with the three groups. First supporting one and then another group, but only offering education to those who were not opposed to Magyarization. After 1900, all scholarly works were printed in Hungarian, with the local dialect being used to print publications for the common people. With the clergy and the lay "intelligentsia" being further and further removed from the common people, only the bond of their Uniate religion remained among the people of Ruthania.<sup>55</sup>

The First World War had a profound influence upon both the Ruthenian people and countryside. The war not only devastated the land but it also brought an end to the Dual Monarchy. At the Paris Peace Convention, the region of Carpatho-Ruthenia was attached to the new Czechoslovak nation as an autonomous part.

The new status did not alleviate the problem of a literary language. The three groups vied with one another, not only for supremacy in language, but also in the field of religion. The Ukrainian and the Rusin advocated allegiance to the Uniate body, but the Russian faction was for return to the Orthodox faith. The Czechs further complicated the Ruthenian problem with the introduction of the Czech language and the appointment of non-Rusins to important posts in the province. This tended to further denationalize the Rusins, but in spite of this Czech policy, the local dialect continued as one of the literary languages.<sup>56</sup>

The native school was largely composed of the lay intelligentsia, who were close to the people and their traditions. This group tended to be ultra-patriotic and strove to have the Rusin

<sup>54</sup> Manning, *History of the Ukraine*, pp. 266-267.

<sup>55</sup> Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," pp. 620-621.

<sup>56</sup> A. Volosin, "Carpathian Ruthenia," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XIII (January, 1935), 372-373.

culture uplifted. During the 1920's, this group was represented by Vasili Grendza the poet, who was the first Rusin to have his works published in a bound volume. In 1927-1928, he edited the literary review *Nasha Zemlya* (Our Land) and in the following year, had a volume of poetry published in Krakow. The native school places him at the head of contemporary Rusin poets.

Another Rusin of the native school was Julij Borsos (1905- ), a poet and a teacher. In 1928, he had published, *Vesnjanj Kivity* (Spring Flowers), which he dedicated to his students. In this volume, Borsos strives to inspire devotion to the Rusin's native land. In it are descriptions of the geography, the people, and the peace and harmony of the Ruthenian countryside.

Others who have contributed to the literary field include: Nicholas Beskid,<sup>57</sup> the best known Rusin historian, who has had one of his works published by the Greek Catholic Union in the U.S.A.; Nicholas Rusnak, the theologian; Paul Fedor, the guiding spirit in Rusin education; I. Kontratovich, another Rusin historian; John Luca Demjan, a collector of native folklore; and Nicholas Nagy and Isidor Bilak, who were lesser poets of the native school.<sup>58</sup>

The leading exponent of the Russian school was the poet Andrew V. Karabeles (1906- ) who began his literary publications in 1928 with his *Collected Verses*. In the following year he wrote *W. Lucach Razsvyeta* (In the Rays of Dawn), his most noteworthy contribution, a poem which is five cantos long and deals with the religious, mystical and Pan-Slav sentiments of the people.<sup>59</sup>

The Ukrainian Literary group was led by Augustin Volosin, who has had an interwoven career as a Uniate priest, a writer and grammarian, and finally as a political figure. Volosin began his career with the publication of a Magyar-Rusin Grammar in 1901. This was followed by another "Grammar" and other writings in this field during the period 1904-1907. As editor of the *Misjacoslov* (Calendar) of 1909, he attacked the Uniate Bishop of Philadelphia, Stephen Soter Ortinsky, for his "Ukrainian tendencies." In the late 1920's, he began to lean

<sup>57</sup> *Karpatorusskaja Pravda* (Homestead, 1933).

<sup>58</sup> Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>59</sup> Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 327.

more toward the use of the Ukrainian dialect of Galicia. By 1930, he had completely abandoned the Rusin school and became the leading advocate of the use of Ukrainian as the literary language of Ruthenia.<sup>60</sup>

Other writers have at one time or another attached themselves to one and then to another of the three literary schools of Ruthenia. In the 1930's, the poet Karabeles, defected from the "Russian" school to that of the "Ukrainian." Prior to this, he was once a member of the local "Rusin" group. Others who cannot be definitely placed in any of these groups would be the dramatists, I. Bobulsky and Pavel F. Stepanovich Fedor; Joseph Jankovich, research head of the Mukachevo Museum; and Evmenij Sobov, a writer of textbooks.<sup>61</sup>

Certain conclusions can be drawn concerning the literature and culture of Carpatho-Ruthenia. Although, it was neither of the quality nor of the quantity of the other Eastern Slav groups, nevertheless it existed and developed separate from that of any other Slav group.<sup>62</sup> Hrushevsky,<sup>63</sup> maintained that the Carpatho-Ruthenian territory served as the pattern for the development of Austrian rule in Galicia and Bukovina. Drahomanov and Franko<sup>64</sup> identified the Ukrainian culture with the people of Carpatho-Ruthenia. The work of Krofta, Coloman and Bezinec indicated that the Rusin people adhered from time to time to various cultural centers. Their conclusion indicates a development of culture in Carpatho-Ruthenia that differed with the Ukrainian culture of Galicia. What has taken place since the beginning of World War II is open to speculation; however, the inclusion within the Soviet Union would preclude the possibility of the development of a Rusin literary language.

The region of Carpatho-Ruthenia because of its geographical isolation is rich in folklore. The inhabitants are made up of the Dolyniany (valley dwellers) and Verkhovyntsi (dwellers in mountain pastures).<sup>65</sup> The customs and the manner of construction, although they are basically the same throughout the

<sup>60</sup> Hanulya, *Rusin Literature*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>61</sup> Coloman and Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," p. 328.

<sup>62</sup> Sugar, "The Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule," pp. 4-17.

<sup>63</sup> Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 432-433.

<sup>64</sup> Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, p. 313.

<sup>65</sup> Mirchuk, *Ukraine and Its People*, pp. 22-29.

area have slight variations. These modifications are due to the geographical inaccessibility of the region rather than of cultural differences. The remaining aspects of Rusin folklore include: church patterns, native dress and superstition. These cultural patterns are found in all civilizations but they are significant in determining the development of the society of the area. It is because of this importance that these three areas are included in this study.<sup>66</sup>

A study of the cultural life of Ruthenia would be incomplete without a description of their wooden churches. Prior to the Second World War, there were over one hundred and fifty of these rather unique churches in the territory. Ruthenia, because of its geographical location, has blended western and eastern architectural forms in the construction of their churches.

This blending of architectural forms has produced three types of wooden churches for the Rusins. One has a strong Gothic style in this architecture, another bears a strong Baroque influence while the third is characteristically eastern in form. The statement has been made that no two churches are alike in Ruthenia. This is basically true, for the individual likes of the architect are present in these Rusin edifices. Many times the architect has blended more than one style into the finished product.

The churches in Ruthenia employ one of three basic plans in their construction. The first plan employs a proportionally barred Greek cross, centrally located. The second consists of three quadrangular buildings adjoining one another, arranged in a straight line. The third consists of quadrangular nave which is usually thatch-covered, with a place for the altar on the eastern side which adjoins the rectory.

The second of these styles seems peculiar to the Carpatho-Ruthenian region, abounding in the northwestern part of Maramaros County and in sections of Bereg and Uz counties. In this style, the altar, which is separated from the nave by an "Iconostas" or icon screen, is located in the eastern section,

<sup>66</sup> For a study of Rusin Church construction see Florian Zapietal, "Derevjany chramy Podkarpatskich Rusinov," *Golden Jubilee*, 243-246 and Slivka, *Eastern Rites of the Catholic Church*, pp. 21-23. Style of dress is included in S. Makovskiy, *Peasant Art of Subcarpathian Russia* (Prague, 1926), pp. 9-34. Superstition is treated by Michael P. Bogatyrev, *Actes magiques, rites et croyances en Russie Subcarpathique* (Paris, 1930).

while the men stand in the center section and the women are relegated to the western portion of the church.

The churches are elaborately decorated. Paintings adorn the interior walls of the churches being either painted on the walls, or on canvas, which is made to adhere to the walls. These small churches also have a great many wooden carvings which decorate them. The icon screen is the focal point of the church containing both wood carvings and various paintings. As in many parts of the rural regions of Europe, the church is placed upon the highest hill of the area, symbolic of the religious obligations owed to God. A belfry tower, which is usually separate from the main building, and a cemetery, complete the basic plan of the Ruthenian Church.

Of significant note in the culture of Ruthenia is the manner of dress ascribed to the Rusin peasants. Even though Ruthenia, in total area, is quite small, nevertheless, the embroideries of the blouses and particular position of dress vary greatly according to the district and even the village of the peasant.

Much as the Scotch plaid differentiates a part of Scotland, the embroidery of the blouse serves the same purpose in Carpatho-Ruthenia. In the district of Vrkhovina, the pattern resembles a cross with patterns of red, blue and black interwoven into it. This identifies the area along the Polish frontier and the upper reaches of the Uz, Latorice and Vec Rivers. This is the backward region of Ruthenia. Huts lack chimneys and both human beings and animals share the same modest accommodations. The diet of the people consists largely of oat bread or cakes while their clothing is made of rough home-spun hemp.

In the districts of Maramaros, the Valley of Turca and Vrkhovina, the old peasant dress was slowly giving way to western style of clothing. In the Hucul region, which adjoins the former Polish province of Galacia, still another style of dress predominates. The blouse, which is called a "Kosulya," has a stiff stand-up collar and is worn over the pants and fastened on the left side by a multi-colored woven belt. The trousers, called "gati" are either of black, blue or dark red color and made of cotton cloth for warm weather and wool for the winter season. The embroidered blouses consist of a multi-colored small cross and is identified by the smoothness and closeness of the stitches. The Hucul cross, which dates back to the seventeenth century, is the nearest to the original Carpathian design.

A more elaborate pattern is found in the Valley of Turca. The embroidered design consists of black patterns interwoven with colored portions and variations in the sewing. The cross is modified by stitches of white thread, indentures and flat stitching. The style is simple consisting of plain collars and sleeves. This contrasts with the Maramaros area, which employs the most colorful native costumes. The embroidery stands out in the colorful dresses and shawls of the women.

To complete the survey of Rusin culture, the part played by superstition must be considered. As almost all areas, especially those that are culturally backward, according to western standards, superstitious practices form an important element in the life of the people. These superstitious ways have a religious as well as social significance. Those pertaining to an expectant mother are many in number and include among others: that she should not step over a frog, for it will affect the walk of the child. She must not gaze upon a deformed person, a chimney sweeper or a fire, for her child would be born either crippled, black or red as the case may be. If the newborn dies, the next offspring is sold through a window to a passerby and returned via the front door, to avoid any bad luck which has followed the family. An unbaptized infant which dies will plague its parents for seven years in search of a name unless a scythe is placed on the grave. This superstition maintains that now the ghost will be gainfully employed and need not bother its parents. Ghosts and visions play an important role in the native folklore, but the part that magic plays in Ruthenian life supersedes all other aspects in importance among the people.

With the various obstacles confronting the Rusins, it is amazing that any cultural progress was made. It is true that the literary outpouring was small and rather crude compared to other Slav areas of Europe, but it must be remembered that the area was not independent, nor was there an abundance of educational opportunity. The inability to agree upon a literary language also had an adverse effect upon the development of Rusin culture, as did the Magyarization of the clergy. This latter point tended to retard the growth, but the clergy also were the leaders of the cultural renaissance. Thus, in spite of all these adverse effects, a Rusin culture was able to evolve—one which was similar to, but not identical with, the western Ukraine culture of Galicia.

## VII. THE RUSIN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (1870-1910)

A review of the reasons for emigration to the United States reveals that the economic motive plays a significant role. Other considerations include the political, the religious and the social conditions existing in the old home-land. In regard to the emigration of the Ugro-Rusins<sup>1</sup> (Ruthenians from Hungary), the economic motive was the main cause for their departure for the New World. The Rusins were part of the third wave of immigrants, whose peak was reached at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

The immigration of the Ruthenian<sup>3</sup> people can be divided into three time categories. The first which took place in the period 1870-1899 was the beginning of the mass immigration of Ruthenians. There are no accurate records of the number of Ruthenian immigrants of this period, inasmuch as the Immigration Commission kept track of the country of origin and not of race, language or nationality.<sup>4</sup> The total number of such immigrants in this period must have been sizeable, for on January 11, 1905, Reverend A. Hodobay the Apostolic Visitor for the Ruthenians, reported that the Slavonic-Byzantine Rite in the United States comprised a total of 262,500 members, almost all of whom would have been of Ruthenian origin. Prior to the arrival of the first Ruthenian immigrants, about 1879, the Byzantine Rite was not in existence in the United States.<sup>5</sup> The Ameri-

<sup>1</sup> Americans of Rusin extraction use the term "Ugro-Rusins" to designate the Rusin people ruled by Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> Oscar Handlin, *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1959), pp. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> The term Ruthenian was used extensively by Rome to designate those Eastern Slavs that were of the Uniate faith. In general practice it was applied to the Slavs of the Habsburg and Romanov empires.

<sup>4</sup> Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago, 1947), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ambrose Senyshyn, "The Ukrainian Catholics in the United States," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI, No. 8 (October-December, 1946), 439-441.

can Immigration Commission estimates about 500,000 Ukrainian immigrants had arrived by 1897.<sup>6</sup>

The bulk of the Ruthenian immigration took place during the second, 1899-1914, era. The peak year for the Austro-Hungarian immigrant was 1907, but for the Ruthenian immigrant (from both Austria-Hungary and Russia) it was 1914, when the total number reached 42,413.<sup>7</sup> The coming of the First World War and the restrictive measures culminating in the National Origins Act of 1929 brought an end to the liberal immigration policy of the United States. It effectively put an end to the extensive migration of Ruthenians, for in the period 1931-1936, only 587 entered the United States.<sup>8</sup>

The primary cause for Rusin emigration was economic. The breakdown of the old feudal system in the Hungarian-ruled province of Carpatho-Ruthenia brought a disruption of the area's economy. The old peasant economy, although at the very best meager, nevertheless was self-sufficing. Practically all of the home and farm implements were produced at home. This type of economy was overcome by the adoption of the techniques of the industrial revolution. Although Carpatho-Ruthenia did not acquire a great many factories, the effects of the factory system upon the peasant economy had profound effects. The use of money for purchasing power and for the payment of taxes disrupted the antiquated manorial economy.

The new economic policies led to the breakup of the old system of land holding. Due to the absence of primogeniture, the peasants subdivided their plots among all their children, making it impossible for a landholder to support himself on his

<sup>6</sup> According to the "Dictionary of Races," Senate Documents, 61st Congress, 3rd Session (Washington, 1911), IX, 118.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (Washington, D.C., 1915), p. 38. The total number of immigrants from Austria-Hungary and Russia in the period 1920-1950 was 4,172,104 and 3,343,896 respectively. F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, *One American* (Englewood Cliffs, 1946), p. 636 and Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York, 1925), I, 18-19.

<sup>8</sup> For an appraisal of our immigration policy see, Robert D. C. Ward, "Americanization and Immigration," *American Review of Reviews*, LIX, 513-516; William S. Bernard, *American Immigration Policy—A Reappraisal*, (New York, 1950) pp. 23-24; and *The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, Report "Whom We Shall Welcome,"* (Washington, 1953), 23-32.

small plot. This necessitated an exodus of population from Ruthenia, on a permanent or seasonal basis. A great many of these people, hearing of the opportunities in America, decided to seek their livelihood in the New World.<sup>9</sup>

Correspondence from Rusins already in the United States had a profound influence upon the old home-land. The high wages and steady employment of the American worker became the aspiration for the economically destitute Rusin peasant. Whereas, a Rusin toiled for twenty-five to thirty-five cents for a fourteen hour day, he heard that in America, this same wage could be earned for merely one hour of toil. The fact that one American dollar was equivalent to five Austrian crowns was another added incentive.

Another factor which encouraged migration to the United States was the promise of free Homestead land. This to the Rusin peasant, who tilled an average plot of 1½ acres of marginal land, was the nearest thing to heaven on this earth. Other inducements, not enjoyed in Ruthenia, were the various freedoms, such as freedom of speech and religion, opportunities for education, social equality, and the absence of military conscription.<sup>10</sup>

The Rusin peasant who was faced with poor living conditions, a depressed economy, overpopulation, poor and hilly land, semi-serfdom, oppressive taxes and social discrimination, was urged to seek his fortune in the New World. Not only was he urged to do this by letters from Rusin relatives in America and returning emigres but by both steamship agents and recruiters of American industry. As early as 1877, Ruthenia and Slovakia were visited by coal mine agents who were recruiting workers as strike bearers.<sup>11</sup>

Although emigration seemed to be the most feasible solution for all these problems, there were other factors that in many

<sup>9</sup> Emily Green Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York, 1910, pp. 47-50.

<sup>10</sup> "Emigration Conditions in Europe," *Senate Documents* (61st Congress, 3rd Session, Washington, 1911), XII, 270.

<sup>11</sup> Julian Batchinsky, *Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States of America* (Lwow, 1914), p. 88; Peter Roberts, *Immigrant Races in North America* (N.Y., 1910), pp. 27-38; John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America* (New York, 1927), p. 180; Edward A. Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide, Its Ebb and Flow* (New York, 1909), p. 207.

cases either postponed or precluded the departure for America. These were of two types. The first was inherent with the individual, while the second was the attitude of the government. In regard to the Rusin, he was superstitious and distrusted anything foreign or unknown to him. He feared the long voyage and because of his illiteracy, believed many of the mistaken notions of by-gone centuries. There were also economic factors to be considered, namely, the payment for the trip across the ocean. The Rusin raised the money in several ways; selling his land, if he had any, having money sent from relatives in America, or borrowing it from the "Jewish bankers" of Ruthenia at a fabulously high rate of interest.

If the Rusin was able to overcome these hurdles, he was still faced by a hostile Habsburg government policy which attempted to stop immigration. In March 1877, a decree was issued ordering the Catholic clergy to preach against the mass exodus of people leaving for the New World. The priests were to stress the hardships and the suffering the Slav groups had to undergo in America. The factor of hunger and starvation was not to be overlooked by those who sought to leave the empire. Where suggestion was not successful, the policy of suppression was employed. Border guards were stationed to make it difficult for people to leave the country. This policy was circumvented by the use of bribery on the part of agents employed by the steamship or coal mine operators.<sup>12</sup>

It is difficult to give an exact date for the beginning of the Ruthenian migration to the United States because of various names used to designate these people. No other states used the same designation for these people. The Rusin peasant was often unsure of his own national origin. He used the terms Rusin, Ruthenian, Russniak, Ugro-Rusin, Slavish, Slovak, and Ukrainian interchangeably. The implications of Polish or Russian origin were also present.

The Ruthenians from Austria-Hungary who migrated to the United States in the last decade of the nineteenth century came from the Austrian province of Galicia and the north-

<sup>12</sup> Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, pp. 135-137.

eastern province of Hungary, namely Carpatho-Ruthenia.<sup>13</sup> The people from both areas were either Orthodox or Uniate in their religious affiliations, but they differed over their cultural heritage. Many from Carpatho-Ruthenia mistakenly classified themselves as Russian while the majority referred to themselves as Ugro-Rusins or Hungarian Rusins. Those from Galicia, were dissatisfied with the term Ruthenian and began employing the name "Ukrainian" in designating their nationality.<sup>14</sup>

The Rusins, as were practically all immigrant groups, were viewed with suspicion by the older established groups in America. The American labor movement, which was striving for higher pay and better working conditions distrusted this new group because they were willing to work for lower wages. The Rusins' inability to speak the English language, together with their religion which was neither of a Protestant sect nor Roman Catholic, made them subjects of suspicion and distrust.

The Rusin laborer's acceptance of a lower pay scale did not cause the enmity of organized labor as much as his becoming a scab did. The Rusin workers were hired to replace those who were out on strike. This often caused the strike to collapse and bring about a decrease in the wage scale rather than an increase which the strikers desired. Rusins, as well as other Slav workers, were often employed as replacements for labor agitators. As a result of the curbing of the power of the Molly Maguires in the 1870's, the Slavic groups became the dominant group in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The first Rusin settlers in America arrived near the close of the decade of the 1870's. It is believed to have taken place either in 1877 or 1878. Although there is a lack of documentation confirming this supposition, there is an old Rusin priest's story which lends credence to this date. It involved a peasant from the Ruthenian village of Radoczyna, who desired to migrate to the United States. A code was devised by this peasant and a friend who already had emigrated to the United States in order to circumvent the censorship imposed in the Dual Monarchy. This incident is said to have occurred in the late 1870's and would correspond to the approximate date of the beginning of Rusin emigration for America. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, pp. 134-136; see also Frank B. Clarke, *Old Homes of New Americans* (New York, 1913), pp. 5-50.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen Gulovich, *Windows Westward-Rome-Russia-Reunion* (New York, 1947), pp. 125-126; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918-1941* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 171.

<sup>15</sup> J. W. Coleman, *Molly Maguire Riots* (Richmond, 1936), pp. 1-25.

The trickle of Rusin immigrants in the late 1870's were engaged in either agricultural pursuits in the New England area or in non-skilled labor in the port cities. This trickle increased to that of a torrent in the 1880's, with the immigrants coming from Grybow, Gorlice, Jaslo, Neu Sandes, Krosno and Sanok in Galicia and from the counties of Szepes, Saris, Abauj and Uz in Carpatho-Ruthenia.<sup>16</sup>

Many Americans looked with displeasure, upon those migrating from southern and eastern Europe. All the evils of the manufacturing and mining industry were blamed upon these new immigrants. They were accused of lowering the wage scale, opposing labor unions and refusing to become Americanized.<sup>17</sup>

The population change in the anthracite region can be noted as follows. In 1871 the coal mine employees were chiefly of English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh or German ancestry. Thirty years later they were composed of Polish, Ukrainian, Rusin, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Slovak, Czech or Italian settlers. By 1900 the Slavs were the dominant element in the anthracite region. The Rusins employed in the whole anthracite region, (including the Schuylkill Field, the Wyoming Field and Luzerne County) increased from 9,931 in 1890 to 13,534 in the next decade.<sup>18</sup>

The railroad strikes of 1877 saw agents of the railroad companies proselytizing among the Hungarian Slav groups for emigration to the United States. The railroad companies wished to secure the services of cheap labor, which would be willing to submit to company restrictions and regulations.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the difficulties that confronted the Rusin immigrant, they as others, made significant contributions to American culture. Being devoid of men of great education, the Rusin contribution was not made by any exceptional individual but

<sup>16</sup> Attwater, *Christian Churches of the East*, I, 74-96; I. Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," *Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See* (1958), 249.

<sup>17</sup> Report of (J. W. Jenks), United States Immigration Commission, "Reports," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document, No. 747 (Washington, 1911), I, 37-39.

<sup>18</sup> F. J. Warne, *The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers* (Philadelphia, 1904), pp. 48-55.

<sup>19</sup> Peter Roberts, *The Anthracite Coal Industry* (New York, 1901), pp. 103-106.

by the group in its entirety. They supported cultural folk festivals, and participated in national Rusin Days.<sup>20</sup> However, their greatest contribution was in the realm of religion. They did not establish the Byzantine Liturgy but the Ruthenians of Galicia and Ruthenia made its presence known in the United States. The congregational singing, as in the Russian Orthodox faith, is a drastic departure from the Latin Church, one that brings the members of the Church in closer participation with the priest.

Most of the Ruthenian immigrants settled in the Eastern sections of the United States. Pennsylvania received the majority of the Ruthenian emigres, with New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Illinois receiving sizeable groups. In Pennsylvania, these immigrants first settled in the eastern sections of the state, in such areas as Hazelton, Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. From this base the Rusins moved to the western districts and found employment in the bituminous coal regions and steel centers within the Pittsburgh metropolitan area.<sup>21</sup>

The Rusin people, who for the most part were illiterate, had looked to the Uniate clergy for leadership in the old country. Coming to the United States without these leaders, they encountered new and puzzling situations. To overcome their lack of leadership, they began to associate with larger Slav groups, hoping to arrive at a solution to their problems. As the Slavs were mostly Catholic, the Rusins attended and many times helped build churches of the Latin Rite. Although, this association with larger Slav groups gave them a feeling of security, they still desired to worship according to the traditions of the Eastern Rite. As early as 1878, the Ruthenians in Minneapolis organized a Uniate parish but were unable to secure an Eastern Rite priest. It was left to a Roman Catholic Polish priest, John Pochialski, to administer the sacraments and to look after the spiritual needs of the people. Similar conditions were experienced by the Ruthenians at Scranton, Pennsylvania and Passaic, New Jersey.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The Rusins of the Pittsburgh area continue to hold Rusin Day picnics and St. Nicholas Day dinners.

<sup>21</sup> J. Davis, *The Russians and Ruthenians in America, Bolsheviks or Brothers* (New York, 1922), pp. 22-50.

<sup>22</sup> *Greek Catholic Messenger*, (May 13, 1934).



By 1882, there were approximately seventy Uniate families in the Shenandoah, Pennsylvania area who were actively seeking a Byzantine priest. Through the efforts of Charles Reis, a German immigrant from an area of Russia, a petition was sent to the Uniate Metropolitan of Galicia, Sylvester Sembratovich, in residence at Lvov, requesting a Uniate priest. A letter from Sembratovich, dated October 24, 1884, stated that a priest was available but that the \$50.00 enclosed by the people was insufficient to cover the cost of passage for a priest and his family.<sup>23</sup>

The Ruthenian Uniates overcame the financial difficulties stated by the Uniate Metropolitan and a Galician priest was sent. The first Ruthenian priest to arrive in the United States was Ivan Volansky. In December of 1884 he presented himself to the Latin Rite bishop at Philadelphia, but because of his married status, the Latin hierarchy refused to give him any material aid. This was the first encounter by the Latin hierarchy in the United States with a Uniate priest. They were completely ignorant of the Uniate agreement and recognized the Latin Rite as the sole Catholic body. On his arrival at Shenandoah, Volansky found that the Ruthenians were forced to rent a social hall for their church services because of the failure of the Latin Rite church to allow them the use of their church. The Ruthenians began the construction of the first Greek Catholic Church in 1885 and it was completed in the following year. This church, named St. Michael the Archangel, lays claim to being the first Uniate Church of the Eastern Rite in the United States.<sup>24</sup>

Volansky proceeded to organize other churches in Hazelton, Kingston and Olyphant, Pennsylvania, and at Jersey City, New Jersey, and Minneapolis, Minnesota in the period 1887-1889. Volansky was not only interested in the spiritual needs of the people but also in their cultural needs. In this latter capacity, he was ahead of his time. On August 15, 1886 he began the publication of *America*, a bi-weekly newspaper, which after its first year, became a weekly. The *America* was published until 1898, when it became embroiled in the labor

<sup>23</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite," pp. 250-251.

<sup>24</sup> Attwater, *The Catholic Eastern Churches*, I, 86; Ivan Ardan, "The Ruthenians in America," *Charities* (December 3, 1904), p. 248.

troubles of the mining districts and ceased publication. In the first issue, Volansky wrote an editorial beginning with the following sentence, "We greet you, Brother Ruthenians for the first time in our native language on the soil of America." The two largest existing fraternal organs of the Ruthenians, the *Svoboda* for the Ukrainians, and the *Greek Catholic Messenger* for the Rusins, still devote part of their publications to the European language of the people. In 1891, Reverend Constantina Andrukovitch became the editor of the *Ruske Slovo* (Ruthenian Word), the second Uniate paper in America. In the following year appeared the *Amerikansko Ruski Vistnyk* (American Ruthenian Herald), which through the years has changed its banner but is still being published today as the *Greek Catholic Messenger*. It is the oldest Ruthenian newspaper being published in the United States. The *Svoboda* (Freedom), first appeared in 1893 and is also still being published.<sup>25</sup>

Other Uniate priests prior to 1890 included Zenon Latkovich (1887), who died soon after his arrival in America, and Constantine Andrukovits (1889), who together with Volansky began a co-operative store, which failed because of mismanagement. Volansky was recalled because of difficulty with the Latin Rite, and in the year 1892, Andrukovitch was suspended and then recalled.<sup>26</sup>

There is some discrepancy in regard to the arrival of the first priest from the Hungarian province of Ruthenia. One group maintains that Nicholas Zubricky, who arrived in 1887, was the first Uhro-Rusin priest in America. He began his missionary activity in the Kingston area of Pennsylvania.<sup>27</sup> The other maintain that Alexander Dzubay and Cyril Gulovich, who arrived in 1889 and worked in the Wilkes-Barre and Free-land areas, were the first Uhro-Rusin priests. Others arriving in the following year included Gregory Hruska and Theofan Obuszkiewicz from Galicia, and Cornelius and Augustine Lavryshyn from Carpatho-Ruthenia. By 1894, there were

<sup>25</sup> J. P. Chase, "Ukrainian Milestones in America," *Ukrainian Life* (August, 1941), 6-7.

<sup>26</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," p. 252.

<sup>27</sup> *Prosvita Kalendar 1920* (McKeesport, Pa., 1920), p. 214.

thirty Uniate Churches in the United States of which twenty-six were Rusin organized.<sup>28</sup>

The first of the Carpatho-Rusin Churches was erected at Freeland, Pennsylvania. Through the efforts of Volansky and the gift of six lots by the E. B. Coxe Company, construction began in June 1887 and the church was consecrated by Volansky in the following August. Having constructed the church, the Rusins had the problem of securing a resident pastor. The Bishop of Presov, John Valij sent Cyril Gulovich to be the resident pastor, who arrived on Christmas Day 1889. By 1894 the physical plant included the church, an iconostasis, rectory and a meeting hall.<sup>29</sup>

New York, which attracted the second largest group of Rusin immigrants, did not have any Uniate churches until 1905. In that year, St. George's Church in New York City came into existence. Prior to that date, the Uniates were members of St. Brigid's Church, with special services being afforded them by the Latin Rite, as early as 1895. In the borough of Brooklyn, the Uniates purchased an unused Protestant Church in which to hold services.<sup>30</sup>

The Uniate Church, or the Byzantine Church of the Slavonic Rite, during its formative years, faced many obstacles in the United States. These formidable difficulties, to a certain degree, have been overcome during the present century. However, several remain even to the present day. Many of the Ruthenians, arriving in the United States, were either absorbed by the Orthodox Church or turned for religious solace to the Protestant Church. These people broke away from their Uniate religion for a variety of reasons. Ignorance of the difference between the Uniate and the Orthodox Church, petty jealousies, and the desire to be more quickly assimilated into American society, were all factors in the break but perhaps the greatest

<sup>28</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," p. 252; for a description of the Byzantine Rite church see Eleanor E. Ledbetter, "The Greek Catholic Church in America," a series of articles appearing in the *Amerikansky Russky Vestnik* in the period September 3 to October 1, 1925.

<sup>29</sup> "Perva Karpatorusska Greko Kaft. Cerkov v Ameriki," (The first Carpatho-Russia Greek Catholic Church in America), *Greek Catholic Messenger* (May 19, 1960), 5.

<sup>30</sup> Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, p. 268.

number left because of the neglect and hostility of the Latin Rite.<sup>31</sup>

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Ruthenians from Galicia and Ruthenia were at the height of their migration to the United States, but they received "a very bad reception or none at all from their Latin brethren in the United States."<sup>32</sup> There are many reasons for this hostility. These immigrants had strange customs and were unable to speak the English language. Their clergy were married and often wore beards, which caused the celibate Latin clergy to confuse them with the Orthodox. In many instances the Latin clergy of Austria-Hungary, who were often anti-Uniate, misinformed the American hierarchy of the catholicity of the Ruthenians. The Ruthenian hierarchy in Europe was partly to blame because of the faulty wording of instructions to the American bishops and for the failure to appoint an authoritative representative to serve as a liaison officer between the two rites.<sup>33</sup>

The Rusins, as each immigrant group before them, insisted upon having their own churches because these institutions had a tremendous impact on their lives. The American hierarchy was against the Rusin desire to maintain their churches because of the fear of the creation of a diocese along nationality lines. They opposed this idea, prior to the coming of the Ruthenians, in their fight against Polish and German interests. In 1891, Peter Paul Cahensly, as one of the leaders of the St. Raphael Societies, addressed a letter to the pope called the Lucerne Memorial, which petitioned for the appointment of bishops for each nationality.<sup>34</sup> The American hierarchy, which was practically all of Irish stock, feared they would lose control of the Catholic Church in America and opposed the movement by seeking a Vatican condemnation of the society and the memorial.<sup>35</sup>

A fundamental reason for the hostility exhibited against the Uniates, was the religious non-conformity of the Eastern Rite

<sup>31</sup> F. H. Sampson, "Eastern Rites in the West," *America* (October, 1949), p. 695.

<sup>32</sup> Attwater, *The Catholic Eastern Churches*, I, 86.

<sup>33</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 127-131.

<sup>34</sup> Letter of February, 1891 in Barry J. Colman, *Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953), pp. 313-315.

<sup>35</sup> Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York, 1951), p. 136.

in regard to ritual. The Latins argued for a uniformity of liturgy and language, while the Rusins supported a diversification in the service. Another point of friction was the method employed in the incorporation of Church property. The Baltimore Synod ruled that all church property must be deeded to the head of the diocese. The Ruthenians, fearing that these bishops wished to suppress their rite, refused to obey this rule of incorporation. They therefore incorporated their property according to the civil law of the state. In this manner they followed the Protestant manner of deeding the property to a board of lay trustees.<sup>36</sup>

Confronted with such opposing factors, it was merely a matter of time before the two groups would come into open conflict. It was as if an unmovable object was confronted by an irresistible force. The catalysts in this struggle were Archbishop John Ireland of the Archdiocese of Minneapolis and St. Paul and Reverend Alexis Toth, a Rusin priest sent to administer the Uniate parish in Minneapolis. That Ireland was not a narrow-minded individual can be attested by his co-operation with Archbishop Gibbon of Baltimore and Bishop Spaulding of Peoria, in seeking to make the Catholic Church in the United States a dynamic force, rather than a dull and conservative agency as envisioned by many European immigrants. In seeking this goal, these three bishops were the moving spirit in the creation of the Catholic University of America at Washington, D.C. Seen in this light, Ireland was a man of contrasts. He was a person interested in an educated laity, but he could not understand nor tolerate a diversification of rite.<sup>37</sup>

The Rusin population in Minneapolis had organized a parish and had constructed a church. Upon its completion, they desired to secure a priest to conduct services. They engaged Alexis Toth, who had served as professor of Canon Law at the Presov seminary. Upon his arrival in 1890, Toth had an audience with Ireland, presented his credentials and asked for faculties to conduct services at St. Mary's Uniate Catholic Church. Ireland was dismayed because Toth refused to kneel to pledge his obedience, and because he was not a celibate, although Toth was a widower at the time. Toth had not violated

<sup>36</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 130; Sampson, "Eastern Rites," p. 695.

<sup>37</sup> Handlin, *The Uprooted*, pp. 133-134.

any doctrinal points, but Ireland upbraided him for this seemingly breach of decorum and refused to give him permission to take charge of the Uniate parish. Toth viewed the attitude of Ireland not only as a personal insult but as an affront to the Ruthenians and the Eastern Rite.<sup>38</sup>

Toth defied Ireland, and began to conduct services at the Uniate Church. When a lawsuit was instituted against Toth in 1891, he petitioned the Russian Orthodox bishop of San Francisco, Vladimir, to accept him and the Uniate congregation into the Orthodox Church. With Vladimir's acceptance of Toth, on March 25, 1891, the first schism of Uniates in the United States took place, resulting in the loss of 361 members. By 1909 over 29,000 Ruthenian Uniates had joined the Orthodox Church, half of this number came in through the efforts of Toth.<sup>39</sup>

By 1898, three other Uniate priests had joined the Orthodox cause. They were Victor Toth, the brother of Alexis, and Michael Balogh and Gregory Hruska, who were two of the pioneer Ruthenian priests in America.<sup>40</sup>

The shortage of resident Uniate clergy resulted in the loss of Uniate membership. To solve this problem, the Uniate clergy adopted the old "circuit riding"<sup>41</sup> system of spending only a short time at each parish. When these transient clergymen were not present, a church committee was to administer the affairs of the church. The committee was to look after the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the congregation. It was in these twin capacities that laymen were able to secure complete control of all church affairs. With the arrival of more priests making it possible to have resident pastors, the committees refused to relinquish their authority. They still exercised complete jurisdiction over the parish even to the extent of

<sup>38</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 132-133; Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East, II Churches Not in Communion with Rome*, 131-134.

<sup>39</sup> Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East, II*, 134; in the period 1891-1936 an Orthodox source lists 225,000 Rusin and Ukrainian Uniates have joined the Orthodox Church. P. Kochanik, *Yubileynyi Sbornik Soyuza Pravoslavnych Sviashennikov v Amerike* (Jubilee Book of the Orthodox Priesthood in America) (Passaic, 1955), pp. 84-103.

<sup>40</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 133.

<sup>41</sup> This system is still practiced by the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the United States.

being able to hire and fire the resident clergy. This brought about factionalism, which in many cases resulted in disorder during the meetings, frequent brawls and the necessity of calling the police to preserve order.<sup>42</sup>

Friction also arose within the Ruthenian parishes, based upon their area of origin within the Austro-Hungarian empire. There were variations in language and in church music between the groups that had migrated from the Austrian province of Galicia and those who were from Hungarian Ruthenia. Those from Galicia became adamant followers of Ukrainian nationalism, while the Rusins were torn between loyalty to Hungary and Carpatho-Ruthenia.

A great deal of trouble between the Latins and the Uniates was engendered over jurisdiction and the granting of "faculties." The Uniate clergy had to receive their powers from the Latin rite bishop and in theory were subject to him. The American bishops sought to place the Uniate priests under their complete control and absorbing them as they had the other nationality groups of the new immigration. One of the special powers (faculties) that the Uniate clergy possessed was the administering of the Sacrament of Confirmation. This power in the Latin Rite, for the most part, resided in the bishop of the diocese.<sup>43</sup>

Through the efforts of American bishops, a papal decree affecting the Eastern Rite in the United States was promulgated in 1890. It was addressed to all bishops of the Eastern Rite and concerned the religious situation in North America. It stipulated several conditions that priests of the Eastern Rite must observe if they sought to migrate to America. America, was and is still considered a missionary area for the Uniate religion. The Pittsburgh Exarchate was still considered a mission diocese.<sup>44</sup> A Uniate priest was required to inform his bishop that he sought to migrate to the United States. This request would then be forwarded to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith for the Eastern Church at Rome, which would process the request and forward it to the American dio-

<sup>42</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukraine Catholic Church," pp. 254-255.

<sup>43</sup> Ledbetter, "The Greek Catholics in America," *Viestnik* (Sept. 3, 1925), 1.

<sup>44</sup> Changed to a resident diocese in July, 1963.

cese in which the Uniate priest desired to work.<sup>45</sup> Upon arriving in the United States, the Uniate priest had to report to the Latin Rite bishop from whom he would receive powers and to whom he had to promise loyalty. The stipulation that caused the greatest difficulty, was celibacy. All Eastern Rite priests going to parishes in the United States were to be unmarried, those in America who were married were to be recalled. The Latin Rite Catholic<sup>46</sup> could not see why this decree should be so distasteful to the Eastern Rite Slavs. For them, this was the only logical conclusion, but to the Ruthenians it appeared to be an infringement upon their rights guaranteed by the Uniate Agreements.<sup>47</sup>

The Orthodox Mission<sup>48</sup> in North America used this papal decree to foster trouble among the Uniate Ruthenians. Although, the Orthodox Church in the United States existed prior to the arrival of the Ruthenian immigrants, its real growth occurred with the return of many Uniates to the Orthodox Creed and the subsequent increase of Greek, Syrian and Slavic immigration.<sup>49</sup> The Orthodox capitalized on the papal encyclical, "Orientalium Dignitas," issued by Leo XIII on November 30, 1895. It declared that Eastern Rite members should become members of the Latin Rite Church whenever there was a lack of an Eastern Rite or Uniate Church. The Orthodox declared that the pope was attempting to circumvent the Uniate privileges. It was over this papal pronouncement that Reverend Gregory Hrushka broke with the Church. He became the leader of the second schismatic movement within the Uniate Church in America. In Hrushka, the Orthodox had a capable leader. As a former Ukrainian pastor in Jersey City and as the former editor of *Svoboda*, his talents were utilized in support of the Orthodox cause.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The Rusin Uniates stopped the practice of using foreign born priests in 1950.

<sup>46</sup> The Latin Rite forbids married clergy.

<sup>47</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," pp. 256-257.

<sup>48</sup> The Orthodox Church claimed that by this papal decree the Latin Rite was infringing upon the benefits guaranteed the Uniates by the Unions of 1596 and 1646.

<sup>49</sup> D. Grigorieff, "Historical Background of Orthodoxy in America," *St. Vladimir's Quarterly* (Spring, 1961), 9-10.

<sup>50</sup> Stephen Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI, No. 8 (Oct.-Dec., 1946), 463-472.

Uniate lay meetings were held for the purpose of preparing a program designed to combat the inroads of the Orthodox movement and to secure some degree of harmony and co-operation with the Latin Rite. The first of these meetings occurred at Shamokin, Pennsylvania on May 30, 1901, at which an "Association of Church Congregations in the United States and Canada," was formed. Three agencies were to co-ordinate the affairs of the association. It was to be headed by a presidium of six members, three of whom had to be priests. The presidium governed the affairs of the association. The second group, called the "Duchovna Rada" (Spiritual Council), was composed of six priests who ministered to the spiritual needs of the organization. The third group, comparable to a secretariat, dealt with such matters as schools, public relations, keeping of records and the publication of organizational materials and statistics.

A convention of the organization was called for March 26, 1902. The main topic of deliberation at the meeting was the scope of rights that the Uniates of the United States possessed. Nothing constructive was accomplished, in fact, the Uniate Church emerged even more divided. A radical wing moved for complete or schismatic independence from Latin jurisdiction, hence, for an independent Church. The convention restated the right of the Uniate churches to be incorporated under the name of the trustee members. This suggestion was contrary to the Catholic system employed in the United States. Not only was this a bone of contention between the two rites, but it proved to be against the best interests of the Rusin Uniate Church during the separatist movement of the 1930's. Two other matters approved at the convention were a request for a bishop for all the Ruthenians in the United States, and the calling for another convention at Brooklyn in 1905. The latter recommendation was not fulfilled, for the Apostolic delegate, J. Bonanzo prohibited the meeting on this congress.<sup>51</sup>

The Uhro-Rusin priests in particular were desirous of obtaining a bishop. As early as 1893, acting under the suggestions of Archbishop Satolli, the Apostolic delegate to the United States, they called a meeting for all Ruthenian priests at Olyphant, Pennsylvania on September 5, 1893. Nicephorus Chanut who was chosen as their spokesman, drafted several petitions

<sup>51</sup> Roman, "Istorija Sojediniija," *Golden Jubilee*, 46-50.

to Rome and Vienna, requesting the appointment of a bishop for the Ruthenians in America.<sup>52</sup>

Finally, in 1902, Rome named Andrew Hodobay as Apostolic Visitor for all the Ruthenians in America. He was to investigate all aspects of the religious controversy. His investigatory mission lasted until 1906, and in his report he recommended the naming of a bishop for the Slav Uniates in America. While in America Hodobay was attacked by various factions that existed among the Ruthenians. The Ukrainians refused to cooperate, while the Uhro-Rusins split into two factions, the Presov and Uzhorod groups. The Presov group supported Hodobay because he was a member of the Presov diocese, while the Uzhorod group opposed him for this same reason. Hodobay was desirous of being named the Ruthenians' first bishop in America but because of intrigues he was recalled in 1906, and Soter Stephen Ortinsky received this honor.<sup>53</sup>

By the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, the great influx of Rusin immigration was drawing to a close. Desiring to continue their cultural traditions, which to a large extent were frowned upon by the older settled groups, the Rusins began the construction of churches. Not only did the Rusins find social acceptance a slow process, but they also learned that their Uniate religion was not wholly acceptable to their Latin Rite contemporaries of the Catholic Church. This in turn had led to the defection of many of their brethren to the Orthodox Church.

<sup>52</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 133.

<sup>53</sup> Senyshyn, "The Ukrainian Catholics in the United States," pp. 443-444.

## VIII. THE RUSIN CHURCH IN AMERICA 1902-1925; NATIONAL DISSENTION, RELIGIOUS DEFECTION, CONSOLIDATION

The Hodobay mission, which resulted in the appointment of a bishop for the Ruthenians in the United States, did not bring about peace and prosperity to the Uniate Church, instead factionalism developed. It brought a division among the people—based on the area of emigration—into a Galician or as it came to be called, a Ukrainian element and a corresponding Rusin faction. The nationalism of the people took precedence over their religious identity. This resulted in the impossibility of appointing a bishop who would be acceptable to both groups.

Through the efforts of Andrew Shepticky, the metropolitan of Lvov, Stephen Soter Ortinsky from the Austrian province of Galicia, was appointed bishop for all the Ruthenian Uniates in the United States. He arrived in New York City on August 27, 1907, where he was greeted by a large delegation of clergy. After all the formalities were concluded, the problem of deciding the site of the diocesan center was discussed. In Ortinsky's bull of consecration, Philadelphia was to be the center, but temporarily it was more expedient to establish the bishop's residence at South Fork, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

Ortinsky, through his appointment of Galician priests to high positions in the diocese, became identified with the Ukrainian faction. This brought about the accusation that he was discriminating against the Rusin group. The Rusins believed that they were being forced to accept the leadership of the Ukrainians, not only in the administration of the Church, but also in the political and social realms of the diocese as well. Leading the fight against, what was termed the "Ukrainian menace" or "Ukrainization," was the Greek Catholic Union, an organization that wielded a great deal of power among the Uhro-Rusins. It was a fraternal organization that seemed to have a split personality. In its great desire to aid the Rusin

<sup>1</sup> *Amerikanskij Russki Viestnik* (August 29, 1907), p. 1; hereafter cited as *Viestnik*.

Uniate Church, it adopted methods that many times retarded the growth of the Church and led to a corresponding increase in the Orthodox Church in America.<sup>2</sup>

The organization was almost as old as the Rusin Uniate Churches in America. By 1892, there were ten Rusin clergymen who served the various parishes in the United States. These priests desired to form an organization, which would have as its purpose the preservation of Rusin culture, the protection of its members and provision for a social outlet for the people. Under the leadership of six of them, the Reverends: Alexander Shereghy, Nicholas Stecovic, Augustine Lauryshyn, Nicephor Chanath, Stephen Jackovich and Eugene Volkaj, and lay delegates from fourteen Uniate Churches met at Wilkes-Barre to form such a society. The charter, which was approved on February 14, 1892, envisioned four purposes for the organization. First, it was to strive for unity among those of the Rusin Uniate religion. Second, it was to provide a method of insuring its members. Third, it was to encourage education among the Rusins by promoting the construction of schools and churches. Fourth, it was to provide a plan for the care of the indigent, widows and orphans.<sup>3</sup>

The organization, which was quasi-religious in nature, made provisions for a fraternal newspaper. This paper, which was to be the treasure and the organ of the Sojedenenija, was to be published in both Cyrillic and Latin type.<sup>4</sup> In its formative years, the organization attempted to put a halt to the spread of Orthodoxy brought about by the Toth defection which by 1895, had won over fifteen Uniate Churches.<sup>5</sup> Through the combined efforts of the Greek Catholic clergy and organization of both the Galician and Rusin groups, Rome sent Hodobay to

<sup>2</sup> The Uniates in the United States were under attack by the Russian Orthodox mission which was subsidized by the Russian government. Kenneth S. Latourette, *The Great Century (A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914) Europe and the United States of America*. Vol. IV *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (N.Y. and London, 1941), pp. 107 and 122.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedenenije," *Golden Jubilee*, 38-44.

<sup>4</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedenenije," p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Most of the Uniates defected to the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox membership in the United States grew from 129,606 to 249,840 in the period 1906-1916. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. II, 516-518.

investigate the problem. Because of the inter-factional dispute among the clergy, his mission was a failure, and the movement of Orthodox encroachment was intensified with the arrival of Orthodox Bishop Platon<sup>6</sup> in 1907.<sup>7</sup>

The Greek Catholic Union also played an important role in the formation of the Executive Committee of the Greek Catholic Church. At its meeting of February 20, 1906, held at McKeesport, Pennsylvania, the organization requested the Apostolic Delegate to secure a bishop for the Uniates in America. Prior to adjournment, the Executive Committee called a meeting for the 13th of March.<sup>8</sup> The reply of the Apostolic Delegate was critical of the organization, but he allowed the meeting to be held, provided the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith had not acted on the naming of a new bishop.<sup>9</sup>

The Greek Catholic Union was not against the naming of a bishop for the Ruthenian Church, provided he was a Rusin and not a Galician. In addition to the political liability of being identified with the Ukrainian element, the appointment of Ortinsky had definite limitations; these angered the clergy and gave the Orthodox mission a wide field of exploitation. Ortinsky did not possess full episcopal jurisdiction, for he "had to receive the necessary jurisdiction for governing his flock by delegation from each single ordinary of the Latin Rite."<sup>10</sup> In effect, it merely reinstated the conditions existing under Hodobay, in that he acted as the vicar-general for all Ruthenians in the various Latin Rite diocese. There was one fundamental difference however, Ortinsky had the power of ordination.

<sup>6</sup>Tikon was the Orthodox bishop of San Francisco who moved the diocesan see to New York in 1905. He was succeeded by Platon, who was formerly the rector of the theological seminary of Kiev. See Theophilus (bishop), *A Short History of the Christian Church and the Ritual of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Its History and Meaning* (San Francisco, 1934), pp. 33-34.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with Msgr. J. Kallock, former editor of the *Byzantine Catholic World*, August 3, 1961.

<sup>8</sup>*Viestnik* (March 1, 1906).

<sup>9</sup>Apostolic Delegate's Letter (No. 11313) to the Executive Committee of the Greek Catholic Church, March 7, 1906, contained in the *Viestnik*, April 14, 1906.

<sup>10</sup>V. J. Pospishil, *Interritual Canon Law Problems in the United States and Canada* (Chesapeake City, Md., 1955), pp. 27-28.

His initial greeting to the Ruthenian people in America was received with little enthusiasm. A pastoral letter, written while Ortinsky was still in Europe, stated that he did not actively seek the bishopric, but would have rather been sent to Brazil as a missionary priest. However, obedience to Church authorities obligated him to accept the assignment. As bishop, he pledged that he would strive for the spiritual and economic welfare of all the people. This letter neither dispelled the apprehensions of the Rusins concerning the new bishop, nor did it identify Ortinsky with the cause of the American Church.<sup>11</sup>

Bishop Ortinsky called a meeting of all Ruthenian clergy to be held at Philadelphia, on October 15-16, 1907. This meeting was to implement the conditions of the appointment and to iron out the various difficulties among the priests. These conditions were embodied in the "Ea Semper"<sup>12</sup> decree of June 14 1907. This decree of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Rites was promulgated prior to his arrival, and occasioned anti-Ortinsky feeling among not only the Rusin clergy but also among the Galician portion of the Ruthenian Church.

The "Ea Semper" decree, beside relegating Ortinsky to a position of a vicar-general, also required the Ruthenian clergy to be celibate and forbade the clergy to administer the sacrament of confirmation. The decree also placed the American Ruthenian Church directly under the jurisdiction of Rome through the Apostolic Delegate. This action severed the jurisdictional ties with both the bishops of Galicia and Uhro-Ruthenia. Other regulatory provisions affected mixed rite marriages, salaries of the clergy, stipends and organizational matters.<sup>13</sup>

The appointment of a Galician priest, Vladimir Petrovsky, as chancellor of the diocese resulted in a coalition of Rusin priests who adopted an opposition policy to the bishop. This clerical faction did not make any overt attack upon Ortinsky's policies but concentrated their campaign against the Papal Decree of 1907. At a meeting on December 19, 1907, at Wilkes-Barre, these priests, Nicholas Chohey, S. Jackovich, A. Kossey, J. Szabo, G. Chohey, T. Obushkewicz, A. Kaminsky, T. Vasov-

<sup>11</sup>Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Byzantine Catholic Church," p. 261.

<sup>12</sup>The decree although promulgated by the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Rites is also referred to as a Papal Decree.

<sup>13</sup>D. Dunford, *Roman Documents and Decrees*, II (Chicago, 1907), 79-86.



scik, M. Bendas and F. Szabo, sent a formal protest to the Apostolic Delegate requesting a complete revocation of the decree.<sup>14</sup>

Despite this lack of harmony among the clergy, the growth of the diocese continued. In 1908, Ortinsky moved the diocesan center to Philadelphia. A former Methodist Church became the Cathedral of the diocese. In 1910, in the presence of many of the Ruthenian clergy together with the Apostolic Delegate, Metropolitan Shepticky blessed the new Ruthenian Cathedral. The following year, Ortinsky purchased a 122 acre farm near Yorktown, Virginia which was to be the site of a Ruthenian Seminary.<sup>15</sup> In the year 1911, three major projects were undertaken; the purchase of land for an orphanage, the securing of a branch of the Basilian nuns from Galicia, and the start of an evening school for the purposes of teaching the Ruthenian immigrant the fundamentals of the faith and for Americanization classes.<sup>16</sup>

The Ruthenian Church of America, in 1909, consisted of 140 churches, the majority of which were located in the Eastern States. Pennsylvania had the greatest number—80, followed by New York with 14, Ohio with 12 and New Jersey with 10. The impossibility of enforcing the decree in regard to celibacy, can be seen by examining the following table of the Ruthenian clergy in the United States. It had a total of 118 priests, serving under the jurisdiction of Ortinsky, the majority of whom were foreign born.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Viestnik* (Dec. 26, 1907), p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> This plan for a seminary was later abandoned in favor of educating young aspirants to the clergy at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C.

<sup>16</sup> Senyshyn, "The Ukrainian Catholics," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI, No. 8 (1946), 447-451.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Shipman, "Greek Catholics in America," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 743. The total of Rusin clergy from Presov and Mukachevo was 62 of which only 2 were celibates.

TABLE 1.—Rusin clergy in the United States according to celibacy and origin.

Diocese of Origin	Monks	Celibates	Married	Widowers	Total
Lemberg	4	8	5	5	22
Przmysl	0	6	12	2	20
Stanislav	0	2	2	1	5
Presov	0	1	13	10	24
Mukachevo	2	1	30	5	38
Krentz	0	1	0	0	1
U.S.A.	0	6	2	0	8
Total	6	25	64	23	118

Ortinsky was faced with other problems beside those stemming from the "Ea Semper" decree. The attitude of the people was both unpredictable and baffling to the bishop. This was primarily caused by their inability to decide whether they were going to remain in the United States or return to the Old World. This problem was solved by the outbreak of the war in 1914, and the raising of families whose children had very little desire to leave America. Another difficulty was the immigrants' attitude toward the control of the Church. In the old country, the church was subsidized by government, in the United States there was a separation of Church and State. These immigrants believed that if they were the sole support of the Church, they should likewise have full control of the physical assets of the organization.

The clergy's attitude also hampered the development of the Uniate Church in America. Most of the clergy frowned upon Americanization. They didn't bother to learn the language and conducted their church services, including the sermons, in the Old Slavonic and Ruthenian dialects. The priests of the Byzantine Rite did not associate with the Latin clergy, and rather than bring about closer relations between the two branches, they aided in the development of mutual hostility. The failure of the priests to become citizens, served as a cause of embarrassment to their parishioners. This abetted the movement for lay leadership and control of the Church, which resulted in conflict between the lay and clerical elements of the Church.

By far the greatest defect of the clergy was the inability to see the need for more vigorous pastoral guidance. They had a very limited outlook, only ministering to the immediate needs of the immigrant, rather than looking ahead to

the future growth of the rite. They did not believe that the Uniate Church was a permanent fixture in the United States. They were also too passive in their outlook and too European in the administration of the Church in America. This static outlook was best demonstrated in their inability to combat the offensive propaganda of both the Latin rite and the Orthodox Church. This propaganda caused periodic schisms among the Uniates. Very little, if anything, was done to try to mend the first breaks in the Uniate Church.<sup>18</sup>

Either through neglect or omission, the clergy failed to acquaint the youth with the proper status of the Uniate Church in America. The Church lacked a system of parochial education, catechetical instruction was neglected, and there was a total absence of any literature either religious or secular. The vigor of the church was hindered because of the lack of religious societies, and consequently the youth were not enthusiastic about becoming active in the Church. This brought about a lack of aspirants to the priesthood resulting in the continuing dependence upon the old country for clerics.<sup>19</sup>

Ortinsky not only had to combat the problem of indifference on the part of certain members of the clergy and laity, but he was even more pressed by those who opposed the papal decree. The leaders of the layman were the officers of the Greek Catholic Union, who through the *Viestnik*, kept up their attacks against the decree and against Ortinsky. The organization, due to its weight in numbers, became a potent instrument in the struggle, having a total membership of approximately 28,000 in 1909.<sup>20</sup>

The *Viestnik* began its campaign against Ortinsky in 1908. It began under the guise of a protest against the papal decree and the lack of power of the bishop; but later attacked the mental competence of the bishop. The hatred of the editor of the *Viestnik* was kindled against the bishop as early as the fall of 1907. It came about by the refusal of Ortinsky, on the advice of Reverends Nicholas Pidhorecky and Michael Balogh,

<sup>18</sup> Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," pp. 467-468. Gulovich, who was the chancellor of the exarchate during the 1940's, believed the church should be a dynamic organism.

<sup>19</sup> Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," pp. 468-469.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Shipman, "Ruthenians and Their Rite," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 277-280.

to give Paul Zatkovich, the editor of the *Viestnik*, an audience. The launching of a drive to change the articles of incorporation from the control of a lay board of trustees to that of the bishop signalled the beginning of the struggle between the Greek Catholic Union and the bishop.<sup>21</sup>

A study of the incorporation of the early Uniate Churches in Pittsburgh reveals the bitterness and animosity between the Galician and the Ruthenian segments of the Ruthenian Church. The oldest Rusin Church in the city is St. John the Baptist, located on the southside. It was superseded in age by St. John's Ukraine Catholic Church located at Seventh and Carson Streets, which was organized by both Rusin and Ukrainian immigrants. Constant squabbles and bitter debates caused several Rusins to petition the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, in January 1900, for the chartering of a new Church. The charter was granted on February 24, 1900, and the Church began to take form. The people still kept the name of St. John's and were located at Twelfth and Carson. The physical plant, through a series of moves, was transferred further down Carson Street, first to Tenth, and finally on April 26, 1901, directly across from the Ukrainian Church.

This was the "mother" church of the Rusins in Pittsburgh. Soon other churches were organized. The first in 1902 resulted in the formation of the Holy Ghost Greek Catholic Church, located on Superior Avenue. Other breaks were more drastic. The refusal of Reverend John Szabo to allow other groups to organize new churches resulted in his lockout at St. John's Rusin Church. Through the efforts of Ortinsky, peace was restored and two new Churches were organized, one in Oakland, the other at McKees Rocks.

It would appear that St. John's Rusin Church would be decidedly anti-Ukrainian and hence anti-Ortinsky, but this was not the case. Not only did they change their articles of incorporation and deed the property to the bishop (January 2, 1908), but the Kuratori (Church Council), addressed a letter to the other Rusin parishes, urging them to obey the dictates of the bishop.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Viestnik* (January 6, 1908).

<sup>22</sup> *50th Jubilee Book of St. John the Baptist Church* (Munhall, 1950), pp. 1-15.

The *Viestnik* also appealed to Church Committees, but it urged them to refuse to amend their charters. By this action the Churches would remain under lay authority and out of the reach of Ortinsky. The economic angle was not overlooked; Church Committees were urged to refrain from giving the bishop the annual 5% diocesan assessment.<sup>23</sup> The subsequent January issue featured attacks more specifically aimed at Ortinsky who was accused of being in the service of the Galicians and as such of wishing to make the diocese Ukrainian in its outlook.

Ortinsky, in a pastoral letter, sought to stamp out factionalism and bring order into the diocese, by declaring he was bishop for all the Ruthenians.<sup>24</sup> The *Viestnik* referred to this communication of the bishop as a "mad letter" and replied with an editorial, entitled, "Protest of the American Greek Catholic Rusin People Against the Papal Decree Given for American Greek Catholic Rusins."<sup>25</sup> The following week the *Viestnik*, acting as the official organ of the Rusin people, addressed a letter to Ortinsky protesting the "Ea Semper" decree.<sup>26</sup>

A branch of the Rusin Civilian Church Council<sup>27</sup> was formed at Braddock on May 14, 1908 and another at Scranton on May 23rd. It was to be headed by an executive committee of fourteen who were to direct its activities. It had a fourfold purpose: (1) To send a protest to Rome, through the Apostolic delegate, against the "Ea Semper" decree. (2) To halt Ortinsky's policy of making the diocese Ukrainian. (3) To work for a Rusin-minded bishop. (4) To protect the Uhro-Rusins and segments of the Galicians against Ukrainian propaganda.

By the fall of 1909, attacks against Ortinsky began to take on a more personal tone. In October 1909, a letter from the Executive Council made a bitter attack upon both the Galician element and the bishop of the Ruthenian Church. It declared that there were 400,000 Greek Catholics in the United States belonging to 100 Churches, administered by a like number of priests. Four-fifths (4/5) of the Churches and priests were

<sup>23</sup> *Viestnik* (January 16, 1908).

<sup>24</sup> Ortinsky, Pastoral Letter, February 1, 1908 to the clergy. In possession of the author.

<sup>25</sup> *Viestnik* (February 27, 1908).

<sup>26</sup> *Viestnik* (March 5, 1908).

<sup>27</sup> Official name of this lay council.

Rusins, while the remainder were of Galician origin. It further elaborated on the devoutness and generosity of the Rusins toward their churches as contrasted with the politically inclined Ukrainians. It ended by declaring that there was nothing in common between the two groups; therefore, the Rusins should not be under the control of a Galician bishop.<sup>28</sup>

Certain members of the clergy, along with their congregation went into schism. Approximately 10,000 left the Uniate Church in 1909 and became affiliated with the Orthodox. Two prominent clergymen left the Church, one was Michael Balogh, the other Gregory Hruska. Balogh, who later was readmitted to the Church by Bishop Hoban, the head of the Scranton Diocese, became a firm supporter of Ortinsky. Hruska, the former editor of the *Svoboda*, organized the *Sojuz* which was an Orthodox publication.<sup>29</sup>

Many changes were made in the *Viestnik*, attacking the honesty, political activity, mental and physical condition, education and moral aspects of Ortinsky's life.<sup>30</sup> There were also clerical attacks upon the Ruthenian bishop. Generally, the Latin hierarchy was opposed to a Greek Catholic bishop, with the exception of the heads of the Pittsburgh and Scranton Dioceses, Canevin and Hoban, who supported Ortinsky. The Rusin priests were divided into those who supported the bishop, such as Balogh and Hanulya, and those who were hostile, such as Lavryshyn and Martyak. The clerical opposition to Ortinsky had organized on November 5, 1908 at Harrisburg, but was powerless to act against the bishop.<sup>31</sup>

The clerical and lay opposition formed a coalition at Johnstown on January 12, 1910. Again they petitioned Rome to recall Ortinsky. On August 30, 1911, at a meeting attended by 44 priests, plans were drawn up to obstruct the work of Ortinsky. The bishop reacted by suspending all the priests who had actively participated in the Scranton meeting. The *Viestnik* countered by encouraging the Uniates to disobey the dictates of their bishop. Those Rusin priests, namely, Hanulya, Gorzo and

<sup>28</sup> "Letter from the Executive Committee of the Ecclesiastical-Laical Congress, to all Greek Catholic Parishes, societies and all Greek Catholics of the United States, except the Galician Ukrainians, and other radicals," *Viestnik* (October 29, 1908), 1.

<sup>29</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 135; *Viestnik* (Jan.-Aug., 1909).

<sup>30</sup> See *Viestnik* files, 1908-1912.

<sup>31</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," p. 267.

Balogh, who supported Ortinsky were labelled as traitors and "Ukraphils."<sup>32</sup> The Greek Catholic Union proclaimed itself the champion of the Rusin people which would protect the people from the machinations of Ortinsky and the Ukrainian menace.<sup>33</sup>

The year 1913 brought peace to the Ruthenian Church in America. The *Viestnik* changed its policy of opposition, no longer attacking Ortinsky, but asking for a subdivision of the diocese into a Rusin and Galician area. Each division would have its own bishop. The granting of full episcopal power to Ortinsky on May 28, 1913, however, more than anything else brought peace to the diocese. The limitation on the powers of Ortinsky was the main cause of the opposition; with its removal, the opposing forces crumbled. Further concessions were granted by Rome on October 27, 1914 and were to remain in effect for ten years. These gave the bishop full power; the clergy were allowed to administer the sacrament of Confirmation and the people were guaranteed the right to worship according to their old traditions.<sup>34</sup>

To appease the Rusin clergy, the chancellor and the vicar-general of the diocese were to be of their nationality. In order to heal the wounds Ortinsky declared in a pastoral letter, "This is but the beginning of our task." He extended the olive branch to all who had opposed him.<sup>35</sup> The forty-eight suspended priests were re-admitted, following the appropriate formula of pledging obedience, on September 13, 1913.

The restoration of peace did not bring the Greek Catholic Union into complete harmony with the bishop. Criticism against the bishop continued, but it was more subdued; however, the attacks upon the Rusin priests who supported Ortinsky during the crisis were redoubled. Hanulya, who edited the *Ruthenian*, a newspaper for the "intelligentsia" was pictured as both a Slavaphil and a "Ukraphil,"<sup>36</sup> and as the second worst political agitator,<sup>37</sup> Gorzo was merely accused of false teaching.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," p. 267.

<sup>33</sup> *Viestnik* (October 10, 1912).

<sup>34</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 136.

<sup>35</sup> S. S. Ortinsky, Pastoral Letter of August 25, 1913.

<sup>36</sup> *Viestnik* (February 25, 1915).

<sup>37</sup> *Viestnik* (April 22, 1915).

<sup>38</sup> *Viestnik* (March 1, 1915 and March 15, 1915).

The death of Ortinsky, which occurred on March 24, 1916, temporarily brought unity to the Uniate Church. The Church was to be governed jointly by Peter Poniatyshyn and Gabriel Martyak, until a new bishop was appointed.<sup>39</sup> Those who wished to discredit Ortinsky continued to attack, even after the death of the bishop. They claimed death was not caused from the effects of pneumonia as listed on the death certificate, but by poison administered by his own staff. Ortinsky, supposedly, was disgusted with the Ukrainian faction and was moving closer to the Rusin group. This latter premise cannot be proven, but it is maintained by several Rusin authorities.<sup>40</sup>

A summation of the episcopacy of Ortinsky would show several positive results, together with many negative developments. The Church, although rent with schism, increased with the construction of sixty-three new churches; the clergy was enlarged from 100 to 220; and a certain amount of discipline was given to the badly torn, semi-independent Uniate Church in America. On the negative side, the "Ea Semper" decree alienated many of the clergy and laity which resulted in the loss of over 90,000 Uniates. The personality of Ortinsky was equally to blame. He refused to compromise and surrounded himself during the struggle with a great many Ukrainian advisors which gave credibility to the political charges against him.<sup>41</sup>

The Uniate Church was without authoritative leadership following Ortinsky's death. Finally, on April 11, 1918, a papal decree divided the Church, along nationality lines, into a Rusin and Ukrainian branch. Each of the two sections was to be controlled by an administrator, who was to be the vicar-general to the Latin bishops. The Uniates did not gain by this arrangement, for the two administrators were not granted episcopal power.<sup>42</sup> By this agreement, the first steps were taken to establish a separate Rusin diocese. In the fifty-three year period since the promulgation of the decree both Ruthenian groups remained separate and distinct.

<sup>39</sup> Pastoral Letter of the Ruthenian Church, III, No. 4 (May 17, 1916). In possession of the author.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Reverend Joseph Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1959.

<sup>41</sup> Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," pp. 463-479; Grigas-sy, *History of the Church of Christ*, pp. 90-100; Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," p. 272.

<sup>42</sup> Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," p. 479.

The first administrator for the Rusins, was Valentine Gorzo, the pastor of St. Nicholas Church in McKeesport, Pennsylvania.<sup>43</sup> Gorzo, because of his actions during the Ortinsky controversy and his attitude toward the priests who studied at the Seminary in Presov, proved to be unacceptable to the majority of the Rusin clergy.<sup>44</sup>

At a conclave of Uniate priests held at Philadelphia on April 11, 1918, the Rusins chose Gabriel Martyak as their administrator, while Peter Poniatyshyn was chosen the head for the Ukrainians. Although the Apostolic delegate inferred that the administrators were to have full episcopal jurisdiction, such was not the case during their management of eight years and five months. The Ukrainian bishop of Canada, M. Budka, ordained the American born seminarians who aspired to be Uniate priests.<sup>45</sup>

The disappointment at not being named administrator for the Rusins, led to the defection of Alexander Dzubay to the Orthodox faith. Dzubay, who was one of the first Rusin priests to emigrate to America, was the vicar-general of the diocese under Ortinsky. Dzubay came to the conclusion that the Union was nothing more than a thinly veiled measure for Latinizing the Rusin Church. He believed that in order to salvage the Rite it was necessary to bring the people into the fold of the Orthodox Church. Consequently, he entered an Orthodox monastery on July 30, 1916, and in rapid succession he was made an Archimandrite and appointed bishop on August 6, 1916<sup>46</sup> He was consecrated the following day by the Russian Metropolitan Eudokim Meschersky, at the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicholas in New York City.<sup>47</sup>

Dzubay, who was responsible for the defection of hundreds of Rusin Uniates, took an independent course of action within the Orthodox Church. The lack of unity among the American Orthodox bishops severely hampered the work of the Church. In 1922, without consulting the other Orthodox bishops,

<sup>43</sup>O. M. Walton, *Story of Religion in the Pittsburgh Area* (Pittsburgh, 1959), p. 35.

<sup>44</sup>Interview by the author with Msgr. John Kalkock, August 3, 1961.

<sup>45</sup>Senyshyn, "The Ukrainian Catholics in the United States," p. 445.

<sup>46</sup>Dzubasy's appointments were due to the work of the Russian Orthodox Diocese of New York City and Metropolitan Eudokim.

<sup>47</sup>Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 136-137.

Dzubay with the assistance of the Orthodox bishop of Moravia, Gorazd, consecrated Adam Philipovsky as Orthodox bishop of Canada.<sup>48</sup> The unpredictable course of Dzubay's action resulted in his rejoining of the Uniate Church in 1933. Neither the Orthodox nor the Rusin Uniates have given a suitable explanation for Dzubay's action. He lived the remainder of his life in seclusion, at St. Paul's Catholic Friary at Graymoor, New York.<sup>49</sup>

The Greek Catholic Union was indirectly involved in the Dzubay controversy. At their 14th convention, held in May 1916, at Bridgeport, Connecticut, Dzubay was endorsed by the organization, as the next bishop for the Rusin Uniates. Dzubay's failure at the title of administrator was not because of his lack of capability but because of political factionalism among the clergy. His rejection was due to the split between the clergy who were educated at the seminary of Mukachevo as against those who were trained at Presov. His administrative ability can be seen by his organization of Churches at Leisening, Pa., Wilkes-Barre, Passaic, and Brooklyn in the period of 1888-1892. Dzubay's organizational work and his position in the Chancery during Ortinsky's episcopacy would preclude any charges of incompetency or inability to manage the affairs of the Church.<sup>50</sup>

In spite of defections and dissensions, the episcopacy of Ortinsky (1907-1916), had a corresponding period of great growth. Fifty-eight new Churches and five missions were added to the Uniate diocese. Although factionalism was rampant, very few churches had schismatic disturbances. These included: St. Mary's of New Salem, Pa., (1912); Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Monessen, Pa., (1913); St. Nicholas of McKeesport, Pa., (1914); Ascension of Our Lord in Arcadia, Pa., (1916); and St. John's of Bayonne, New Jersey, (1916).

Church affairs, during the Martyak administration, were relatively quiet and peaceful compared with the Ortinsky period. There were churches that went into schism, but the villification of the head of the diocese ceased. Prior to the episcopacy of Ortinsky, sixty-four Churches and seven missions were found-

<sup>48</sup>*Jubileynij Zbornik*, I (New York, 1944), p. 287.

<sup>49</sup>Interview with John Kalkock, Pittsburgh, August 3, 1961.

<sup>50</sup>Byzantine Slavonic Rite Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, *Silver Jubilee, 1924-49* (Pittsburgh, 1949).

ed. This was a period of great physical growth and very little doctrinal trouble, even though the Orthodox mission in the United States was waging a campaign against the Uniate Church. Several Churches had schismatic problems in the period prior to 1907. These included in Pennsylvania: St. Mary's in Kingston, (1891); St. Mary's of Wilkes-Barre, (1893); St. Michael's of Old Forge, (1896); Holy Ghost of Charleroi, (1900); St. Nicholas of Old Forge, (1903); and Assumption of Our Lady of Marblehead, Ohio, (1906). In this same period of time the Uniates organized new Churches in Duquesne, Braddock, Rankin and Homestead.<sup>51</sup>

The growth of the Uniate Church under Martyak was not as rapid, due to the split of the Uniate Church into a Rusin and Ukrainian branch. Twenty-one Churches and four missions were established, but conversely, seven Churches had factional disputes. These included: St. Michael's of Passaic, N.J., (1917 and 1923); St. John's of Cleveland, (1918 and 1922); St. Peter and Paul in Elizabeth, N.J., (1918); St. Michael's of Donora, Pa., (1918); Holy Ghost in Philadelphia, (1920); St. Gregory's of Lakewood, Ohio, (1921); Ascension in Clairton, Pa., (1924) and St. Nicholas in Brownsville, Pa., (1924).

Taken as a whole, the Rusin people who migrated from the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy to the United States established 145 churches (seventeen were missions) in the period 1886-1924. Out of this total there were disturbances which led to schismatic movements in twenty of these parishes. The physical property of two of the churches were taken over by the Orthodox, that of St. Michael's of Old Forge, Pa., and St. Nicholas in Duquesne, Pa.<sup>52</sup>

The Martyak period was a transitory period, which enabled Rome to evaluate the role the Rusin Church was to play in the Catholic Church. It was a period of consolidation of European and American customs and traditions for the Rusin people. Beside the customary problem of schismatic disturbances, the people were concerned with the political problem of self-determination for the people of Ruthenia and a socio-economic problem of the stability of the Greek Catholic Union, occasioned by the great flu outbreak following the war.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Statistics compiled from *Silver Jubilee*, pp. 12-82.

<sup>52</sup> *Silver Jubilee*, pp. 12-82.

<sup>53</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedinenije," pp. 52-58.

The beginnings of a parochial educational system were undertaken by Martyak and Hanulya with the incorporation within the Rusin diocese of a branch of the Basilian nuns. Due to the lack of proper facilities they were forced to move their convent from Cleveland to Elmhurst, Pa. It was not until the episcopacy of Bishop Takach that they were established in a permanent convent at Uniontown, Pa.<sup>54</sup>

The Martyak era witnessed a regeneration in the life of the Rusin people. They began to take a greater pride in their churches and cultural heritage. This was partly due to the resurgent national feeling of the people, resulting from the creation of an autonomous Ruthenia, but even more than this it was due to the progress and stability of their Church in America. Their Church was more than a spiritual center, for around it the Rusin people built their cultural, social, economic and political life. The Rusin people's assimilation underwent several stages of development. The first generation attempted to rebuild in America the type of life they experienced in Europe. Being in most cases illiterate and submissive, they sought leadership from those who guided their destinies in the old world, namely the Church and its priests. Their sons and daughters (the second generation) clung even more to their cultural heritage than did other immigrants who sought refuge in the New World. With the gradual assimilation of these people following the second generation, a revulsion against the old ways was very much in evidence, but this did not occur until the late 1920's.<sup>55</sup>

It was the second generation that took the lead during the Martyak administration. This group, for the most part, were native born citizens of the United States but their attachment to European customs can be seen by their refusal to modify any of the old customs, beliefs or traditions. This was to cause new problems in the affairs of the Uniate Church under the new bishop, but in the Martyak period it was a basis of stability. It was, however, in the political sphere that the solidarity of

<sup>54</sup> For a detailed account of the work of the Basilian nuns in the Pittsburgh exarchate see: Prosvita, *Souvenir Book* (McKeesport, 1934), 17-25; George Gulanich, *Golden-Silver Jubilee* (Uniontown, Pa., 1946), pp. 31-85.

<sup>55</sup> Handlin, *Immigration*, pp. 76-77.

the American Rusins with their Ruthenian counterparts may most closely be ascertained. This development, which occurred in the post World War I period, saw the incorporation of an autonomous Ruthenia into the Czechoslovakia Republic, not through the activities of Europeans but through the efforts of American citizens of Rusin descent.

## IX. THE BIRTH OF CARPATHO-RUTHENIA

The American Rusins, having achieved a semblance of order in Church affairs, were very much concerned with developments in the old home-land. The ties that bound the two were not only based on nationalism but also on religious affinity. The plight of Ruthenia, which had become more acute with the advent of the First World War, kindled the latent desire of the American Rusins to alleviate this predicament. It was largely through American efforts that the autonomous area of Ruthenia was created. The twentieth century was a period of both hope and despair for the American Rusins. This was due to the series of roles that the area played in the period 1919-1946. Ruthenia, which was created at the Paris Peace Conference, nurtured by the Czechoslovak nation, dismembered by the Vienna award (October, 1938), occupied by Hungary (March, 1939), met its end as a result of the Soviet Union's incorporation of the territory into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at the close of the Second World War.<sup>1</sup>

The Rusins had changed allegiance to the Austrians in the revolt of 1848 for the purpose of gaining autonomy from the centralizing policy of the Magyars. In October 1849, they presented an elaborate program, which provided for the recognition of the Ruthenians as a distinct political nationality, the introduction of the Ruthenian language in the educational system, and a modest amount of autonomy in the administration of the province.<sup>2</sup> Any hope of Rusin autonomy was crushed by the compromise of 1867, which created the Dual Monarchy. Franticek Palacky, the president of the Slavonic Congress at Prague 1848, perhaps best summarizes the feeling of all the Slav groups by stating: "The Slavs will face it with an honest suffering but without fear. We have existed before Austria, and we shall exist after it."<sup>3</sup> Once again, Ruthenia became a

<sup>1</sup>This series of events has been referred to as, "The Tragic Tale of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (Podkarpatska Rus)," by its first governor. (Letter of G. Zatkovich, "The Tragic Tale," Pittsburgh, Pa., January 21, 1962.) This letter was part of the campaign to emphasize the plight of Carpatho-Ruthenia.

<sup>2</sup>Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup>Oscar Jaszi, *The Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy* (Chicago, 1929), p. 108.



mere appendage of Hungary and suffered because of the unenlightened policies of its rulers. The policy of Magyarization which sought to obliterate or at least circumvent all non-Hungarian nationalistic elements, inevitably had an adverse effect upon Ruthenia and the Uniate Church. This occurred as a result of the Uniate clergy's acceptance of the Magyarization policies of Budapest. The Rusin clergy were almost totally Hungarian in fact, if not in name. The Rusin peasants feeling little if any affinity for their "Magyar" clergy began a schismatic movement, aimed at the destruction of the Uniate agreement of 1646 and the return to the Orthodox Church. The Hungarian authorities denounced this movement and labeled it as treason under a religious mask. Pan-Slav propaganda was, according to the Magyars, responsible for fermenting the breakaway from the Uniate Church.<sup>4</sup>

The Hungarian policy of Magyarization had revived the Orthodox Church in Rutheni which had been largely dormant since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Friction between the Uniate and Orthodox first erupted at the village of Ize in Maramaros County. The local Uniate priest was an elderly man, who was not only tactless but a poor priest and a poor preacher. He had definite Magyar leanings which he tried to force upon his parishioners. The people disliked him and insulted him in the church. This insult irritated the old man to such an extent that he brought his defamers to trial. In the meantime, a committee was appointed to request the bishop to replace him, but this the bishop steadfastly resisted. This refusal by the bishop led to the secession of 370 members in 1903. They applied to the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch to place them under his jurisdiction, but the Hungarian government forbade this and forced the rebellious members to remain Uniate in their religious affiliations. In April 1904, the leaders were brought to trial at Chust and were charged with the crime of "incitement against a confession." The court found the defendants guilty and levied both fines and imprisonment upon the guilty parties. The leader Maxim Vassili Pleska, who was also pro-Russian in his political sympathies, received a prison term of one year and a fine of 500 crowns. His subordinates, Vakaro, Lazar, and Kemeny received prison terms of 14 months; while three others received sentences of 2 months im-

<sup>4</sup>Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 201.

prisonment and fines of 180 crowns each; the remaining five defendants were sentenced to one week in prison.<sup>5</sup>

Other schismatic movements took place in the early twentieth century. In the minds of the peasants, the Uniate clergy was identified with the Magyar rulers; to the Hungarians, the Orthodox leaders were looked upon as agents of the Tsar who wanted to incorporate the area into the Russian empire. The climax of this religious unrest was reached at the monstrous trial at Maramaros Sihot (Sziget), which took place on the eve of World War I. Ninety-four Orthodox peasants and clergy were charged with conspiring with Russia against Hungary. Of these, thirty-two were to serve a total of thirty-nine and one-half years imprisonment plus the payment of heavy fines for treasonable activity.<sup>6</sup> The unfairness of the trial led to a rebuke from Vienna but any action was forestalled by the coming of the war.

The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo, which plunged the world into the first of the catastrophic struggles of the twentieth century, was the prelude to the gaining of autonomy for Carpatho-Ruthenia. Looking back at the events which were to transpire gives the reader a feeling that he is witnessing a comic opera, rather than viewing the actual rise and fall of a people's hopes and aspirations. There is some doubt in regard to the Ruthenian feelings in this struggle. Those Rusins who were conscripts in the Austro-Hungarian army fought loyally for the Dual Monarchy.<sup>7</sup> However, the Rusins welcomed the Russians when they temporarily penetrated the Carpathian Mountains.<sup>8</sup>

The area of the Carpathian Mountains was the scene of some of the bloodiest battles of the war. The poverty-stricken people, who now had still another hardship to bear due to the ravages of war, sank deeper into despair and despondence.<sup>9</sup> After four years of untold sufferings for the people of Europe, the war

<sup>5</sup>R. W. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London, 1908), pp. 322-323.

<sup>6</sup>Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," p. 621; Heisler and Mellon, *Under the Carpathians*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>7</sup>Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>8</sup>Heisler and Mellon, *Under the Carpathians*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>9</sup>Charles M. Haskins and Robert H. Lord, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 238.

came to an end with victory for the Allied and Associated Powers against that of the Central Powers, of which Austria-Hungary was a member. What was to be done to the defeated powers? What would be the future of this little known, tiny corner of the Carpathian Mountains? These were only two of the many problems which faced the statesmen of the Allied Nations at the Paris Peace Conference.

Various nations of Central and Eastern Europe were concerned with the fate of this area. The Hungarians desired to retain the province, for historically, it was part of the Magyar possessions dating back to the tenth century. Likewise, the Rumanians believed that they had an historical right to the southern part of Maramaros County, which was inhabited by Rumanians. The Ukrainians of both Russia and Galicia desired to incorporate this area into a Ukrainian nation, based on the ethnic and linguistic lines of the people. Even after the fall of the tsars of Russia, Alexander Kerensky the leader of the Provisional government, sought to incorporate Ruthenia into a Russian state.<sup>10</sup>

The Russian claim to the area was temporarily blocked by the overthrow of the tsars, and the subsequent revolutions which gave birth to the communist rule in Russia. The new government took Russia out of the war and signed the Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany which transferred a great deal of Russian territory to the government of the Kaiser. Although the allied victory nullified the Treaty of Brest, the allies no longer obligated themselves to respect the secret commitments with Russia. This unexpected turn of events saved the allies a great deal of embarrassment, for they neither wished nor wanted Russian influence extended south of the Carpathians.<sup>11</sup>

The whole course of the First World War and for that matter, the whole course of European as well as World history, was changed by the entrance of the United States into that conflict in April, 1917. It is not the purpose here to examine the course of the Wilson administration in leading the United States into this world calamity but, rather to show how the

<sup>10</sup> Volosin, "Carpathian Ruthenia," pp. 372-373. Such Ukrainian efforts naturally ended with the collapse of the Ukrainian separation in 1919.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State, Memoirs, and Observations* (New York, 1927), p. 256.

idealistic aims of the United States changed the map of Europe, particularly the area of Ruthenia. The Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination of national groups rekindled the fires of nationalism in various parts of the Dual Monarchy. During the course of the struggle, agitation for the creation of a Czechoslovak nation was led by Thomas G. Masaryk, who as early as 1915, demonstrated a desire for the inclusion of the Carpathian area into his federated republic.<sup>12</sup>

It seems strange that so many nations desired to include this Carpathian area within their borders, for Ruthenia neither possessed rich mineral deposits nor was it an important agricultural or industrial area. On the contrary, it was the most backward of the provinces of pre-war Hungary, an area which served as a big labor reservoir for its Magyar overlords, who ruled with the "robber-baron" philosophy of the United States of the late nineteenth century. The people were kept illiterate, consequently superstitious, and an easy prey to poverty, disease and various epidemics.<sup>13</sup> However, these shortcomings were outweighed by the strategic geographic importance of the area to the nations that comprised Central Europe. It was particularly important for the new Czechoslovak state. It gave the Czechs a link with Rumania and made the defensive position of the "little entente" more effective. The states which formed the "little entente" (Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia), were part of the French "System" which sought to isolate Germany. Therefore, by the peace treaty Carpatho-Ruthenia was assigned to the new state of Czechoslovakia.<sup>14</sup>

The social and economic problems of Ruthenia were both staggering and complex. The region continued to face the scourges of hunger, disease, alcohol addiction and illiteracy. To complicate the poor health conditions, there was a significant lack of hygiene, and the use of primitive native customs and home remedies were widespread. The religious practices of the people also helped to aggravate the situation. The fasting of the Rusin peasants, approximately 250 days of the year, coupled with the many religious feast days that were observed

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Halasz, *In the Shadow of Russia* (New York, 1950), p. 210.

<sup>13</sup> Gerard Schacher, "Ruthenia's Way to Autonomy," *Contemporary Review* (January, 1938), 61-82.

<sup>14</sup> C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London, 1934), pp. 202-203.

in Ruthenia, helped to intensify the economic plight of the area.<sup>15</sup> By far, the illiteracy problem was the gravest and most pressing, for the rate was the highest in the whole empire.

The course of Ruthenian development, under the Hungarian auspices, might have been significantly changed if the findings and recommendations of the "Highland's Commission"<sup>16</sup> were implemented. However, this was not the case, for the chairman of the Commission, Edward Eagan, was murdered and the work of the group was held in abeyance. It seems strange that the man who wished to improve the social and economic conditions of Ruthenia was neither a Rusin, nor a Hungarian, nor a member of any national group of the Dual Monarchy, but was of Irish extraction. The murder of Eagan has never been solved. Traveling in Uzhorod, he left his coach a few miles before reaching his destination and was found murdered. The investigation of his death was closed without either determining the reason for his death or the person or persons responsible.<sup>17</sup>

The Rusins lacked both schools, conducted in their own language, and the hope of bettering their lot in the old empire. The only salvation lay in emigration to America, a hope that was realized by many thousands of the Rusin population prior to the war. Estimates of the percentage of illiteracy in Ruthenia vary from 57.6% to 92.8%.<sup>18</sup>

If all the Slav groups of the Dual Monarchy had been combined into one national group, they would be the largest group in the Austro-Hungarian empire. The Hungarians who feared the numerical majority of the Slavs, sought to offset it by the

<sup>15</sup>Oscar Jaszi, "The Problem of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia" in Robert J. Kerner's *Czechoslovakia* (Berkeley, 1949), 197-198.

<sup>16</sup>The Commission was a belated Magyar attempt to alleviate the poor economic and social conditions within the province. To insure impartiality, a non-Magyar was chosen to head the Commission.

<sup>17</sup>Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 11-12 and pp. 17-19.

<sup>18</sup>Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 5, states illiteracy in 1880 was 92.8% but was lowered to 77.1% by 1910. Emanuel Capek, "Racial and Social Aspects of the Czechoslovak Census," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XIII (April, 1934), 622, estimates it in 1910 as 66%. Thomas S. Harrison, *Czechoslovakia in European History* (New Jersey, 1953), p. 344, lists the lowest illiteracy rate for Ruthenia as being 57.6% but contrasts it with Slovakia's figure of 26.8% and Bohemia's 2.12% in 1915.

policy of Magyarization they employed following the Compromise in 1867. The Ruthenian element in both Carpatho-Ruthenia and Galicia grew in numbers from 2,792,667 (12.8%) of the population in 1880, to 3,105,221 (13.22%) in 1890, to 3,375,576 (13.17%) in 1900, to 3,518,882 (12.58%) in 1910, which was the last census of the Austro-Hungarian empire.<sup>19</sup> The Rusin people, although being a very small percentage of the whole Hungarian realm, nevertheless, constituted a majority (of the people) in the area along the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The population increased in each successive decade from 353,226 in 1880, to 379,782 in 1890, to 424,774 in 1900. In each of the decades the Rusin population constituted about 2.5% of the total population. If the territory of Transylvania were included, the Rusin population would increase to 457,825 but the percentage would decrease to 2.2%. The area that these people inhabited would stretch from Poprad to Maramaros Sziget, where the Carpathians are narrow and more penetrable. This area would include the counties of Zemplin, Ung, Bereg, and parts of Maramaros, Ugoca and Saros.<sup>20</sup>

These counties were long and narrow, stretching from the frontier to the great plain. The county boundaries ran at right angles to the racial boundaries, and as a result, the Rusin group did not constitute a majority of the population<sup>21</sup> and its percentage in the various counties in 1900 is as follows:

TABLE 2.—The population in Carpatho-Ruthenia in 1900.

County	Population	Percentage
Maramaros	143,379	46.4
Bereg	95,084	45.8
Ugoca	32,707	39.3
Ung	55,556	36.6
Saros	33,937	19.6
Zemplin	34,816	10.6
Szepes	13,913	8.2

<sup>19</sup>Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>20</sup>R. W. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London, 1908), pp. 3-5.

<sup>21</sup>R. W. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems*, pp. 6-12; Macartney, *National States*, p. 121. The figures of Alois Hora, in *Podkarpatska Rus* (Prague, 1918), pp. 5-7, differ somewhat, but they include areas not incorporated in Ruthenia, containing a total Rusin population of 430,282 in 1890.

The census figures for Carpatho-Ruthenia show a marked decline for 1910. In that year Rusins comprised a total of 334,700 or a decline of 88,459 in the decade of 1900 to 1910. This loss can be attributed to the high death rate and to emigration of the people of the United States. The three largest Ruthenian counties showed a total mortality rate of 175,870 in this same period. Of this total, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % was made up of infants while the rate for all children under the age of seven was 50%. To this population loss must be added the forty thousand people who migrated to the New World during that decade.<sup>22</sup>

The area, when it was awarded to the Czechoslovak nation in 1919, comprised an area of 12,639 square kilometers, or 4,886 square miles. In 1910, it had a total population of 571,488, of which the Rusin element comprised 60% of the total population, along with large Magyar and German minorities. The smaller national groups included Jews, Rumanians, Slovaks, and Gypsies. The principle cities included Uzhorod, Mukachevo, Selvjus and Chust. The peace treaty awarded Czechoslovakia both the foothills and valleys inhabited by the Rusins and the connecting valleys of the upper Tisza inhabited by Hungarians.

In the closing months of the war, the leaders of the Dual Monarchy attempted to salvage the empire, by keeping the various nationalities bound to the emperor. This was of no avail, for if the World War was the immediate cause of the breakdown of the Habsburg empire, "the deeper causes of its collapse lay in the irreconcilable antagonism of the different nationalities which aimed at an independence incompatible with the idea of imperial unity."<sup>23</sup> However, the new Austrian Emperor, Charles I, strove to keep the empire intact. On October 16, 1918, the emperor proclaimed the reorganization of the non-Hungarian part of the monarchy into a federal state, with complete self-government for the minority nationalities. As early as February 1917, the emperor sought to make peace with the Allies by conducting secret negotiations with them from February through June, but these proved to be fruitless.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>R. W. Seton-Watson, "The Problem of Revision," *The Slavonic and East European Review* (July, 1933), 602-603.

<sup>23</sup>Alfred F. Pribram, *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908-1918* (London, 1923), p. 127.

<sup>24</sup>Eduard Benes, *My War Memoirs* (New York, 1928), pp. 474-475.

During the summer of 1918, the Habsburg government was in the state of dissolution. The belated attempt of the emperor to maintain unity among the people of the realm (October, 1918), was motivated by the events which transpired during the preceding six months.<sup>25</sup> On April 10, 1918, a meeting of the Congress of Oppressed Austrian Nationalities was held at Rome, during which the delegates representing the Czechs, Yugoslavs, Poles and Rumanians proclaimed their right of self-determination and denounced the Habsburg regime as destructive of this aim. On October 21, the Czechoslovak people declared their independence. This action by the Czechs was followed eight days later by the Yugoslav proclamation of independence. The establishment of an independent Hungarian government by Count Michael Karolyi on November 1, 1918, brought about the complete dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. The Karolyi government sought to retain the Rusin people in a federated Hungary. Although the doctrine of nationalism was in evidence among the literate Rusins, they were uncertain of their ethnic origin. The peasants did not consider themselves Rusins, nor Ukrainian, nor Russians, but rather as citizens of the area which they inhabited. This Rusin parochialism, together with the long history of Magyar rule in Ruthenia, aided the new Hungarian policy.<sup>26</sup>

Karolyi, who was a firm advocate of Wilsonian principles, made many efforts to reach a compromise with the Rusins as well as other minority groups. To accomplish this, Oscar Jaszi was appointed to the Hungarian cabinet as the minister of racial minorities. Jaszi's solution was imbedded in the People's Law No. X of December 27, 1918, which proposed a high degree of autonomy for Ruthenia. It provided for an amalgamation of the counties of Maramaros, Ugoca, Bereg and Ung into a Russian area for the Rusin peasants. The Rusins would have control of all internal policies, including those of a political, economic, social, educational and religious nature with the Hungarian government acting only in matters

<sup>25</sup>For a detailed discussion of the reasons for the collapse of the Dual Monarchy see: Pribram, *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908-1918*, pp. 127-128; Ottokar Czernin, *In the World War* (New York, 1948), 2nd ed., pp. 37-38; and Jaszi, *The Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>26</sup>Benes, *My War Memoirs*, pp. 474-475.

of foreign affairs and in instances affecting the whole nation.<sup>27</sup>

The solution proposed by Jaszi was never implemented. The Hungarian prime-minister's desire to retain Transylvania, Slovakia and Ruthenia was crushed at the Paris Peace Conference. The awarding of Transylvania to Rumania resulted in the resignation of Karolyi in March, 1919. Whether Jaszi's proposal would have improved the condition of Ruthenia, is an unanswerable question. Those who are skeptical question the motives of the Hungarian government point to the utter disregard for the welfare of the Rusin people exhibited by the Hungarian government in the past centuries.<sup>28</sup>

Toward the close of the war, Czech forces occupied several villages in Ruthenia. On November 4, the villages of Servica, Jablonice, Boleraz, Zohor and Svaty Jan were occupied. The Czechs followed these acquisitions by the seizure of Madarska Ves, Stupeva and Devinska Nova Ves. Following the Armistice in the West on November 14, the Hungarian forces launched a counterattack dislodging the advanced group of Czechs in Ruthenia and forcing them to retreat.<sup>29</sup> To prevent further clashes between the Czech and Hungarian forces, the Allies, on December 23, 1918 drew up a line beyond which the Hungarians were not to advance. This settlement did not apply to Ruthenia but, nevertheless, Hungarian authority disappeared.<sup>30</sup>

In the interval prior to the convening of the Paris Peace Conference, significant events were transpiring affecting Ruthenia. In Ruthenia itself, several councils were deliberating the future of the province, while outside of Ruthenia, several powers were attempting to annex the territory. Of prime concern were the affairs of Hungary following the resignation of President Karolyi on March 21, 1919. A coalition government composed of Socialist and Communist members, under the leadership of Alexander Garbai and Bela Kun assumed power. Following the removal of Socialist members from positions of authority, Bela Kun proclaimed a Communist dic-

<sup>27</sup>Jaszi, "The Problem of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia," pp. 202-203.

<sup>28</sup>See H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars*, p. 347; R. W. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems*, pp. 322-325.

<sup>29</sup>Benes, *My War Memoirs*, pp. 475-476.

<sup>30</sup>C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe, A History* (London, 1962), p. 120.

tatorship and appealed to all people of the former Dual Monarchy to meet in Budapest for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for the new nation.<sup>31</sup>

The two Hungarian provinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia formed a wedge between Hungary and Communist Russia, which in March 1919 had troops stationed almost at the southwestern Polish border. The two provinces, however, were no longer under Hungarian domination but either occupied or sympathetic to Czechoslovakia. In the province of Slovakia, although there were few Communist adherents, the Kun appeal was welcomed by the large Magyar minority. To offset the Hungarian Communist propaganda, Dr. Vanco Srobar, the Czech minister of Slovak affairs at Bratislava, declared martial law and began the systematic round-up of Communist leaders.

Prior to the Kun takeover, the Allies had placed the two territories under Czech control, rather than have Hungary claim them by default. The Czech Ministry of National Defense authorized the occupation of the area. Following these orders, Czech forces occupied Ruthenia by February 15. and southern Slovakia by March 20. The Hungarian Army, now under Communist control, launched a counterattack and occupied Slovakia in the following week, and by April 6, 1919, had entered Uzhorod, the capital of the Ruthenian province. On the following day the two French generals, Piccione and Henocque who were in charge of the Czech forces, received confidential instructions from Vaciav Klofac, the Minister of National Defense, to regroup and prepare for an assault upon the Kun forces. This was to be a joint Czech-Rumanian assault. The Rumanians wished to forestall any attempt of the Kun government's reconquest of Transylvania. The Czech attack commenced on the 27th of April, and was far more successful than anticipated. Units of the army went beyond the demarcation line. Kun accused the Czech government of violating the Allied instructions. His view was substantiated by Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and even the Czech delegate Benes, who condemned his nation's operation.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Peter A. Toma, "The Slovak Soviet Republic of 1919," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, XVII (October, 1950), 203.

<sup>32</sup>Benes, *My War Memoirs*, pp. 474-484; Halasz, *In the Shadow of Russia*, pp. 210-214.

Using the pretext of national defense, Kun launched a counterattack on May 20, which completely routed the Czech forces of General Piccione. On May 30, the Hungarian troops were in control of Lucene, and advanced rapidly in both Slovakia and Ruthenia. The furthest penetration of the Kun army was reached by June 8, with the occupation of the cities of Nove Zamky, Kosice and Presov. The Kun forces could not maintain their position because of the Rumanian declaration of war on April 10. This forced Kun to deploy his forces to defend Budapest. By June 28, the Czech forces had regrouped and forced the Hungarian army to retreat from eastern Slovakia. The end of the Red Republic of Hungary came in August, 1919, with the flight of Kun to Vienna and the Rumanian occupation of Budapest on August 4th.<sup>33</sup>

This ended the Magyar attempt to retain control of their Slavic provinces. The coming to power of Admiral Nicholas Horthy, as regent and head of Hungary, brought stability and order to the nation. Horthy, who was an admiral without a fleet, proclaimed Hungary a monarchy without a king and on June 4, 1920, solemnly signed the Treaty of Trianon. This treaty, which officially ended hostilities, also forced Hungary to surrender large amounts of territory and populations to the succession states of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Thus ended the Hungarian domination of Carpatho-Ruthenia, an occupation that had lasted for approximately one thousand years. Hungary, because of her huge losses, was to be a prime mover in organizing a revisionist bloc to undo the work at Paris, a movement which was to help bring on World War II and temporarily return Ruthenia to Magyar rule.<sup>34</sup>

Another group interested in the incorporation of Ruthenia were the Ukrainians. They were closely akin to the Rusins, having great similarities in their social, ethnic and religious development. The defeat of the Russian forces on the eastern front led to the formation of an independent Ukraine in 1917. This led the Ukrainians of Galicia to proclaim their independence on October 19, 1918. Under the leadership of Eugene Petrushevich, who later allied himself with Simon Petliura, a

<sup>33</sup>John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 231-232.

<sup>34</sup>Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," pp. 624-625 and Louis K. Birinyi, *Why the Treaty of Trianon is Void*, pp. 5-10.

national Ukrainian state was proclaimed which was to include all the territories of the Austro-Hungarian empire inhabited by Ukrainians. This would include Galicia, Bukovina and Ruthenia.<sup>35</sup> On November 3, 1918, at Lvov (Lemberg) the "Ukrainska Narodna Rada" (Ukrainian People's Council) was formed to include all Ukrainians of the Dual Monarchy.<sup>36</sup>

The Ukrainians of Galicia were unable to incorporate Ruthenia into their republic, because of the action of the peace conference which awarded the area of Galicia to Poland. The Ukrainian Republic of Lvov was absorbed by the Poles in spite of aid given to Galicians by the Ukraine. In the closing months of the war, the Ukraine was ruled by German puppets. One of these was General Skoropadsky, who fled to Berlin at the conclusion of the war. The Austrians refused to ratify the Treaty of St. Germaine, because of the fear that the hetmanate of Skoropadsky and a strong Ukraine would annex Galicia, Northern Bukovina and Ruthenia.<sup>37</sup> He was replaced by Simon Petliura, who was a militant champion of the Ukrainian movement. It was Petliura who sought to relieve Lvov and bring about a united Ukraine. Following his defeat, Petliura returned to Kiev, but because of the great Russian Civil War he fled during the winter of 1918-1919 and sought asylum in Poland.<sup>38</sup> This inability to maintain its independence caused the Ukrainian republic, as did the Hungarian nation, to fail in its attempt to absorb Ruthenia.

While the various central European nations were attempting to absorb the territory and the Paris Peace Conference was wrestling with the same problem, the internal situation of Ruthenia was likewise fluid. There was a lack of political unanimity in the course of action which should be pursued. This division resulted from difference of opinion in regard to the intellectual development of nineteenth century Ruthenia. The formation in 1918, of Russophil, Ukrainian and local Rusin divisions helped to further chaotic conditions in the old Hungarian territory. Those who inhabited the region along the common border between Slovakia and Ruthenia were members of

<sup>35</sup>Hrushevsky, *History of the Ukraine*, p. 553.

<sup>36</sup>Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, p. 214.

<sup>37</sup>Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, p. 183.

<sup>38</sup>A. E. Powell, *Embattled Borders, Eastern Europe from the Balkans to the Baltic* (New York, 1928) pp. 270-271.

the Russophil faction. This did not necessarily infer that this region wished incorporation with the Soviet Union, but rather that they were inclined intellectually toward the Great Russian language and culture. The Rusins of Maramaros County, who were closely akin to the Ukrainians of Galicia, were deeply imbued with the rampant Ukrainian nationalism of the time. There was very little pro-Polish sentiment among the Rusins, they, as well as the Galicians, preferred an autonomous arrangement with Russia rather than with Poland.<sup>39</sup> Midway between these two groups were the adherents of a Ruthenian nationalism. This last group had very little contact with the opposing ideologies, and developed a type of native sentiment which was indifferent to either the Great Russian or Ukrainian philosophies.<sup>40</sup>

Due to these divisions, each group organized in order to determine the future position of Ruthenia in the European community of nations. On November 8, 1918, several hundred delegates from the regions of Lubovna, Bardiiv, Svidnik, Stropkiv, Laborets, Humenne and the Spis region convened at Lubovna and formed the first national Ruthenian Council.<sup>41</sup> Although the various groups were represented, the Russophil faction was able to name its leader, Anthony Beskid, as chairman of the Council. One of the aims of the Lubovna group was the abrogation of the connection with Hungary. The Council adhered to the Wilsonian principle of self-determination but was rather vague in regard to its application. On November 19th Beskid in order to be in closer contact with the Slovak National Council at Presov, moved the Ruthenian Council there.<sup>42</sup>

A second Ruthenian Council was formed in the diocesan city of Uzhorod on November 9th. This group was composed of elements which were oblivious to the changes prevailing as a result of the war, and were sympathetic to union with Hungary. The clergy, who were Magyarized, dominated the council. They desired the unhindered development of the Uniate Church and a high degree of autonomy for Ruthenia. It was in cooperation with the Uzhorod group that the Karolyi government is-

<sup>39</sup> Powell, *Embattled Borders*, p. 271.

<sup>40</sup> H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars*, pp. 171-180.

<sup>41</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 212-213.

sued its famous People's Law Number X, which provided for the formation of a Russka Kraina.<sup>43</sup>

The third council of Ruthenia was organized at the city of Chust on January 21, 1919. This council was pro-Ukrainian in orientation, and sought a union of all Ukraine. Several of its delegates, notably Reverend Emil Nevitsky, E. Toronsky, Peter Shima, Ivan Rybovich, Ivan Murtsko and Michael Kormanicky had taken part in the National Council of Lubovna.<sup>44</sup> As early as the preceding January, a movement was undertaken to identify Ruthenia with Ukrainian nationalism. This took place at the Peace Conference of Brest-Litovsk. The appearance of the Rusins at the deliberations of this conference was looked at as insignificant by the majority of the intelligentsia of Ruthenia, while the Ukrainians ignored the Ruthenian delegation. This policy of indifference on the part of the Ukrainians, was due to Ruthenia's never having been a part of the Russian empire, nor was it wholly identified with the rebirth of the Ukraine.<sup>45</sup>

Michael Braschyako, the leader of the pro-Ukrainian faction, was elected chairman and Vasil Yosipchuk, from the village of Bychkiv, was chosen secretary of this meeting which was called the "All-National Congress." The delegates after hearing an impassioned address by Ivan Voloschuk of the village of Nankovo, voted by acclamation for union with the Ukraine.<sup>46</sup> It was not until the flight of Eugene Petrushevich, who was the dictator of East Galicia, from Lvov to Stanislowa that the Ukrainians of Galicia began to seriously contemplate the inclusion of Ruthenia into their nation.<sup>47</sup> This changed attitude was not so much for the purpose of saving Ruthenia from foreign exploitation as much as the desire to procure men and supplies for their military campaign. Several Ukrainian soldiers arrived at Chust on January 9th but withdrew without making contact with the local leaders. A larger group appeared a fort-

<sup>43</sup> Halasz, *In the Shadow of Russia*, p. 210; Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, pp. 231-232; Manning, *The Story of the Ukraine*, pp. 265-266.

<sup>44</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>45</sup> Czernin, *In the World War*, p. 269.

<sup>46</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> William E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine, A History* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 309.



night later but were expelled by a group of the citizens of Chust. This latter group did make contact with the local Ukrainian faction which brought about the change of the name of the third Ruthenian Council to that of the "General Congress of All the Ruthenes Living in Hungary."<sup>48</sup>

The Chust Council requested Petrushevich to represent them at Paris, as part of the Western Ukrainian Republic. There was a great deal of deliberation on the part of the American delegation at Paris, who seriously contemplated the inclusion of Ruthenia with that of the Western Ukraine. This feeling was best exemplified by the American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, who wished to see all the "Russians" incorporated into a single state. To pursue this end further, Colonel G. Goodwin, one of the American liaison officers, was sent to Chust to substantiate the Ukrainian contention. The mission was a failure in that the recommendations of Goodwin were not acted upon because of the chaotic conditions that existed in the Ruthenian Galician provinces.<sup>49</sup>

While the three Ruthenian Councils were deliberating the manner of establishing a provisional government, a pro-Ukrainian body at Jasina in Carpatho-Ruthenia, seized control of the area and established the so-called Hutzul<sup>50</sup> or Jasina Republic. This new government came into existence as a result of the anti-Magyar revolts of January, 1919.<sup>51</sup> The Hutzuls elected a legislative body or Sojm of forty-two members, and an executive branch of four, which handled the administrative duties. This "republic" was in existence for approximately six months, being overthrown by the Rumanian army which arrived on June 11, 1919. The Allies sanctioned the action of the Rumanian troops, for the purpose of preventing a link of the radical forces in Ruthenia with those of Bela Kun.<sup>52</sup>

There was a complete lack of cooperation among the three Ruthenian National Councils and therefore a lack of unani-

mous support for any course of action. The Presov group declared itself for the principle of self-determination, but was vague in arriving at a working solution. The Uzhorod Council was torn between those who sought self-determination and the Magyar oriented clergy who strove for an autonomous Ruthenia under Hungarian auspices. The Chust and Jasina groups desired to be affiliated with a Greater Ukraine. The diversity of the views held by the three groups led to outside interests determining the fate of Ruthenia. These outside interests centered around the Rusin immigrants in America and the personnel of the Paris Peace Conference who wished to create a strong Czechoslovak nation in Central Europe.

The Rusin people of the United States possessed a strong affinity for their old home-land and people. Due to these strong ties, they actively began to organize for the purpose of securing material and political help for their less fortunate relatives and friends in Ruthenia. This is not to imply that there was unanimity of purpose on the part of the Rusin people in the United States. On the contrary, there were as great a number of divisions as there were in Ruthenia itself, but nevertheless, through the efforts of the Greek Catholic Union, the American delegation at Paris worked for Ruthenian autonomy. Largely through the efforts of the American Rusins, Ruthenia was granted autonomy with the Czechoslovak Republic.

<sup>48</sup>V. Markus, *L'incorporation de L'Ukraine sub-Carpathique a L'Ukraine Sovietique, 1944-1945* (Louvain, 1956), p. 14.

<sup>49</sup>Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations* (Boston, 1921), pp. 192-197.

<sup>50</sup>Hutzuls inhabited the mountain regions of Carpatho-Ruthenia.

<sup>51</sup>Macartney and Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe*, p. 120.

<sup>52</sup>Toma, "Slovak Soviet Republic of 1919," p. 205. For Hungarian accounts see: Peter Teleki, *The Evolution of Hungary* (New York, 1923), pp. 135-146; and Louis K. Birinyi, *The Tragedy of Hungary* (Cleveland, 1924), pp. 169-318.

## X. CARPATHO-RUTHENIA IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Rusins in the United States, who were cognizant of the ravages of war upon the poverty stricken area of Ruthenia, took solace from President Wilson's speech of January 8, 1918, in which he stated the Fourteen Points would be the basis for a future peace. Of particular interest was Point Ten<sup>1</sup> which stated, "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." The Rusins now sought self-determination for their European brethren. However, because of the small area of Ruthenia and the equally small population, an independent Ruthenia nation was out of the question. Therefore, it was necessary to secure self-government under a larger nation. This presented a difficulty for the American Rusins, as they were not certain which state would grant them autonomy.

This problem was dispelled by Thomas G. Masaryk, the leader of the movement for Czechoslovak independence, who convinced the American Rusins that the interests of Ruthenia could be best preserved under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Republic. Masaryk was a convincing statesman as can be attested from his ability in persuading the allies to recognize Czechoslovakia in 1918, as an independent nation with himself as head of the provisional government.<sup>2</sup> As early as April 14, 1915, he expressed a desire to see this area incorporated into a proposed Czechoslovak state. Masaryk, who very early saw the strategic importance of Ruthenia to the future security of such a state, worked toward that end followed the collapse of the Russian empire. In early 1918, he broached the question of the future of Ruthenia to Ukrainian leaders, who were not too concerned with the incorporation of the area into Czechoslovakia.<sup>3</sup>

With the signing of the Pittsburgh Agreement in June 1918, by elements of the Czech and Slovak groups, Masaryk pro-

<sup>1</sup>U.S. Congress, *The Congressional Record*, LVI, (1918), Pt. I (Washington, 1918), 680-681.

<sup>2</sup>Hans Kohn, *The Hapsburg Empire 1804-1918* (Princeton, 1961), p. 101.

<sup>3</sup>Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, pp. 255-257.

ceeded to make contacts with the leaders of the American Rusins. His expressed purpose was to explore the possibility of uniting Ruthenia with the Czechoslovak Republic. Masaryk first made overtures to Nicholas Pacuta (Pachuta), a former assistant editor of the *Viestnik* (the newspaper of the Greek Catholic Union), who was instrumental in the removal of Paul Zatkovich as editor of the paper and the naming of Michael Hanchin as the new editor.<sup>4</sup> In June 1918, Pacuta became Secretary of the Russian Orthodox Brotherhood Organization of Pittsburgh and represented the Rusin people who had broken away from the Uniate Church.<sup>5</sup> The Russian Orthodox Brotherhood, however, represented a minority of the Rusin people and Masaryk now sought to make contacts with the Greek Catholic Union. His lieutenants had informed him that this organization represented the majority of the American Rusins who were Uniates in their religious beliefs and that the organizational newspaper was a wide disseminator of information. The officers of the Greek Catholic Union, together with the Uniate Clergy, were the only Rusins who had any semblance of an education.<sup>6</sup> If Masaryk had probed further he would find that unlike their Ukrainian counterparts, the Rusin priests had very little interest in the political aspirations of their people. This was due to their Magyar orientation, and as such they were in favor of a continued existence with Hungary, but they did not press this matter upon their American parishioners. Therefore, the Greek Catholic Union was the logical organization to contact in regard to appraising the political sentiments of the people.

On July 23, 1918, an American Carpatho-Rusin Council was formed at Homestead, Pennsylvania. It was composed of clergy and laymen of Rusin Uniate Churches in both the United States and Canada. In this Congress, as in subsequent meetings of the Rusins, the G.C.U. played a leading role. The American National Council elected Julius Gardos as president and George Komolos as secretary, identical positions that these men enjoyed in their fraternal organization. The spokesman

<sup>4</sup>The leadership of the Greek Catholic Union during the period 1900-1940 was often held by individuals who were indifferent toward the Uniate Church.

<sup>5</sup>Interview with Gregory Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, Pa., August 5, 1961.

<sup>6</sup>Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, p. 257.

for the clergy was Reverend Nicholas Chohey, one of the original founders of the G.C.U. The delegates held divergent views regarding the future of their homeland, the clergy in particular wishing to continue being part of the Hungarian nation. In this regard the clergy merely voiced the opinions of the American Rusins who were not too concerned with the affairs in Carpatho-Ruthenia. They had no desire to break from Hungary and even responded to Jaszi's belated offer of December 27, 1918, which guaranteed autonomy for Carpatho-Ruthenia.<sup>7</sup> The Hungarians had gone so far as appointing Augustin Stefan as the first governor of Ruthenia (Russka Krajina), and Orestes Sabov as the Prime Minister of the area.<sup>8</sup> This viewpoint of the clergy was not held by the majority of the delegates who drafted three alternative solutions. Complete independence, inclusion with their counterparts in Bukovina and Galicia, or autonomy. The last proposal was left dangling, for the Council did not specify with what nation this autonomy was to take place.<sup>9</sup>

Gregory Zatkovich, a Pittsburgh lawyer and one of the founders of the National Council, was chosen to be the spokesman for the group. On October 21, 1918 he conferred with President Wilson regarding the future role of Ruthenia. Following the conference the Rusins<sup>10</sup> were recognized as a subject people under alien control, and were given the right of self-determination.<sup>11</sup> Two days later the "Central European Union," with Masaryk as president, admitted the Rusins into membership in the mid-European nations. On October 26, 1918, Zatkovich signed the Declaration of Common Aims<sup>12</sup> of the mid-European nations on behalf of the American Rusin people. Twelve national groups were in attendance at this convention, including

<sup>7</sup>R. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918-1941*, pp. 179-180; Volosin, "Carpathian Ruthenia," p. 372.

<sup>8</sup>Zeedick, "Korotkij ocerk," p. 294.

<sup>9</sup>Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," p. 622; Interview with Gregory Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, Pa., August 5, 1961.

<sup>10</sup>The American Rusins referred to themselves as Uhro-Rusins during the negotiations with Masaryk.

<sup>11</sup>Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 215.

<sup>12</sup>See, *Declaration of Common Aims of the Independent Mid-European Nations* (Philadelphia, 1918), in Appendix II. Original copy at the Congressional Library and photostats at the Library of the University of Pittsburgh.

the: Czechoslovaks, Poles, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, Uhro-Rusins, Lithuanians, Rumanians and Italian Irredentists, Unredeemed Greeks, Albanians, Zionists and Armenians.

Officials at Prague, who were ignorant of the negotiations that had been transpiring between Masaryk and Zatkovich, proclaimed the Czechoslovak Republic on October 28, 1918, without any mention of Ruthenia.<sup>13</sup> At a second meeting of the National Council held at Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 12, 1918, the delegates passed an unanimous resolution urging the inclusion of an autonomous Ruthenia into the Czechoslovak nation.<sup>14</sup> This "Scranton Resolution" placed a reservation upon the Czech government, that of including all the Ruthenian areas of Szepes, Saris, Zemplin, Abauj, Gomor, Borsod, Uz, Ugoca, Bereg and Maramaros counties in the autonomous state.<sup>15</sup> The "Scranton Resolution," was voted upon by all Rusin Uniate Churches in the United States, with a two-thirds majority of the churches voting in favor of the action.<sup>16</sup> The percentage of votes was as follows: 67% in favor of union with Czechoslovakia, 28% for Ukraine, 1% for Galicia, 1% for Hungary, 1% for Russia, and 2% in favor of Independence.

The results of the Rusin action were cabled to both E. Benes, the Czech delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, and to the heads of leading Allied nations.<sup>17</sup> In regard to the boundary of Ruthenia, Masaryk advised Zatkovich that the final word lay with the Paris Peace Conference. He further advised the Rusin delegate that full autonomy could not be completely realized because of the lack of responsible educated Rusins who could maintain law and order in Ruthenia. He referred to the lack of education on the part of the majority of the Ruthenian people and to the insufficient number of clergy to staff the Uniate Church. In spite of these infringements upon the Scranton Resolution, Zatkovich believed that the best solution for Ruthenia lay in union with Czechoslovakia.<sup>18</sup>

The three national councils in Carpatho-Ruthenia knew little of the negotiations that were taking place in the United States.

<sup>13</sup>Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," p. 622.

<sup>14</sup>*Viestnik*, XXVI (November 18, 1918).

<sup>15</sup>Z. Zawadowski, *Rus Podkarpatska* (Warsaw, 1931), p. 11.

<sup>16</sup>Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 215.

<sup>17</sup>Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, p. 258.

<sup>18</sup>Zawadowski, *Rus*, pp. 11-12.

In early 1919, however, the actions of their American brethren taken at Philadelphia and Scranton, Pennsylvania, were transmitted to Ruthenia. The response was far from unanimous. The Uzhorod group, which was pro-Magyar in orientation, when notified of this action on February 13, 1919, rejected the American solution and reaffirmed their desire to remain with Hungary.<sup>19</sup> Only the Presov, or Lubovna, Committee was inclined to accept the American solution. This acceptance, was probably motivated by the presence of Allied and Czech troops in the area since December of 1918.<sup>20</sup> The leader of the Presov group, Beskid, was sent to Paris as the Rusin delegate to the Czechoslovak Commission.<sup>21</sup>

The American Rusin Council decided to send several delegates to the Paris Peace Conference for the purpose of representing its wishes concerning Ruthenia. It was decided that three men should make the journey: Gregory Zatkovich, as the main delegate; Julian Gardos, who was the president of both the Council and the G.C.U.; and Reverend Valentine Gorzo, one time administrator of the Uniate Church and in 1919 the spiritual director of the Sobranije (United Societies), the rival fraternal Rusin organization. Prior to their departure, Gorzo withdrew because of his religious duties, leaving Zatkovich and Gardos as the American Rusin delegates to Paris. To finance the expenses of the delegates and to provide immediate relief for their destitute kinfolk in Europe, the American Rusin Council undertook a great campaign for the collection of money. Of this money, \$12,000 was entrusted to Zatkovich to disburse in Ruthenia. While serving as its representative, the American Rusin Council paid him \$500 per month.<sup>22</sup>

#### A. NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS AND RUTHENIA

Zatkovich arrived in Paris on February 13, 1919, and was met by Beskid, the representative of the Presov Council. They presented their views to Edward Benes and Karel Kramar,<sup>23</sup> the leading Czech spokesman at Paris. Through the efforts of Benes, the two Rusin delegates were able to present their pro-

<sup>19</sup> Volosin, "Carpathian Ruthenia," p. 372.

<sup>20</sup> Benes, *My War Memoirs*, pp. 475-476.

<sup>21</sup> Zawadowski, *Rus*, p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, Pa., August 5, 1961.

<sup>23</sup> Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia 1918-1919.

posals to Andre Tardieu, the Chief French delegate and the Chairman of the Committee of Five. He assured them that the Allied powers would approve the proposed amalgamation, provided the Rusins desired this solution. Undoubtedly, Tardieu envisioned this solution as being advantageous to the French plan of isolating the post-war Germany. On the eastern border, Poland together with the Little Entente would serve this purpose. However, there was an absence of a common frontier between Czechoslovakia and Rumania making the Entente weak and ineffectual. This absence could be alleviated by incorporating Ruthenia into the Czechoslovak Republic.<sup>24</sup>

The Czechoslovak delegation had also considered a communication from Salava (Szolyva) County written by Michael Kormanicky and presented to the Czech minister at Budapest. It contained a long list of grievances against Hungary and requested that the area be incorporated in a Ukrainian state, and if this was not possible to attach the area to Czechoslovakia.<sup>25</sup> The Czech delegation could now list part of the Chust faction as desiring incorporation with the Czech state.

The Council of Five of the Peace Conference, which functioned just below that of the Council of the heads of the allied government, voted in favor of the American Rusin solution and granted Ruthenia a large degree of autonomy in the Czechoslovak Republic.<sup>26</sup> Being informed of the action taken by the committee of Five, both Zatkovich and Gardos left for Ruthenia to fully inform the people of the foregoing events. Beskid remained at Paris to continue to serve as liaison officer for Ruthenian affairs. Up to this time, Zatkovich did not possess an official position in either the peace conference or in Ruthenia. He was merely the representative of the American Rusin Council. After a stay of four months, Gardos returned to the United States, leaving Zatkovich as the sole American representative in Ruthenia. His main task was to obtain the acceptance by the three divergent Ruthenian Councils, of the decision of the Paris Peace Conference. It was made difficult because prior to

<sup>24</sup> Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*, pp. 202-203; R. W. Seton-Watson, "The Problem of Revision," p. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Michael Kormanicky, *La probleme des Ruthenes de Hongrie*, Memoire No. 6 (Budapest, 1918).

<sup>26</sup> J. Borovicka, *Ten Years of Czechoslovak Politics* (Prague, 1929), pp. 14-19.

the cessation of hostilities there was very little support for union with Czechoslovakia.

Conditions in Ruthenia were in a state of extreme confusion. At Uzhorod a meeting took place on May 8, 1919. Reverend Augustin Volosin was chosen as the temporary chairman. A central committee, of which Volosin was also chairman, considered the various alternative proposals. For one reason or another only the American solution was feasible. The events which transpire in history have devious ways of being fulfilled, for by May 1919, only the weakest and least popular solution seemed to be the only plausible one. Those adherents of inclusion in either a Hungarian, Ukrainian or Russian state, had their hopes completely shattered by the Communist revolutions which shook those nations. The idea set forth in the ill-fated Jasina Republic, although it was the most democratic government possible for the Rusins, could not be fulfilled because of strong Ukrainian ideology and the Rumanian occupation. Inclusion within Orthodox Rumania was unpalatable to the one-half million Ruthenians. Therefore, the only workable formula was the one advocated by Zatkovich, a solution accepted by the Council on May 8, 1919.<sup>27</sup>

The Central National Rusin Council, which had voted unanimously for union with Czechoslovakia on a federated basis, made certain demands upon the government at Prague. They demanded local autonomy, Rusin officers to head local army units, the "Rusin language" to be used in the schools and governmental agencies in Ruthenia and the guarantee by the government at Prague that the Uniate agreement of Uzhorod (1646) was to continue to be in effect.<sup>28</sup> A delegation of 112 Ruthenians went to Prague on May 22nd and presented the proposals to Masaryk.<sup>29</sup>

The deliberations at Uzhorod could well be influenced by the Czech government. The occupation of Uzhorod by Czechoslovak troops occurred on January 12, 1919. By the Spring of 1919 they had penetrated eastward to the Uz River, driving out the Magyar and Rumanian forces. The population welcomed the Czechoslovak forces and urged their delegates to vote in

favor of union with that republic.<sup>30</sup> Zatkovich maintains that Rumanian forces were in control of Uzhorod at the time. This view contradicts the position taken by the historians.<sup>31</sup> Benes stated the following reasons for the peace conference's inclusion of Ruthenia with the Czechoslovak State: Ruthenia could not remain Hungarian because of the Magyar policy of denationalization; it could not be an appendage of either a Ukrainian or of Soviet Russia because Poland was against that policy; therefore, the only alternative was inclusion with Czechoslovakia which would guarantee it autonomy and a higher standard of living, in return for the vital connection between Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Ruthenia became part of the republic as a result of the action of a majority of the Ruthenian population, the consent of the Czechoslovak government and the decision of the peace conference.<sup>32</sup>

The Central National Council and Masaryk formulated a provisional government for Ruthenia, with Zatkovich as chief minister. The finished product closely resembled the autonomy features first presented by the Hungarian government in December 1918. This resolution was forwarded to Benes, who had already submitted a plan to the committee on New States. Benes' plan of May 15th resembled very closely the Karolyi and the Prague drafts. Benes believed, as did Masaryk, that the wide measure of autonomy guaranteed the Ruthenians would have to be achieved gradually because of the political backwardness of the area.<sup>33</sup>

#### B. CZECHOSLOVAK ASSISTANCE TO RUTHENIA

On August 7, 1919, the government at Prague created a "Directorium" composed of five members who were given the authority to organize Carpatho-Ruthenia. The president of the republic, Masaryk, was given the authority to appoint the members of this Ruthenian administrative commission. There were two members representing the pro-Russian faction and

<sup>27</sup> Vratislav Busek and Nicholas Spulber, (ed.) *East Central Europe Under the Communists-Czechoslovakia* (New York, 1957), pp. 40-41.

<sup>28</sup> Zawadowski, *Rus*, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Volosin, "Carpathian Ruthenia," p. 372.

<sup>30</sup> Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," p. 624.

<sup>31</sup> Interview, G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, Pa., August 5, 1961.

<sup>32</sup> Eduard Benes, *Rec o problime podkarpatkomskem a jezo vztaku k Ceskoslovensko republica* (Prague 1934) cited in Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks," pp. 624-625.

<sup>33</sup> Pierre Crabites, *Benes, Statesman of Central Europe* (New York, 1936), p. 222.

two members from the Ukrainian group with Zatkovich constituting the fifth member. Zatkovich was appointed the president of the "Directorium," with Eugene Puza and Vladimir Turkinak representing the Russian faction while Julius Braschayko and Augustin Volosin were proponents of the Ukrainian sentiment among the Ruthenians. During the formative period, there was no concerted effort on the part of any group to stop the movement leading to the incorporation with Czechoslovakia. The Rusin clergy, although having Magyar sympathies, did very little publicly in opposition to the agreed upon solution. However, certain members of the Rusin hierarchy proved unacceptable to the Czechoslovak government. Bishops Anthony Papp of the Mukachevo diocese and Stefan Novak of the Presov diocese were removed and transferred to areas outside of Czechoslovakia. On the other hand certain clergymen officially welcomed the new Czech officials. One such priest was Basil Takach, the rector of the seminary at Uzhorod and the future bishop for the Carpatho-Ruthenians in America.<sup>34</sup>

The incorporation of Ruthenia into Czechoslovakia was officially constituted in the treaty between the principle Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia signed at Saint Germaine-en-Laye on September 10, 1919. The provisions applying to Ruthenia are contained in Chapter II, sections 10-14.<sup>35</sup>

One of the most vexing problems confronting the republic was the western boundary of Ruthenia which divided the province from Slovakia. The negotiations between Masaryk and Zatkovich over this matter were useless, due to the uncompromising position of both parties. The Rusin position maintained that a large segment of their people were incorporated into Slovakia, and therefore, that area should be part of Ruthenia.<sup>36</sup> The Uniate diocese of Presov, which was in Slovakia and hence

<sup>34</sup>Gregory Zatkovich, *The Tragic Tale* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1962), p. 1 and Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, Pa., August 5, 1961.

<sup>35</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>36</sup>R. W. Seton-Watson, *Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers* (London, 1934) p. 40, lists the total population of Ruthenes in Czechoslovakia in 1920, as 550,000 of which 460,000 resided in Ruthenia, 80,000 in the northeast corner of Slovakia, and the remainder throughout various parts of the Republic; Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Two Years of German Oppression in Czechoslovakia* (London, 1941), 20, lists the Ruthenes population at 3.7% of the total population of Czechoslovakia.

the center of Rusin life in the area, was another factor accounting for the desire to incorporate the area into Ruthenia. Outside factors, unknown to the Rusins, prevented any adjustment of their western frontier. The Russian Communist menace was a threat to the Republic throughout the year 1920. There was danger that the Soviet Union might seek to place Ruthenia under its rule. Therefore, the Czechs reasoned it would be foolish to incorporate more territory into the province. Benes hired the former Magyar president, Michael Karolyi, to undertake a mission to Moscow for the purpose of securing an agreement concerning Ruthenia. However, before Karolyi could undertake his task, peace was restored to Eastern Europe and the crisis existing over the most eastern province of Czechoslovakia was ended.<sup>37</sup>

Having been informed by Masaryk that the Paris Peace Conference proposed the western frontier of Ruthenia at the River Uz, Zatkovich returned to Paris to discuss the matter with Benes. Nothing came of these negotiations and he returned to Prague on July 26th. He renewed negotiations with the Czech officials and proceeded to draft an official memorandum to the National Council at Uzhorod, summarizing the conditions that prevailed. It was critical in tone, berating the Czechs for refusing to grant autonomy to the territory and not empowering the "Directorium" to have a free hand in administrative matters. The drawing of the boundary at the River Uz was also attacked. Prior to sending this communication to the National Council, he submitted it to Masaryk for approval. This having been accomplished, he sent it on to the Council on August 12, 1919. Zatkovich returned to the United States and made his report to the American Rusin Congress which was meeting at Homestead, Pa., on September 15-16, 1919. He assured the delegates that Ruthenia would receive the greatest degree of autonomy, that the boundary would be settled amicably, and that Ruthenia would be treated justly by the Czechoslovak nation.<sup>38</sup>

Returning to Uzhorod in October 1919, Zatkovich found the situation had grown progressively worse during his absence. Nothing was done concerning the border problem or that of greater autonomy. Instead a tight censorship of the press had

<sup>37</sup>Michael Karolyi, *Memoirs* (New York, 1947), p. 120.

<sup>38</sup>G. Zatkovich, *Okrytie-Expose* (Homestead, Pa., 1921), pp. 10-16.

been instituted by Czech authorities. On November 18, the central government at Prague issued a "General Statute for the Organization and Administration of Ruthenia." This organic law, which was drawn without consulting Rusin officials, provided for a provisional administrator who would have control of Ruthenia, a provisional directorate and a provincial diet which was to be elected ninety days after the elections to the national assembly.<sup>39</sup> However, a provincial diet was never called during the period of Czech rule.<sup>40</sup>

The first National Assembly of Czechoslovakia framed and passed the constitution for the republic on February 29, 1920. The status of Ruthenia was incorporated into the document which in theory provided "the maximum of autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak Republic."<sup>41</sup> Provisions were made in regard to the legislative and executive functions of Ruthenia's government. At the head of the state was a governor who was appointed by the president of the republic. However, actual executive power was in the hands of a Vice-governor who had to be of Czech origin and he was to be assisted by several commissioners. Local legislative functions were to be performed by a local council of sixteen members, four of whom were appointed by Prague, and the remainder elected by the people. Neither the General Statute, nor the Czechoslovak Constitution was acceptable to Zatkovich or the four other members of the Directorate. The whole body resigned (March 2, 1920) because of the failure of the Czech authorities to grant autonomy for Ruthenia.<sup>42</sup>

To placate the Rusins, the authorities at Prague decided to revise the Ruthenian fundamental law. This new plan, which was similar to the constitutional provisions, provided for a three fold administrative system which included a governor, vice-governor and a council. The Rusins were to enjoy greater self-government. The governor would act as the minister for the Ruthenians in the Prague Cabinet and also as head of the local council. He was given the right to sit in, but not participate in, cabinet meetings at Prague in matters which did not

<sup>39</sup> Zatkovich, *Expose*, pp. 17-21.

<sup>40</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 36-40.

<sup>41</sup> Alex Broz, *Three Years of the Czechoslovak Republic. A Survey of Its Progress and Achievements* (Prague, 1921), p. 28.

<sup>42</sup> Zatkovich, *Expose*, pp. 21-22.

pertain to Ruthenia. He also was required to sign all decree and local laws. The vice-governor continued as the real administrative official who also was required to countersign all official acts of the governor. Whenever disagreement between these two officials occurred, the matter would be arbitrated by the president or the central government. Finally the local council was to consist of ten elective officials with the governor and vice-governor acting as "ex-officio" members.<sup>43</sup>

Zatkovich was Masaryk's choice for the governor, but the Czechoslovak Cabinet refused to approve his appointment. Only Benes approved the choice. Masaryk, noting that the Czechoslovak constitution and the fundamental law for Ruthenia did not list either cabinet or legislative approval, appointed Zatkovich to the post. Zatkovich, fearing the loss of his American citizenship, withheld consent until he received the approval of the American State Department. After receiving his clearance and being approved by the Central Rusin Council at Uzhorod, he became the first governor of Podkarpatska Rus.<sup>44</sup>

Peter Ehrenfeld, a Czech official, was appointed as vice-governor. He was accused of favoring citizens from the state of Bohemia for civil positions in Ruthenia.<sup>45</sup> This was contrary to the agreement contained in the peace treaty, which stated the civil servants in Ruthenia were to be Rusins whenever possible.<sup>46</sup> However, there were very few qualified Rusins, necessitating the filling of the posts with Czech officials. Zatkovich in his eagerness to employ local Ruthenians used the following criteria, "If a Rusin could read and write he could get any job."<sup>47</sup> Due to the lack of trained Rusins for positions as civil servants, and the failure to apply autonomy, Ruthenia was actually ruled by the Czech president. Masaryk had more authority in Ruthenia than he possessed in the remainder of the Republic. There was a total absence of Ruthenians in high

<sup>43</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 222; Busek and Spulber, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>44</sup> The official name of the territory, referred to by most authors as Carpatho-Ruthenia. For sake of brevity the term Ruthenia will be employed. Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, July 25, 1961.

<sup>45</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 223.

<sup>46</sup> See Treaty of Saint Germaine, Chapter II, Article 12.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, July 25, 1961.



administrative positions and although the Czechs administered Ruthenia admirably, they behaved as colonial officials. Separate education facilities, shopping districts and residential areas were set aside for these officials.<sup>48</sup>

After receiving the appointment as governor on April 26, 1920, Zatkovich attempted to implement the provisions of the peace treaty regarding the autonomy of Ruthenia. He proceeded to draft both an electoral law and a constitution which he submitted to Masaryk for approval. Other matters proved unsolvable, in particular the boundary between Ruthenia and Slovakia, and the failure of the Czechoslovak government to live up to its commitments. The failure to arrive at a satisfactory agreement in these matters caused Zatkovich to resign on March 16, 1921.<sup>49</sup>

The viewpoint of the first governor has mellowed with the passage of three decades of time since his resignation. In many ways it contradicts or at least modifies the opinions held by certain writers in regard to Czechoslovak policies toward Ruthenia.<sup>50</sup> According to Zatkovich, the Ruthenians possessed the same rights of citizenship and the same privileges as did other people of the Czech Republic. The Rusins did lack the proper representation in the Prague Parliament, which would have been understandable if they possessed autonomy or home rule. However, this was not granted, and the ten members which the Ruthenians possessed in the Parliament at Prague (six members in the House of Deputies and four in the Senate), were insufficient in relation to its population. There never was a concentrated movement to break with the Czech government during the administration of Zatkovich. Except for the problems of autonomy and the boundary dispute, the Rusins were content with the alignment with Prague. This was advantageous to the Ruthenians who benefitted from the educational, economic and social assistance of the Czechoslovak government.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 225-228.

<sup>49</sup> Zatkovich, *Expose*, pp. 24-25. The fundamental issues which brought about his resignation are contained in his *Expose*, pp. 25-30.

<sup>50</sup> Two anti-Czech Rusin authors are Michael Yuhasz, *Wilson's Principles in Czechoslovak Practice* (Homestead, Pa., 1929); Nicholas A. Beskid, *Karpatorusskaja Pravda* (Homestead, Pa., 1933).

<sup>51</sup> Interviews with G. Zatkovich on July 29 and August 5, 1961.

The resignation of Zatkovich was carried in the *Rusin*, the official newspaper of the governor which was edited by his brother, Reverend Theophilis A. Zsatkovic, who also acted as chancellor of Ruthenia. The last issue of the paper was devoted to a resume of the career of the governor. The events leading to his resignation played a prominent role in the feature story. In a strongly partisan manner T. Zsatkovic wrote of the gratitude the people allegedly displayed at a theatre party for the governor in Uzhorod. The people applauded him on account of his stand concerning autonomy and a just boundary settlement. His resignation, which was as yet not accepted by President Masaryk, led to the formation of a single block by the various political parties which favored autonomy.<sup>52</sup>

The Czechs incorporated into the Republic a mixed population of approximately 600,000, the majority being of Carpatho-Ruthenian stock. The northern and the eastern frontier were very regular, being formed by the Carpathian Mountains. The southern frontier was more irregular, crossing from one side of the Tisza (Theiss) River to the other. This area, according to the Czech census of 1930, contained a large minority of Magyars. This group totaled over 115,000 and they resided in the valley of the Tisza from Berehevo to Chust, along the border separating Ruthenia from Hungary.<sup>53</sup>

The territory for the most part was covered by virgin forests and was irrigated by six of the principal tributaries of the Tisza. Along the southern border, the farm lands were of a poor quality and yielded a very small harvest. This area contained orchards and vineyards whose fruit was used in producing a fairly good type of wine. At the time of the incorporation of Ruthenia, the Rusin peasants were still using the most primitive type of agricultural tools. There were no valuable resources in Ruthenia, nor was there any industry. Other than agriculture, the two other methods of attaining a living were through forestry and the raising of sheep.<sup>54</sup>

The Czechoslovak government began an extensive economic reform program in Ruthenia. This program was aimed at the

<sup>52</sup> T. Zsatkovic, "Concerning the Resignation of Dr. Zatkovic," *Rusin*, I, March 26, 1921.

<sup>53</sup> A. S. Elwell-Sutton, "Subcarpathian Ruthenia," *Contemporary Review*, (December, 1938), 716.

<sup>54</sup> Gulovich, "The Ruthenian Tragedy," p. 75.

reduction of poverty among the Rusin people. It was the belief of the officials at Prague that economic reforms had to be made in Ruthenia before autonomy would be granted. The Rusin people, particularly those who had emigrated to the United States, resented the reform program and began to criticize the Czech government for not abiding with the treaty provisions concerning Ruthenia. Despite these protests Prague continued the program and refused to grant Ruthenia its autonomy.

To help remedy the economic plight of the peasants, the Czech government instituted a scheme for land reform. By 1931 an area of over 123,550 acres had been taken over and distributed to the Rusin farmers. The method of allotment has been as follows: The twenty-five remnant estates were given 7,987 acres of which 7,040 was agricultural land; 146 medium-sized farms (consisting of 74 acres each) received 58,936 acres of which 11,532 was agricultural land; the remainder of 56,650 acres, of which 36,245 was agricultural land, was distributed to small holders and farmers.<sup>55</sup>

In order to increase the agricultural yields, the government established agricultural centers and model farms. However, the scheme for the gradual distribution of land was the one pushed by the Czechoslovak government. Prior to dissolution of the Republic, a plan to reconvert suitable forest areas into agricultural land was seriously considered. Its goal was to create an additional 247,100 acres of farm land. However, the high cost, the resulting relocation of people and finally the Nazi menace precluded the start of this project.<sup>56</sup>

Agricultural reform was the most pressing economic problem of Ruthenia during its existence as a part of Czechoslovakia. Over 62% of the people were engaged in agriculture for their livelihood. Most of the Rusins engaged in mere subsistence farming. Of the 81,360 farmers in Ruthenia, 52,972 cultivated less than 5 acres each.<sup>57</sup> The Rusins, who were the mountaineers in the old Hungarian kingdom possessed poor soil, while the Magyars who were the plain dwellers were in

<sup>55</sup> *The Development of Carpathian Ruthenia since 1st incorporation in Czechoslovakia*, Information Bulletin No. 10 (Prague, 1934), p. 6 (Mimeographed), and Broz, *Three Years*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>56</sup> Broz, *Three Years*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>57</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 235.

possession of the best land. Only about 18.33% of Ruthenia's land was arable and suitable for cultivation, while 49% was covered by forests. An attempt was made to find markets for forestry products, but this was to no avail. In the Republic Ruthenian forest products competed with Slovakia, necessitating the end to the scheme. The logical importer of these forest products was Hungary, but due to strained relations between Prague and Budapest, the Magyars refused to purchase these Rusin products. Relations between the two countries steadily deteriorated, bringing about a break in diplomatic ties by 1930. The refusal of the former areas of the Dual Monarchy to trade with one another was one of the consequences of the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Rather than have one strong empire in Central Europe, there existed several weak economic units, which competed against each other.<sup>58</sup>

Even with the agricultural and forestry reforms, the economic life of Ruthenia remained backward as compared with the remainder of the Republic. Very little had been done to encourage the growth of industry in the province because of competition from other areas of the nation. However, the maintenance of existing industry did take place. In 1933, there were 7,600 workers employed in 187 factories. The glass industry, which was encouraged by the Hungarian rulers, came to an end with the war. The iron producing factories suffered extensively but in 1930, the ironworks at Fridesov was reconstructed and was able to produce rough castings, while the plant at Kobylecka Polan produced axes and shovels. The 46 sawmills constructed in Ruthenia since World War I had difficulties because of the failure to find a market for their product. Other industries existing in Ruthenia in the early 1930's included the chemical industry which produced acetic acid and naphtha, together with the coal industry which mined a poor grade of brown coal near Neresnica, and a tobacco factory at Mukachevo. The Czechs also invested 24 million krone for new plant and equipment for the salt mines at Slatina.<sup>59</sup>

Strides were made to utilize water power for the production of electrical power. Prior to the advent of Czech control, only ten houses in Uzhorod, utilized electrical power, the current being supplied by a saw mill. By 1933, an electrical power sta-

<sup>58</sup> Schacher, "Ruthenia's Way," p. 83.

<sup>59</sup> *The Development of Carpathian Ruthenia*, p. 7.

tion was functioning at Uzhorod, carrying electrical power to Mukachevo, Berehivo, Sevlus and Chust and to 45 other vil-  
 lages supplying electrical power to a population in excess of  
 200,000.<sup>60</sup>

Improvements in transportation and communication were  
 undertaken by the Czechoslovak government for the purpose  
 of improving the economic as well as the political administra-  
 tion of Ruthenia. The roads were almost completely destroyed  
 as a result of the war. Over seventy-five miles of the 355 miles  
 of highways had been constructed since the end of the war to-  
 gether with approximately 200 bridges. In regard to the rail-  
 roads, what roads were not destroyed by the war were swept  
 away by the floods of 1925 and 1927. To rebuild these lines  
 the central government had provided over 250 million krone.  
 In communications the number of telegraph exchanges in-  
 creased from 42 in 1924 to 71 in 1932. The number of pay  
 telephone booths had increased from 743 to 1,777 in this same  
 period.<sup>61</sup>

Except for the cities of Uzhorod, Mukachevo, Sevlus and  
 Chust, the majority of the people lived in the rural areas. The  
 population which showed a rapid increase during the period of  
 Czech rule, contained large minorities of Magyars and Jews,  
 followed by the influx of Czech bureaucrats. This can be seen  
 from the following table:<sup>62</sup>

TABLE 3.—Population of Carpatho-Ruthenia

	1910	1921	1930
Ruthenes	319,361	372,500	446,911
Magyars	169,434	103,690	109,472
Germans	62,187	10,326	13,249
Rumanians	15,387	10,810	12,641
Slovaks and Czechs	4,057	19,775	33,961
Jews		79,715	91,259
Poles		298	
Gypsies			1,357
Others	1,062		278
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>571,488</b>	<b>595,114</b>	<b>709,128</b>

One of the great problems of the Czechoslovak Republic was to  
 maintain harmony among the various population groups. Much

<sup>60</sup> *The Development of Carpathian Ruthenia*, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> *The Development of Carpathian Ruthenia*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 203.

has been written of the German problem in pre-World War II  
 Czechoslovakia, but very little attention has been given to the  
 other large minority groups. The percentage of the various  
 minority groups in the four main areas of the Republic are  
 listed in the following chart.<sup>63</sup>

TABLE 4.—Minority groups in Czechoslovakia

1930	Czech & Slovak	German	Magyar	Ruthenian	Jewish
Bohemia	67.2	32.3			
Moravia and Silesia	74.1	22.8			
Slovakia	72.1	4.5	17.5	2.8	.2
Ruthenia	4.8	1.8	15.4	63.0	12.8
Whole	66.9	22.3	4.7	3.8	1.3

To this total Rusin population of 446,911 must be added the  
 number of Rusins who resided in other parts of the Republic,  
 particularly in Slovakia. The 1921 census lists 85,629 Rusins  
 in Slovakia, while the 1930 census figures show an increase of  
 5,451 in the Rusin population, making a total of 91,079, which  
 placed the total Rusin population in the Republic at 537,990.  
 The Rusins were a very prolific people having the highest birth-  
 rate in the Republic. The density of the population of Ruthenia  
 increased from 31 per square kilometer in 1880 to 57 per  
 square kilometer in 1930. This was made by the great increase  
 in live births and a corresponding decreased death rate. The  
 former stood at 40.4%, while the latter had decreased from  
 28.8 per thousand in 1905 to 18.4 per thousand in 1930.<sup>64</sup> In  
 comparing the population increase in Czechoslovakia, Bohemia  
 had the smallest increase during the first two decades of the  
 nation's history at 6.6%. Slovakia had an increase of 11.1%,  
 while Ruthenia had an astronomically high increase of 20%.

In the period 1919-1933, the central government spent  
 1,600,000 Czech krone (\$48 million) upon improvements in  
 Ruthenia. About 40% of this outlay was allocated for the im-  
 provement of education. This ambitious educational program  
 began to reap large dividends toward the end of Czech rule.  
 Great strides were made in education, using the Ruthenian  
 language. In 1931, there existed in Ruthenia, forty-five kin-

<sup>63</sup> Capek, "Racial and Social Aspects of the Czechoslovak Census," *The Slavonic and East European Review* (April, 1934), 598.

<sup>64</sup> Capek, "Racial and Social Aspects," pp. 602-603.

dergartens, 425 elementary schools, sixteen higher elementary schools, four higher schools (gymnasiums) and three teacher training institutions (normal schools).<sup>65</sup> In 1937 this number was increased to 554 primary schools, eighteen higher elementary schools, eight agricultural and industrial schools, four teacher training institutions and four middle schools (high schools).<sup>66</sup>

The elementary school system was run by the state. The enactment of compulsory educational laws requiring attendance for six years went into effect during the 1920's and was increased to 8 full years of school attendance by 1930. The number of elementary, secondary and technical schools doubled but was still behind that of the rest of the Republic.<sup>67</sup>

An interesting educational development was the erection of two schools for the Gypsy population. There were, according to the population figures of 1921, 1,442 of these people in Ruthenia. They resided near the cities of Mukachevo, Uzhorod and Berehevo. The Magyar language was used by most of these people but near the city of Uzhorod, the Rusin language was employed. Consequently the school at Mukachevo employed the Magyar language in its instruction, while that at Uzhorod used the Rusin tongue.<sup>68</sup>

Two of the social vices of the Rusin peasants which the government attempted to suppress were alcoholism, which represented a serious obstacle to progress,<sup>69</sup> and personal debt. The Czech government solved the addiction to alcohol by removing the illicit liquor traffic. Its removal partially removed the debt problem which was solved very satisfactorily for the benefit of the peasants. During the last fifty years of the Magyar occupation, most of the money-lending enterprises were in the hands of the Jewish populace. They charged a high rate of interest on the loans, often as high as 30 to 40%. In Ruthenia, even though debtors were suspicious of the Jewish money lenders, there was no religious persecution of them. The Czech

<sup>65</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 207 and p. 235.

<sup>66</sup> Data from the *Statistical Yearbook of CSR for 1937* as stated in Brackett Lewis, *Facts About Democracy in Czechoslovakia* (Prague, 1937), p. 39.

<sup>67</sup> Schacher, "Ruthenia's Way," p. 81.

<sup>68</sup> *Central European Observer*, XVI (March 4, 1938), 70-71.

<sup>69</sup> Broz, *Three Years*, p. 29.

government, by instituting government loans to peasants at a very low rate of interest, did a great deal in overcoming this problem.

### C. AMERICAN RUSIN PROTESTS OF CZECHOSLOVAK ACTIONS

It was in the realm of politics and religion that the Czech authorities were criticized. One of the first actions of the Prague officials was the abandonment of the loose county form of government that prevailed under Hungary and the substitution of a more efficient central government in the province. By this plan, Ruthenia was divided into three large districts administered by a provisional governor, lieutenant governor and council. With the new form of government came new officials, usually from the province of Bohemia who replaced those who were either Hungarian or Magyarized Ruthenes.<sup>70</sup>

During the interval of the signing of the treaty of Saint Germaine and the "Provisional Statute of 1920," Ruthenia was under the rule of the French General Hennocque, who commanded the forces in Ruthenia. With the issuance of the General Statute of 1919," the Czech Brojcha was appointed administrator of the province with Zatkovich as president of the Directorate. The Provisional Statute of 1920 (Order in Council No. 356 ex 1920) remained the basis of government in Ruthenia until 1926. The post of governor, after the resignation of Zatkovich, was vacant until 1923. In that year Nicholas A. Beskid was appointed governor, but was not permitted to exercise any of the authority of the office. The civil administration of Ruthenia was managed by the assistant governor. This office was held by Ehrenfeld until 1925, and after that date by a Czech politician named Rozsypal. During this entire period, the Ruthenian Governing Council was not convened to either advise or co-operate in the work of administering the province.<sup>71</sup>

The Rusins in America protested this action of the Czechoslovak government by addressing protests to both the Czech government at Prague and to the League of Nations. At the seventeenth convention of the G.C.U., held at Youngstown,

<sup>70</sup> R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Racial Minorities*, p. 17.

<sup>71</sup> Joseph Illes-Ilyasevics, "The Autonomy of Ruthenia and the Czechoslovak Minority Questions," *Danubian Review*, VI, No. 2 (July, 1938), 11-17.

Ohio (June 11-16, 1922), a resolution was made to reconvene the Rusin People's Congress (Narodnij Kongress Rusinov) to meet in Pittsburgh on November 28, 1922. Fifteen hundred delegates attended who chose as their chief spokesman, Michael Yuhasz, the president of the G.C.U. The Congress listed a number of grievances which they incorporated into a memorandum which was sent to the officials at Prague and to the League of Nations. The Czech officials replied that the affairs of Podkarpatska Rus were internal affairs of the Czechoslovak government and would be handled as such. The League responded that the territory would receive autonomy when it was capable of self-rule, which could not take place until the border with Slovakia was drawn and a Rusin Sojm was held.<sup>72</sup>

The American Rusins believed that the refusal to hold elections for Ruthenian representatives to the National Assembly was another injustice of the Czech government. Ruthenia, according to the Treaty of Saint Germain<sup>73</sup> and the Czechoslovak Constitution (Article V, sec. 106),<sup>74</sup> was to have equal representation. It was not until the spring of 1924, that elections for that body were held in Ruthenia.<sup>75</sup> Even with the holding of elections, the American Rusins maintained that the number of representatives was insufficient in proportion to the population of the area. Ruthenia, they claimed, was entitled to fifteen deputies and eight senators, instead of the seven deputies and three senators that represented Ruthenia.<sup>76</sup> The Rusin People's Congress which assembled at New York City on June 21, 1925 reiterated the charges made by the preceding body and again drew up a list of grievances and dispatched this memorandum to both Prague and the League of Nations. Neither Prague nor the League of Nations altered their original stand on this matter.<sup>77</sup>

As a result of the agitation caused by the American action,

<sup>72</sup>Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedinjenje," p. 58; Yuhasz, *Wilson's Principles*, pp. 8-9; *Viestnik* (Nov. 30, 1922-Dec. 1, 1923).

<sup>73</sup>See Appendix, *Treaty II*, Article 13.

<sup>74</sup>*La Constitution de la Republique Tchecoslovaque* (Prague, 1920), p. 41.

<sup>75</sup>Observer, "The Ruthenian's Struggle," p. 19.

<sup>76</sup>In 1935 Ruthenia's number of deputies was increased to eight. Lewis, *Democracy in Czechoslovakia*, p. 17.

<sup>77</sup>Yuhasz, *Wilson's Principles*, pp. 8-10.

the Czech government mandated a new form of government for Ruthenia. By this law (Order in Council No. 84 of 1926), Ruthenia was organized into one county (Zupa), with the capital being changed from Uzhorod to Mukachevo. The Ruthenian government was placed under the control of a Czech administrator, called a Zupan, with the council and the governor not even possessing a shadow of authority. This reform measure was further changed on July 14, 1927, by the so-called "Public Administration Reform" Act (Order in Council 125 ex 1927). This measure divided the nation into four provinces—Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia. The spheres of authority were very much as given to the "large counties" by the act of the previous year. The Council was assured of being Czech dominated by the inclusion of the provision that one-third of its members were to be appointed by the government. A provincial president appointed by Prague was to be the chief administrative officer while the governor remained purely an honorary official without any authority.<sup>78</sup>

Not all of the Czechoslovak leaders were satisfied with the course of events in Ruthenia. Some even questioned the validity of introducing political freedoms in Czechoslovakia. The former lieutenant governor, P. Ehrenfeld, stated that, "The worst present given to Podkarpatska-Rus (Sub-Carpathian Russia) after the change is politics."<sup>79</sup>

This remark was in reference to the multi-party system that was prevalent in Ruthenia during the late 1920's and 1930's. Many of these parties were introduced to the province by the Czech civil servants and did not reflect the views of the Rusins. Benes, foreign minister of the nation, was critical of the practice. He stated, "I cannot pass without a remark about two-things in the policy practiced up to the present in Podkarpatska-Rus. I must condemn the transplantation of Czech political parties into Podkarpatska-Rus."<sup>80</sup> Benes, a believer in a strong central government, nevertheless realized that in order to retain Ruthenia, the promises made at Paris in regard to autonomy had to be fulfilled.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup>Observer, "The Ruthenian's Struggle," pp. 19-20.

<sup>79</sup>Ehrenfeld as quoted in Gulovich, "The Ruthenian Tragedy," p. 578.

The change referred to was the inclusion of Ruthenia with the Czechoslovak Republic.

<sup>80</sup>Gulovich, "The Ruthenian Tragedy," p. 578.

<sup>81</sup>Schacher, "Ruthenia's Way," p. 82.

The Act of 1927 was bitterly denounced by the leader of the American Rusins. Their spokesman, M. Yuhasz, submitted another list of grievances to the League of Nations and to the foreign offices of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan. This letter of complaint was presented to the Council of the League of Nations on December 12, 1932. The grievances against Czechoslovakia included: the failure of Czechoslovakia to grant Ruthenia autonomy; the neglect of Ruthenian education; the "Czechisation" of Ruthenia; the Czechs fermented lingual chaos in the territory; and their encouragement of sentiments.<sup>82</sup>

The minorities committee of the Council (Najera of Spain, Malkin of England and Ponques-Duparc of France) in their report of October 11, 1933, ruled in favor of Czechoslovakia on all major questions of the Yuhazz complaint. It further reported that the committee had concluded its investigation without finding any cause for the question to be submitted to further consideration by the Council.<sup>83</sup>

The linguistic problem, which was cited in all of the American Rusin Council's complaints, was inherited by the Czech government. The determination of the official language of the territory was a perplexing problem which was never adequately solved. The choosing of an official language was broached for the first time during Zatkovich's administration, his reply was to let the Ruthenian Diet decide. This solution was very practical and politically sagacious, except that the Diet did not convene until early 1939.<sup>84</sup> There was an inability to agree upon the linguistic problem in Ruthenia. There were advocates of the Ukrainian, the Russian and the Rusin language in Ruthenia. The use of the Rusin was further complicated by the many dialects spoken in the territory.<sup>85</sup>

Each group competed against the others, preventing unity within Ruthenia. Charges have been made by American Rusins that the Czechs encouraged political refugees from Russia and adventurers from Galicia to migrate to the territory to create political turmoil. These charges have for the

<sup>82</sup> *The Development of Carpathian Ruthenia*, p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 224-227.

<sup>84</sup> Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, August 5, 1961.

<sup>85</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 240-241.

most part been supported by the Hungarian revisionists who attempted to discredit the Czech government prior to World War II.<sup>86</sup>

Of significant importance to the American Rusin was the attitude of the Czechoslovak government in religious affairs. The Czech policy of freedom of worship, undermined the Uniate Church in Ruthenia by encouraging the spread of the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>87</sup> A great schism occurred in 1921,<sup>88</sup> which greatly alienated the people from the Uniate Church. Where in 1918 the Uniate Church accounted for 97% of the people, this was reduced by 80% by 1921. Even though the population increase in Ruthenia was the largest in the whole republic, the number of Uniate Catholics showed a marked decrease. In the census of 1910, there were 336,812 Uniates residing in Ruthenia, but in the census of 1930, the Uniate population was 359,166 or a decrease of 27,646. A large number joined the Orthodox Church, whose membership grew from 577 to 112,034, an increase of 111,457 in this same period of time. This decrease in membership of the Uniate Church occurred at a time when the total population of Ruthenia increased from 571,488 to a total of 725,457. The percentage of increase or decrease of religious affiliations in Ruthenia at the time of the two Czechoslovak census taken prior to World War II can be seen from the following table.

The American Rusins blamed the Czechs for the growth of the Orthodox Church in Ruthenia. They reasoned that the influx of Ukrainian and Russian sympathizers from Poland brought Orthodox religious doctrines. They maintained that prior to the war there was a very small Orthodox population in Ruthenia which was grouped in the villages of Iza, Vel and Lucka, while the majority (97% of the Rusins) were members of the Uniate Church. The American Rusins accused the Czech government of promoting religious dissension as part of Prague's policy of centralization. The speech of V. J. Klofach before the Czech senate on December 12, 1926,

<sup>86</sup> One anti-Ukrainian source claims that the Czechs subsidized Ukrainians from Galicia for this purpose. Peter J. Kohanik, *Highlights of Russian History and the "Ukrainian" Provocation* (Passaic, N.J., 1955), p. 79.

<sup>87</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 231.

<sup>88</sup> See above Chapter IV.

verified for the American Uniates the Czech policy against the Greek Catholic Church. He stated: "The situation in Podkarpatska-Rus today is that everybody is against the Republic. We did not understand the religious spirit of the people."<sup>89</sup>

TABLE 5.—The religious affiliations in Carpatho-Ruthenia

	1921 <sup>a</sup>	1930 <sup>b</sup>
Total Population	606,568	725,357
Roman Catholic	9.09%	9.55%
Uniates (Greek and Armenian)	54.81	49.52
Protestant (All denominations)	10.38	10.23
Orthodox	10.06	15.41
Czech Church	.03	.31
Old Rite		
Other Christian	.04	.13
Jewish	15.39	14.14
No religious affiliation	1.19	.68

<sup>a</sup>State Statistical Office, *Statistical Review of Czechoslovakia* (Prague, 1930), pp. 10-11, Tables 8 and 9.

<sup>b</sup>State Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of the Czechoslovak Republic* (Prague, 1937), p. 10. Also see Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 203 and 231.

Other unsubstantiated charges, regarding the Czech policy toward religion in Ruthenia include: Czech support to the Hussite and People's Church Movements; the encouragement of Orthodox attacks upon the Uniate Churches; the kidnapping and killing of Rev. Jackovich of the village of Domonya; large Czech government subsidies to build new Orthodox Churches; and the failure of the state to pay the Uniate priests their stipends.<sup>90</sup>

In the 1930's the American Uniates took little interest in European affairs. The protests to the League of Nations came to a halt, and the Americans channeled their interests into purely church affairs. The activities of the American Rusin Congress during the late 1920's was a source of perplexity to the Uniate Church. Inquiries in regard to their charges by League officials were made to the first Rusin bish-

<sup>89</sup> As quoted in Gulovich, "The Ruthenian Tragedy," p. 578.

<sup>90</sup> Yuhasz, *Wilson's Principles*, pp. 25-28.

op, Basil Takach, who for the most part refuted the charges<sup>91</sup> made against the Czechoslovak government.<sup>92</sup> However, with the issuance of the celibacy decree, the leaders of the Rusin Congress and their agencies now directed their attack against Rome and the Rusin bishop in the United States. This is the subject of Chapters XI and XII.

The gains that Ruthenia received from the Union with Czechoslovakia far outweighed the losses. The central government, in its program of alleviating the sad plight of the people poured more resources into the area than it could hope to recover.<sup>93</sup> In order to achieve this goal, Prague resorted to the centralization of authority which was criticized by the Rusins in America. It is one of the travesties of history, that the Czechoslovak government which did more than any nation to fulfill its obligations concerning the rights of the minorities should be subjected to villification and dismemberment. In regard to Ruthenians, the Czech policy could be best summarized in the following conclusion by a noted English authority on Central Europe.<sup>94</sup>

The paradoxical result is that the Ruthenes, whilst denied anything more than the merest shadow of self-government, yet certainly enjoy more political liberty than the inhabitants of many national states in Europe . . . and when all allowances are made, the Czechs have done a great deal for Ruthenia, and at a considerable cost to themselves.

<sup>91</sup> According to former secretary of Bishop Takach, Rev. John Pipik, these charges were either false or groundless.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with J. Pipik, August 5, 1961.

<sup>93</sup> Hrushevsky, *The History of the Ukraine*, pp. 560-570.

<sup>94</sup> Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, pp. 224-225.



## XI. AUTONOMOUS RUTHENIA ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II

The development of the eastern most province of the Czech Republic was cut short by the explosive international situation of the late 1930's. There have been countless volumes written about the Munich Agreement in regard to both Czechoslovakia and Germany and its effect upon Europe. However, a neglected area of the negotiations involved the ill defined and little known area of Ruthenia. This almost forgotten province of Czechoslovakia, was a pawn used by the great as well as little powers of Central Europe. Germany, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia each wanted this backward area within its orbit. Due to its significance on the eve of the Second World War, it may be useful to record Ruthenia's development in those critical years and to determine what each of the powers sought in the territory.

Within Ruthenia changes were taking place in the middle 1930's which appeared to bring about a settlement of its political problems with the Czechoslovak Republic. Milan Hodza, the prime-minister of the nation, began to take measures to implement the autonomy promised the Rusins. The change in the attitude of Prague was due to the inability of the Magyar or Ukrainian outlook to dominate the political and cultural life of the province, together with the demonstrated loyalty of the Rusin leaders to the Republic.<sup>1</sup> The inability of the Magyar irredentist group to win wide support in Ruthenia and the halting of support to the Ukraine faction by Prague, which occurred after the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact of 1933, set the state for changes in Ruthenia. Hodza proceeded slowly in advancing administrative reform. In 1936, Constantin Hrabar was appointed governor of Ruthenia, a post which had been vacant since the death of Beskid in 1933. This was followed by a slight decentralization of authority in the field of education and local administration.<sup>2</sup>

Hodza's solution was to provide a gradual transitional approach to the problem of self-government. He feared that the

<sup>1</sup> H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars, 1918-1941*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Milan Hodza, *Nationality Policy in Czechoslovakia*, (Czechoslovak Sources and Documents No. 22) (Prague, 1938), 26-28.

calling of immediate elections for a Rusin Diet would result in victory for the Ukrainian or Magyar elements, rather than for the best interests of the people. The Prague government promulgated Law No. 172 during the 1937 session of the Czechoslovak Parliament. It enabled Ruthenian officials to exercise a greater degree of self-government.<sup>3</sup> Prague was also to listen to the counsel of the Rusin governor, who, at that time, was C. Hrabar. The ultimate effect of Hodza's political philosophy was never allowed to materialize because the expansionist policies of Hitler's Germany soon threatened the Republic.<sup>4</sup>

### A. RUTHENIA AND MUNICH

The political stability of the territorial provisions of the Paris Peace treaties were visibly shaken by the Nazi refusal to adhere to the Treaty of Versailles. These treaties were completely sundered by the bold and bloodless German seizure of Austria in March, 1938. This venture put the Czech republic in a very precarious position for not only was the Republic surrounded on three sides by the Reich, but its "little Maginot line" defense was outflanked. As in the previous German territorial additions, a wave of propaganda began the softening-up process for the next German move. Late in May, 1938, Hitler launched his drive for the incorporation of the Sudetenland into the German Reich.<sup>5</sup> Of the almost three and one quarter million people of German origin who inhabited the Czechoslovak Republic, over two and a half million lived in the disputed region.<sup>6</sup> Although they were granted many concessions by the Prague government, they retained their German sympathies. Hodza in February 1937, gave the German people in Czechoslovakia further concession but the leader of the Sudetenland Nazi party, Konrad Henlein, could not be placated.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Observator, "The Ruthenians' Struggle for Autonomy," pp. 21-24.

<sup>4</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 18-21.

<sup>5</sup> In a speech delivered on May 28, 1938, Hitler stated: "It is my unshakable will that Czechoslovakia shall be wiped off the map." Quoted in S. Harrison Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European History* (Princeton, 1953), p. 381.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Chmelar, *The German Problem in Czechoslovakia*, (Czechoslovak Sources and Documents, No. 14) (Prague, 1936), 11-17.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Fall, "Czecho-Slovakia's Nationality Problem," *Danubian Review*, VI, No. 2 (July, 1938), 8-10.

The events of the Spring and Summer of 1938 had an important bearing on the internal situation within Ruthenia. In order to insure the co-operation of her easternmost territory, the officials at Prague once again began discussions concerning Ruthenian autonomy. The government proposed in July 1938, temporarily to withhold autonomy until the Republic could arrive at an agreement with Germany. However, the Ruthenian officials refused to accept this proposal, forcing Prague to promise immediate autonomy. This was granted by a concurrent resolution on November 22, 1938. (Code of Laws and Ordinances of the Czechoslovak Republic, No. 328 ex 1938) This law granted the Rusin people the fullest possible autonomy within the framework of the Republic, although foreign affairs, finance, defense and transportation were still controlled by the government at Prague.<sup>8</sup>

The mobilization of a million and a half German troops along the border of Bohemia in mid August 1938, seemed the prelude to another general European War. The Czechoslovak Republic replied by a general mobilization and expected aid from Great Britain, France and Russia. However, neither England nor France were prepared or willing to fight and safe-guard the Czech nation. The weakness of the Allies was shown by Chamberlain's hurried flight to see Hitler at Berchtesgaden on September 15. Hitler confirmed his pledge to fight for the Sudeten Germans. Chamberlain returned home to consult with both the British and French officials, and tentatively agreed to sacrifice Czechoslovakia. He again met with Hitler at Godesburg and was presented with a German ultimatum far wider in scope. Further negotiations would be useless. This dramatic change in events led to the famous Munich confrontation where Chamberlain and Daladier met with Hitler and Mussolini to dismember Czechoslovakia<sup>9</sup> on September 29, 1938.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 30-31; Manning, *The Story of the Ukraine*, p. 269.

<sup>9</sup>At the Conference the "Big Four" nations agreed to change the official name of the dismembered republic to Czechoslovakia. During World War II the Allies dropped the hyphenated name. This monograph will adhere to the non-hyphenated spelling.

<sup>10</sup>For a detailed account see Frederick L. Schuman, *Europe on the Eve, The Crisis of Diplomacy, 1933-1939* (New York, 1939).

Munich had great repercussions in both Slovakia and Ruthenia. With the weakening of the central government, the advocates for complete autonomy found themselves in control of the two provinces. In Ruthenia, the desire for self-government was not as pronounced as in Slovakia, due to the separatist tendencies of the three main groups, namely, the Rusin, Ukrainian, and Russian sympathizers.

There were other nations interested in the fate of Czechoslovakia beside the Big Four powers of Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France. These included Russia, Hungary and Poland. Russia had a treaty of mutual assistance with Prague, but it was contingent upon French co-operation. The failure of the French to act against Hitler, along with the practical difficulties of coming to Prague's defense led to the Soviet Union's disassociation with the affairs of the Republic. The other two powers, Hungary and Poland, were not interested in the protection or preservation of the Czechoslovak Republic, but rather in sharing in the partition of that unfortunate nation. Hungary, a leading exponent of revisionism, sent both Admiral Horthy and Premier Imredy to visit Hitler, for the expressed purpose of securing territorial claims to both Ruthenia and Slovakia. Their request was not granted, for they did not wish to align themselves with Nazi German and were fearful of the consequences if they seized the desired territories.<sup>11</sup>

Unexpected aid for an autonomous Ruthenia was forthcoming from Italy, which previously had pursued a friendly relationship with both Poland and Hungary. Mussolini in a speech at Trieste had advocated the policy of self-determination for all minority groups in Czechoslovakia. This declaration was contrary to the German position of attempting to secure Ruthenia as a possible corridor to connect with Rumania.

At the Munich conference, upon the insistence of the Italian dictator, an annex<sup>12</sup> to the Munich accord of September 29, 1938, was added on the following day. This annex was advantageous to both the Polish and Hungarian claims in

<sup>11</sup>H. Ripka, *Munich: Before and After* (London, 1939), p. 115.

<sup>12</sup>Provided that if the Polish and Hungarian minority problems of Czechoslovakia were not settled in three months, a conference of the "Big Four" powers would be called to deal with the problem.

Ruthenia. Hungary wished to reoccupy the Magyar inhabited areas of both Slovakia and Ruthenia. The Czech government proceeded very slowly in regard to Magyar claims for territory within the Republic. Of prime consideration was the safeguarding of transportation and communication routes to Rumania which ran through Ruthenia.<sup>13</sup> Even though sympathy for the Hungarians was almost totally lacking in this province, the Czech government granted even greater local concessions than were contained in the liberal law No. 172 granted in 1937.<sup>14</sup>

The Czech officials discussed the Magyar problem with the Rusins at Uzhorod during the critical days of late September and early October 1938. No decision was reached in relation to the amounts of territory which should be ceded to the Hungarian government. The Horthy government then issued a proclamation on October 2nd demanding the incorporation of former Magyar territory to Hungary based on the Hungarian census of 1910. Another stipulation was the holding of plebiscites in the other areas of Slovakia and Ruthenia. The leaders at Budapest were under the false hope that these areas would consent to reincorporation with Hungary, a hope that was fully exploded by the resistance to Magyar troops during the invasion of March 1939. For Horthy, a settlement had to be reached according to these lines.<sup>15</sup> These demands were not acceptable to either the Rusin delegates or the Czech government. Hungary broke off diplomatic relations, mobilized her army and appealed to the nations who had signed the Munich accord, but Czechoslovakia at the last moment decided to arbitrate the dispute.

#### B. THE UKRAINIAN PIEDMONT

Hitler's main motive, in refusing to agree to the demands of Horthy, was to use Ruthenia as a Ukrainian Piedmont to stir up trouble among disaffected elements of both Polish Galicia and the Soviet Ukraine. This area would serve as a center for Nazi propaganda which advocated Ukrainian na-

<sup>13</sup> Philip E. Mosely, "Transylvania Partitioned," *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1940), 243.

<sup>14</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Czechoslovakia Fights Back* (Washington, 1943), pp. 14-15.

tionalism. The scheme of making Ruthenia a "Piedmont" for the union of all Ukrainian people was foredoomed to failure. It was the most backward of all Slavic areas and by far the smallest in population. However, throughout the last quarter of 1938, Hitler refused to relinquish his plan that this area would be the kernel of a new Ukrainian nation, which would be subservient to the demands of the Third Reich.<sup>16</sup>

The German Fuhrer's idea was ridiculed by Moscow. Stalin referred to this scheme as the dream of a madman who wished to annex the elephant to the gnat. Addressing the 18th Congress of the Communist party he declared: "Imagine: the gnat comes to the giant and says perkily: 'Ah, brother, how sorry I am for you. Here you are without any landlord, without any capitalists, with no national oppression, without any fascist bosses. Is that a way to live?'"<sup>17</sup>

To foment discontent among the various Ukrainian elements within Central Europe, an underground party had been formed during the early 1920's by the Ukrainian nationalists of Galicia. This party, known as the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (O.U.N.), had ties with German intelligence as far back as the Weimar Republic. One of the leaders, a Colonel Eugene Konovalts, was assassinated in 1938 by a Soviet agent, forcing the Nazi to seek a replacement friendly to Germany. They found a very capable man in Colonel Andrew Melnyk, who coordinated the efforts of this organization with the strategy of the Third Reich. The Germans first used the O.U.N. in Ruthenia during the tense days leading to the dissolution of the Czech republic. Its greatest use, however, was in Galicia where it became the center for all anti-Polish activities.<sup>18</sup>

Next in intensity of resentment felt by Hitler and the Third Reich toward the Peace Pacts of Paris of 1919, was the feeling of the Hungarian revisionists. During the two decades preceding the Munich crisis, Magyar authors literally wrote thousands of volumes attacking the injustice shown Hungary at

<sup>16</sup> Alan Bullock, *Hitler, A Study in Tyranny* (New York, 1961), pp. 423-430.

<sup>17</sup> J. Stalin's speech to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party, of March 10, 1939, quoted in Frederick L. Schuman, *Night over Europe, The Diplomacy of Nemesis 1939-1940* (New York, 1941), pp. 216-219.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941-1945, A Study of Occupation Policies* (London, 1957), pp. 114-115.

this peace conference. Of the areas lost, none were more bitterly resented than that of Slovakia and Ruthenia, which were incorporated into Czechoslovakia. This hatred was intensified by the prosperity of the Prague regime as opposed to the near depression which existed in the Hungarian domain. In the two former Magyar territories some progress was made during the two decades of the Czech regime, yet both the Slovaks and Ruthenians resented the fact that the promised autonomy was never realized. Even though reforms and good government resulted from the Czech policies, they bitterly resented centralization from Prague, but there was no desire on the part of the leaders to return to Magyar domination and oppression.<sup>19</sup>

A corollary of the Munich Accord concerned the Polish and Hungarian boundaries with Czechoslovakia. Should the revision of these borders fail to be agreed upon by direct negotiations between the interested governments within three months, then it would necessitate another "summit" meeting of the powers of France, Great Britain, Italy and Germany. The Poles settled their part of the problem by moving into the Teschen area. The border problem with Hungary was not as easily solved. Hitler placed pressure on both Prague and Budapest to allow Germany and Italy to arbitrate the dispute rather than call another Big Four Conference.<sup>20</sup>

The pressures of both Hitler and Mussolini led to the holding of the Vienna Conference of November 2, 1938, and to the First Vienna Award. The Italian dictator at first wished to satisfy fully the Hungarian claims, providing for a common boundary between Poland and Hungary. This objective was altered by Hitler's desire to have autonomous areas created in Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia.<sup>21</sup> Germany favored an ethnographical division, for Hitler wanted the Ruthenian province as a corridor to Rumania and the U.S.S.R.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Hitler desired to have this easternmost part of the Czechoslovak state serve as a base for subversion among the Ukrainians of both Poland and Russia. Those were his objectives in

<sup>19</sup>J. S. Rousek, *Central-Eastern Europe Crucible of World Wars* (New York, 1946), pp. 275-280.

<sup>20</sup>J. Hanc, *Tornado Across Eastern Europe* (New York, 1942), pp. 193-194.

<sup>21</sup>Glorney Bolton, *Czech Tragedy* (London, 1955), pp. 155-156.

<sup>22</sup>Hanc, *Tornado*, p. 197.

refusing to agree to the Hungarian claim to the entire province of Ruthenia.<sup>23</sup>

Because of German control of eastern Czechoslovakia and the increase of Ukrainian agitation in Ruthenia, Poland wanted Hungary to get all of that province and Slovakia as well. Both Hungary and Poland began to make irregular sporadic raids all along the frontier. Colonel Joseph Beck, the Polish foreign minister, made clear his country's intention concerning Ruthenia. Poland could not afford to tolerate an independent or autonomous Ruthenia, for this would foster Ukrainian nationalist sentiment in Galicia. The only solution for Beck and the Poles was a complete subjugation of this area by the Magyars.<sup>24</sup>

The powers interested in preserving the status quo in Central Europe were not as active as were the German, Hungarian or Polish revisionists. Mussolini did not have any territorial ambitions in this area of Europe. However, because of his desire to play an important and active part in European diplomacy and due to prior commitments given to both Poland and Hungary for a common border between these two nations, he was determined to arrange for a peaceful settlement.<sup>25</sup> The Rumanian government was against Hungary's annexation of Ruthenia for geographical and defensive considerations.<sup>26</sup> The Rumanian province of Transylvania, formerly governed by Hungary, was another object of Magyar propaganda and revisionist sentiment. The leaders at Bucharest were strongly in favor of Ruthenia remaining a part of Czechoslovakia. The other two Big Four nations were strangely silent in regard to the future of Ruthenia. Neither France nor Great Britain

<sup>23</sup>Bullock, *Hitler, A Study in Tyranny*, pp. 423-435.

<sup>24</sup>Vojta Benes, *The Mission of a Small Nation* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 22-23; Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European History*, p. 382.

<sup>25</sup>During the period of the Czechoslovak crisis, from soon after the Anschluss with Austria to the dissolution of the Czechoslovak state in March 1939, Benito Mussolini played the role of arbitrator and peacemaker of Europe. The diaries of Galeazzo Ciano, Il Duce's son-in-law and foreign minister of Italy, serve as a guide to this critical period of pre-war Europe. For a day-by-day account of the events that led to the end of the Czechoslovak Republic and impressions of the statesmen of the nations involved, see Galeazzo Ciano, *Ciano's Hidden Diary, 1937-1938*; and *Ciano Diaries 1939-1943* (Garden City, 1946).

<sup>26</sup>This would destroy the Rumanian link with Germany through Ruthenia and Slovakia.

committed themselves in this regard. With the problem being settled by arbitration by Italy and Germany, they did not play any role in its settlement at the Vienna Conference.<sup>27</sup> On the evening of November 2nd, at the Belvedere Palace, a joint German-Italian declaration to the Hungarian and Czechoslovak leaders, provided for a cession to Hungary of 4,800 square miles of territory with a population of over one million (1,027,000) along the southern boundary of Slovakia and Ruthenia. The arbitrators were pleased but all other parties were disappointed. The Czechoslovaks lost more territory, the Hungarians did not get all of Slovakia and Ruthenia and the Poles still had to contend with Ukrainian propaganda emitting from Ruthenia. Lastly, the award did not establish a common Polish-Hungarian border, a bitter disappointment to these two nations.<sup>28</sup>

With the partition of Czechoslovakia by the Big Four at Munich in September 1938, various changes took place in the makeup of the government at Prague. On October 5, 1938, the day that Edward Benes resigned as president, Chvalkovsky was appointed foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Republic. Ciano believed that the former Czech minister at Rome was disgusted by the conduct of France and Great Britain during the critical days prior to and including Munich. "He has always been our friend and has had a clear understanding of the situation."<sup>29</sup> Prior to leaving Rome, Chvalkovsky paid a courtesy call to Mussolini, where the Italian dictator suggested that the minority problem with Poland and Hungary be peacefully settled. Mussolini stated that only in this way would the Big Four states guarantee the sovereignty of the Republic.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout the whole crisis, Italy was forced to restrain Hungary from performing any foolish or hostile acts. During the height of the trouble, Hungary wished to reincorporate both Slovakia and Ruthenia into the Magyar state. Ciano had to warn the Hungarian minister, Frederick Villani, that Hungary must not launch an attack upon Prague but wait for the impending German action. This irredentist policy on the part

<sup>27</sup> Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, II, 280-288.

<sup>28</sup> Roucek, *Central-Eastern Europe*, pp. 279-280.

<sup>29</sup> Ciano, *Hidden Diary*, p. 174.

<sup>30</sup> Ciano, *Hidden Diary*, p. 174.

of Budapest was opposed by Paris and London while in Rome and Berlin it was viewed with disfavor.

During the first week in October, Villani sought to gain Italian support for the implications of the Munich settlement in regard to Hungary. The Magyars had their eyes upon the province of Slovakia. The anxiety felt by Budapest in regard to the Czech fighting power forced their minister at Rome to secure reassurance of Italian aid if Hungary were attacked by the Czechs. Italy agreed to send a force of one hundred fighter planes and pilots to Budapest in case any aggressive moves were forthcoming from Prague.

The longer that Hungary waited for a favorable border settlement, the larger her territorial appetite grew. Hungary demanded Slovakia, but Ciano, knowing Hitler's refusal to give in on this demand, urged the Hungarians to moderate their position. Ribbentrop, the foreign minister of Germany, several times expressed the views of the Fuhrer by stating that Slovakia must have full liberty. Either Slovakia should remain as an autonomous province or an independent state within the German orbit. On October 8, 1938, the Hungarian demands were given to the Italian foreign minister. Hungary wanted all Magyar areas of Czechoslovakia and all of Ruthenia. A plebiscite in Slovakia would determine what areas should be ceded to Hungary. No plebiscite was to be held in Ruthenia.<sup>31</sup>

By October 10th, military movements were undertaken by both the Poles and Magyars in the form of sporadic raids. The unconfirmed reports of total Hungarian mobilizations caused Mussolini to advise the government at Prague to accept the Hungarian demands in regard to a common border with Poland. This Magyar threat saw the Czechs willing to accede to the demands of Budapest. But the Hungarian authorities were not satisfied with the Czech proposals<sup>32</sup> and Villani again conferred with Ciano over these unspecified Hungarian demands. Ciano believed, "That the truth is that they would like to have Slovakia, Ruthenia, everything—to create, in fact, mosaic state No. 3. They do not dare say so because they are afraid of Germany."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Bolton, *Czech Tragedy*, pp. 146-157.

<sup>32</sup> The Czechs were willing to surrender all areas that contained a Magyar majority to Hungary.

<sup>33</sup> Ciano, *Hidden Diary*, p. 177.

Because of the procrastination of Germany, Count Czaky, the Hungarian foreign minister, accused Germany of double-dealing. Italy again served as a mediator among the Big Three, but Ribbentrop was against the calling of another conference to satisfy the Hungarian demands. He wished to see the officials of both Prague and Budapest settle their own differences. Hungary decided that if her desires were not fully satisfied then "the axis powers can function as arbitrators."<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime, Ribbentrop was receiving the Slovak and Ruthenian delegates in Berlin and advising them of German intentions. The Reich's foreign minister leaned toward the protection of the rump Czechoslovak state. He told Ciano that arbitration was bad because it would not satisfy either Prague or Budapest. The Hungarians were adamant in their desire for a conference, but were willing to settle for the cities of Kassa, Mukachevo, and Uzhorod instead of the whole of Ruthenia.<sup>35</sup>

Still the Magyar appetite was not satisfied. Villani, at a meeting with Ciano on November 11th, "hinted at the possibility of disorders in Ruthenia, such as to necessitate its union with Hungary."<sup>36</sup> Although Ciano advised against this course of action, the Hungarians began to provoke border incidents. But the Italian dictator went so far as to offer Italian aid to Hungary against Ruthenia because Colonel Szabo, the Hungarian military attache, convinced him that Germany favored the reincorporation of Ruthenia with Hungary. Berlin on November 21st and Rome on November 25th warned the Hungarians to cease their military actions aimed at Ruthenia.<sup>37</sup>

### C. AUTONOMY ACHIEVED: THE VOLOSIN REGIME

The events following the Munich and Vienna agreements were catastrophic for Czechoslovakia. The area still under the jurisdiction of Prague was to be divided into three autonomous units: the rump of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia. One of the last acts of the Srovy government was the

<sup>34</sup> Ciano, *Hidden Diary*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>35</sup> Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, II, 328-330.

<sup>36</sup> Ciano, *Hidden Diary*, p. 193.

<sup>37</sup> Ciano, *Hidden Diary*, pp. 193-199.

passage of an autonomy act on November 18, 1938, for both Slovakia and Ruthenia.<sup>38</sup> However, the Ruthenians were divided into several factions which made orderly government in Ruthenia almost impossible. The young intellectuals and Communist fellow travelers wished to co-operate more effectively with the officials at Prague. There were those who advanced the theory that the Ruthenians were really Russians even though the language differed and the Rusins never belonged with the Ukrainians of either Poland or the Soviet Union. This group favored closer ties with the Great Russians. Lastly, there existed the most vocal and best organized group who demanded an autonomous state for all Ukrainians. This group was German inspired and had great support among the conservative elements of Ruthenia.<sup>39</sup>

With the granting of autonomy to Ruthenia on October 8th, a coalition government composed of leaders of the Hungarian and Ukrainian-oriented factions began a brief period of co-operation. The first government was represented by three members of the pro-Hungarian group; Andrew Brody, who was chosen premier, Stephen Fencik as minister, and Ivan Pyeschak. The Ukrainian sympathizers in the first Cabinet consisted of Julian Revay, E. Bacinsky and Rev. Augustin Volosin. This coalition cabinet split on October 27th, over the Hungarian territorial demands, leading to the down-fall of the Brody government on the following day.<sup>40</sup> Brody was arrested by Czech officials on charges of being in the pay of Hungary, but a short time later was allowed to go into exile in Hungary. Fencik, who was allegedly similarly involved in this treasonable activity, fled to Hungary. On November 19, 1938, Fencik made an address to the Ruthenians living in America. In it he stressed the fact that finally after twenty years, Ruthenia was reunited with Hungary.<sup>41</sup> The Magyar element was entirely discredited during these hectic late October days, and Prague appointed Volosin as the new premier.

<sup>38</sup> "The Reconstruction of the Czecho-Slovak State," *Danubian Review*, VII, No. 7 (December, 1938), 18-22.

<sup>39</sup> Perenyi, *More Was Lost*, p. 159 and Hugh Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (London, 1950), 54.

<sup>40</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen Fencik, *Speech of Nov. 19, 1938* quoted in *Danubian Review*, VI, No. 7 (Dec., 1938), 30-31.

The Vienna award witnessed the heart of Ruthenia turned over to Hungary, including the major cities of Uzhorod, Mukachevo and Bereg. Only a small mountainous area with the capital at Chust remained autonomous. Upon his elevation to power, Volosin undertook the suppression of all non-Ukrainian tendencies. On October 28th, he ordered the suspension of all political parties; he dissolved the Great Russian National Council and created a single party, the National Ukrainian Union.<sup>42</sup> Volosin changed the province's name to Subcarpatho-Ukraine (to please Hitler) and proclaimed that Ukrainian was to be the official language.<sup>43</sup> To satisfy the large Hungarian and Jewish population, the Magyar and Jewish tongues were to remain as minor languages. A para-military body of 12,000 known by the old Cossack army name of Sich, was established. Most of the men who comprised this body were imported from Galicia and Bukovina.<sup>44</sup>

Volosin followed the dictates of Hitler in attempting to establish a Ukrainian Piedmont in the Carpathians. The events prior to and immediately following the Vienna Award demonstrate forcibly that the Ruthenians did not wish to return to Hungary. At Chust, Volosin established a Ukrainian national movement. The following pronouncement by Volosin showed his Ukrainian and pro-German sympathies, "The world already recognizes the Ukrainian nation and its efforts to build up an Ukrainian state... Representatives of Germany and other state promise moral and material support."<sup>45</sup>

This almost blind allegiance of the leader of the Carpatho-Ukraine to the Nazi dictator naturally was viewed with distrust by Czech officials. Furthermore, agitation for the establishment of a "Great Ukraine," was a source of worry and consternation for the Czech government because of the agitation it caused to the governments of the Soviet Union and Poland.<sup>46</sup> The Poles rejected on December 11, 1938 the plea for autonomy of the Ukrainians in the Polish province of Galicia, and warned the Czech government of Prague on December 16 and again on

<sup>42</sup>Taylor, "Germany's Expansion," p. 55.

<sup>43</sup>*New York Times*, (January 3, 1939), p. 3.

<sup>44</sup>Hrushevsky, *History of the Ukrainians*, p. 571.

<sup>45</sup>Speech of November 15, 1938 in *Bulletin of International News*, January 14, 1939, 17.

<sup>46</sup>H. Ripka, *Munich: Before and After* (London, 1939), pp. 260-262.

December 23rd to halt all Ukrainian propaganda emanating from Ruthenia.<sup>47</sup>

German military experts, together with small caches of arms were sent to Ruthenia. The German Kluss was placed in charge of converting the Sich into a military organization. Although the primary function of this body was to preserve internal peace and harmony, it was employed against the sporadic Hungarian and Polish raids along the borders of Ruthenia. In the ceded cities of Mukachevo and Uzhorod, larger scale activities were carried on by the Rusins against the Hungarians.<sup>48</sup>

In those last fateful months of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Rusin national element in Ruthenia was almost completely ignored by the Magyar and Ukrainian factions. In America the people of Rusin extraction had favored the local element ever since the birth of Ruthenia at the peace conference. Although little was done by these Americans, nevertheless, compilation of the atrocities committed by Volosin's government was issued by them.<sup>49</sup> This evidence was used to substantiate charges about the totalitarian character of the pro-Ukrainian regime and to refute the claim of Ukrainian friendship for the Rusin people.

One of the main charges dealt with the dictatorial method of the new government. The Volosin party, after gaining power, established a series of concentration camps to house the political prisoners that disagreed with the regime.<sup>50</sup> Such men as Michael Burkovich and Peter Ivashkovich were interned at such camps. The clergy itself was subjected to imprisonment and flogging. For example, Reverend Ivan Dolishkovich of Svalana was whipped, and twelve other priests were imprisoned. It was at this time that the interior minister, Julian Revay, proclaimed that the regime had no political prisoners.<sup>51</sup> Simultaneously, twenty-seven teachers were imprisoned.

It would appear that Volosin was either ignorant of the

<sup>47</sup>Schuman, *Europe on the Eve*, pp. 478-479.

<sup>48</sup>See *New York Times*, January 7, 1939, Sec. I, p. 4, and February 6, 1939, Sec. 6, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup>See Michael Roman, *With Unclean and Bloody Hands, Greek Catholic Messenger* (Sept. 9, 1954), pp. 1-3.

<sup>50</sup>Ripka, *Munich: Before and After*, pp. 261-263.

<sup>51</sup>Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 33-34.



conditions meted out to his political opposition, or he indirectly condoned this harsh policy. Being a staunch supporter of Hitler's Third Reich, he seemed to advocate the Fuhrer's methods. After the expulsion of the other parties, Volosin lost much of this power and he became merely the figurehead within his totalitarian state. If any man could be singled out as an exponent of Ruthenian freedom, this priest would have to be the man. Since the birth of an autonomous Ruthenia at the Paris Peace Conference, through the formative period of Czech centralization and finally to the establishment of autonomy and then reincorporation into the Hungarian state, Volosin's name stands out above the rest. Whether he pursued the proper course is hard to say because, although he wanted Ruthenian autonomy, he used dictatorial methods. That he was a great leader in Ruthenia during the twentieth century is beyond refute. Even if he divorced himself completely from the political scene, Volosin would have been a commanding figure in Ruthenian life. Of the various literary writers of the province, Volosin's writings were the best known and frequently the best loved.

It is extremely difficult to get a truly objective portrayal of Augustin Volosin. Zatkovich's dealings with the leaders of Ruthenia, carried on immediately after the war, indicate that Volosin was a man striving for the autonomy of this region. Although he was a leader of the Ukrainian faction, he did not advocate the incorporation of Ruthenia with a Ukrainian state. He, like Beskid, who was a Russophil, merely wished to use his political leadership in directing the course which was to be followed in the intellectual sphere.<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, Volosin was also an opportunist as can be evidenced by his conduct during 1938 and the first three months of 1939. A Magyar description of Volosin during these critical days was far from flattering, if not completely degrading.<sup>53</sup> He is described as a person near sixty years of age who was obese and had an "oily" appearance. He looked well fed and although he dressed himself as a priest, he resembled the Rusin peasants in manner and character. This must not be construed to mean that Volosin was stupid, for he is further described as clever and ambitious. Much is made of his ability

<sup>52</sup> Zatkovich, *Interview*, August 5, 1961.

<sup>53</sup> Perenyi, *More was Lost*, pp. 200-250.

to speak the Hungarian language fluently, but this is not surprising for the Rusin clergy were almost completely Magyarized prior to the birth of the Czechoslovak state. This is a very distorted picture of Volosin written by a person whose father "Baron Perenyi" lost much during Czech rule and who, after the Magyar occupation in 1939, because the governor of "Hungarian Ruthenia."

The creation of a political dictatorship in Ruthenia by Volosin was condemned by the American Rusins and by the Magyar revisionists.<sup>54</sup> In the United States the overzealous efforts of the Volosin party has been criticized by the organ of the Greek Catholic Union. It attempted to show that the Ukrainians have conducted a reign of terror in Ruthenia during the period October 1938 to March 1939. It is difficult to find evidence to substantiate these charges but they are mentioned here to show the attitude of the Rusins of the Pittsburgh Exarchate toward inclusion of Ruthenia into a greater Ukraine. The newspaper disclosed that this was not the case. It maintained that the Volosin regime was responsible for a number of atrocities which included: the whippings of political opponents, including teachers and priests; and the arrest of the following prior to the election of February 12, 1939: V. F. Scherecky, Nicholas Dragula, Ivan Olas, Dr. B. Varga, Dr. Stefan Budny, Julius Dankavich, B. Podres and Rev. H. Stankamneec, who had opposed the Volosin regime.<sup>55</sup>

Volosin, had suspended all other parties except that of the National Ukrainian Union, attempted to further strengthen his party by rendering the splinter parties within the Union completely ineffectual. He accomplished this purpose by calling for a surprise election. The names of candidates were to be submitted within seventy-two hours. This short period prevented the opposition from holding nominating conventions and consequently the Union candidates ran unopposed. This political trick brought about the desired result locally but this totalitarian coup resulted in the disqualification of all Ruthenian representation in the central government at Prague. According to the framework of government, Ruthenia was not

<sup>54</sup> Andrew Fall, "The Future of Ruthenia and the Right of Self-Determination," *Danubian Review*, VI, No. 7, 3-5.

<sup>55</sup> Roman, "With Unclean and Bloody Hands," p. 1.

able to send new representatives to Prague for a period of six months.<sup>56</sup>

There were a few attempts to secure a slate of rival candidates but they were very sporadic and unsuccessful. Most of the opposition leaders were safely placed in concentration camps. Dr. Paul T. Kosey attempted to get signatures for a nomination petition, but the police broke up his meetings and placed him under house arrest. Another attempt by the members of the Orthodox Church at Iza resulted in the arrest and holding of the leaders incommunicado. A third attempt occurred under the leadership of Alex Hrabar, M. I. Vasilenko, Stephen Kovach and Stephen Koschak. They were more successful than the two other groups, but ran into a policy of procrastination by Carpatho-Ukrainian officials that produced the same results. They acquired the required number of signatures which they presented to a notary who told them to wait until afternoon for him to act on their petition. A fact they overlooked was that it was Saturday and there were no afternoon hours for notaries on that day.

Hrabar travelled to Nizhne Verechu, where his friend Judge E. Poloshinovich notarized the petition. For this act the judge was subsequently removed. The Hrabar group next presented the petition to the electoral commission on January 22, 1939. It was rejected because of the failure to show that the candidates consented to be placed on the ballot. The group had three days to secure this authorization. On January 25th, they returned but the Sich guard refused them entrance except Hrabar, who was asked by a Carpatho-Ukrainian official to accompany him into the building. There he was beaten and hauled off to the police station.

Prior to the election, the candidates on the rejected list and their followers were paraded through the town of Chust and held at the Sich headquarters. Other irregularities included: (1) The absence of a secret ballot, (2) the Sich overseers, and (3) irregularities at various towns and villages, including Svalana, Turyan Valley and Chinadijevo.<sup>57</sup> The attitude of the Sich is best exemplified by Klempuch who was commander at Svalana. He stated that he would accept them into the party before the elections. Once the elections were over, those who

<sup>56</sup> *New York Times* (February 13, 1939), Sec. 4, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> Roman, "With Unclean and Bloody Hands," p. 4.

had not joined would be considered enemies, and would be placed in concentration camps.

Many reports bring out the terrorization, neutralization, and liquidation of the opposition whenever it was necessary. In the last election under the Republic, the National Ukrainian Union was able to secure only fifteen thousand out of a possible three hundred thousand votes; Because of this, Volosin and Revay decided to suppress all other political parties.<sup>58</sup>

The Volosin government promulgated the constitution of October 1938, as the fundamental law of Carpatho-Ukraine. It provided for a provisional government which was to rule until the election of a Diet. This election was to take place within five months. In this interval the area was besieged by various propaganda and sporadic Polish and Hungarian raids. In the period from November 2 to December 31, 1938, nineteen isolated incidents were attributed to Hungarian irregulars.<sup>59</sup>

In the one party election of February 12, 1939, the group of Volosin was victorious, gaining 244,922 votes out of a total of 265,002 cast.<sup>60</sup> There were thirty-two representatives elected to form the first duly elected Diet in the territory. At its only session of March 15th, two acts dealing with the establishment of the independent state were passed. Act No. 1 provided for the creation of a Republic whose official language was Ukrainian, a flag, a state emblem and a national anthem. Act No. 2 empowered the Diet to legislate.<sup>61</sup>

#### D. "INDEPENDENCE" — NAZI STYLE

While Ruthenia was testing its autonomy, changes were taking place in the thinking of Hitler and in his Ukrainian scheme. A possible Polish-Soviet Rapprochement changed the whole complexion of the role of Ruthenia. To gain closer ties with the Soviet Union, the Nazi leader became disinterested in Ruthenia. It was during January 1939, that Hitler abandoned his Ukrainian project. Ribbentrop conveyed the Nazi leader's message to Colonel Beck and Czaky, his Polish and Hungarian

<sup>58</sup> *The Foreign Policy Reports* (May 15, 1939), p. 55.

<sup>59</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, p. 38.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Times* (February 13, 1939).

<sup>61</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, pp. 40-43.

counterparts. He further explained that at the opportune moment, Hungary could seize the rest of Ruthenia.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile, the government at Prague decided to put a stop to the separatist movement in both Slovakia and Ruthenia. President Hacha dismissed both the Slovakian and Ruthene leaders. Msgr. Tiso, the Slovak premier, journeyed to Berlin to protest the action of Hacha. He was told either to proclaim Slovakia an independent state or have it incorporated into Hungary. At the same time using the pretext that the Sirovy government was not able to maintain internal order, Germany made preparations for the seizure of the rump of Bohemia and Moravia. First, Hitler demanded that Hacha and Chvalkovsky come to Berlin to discuss this new turn of events. At Berlin, they were forced to agree to the formation of a German protectorate for Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>63</sup>

The action of Tiso in proclaiming Slovak independence, caused the Ruthenian provisional government at Chust to undertake a similar step and declare Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia a separate state. The Tiso government proclaimed its independence on March 14, 1939; this action was followed by a Ruthenian proclamation issued by Msgr. Volosin on the same day, duplicating the Slovak announcement and proclaimed the independence of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. It was at best a futile gesture, lacking in both meaning and conviction. The attitude of the Rusins was best expressed by a member of the Czech cabinet who stated, "Never has a people declared itself 'free' so reluctantly as did the half million Ruthenes of this tiny province."<sup>64</sup>

Volosin, who was more of an intellectual than a politician, whole-heartedly believed in Hitler's Ruthenian Piedmont plan. He was not the only one who was duped, for the other Ruthenian leaders at the city of Chust dreamed of their province becoming the kernel of a Ukrainian State. This idea prevailed throughout most of the fall and winter of 1938-1939. Because of this hope, there was a huge influx of Czarist exiles, adven-

<sup>62</sup>In a speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1939, Hitler made no mention of the Ukrainian Piedmont idea. The Ukrainian idea was abandoned. Schuman, *Night over Europe*, pp. 74-77.

<sup>63</sup>Bullock, *Hitler*, pp. 425-435.

<sup>64</sup>J. Hanc, "Czechs and Slovaks since Munich," *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1939), 103.

turers and correspondents, who swelled the population of the city from twenty thousand to forty thousand.<sup>65</sup> These various groups were anticipating the new state which Hitler was to create for the purpose of crushing the Soviet Union.

These fond hopes were never realized, even though Volosin pursued a desperate policy of allying himself ever more closely with the policies of the Third Reich. He believed that the only salvation for his small nation lay in the cultivation of the friendship of Germany. To him, Hitler appeared to be the Messiah of the Ruthenian people, the instrument of God who would deliver his chosen people from a thousand year bondage of Magyar and Czechoslovak tyranny. On March 6, Volosin reported that, "The German Fuhrer gave every assurance that the country will be protected by Germany and that Germany will help to organize the trade and social welfare of the Ukrainian people. . . With the help of God and Hitler I will succeed."<sup>66</sup>

Five days after Volosin's reassuring statement, the German foreign office believed that the time was ripe for the Hungarian takeover of the remainder of the Carpatho-Ukraine. The Magyar government agreed to a fourfold recognition of German rights. These included: the taking into account and the protection of German's transportation and communication rights; the safeguarding of the economic interest of Germany; the recognition of the rights and privileges of the citizens of the Third Reich in the area; and finally, a Hungarian guarantee not to prosecute members of the Nazi trained Sich guard.<sup>67</sup>

Having secured Germany's permission to reincorporate the area with the Magyar state, Hungarians inspired frontier incidents along the whole Ruthenian-Hungarian border. Volosin issued weapons to the Sich on March 13th and 14th to be used to repulse the impending invasion. The Czechs, rather than aid the Rusins, sought to destroy the effectiveness of this military organization. The Czech general, Prchala, attempted to disarm the Sich, and in so doing, arrested and executed 121 Rusins. The list of those executed contained the names of some of the intellectual leaders of Ruthenia. Grenja Donsky, a writer and poet; Doctor Klumpuch, the leader of the Sich

<sup>65</sup>*Newsweek* (March 27, 1939), p. 21.

<sup>66</sup>*Newsweek* (March 27, 1939), p. 21.

<sup>67</sup>Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, II, 332.

guards; and Doctors Kochergan, Kalinyuk, Rosocha and Voron, all Rusin leaders in the Chust area.<sup>68</sup>

In a conference held at Warsaw with Ribbentrop on February 26, 1939, Colonel Beck, the Polish foreign minister, stated that the Poles were unwilling to consider the Czechoslovak border as final, until a common frontier existed with Hungary. This was accomplished with the collapse of the Czechoslovak nation. The German occupation began on March 15th and the takeover of Ruthenia by Hungary took place the following day.

Volosin, who had assurances from Berlin that the area was indispensable to Germany, ordered the Sich guard under Colonel Melnyk to co-operate with the Nazi units against any invasion by Hungary. When the Magyars struck, not only was Volosin deserted by Germany, but Czech troops under General Prchala shot at the Ruthenians and blew up the main magazine at Chust.<sup>69</sup>

By the 16th of March, Hungarian troops had seized Chust. It is a strange fact of history that for the one day in March 1939, the day of the formal breakup of the Czechoslovak state, the only area to resist a forceful overthrow of the nation was the backward province of Ruthenia.<sup>70</sup> By May 1939, the Sich was completely destroyed and Hungary announced the recovery of Ruthenia. Volosin did not remain to the end but made his way to safety in Rumania on the opening day of hostilities. He sent appeals to Berlin, Rome, London and Paris, but they were of no avail.<sup>71</sup>

Thus ends the strange saga of Ruthenian autonomy, a story begun by the Wilsonian principle of "Self-Determination" and ended by the Hitlerian program of "Lebensraum." In this twenty year period, Ruthenia underwent several definite periods of political development. Under the Czechoslovak Republic the Rusin people acquired economic, educational and social

<sup>68</sup>Vortigern, "The End of Carpathian Ukraine," *Nineteenth Century* (May, 1939), 543-544.

<sup>69</sup>Manning, *The Story of the Ukraine*, p. 271; Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, p. 41. For a highly pro-Ruthenian partisan article see, Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Carpatho-Ukraine," *New York Times* (March 16, 1939).

<sup>70</sup>M. Winch, *Republic for a Day* (London, 1939), pp. 7-8.

<sup>71</sup>Hrushevsky, *History of the Ukraine*, pp. 571-572.

equality but were denied the political autonomy promised at Paris. Finally, when a start was made toward autonomy, the international scene made possible the collapse of the Czech state and the total inclusion of Ruthenia into Hungary. The Ruthenian people who ended a thousand year history of rule by Hungary in 1919, witnessed a return to that state after twenty years of experimenting with "Czechoslovak Democracy." This was not to be the end, however. The sequel comes after the imminent war, with the Soviet Union reversing a millenium of Hungarian domination by substituting its own and in this way executing Hitler's Ukrainian scheme in reverse.

## XII. FACTIONALISM AMONG AMERICAN RUSINS: CUM DATA FUERIT

The Rusins in America, between the wars, were so involved with internal strife that they no longer took an active interest in the developments in Ruthenia. This factionalism erupted anew as the result of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree.<sup>1</sup> The Uniate Church, whose efficiency was hindered by the development of conflicting national consciousness on the part of two groups of Ruthenians during the episcopacy of Ortinsky, was besieged by greater dangers following his death. The appointment of separate administrators, for the Galician<sup>2</sup> and Rusin divisions of the Uniate Church in the United States, was neither satisfactory nor acceptable either to the clergy or to the people. The apostasy of Alexander Dzubay and his subsequent appointment by the Russian Orthodox Synod as the bishop of the Orthodox Ruthenians within the Pittsburgh area, had severe repercussions within the Uniate Church. This development together with the hostility of the Latin Rite authorities threatened the eventual destruction of the Byzantine Church in the United States.<sup>3</sup> The Orthodox Church encouraged these schismatic occurrences among the Uniates as part of its program of appealing directly to those Christians who were separated from them as a result of heresy or schism.<sup>4</sup> To prevent the complete effacement of their church, both Ruthenian groups desired to secure the appointment of a bishop for the Uniate Church. However, both groups desired above all, to have bishops appointed according to the national lines established in the creation of the two jurisdictional districts. This would necessitate the appointment of two bishops, one for the Galicians the other for the Rusins.

<sup>1</sup> The literal translation is, "It will have been with date."

<sup>2</sup> In America the Galician emigres adopted the term Ukrainian to designate their national origin. The two national designates are used interchangeably in this Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>4</sup> E. Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church Its Thought and Life* (New York, 1963), pp. 201-202.

From the beginning, the G.C.U. had been the spearhead of the Rusin agitation for a bishop. Its work prior to the appointment of Bishop Ortinsky and the ensuing struggle following his nomination has already been investigated. However, the power of this organization in religious matters must be reemphasized. Not only did it petition the Apostolic Delegate and Rome to appoint a bishop for the Rusin people, but it led the way in fomenting trouble during the Ortinsky episcopacy. It accomplished the latter by cloaking itself under the guise of defending the Rusin people from Ukranization by Ortinsky and his cohorts.<sup>5</sup>

The death of Ortinsky on March 24, 1916, and the appointment of Martyak as administrator saw the reemergence of the threat of Latinization of the Uniates. To forestall this development, the need for a bishop to succeed Ortinsky was mandatory. However, the bishop would have to be sympathetic to the national aspirations of the Rusin people. The attempt of these people to secure the appointment of a bishop according to nationality rather than geographical considerations was based upon the recommendations of Peter Paul Cahensly,<sup>6</sup> who had drawn up the Lucerne Memorial in 1890. To combat the Lucerne Memorial, the American bishops, who were largely of Irish extraction and opposed to any movement which sought to supplant their power, petitioned the Vatican in 1890 to condemn this action. The Vatican acquiesced to this proposal, but in 1924 modified its stand by the creation of the two Uniate dioceses.<sup>7</sup>

The early 1920's saw a renewed attempt on the part of the Rusin Uniate clergy, as well as of the fraternal societies, to secure a bishop for their rite. At the 1920 Convention of the G.C.U., at Trenton, New Jersey, a resolution was made and adopted to secure this objective. Two years later, at the seventeenth convention of the organization at Youngstown, Ohio, the record in this matter was examined and very little progress was noted. Michael Yuhasz, president of the G.C.U., reported that he was corresponding with Bishop Anthony Papp

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Was the leader of the German Catholics in America who was opposed to the Irish domination of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

<sup>7</sup> Handlin, *The Uprooted*, p. 136.

of the Mukachevo diocese, and had secured from him the promise to intercede for the American Rusins with the Vatican.<sup>8</sup>

The Youngstown convention approved the measures taken by their officers and renewed their pledge to secure a bishop. The Rusin clergy, in the meantime, were also interested in securing a bishop for the Byzantine Rite parishes. Their objective in this matter was prompted by the encroachments made upon their rite by both the Latin Rite and the Orthodox Church. The animosity of Latin bishops toward the Byzantine Rite continued during the twentieth century. This, together with the creation of the Rusin Orthodox diocese in Pittsburgh, headed by Dzubay, necessitated a drastic overhaul of the Uniate Church in the United States.

A factor which contributed to the delay in naming an ordinary for the American Uniates was a lack of money to carry out negotiations within the Vatican circles. Bishop Papp made known the insolvent nature of his diocese in his correspondence with American sources. This situation was remedied through the contributions of various American Rusin parishes and societies. This facilitated matters and by November 1922, the Rusin Uniate request for a bishop was in the hands of the proper authorities.<sup>9</sup>

Preparations for the Eighteenth Convention of the Greek Catholic Union were being planned in early 1924, without any word from Rome concerning a new bishop. During an executive meeting of the organization in January 1924, it was deemed mandatory to secure a bishop who would safeguard both the religious and cultural heritage. This organization, besides being fraternal in character, also exercised quasi-religious jurisdiction.<sup>10</sup> Its paper, the *Viestnik*, devoted a great many of its articles to religious affairs. The appointments and changes made in the various parishes by the administrator, Martyak, were duly noted in a prominent place of the paper.

During the winter of 1924, renewed efforts for a bishop

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Papp letter of October 28, 1921 to Michael Yubasz, *Greek Catholic Union Convention Minutes 1924* (Homestead, Pa., 1924), p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Papp, letters of May 31, 1922, and November 21, 1922 to Yubasz, *Convention Minutes 1924*, pp. 163-167.

<sup>10</sup> Diocesan affairs were carried in the *Viestnik*. Through its donations and loans to the Uniate Church, the G.C.U. exercised influence in Church appointments.

were once again made by the spokesmen and clergy of the Rusin people. A letter was dispatched to Uzhorod describing conditions of the Oriental Church<sup>11</sup> in the United States. It elaborated upon the G.C.U., claiming that it represented approximately 125,000 of the one-half million Ruthenian people from Podkarpatska Rus, together with its assets of three million dollars. The loyalty of the people to Rome was stressed, together with the number of churches and priests. The people were said to have made many sacrifices for their rite and ethnic community by contributing to the erection of edifices to the worship of God and by providing an orphanage for the safeguarding and education of their less fortunate children.<sup>12</sup>

The Latin hierarchy of the United States was also approached for intercession with Rome on behalf of the Rusin Uniates. A cablegram was dispatched to Archbishop J. Cardinal Hayes of Boston, stating that the only Oriental Rite bishop for the United States had been dead for eight years and a successor should be named. The Rusin clergy and the G.C.U. had been petitioning for a new bishop, without success, for four years. The threatened danger of the Uniates being lost to schismatic groups was implied in the tone of this communication to the Cardinal.<sup>13</sup>

The Rusin request was well received by various Vatican officials, but many difficulties were inherent in this seemingly simple and necessary demand. The matter of geographic and national ethnic origins in the organization of dioceses had been attended to but other factors were equally important. One of these was the character and jurisdiction of the new Oriental diocese. Should there be one or more dioceses created in the United States? If there were to be only one Uniate diocese, should it be headed by a bishop of Ukrainian or Rusin extraction? When Ortinsky was appointed there was a tacit understanding that his successor would be of Rusin origin. Since the American Uniates were divided between Rusin and Ukrainian it was necessary to create two dioceses.

<sup>11</sup> The Roman Curia refers to the Byzantine Church as the Oriental Church.

<sup>12</sup> M. Yuhasz, I. Komlos and S. Tkach letter of January 16, 1924 to A. Papp, *Convention Minutes 1924*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Yuhasz letter of March 7, 1924 to J. Cardinal Hayes, *Convention Minutes 1924*, p. 169.

The proposed division of the Ruthenian people into separate dioceses based on ethnic origins presented still another problem for the Rusin people, namely, who should be named bishop. Many of the clergy in America were desirous of the promotion of Martyak to the rank of bishop, but if not Martyak, at least someone who was familiar with the situation in the United States. The almost complete lack of aspirants to the Uniate priesthood on the part of American born Rusins precluded the appointment of an American to the post. The Rusin clergy, for the most part, were married which prevented their appointment because only celibate clergy or widowers could be appointed bishop according to the law of the Oriental Church.<sup>14</sup>

Consequently, high church officials in Rome decided against the appointment of any of the Ruthenian clergy in America and decided upon naming two bishops, both from Europe. The Galician priest, Reverend Constantine Bohachevsky was named bishop for the Ukrainians with his see at Philadelphia, while Reverend Basil Takach, the rector of the seminary at Uzhorod, was appointed for the Rusins with the see to be located at New York City.<sup>15</sup>

In connection with the appointment of Takach, Rome received from the Czechoslovak government a list of capable priests to head the diocese in America. Rev. Basil Takach, although of Hungarian descent, suited the Czech government because of his conciliatory attitude toward Prague. His co-operation with Czech officials was shown during the early days of the Republic, as he was the only church official at Uzhorod who welcomed the new Czech authorities in 1918. The others, including the bishop, fled Uzhorod rather than be subject to the new government. This was the main reason why Prague recommended Takach for the appointment.<sup>16</sup>

The announcement that Basil Takach was to be the new bishop for the Rusin Uniates was cabled to the United States by Bishop Papp on March 21, 1924. Both bishops, Takach and Bohachevsky were consecrated in St. Athanasius Church in Rome on June 15, 1924. Two months later, on August 15, 1924, they arrived in the United States to organize their dioceses. They met with their diocesan officials on August 27, 1924, and

<sup>14</sup>Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1959.

<sup>15</sup>Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>16</sup>Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, July 5, 1961.

it was agreed to create their districts according to the division formulated by the two administrators, Martyak and Ponia-tyshn. It was on September 1, 1924 that the two bishops formally took control of their respective dioceses. At the time, according to the Catholic Directory of 1924, there were 299 churches and chapels of the Byzantine Rite in the United States staffed by 231 priests. The Directory further lists over a half million (525,885) members. The division gave the Rusin Exarchate 288,390 of the Byzantine Catholics, together with 155 churches and 129 priests. The two exarchates were almost equal in size with that of Takach being slightly larger in number of people, churches and priests.<sup>17</sup>

The Rusin exarchate was to exercise jurisdiction over all Eastern Catholics who had emigrated from Hungary and Croatia or from some other part of the Hungarian half of the former Austro-Hungarian empire. It included people who formerly resided in the Rusin dioceses of Mukachevo and Presov, the Croatia diocese of Krizhevtsy and the Hungarian diocese of Haydudorg and the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc.<sup>18</sup> It also included Byzantine Rite members from Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia.

The priests who had attended the seminary at Uzhorod were familiar with their bishop, consecrated titular bishop of Zela, but to the others he was a stranger about whom they knew very little. They learned that he was born in the village of Vuchkov in Maramaros County, which was then part of the Dual Monarchy. His father, Basil Takach, was a priest, while his mother, Helena Dolinay was the daughter of a priest. Therefore, celibacy or an unmarried clergy, was contrary to his background even though the bishop himself had never been married.

His education geared him toward the priesthood. He attended grade school at Satu Marie, which later became part of Rumania. His college and seminary training were at Mukachevo and Uzhorod. At the latter city he was ordained to the priesthood on December 12, 1902. In the same year he received his first pastorate at the village of Little Rakovcy. Prior to the First World War, he became an official of the Diocesan

<sup>17</sup>G.C.U. *Minutes 1924*, pp. 170-173; Isidore Sochocky, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church," *Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See* (Philadelphia, 1958), 275; *Catholic Directory* (New York, 1925).

<sup>18</sup>Pospishil, *Interritual*, pp. 29-32.



Bank and the director of a boarding school for Greek Catholic students. This was followed by teaching at the diocesan seminary and promotions to that of rector and spiritual director of the school in 1924.<sup>19</sup>

There was outward peace among the Rusins during the first five years of the episcopacy of Takach. The people had finally received a bishop of their own rite and if not of their nationality at least from an area which became part of Podkarpatska Rus. There was peace within the diocese, among parishes and even in the Greek Catholic Union. It was at the Nineteenth Annual Convention of this body that the organization pledged its solidarity and firm support of the new bishop. This convention held at Hazelton, Pa., in 1926, was attended by the bishop who addressed the general convention. Rev. G. Martyak stepped down as the Protector of the organization and was replaced by the bishop. A resolution was adopted stating that there would not be any change in the religious character of the society without the bishop's consent. This resolution, however, was not to be closely adhered to by many during the celibacy struggle. Takach was to be the protector of the society and its moral director, while Monsignor Martyak was named the spiritual advisor.<sup>20</sup>

The greatest of the difficulties encountered during the bishop's first five years was the finding of a suitable location for his episcopal seat. In the papal bull, conferring upon Basil Takach the office of bishop, it explicitly stated that it should be located in the City of New York.<sup>21</sup> However, the city proved to be too far from the center of Rusin population so he began looking for a new site. After temporarily establishing a residence at Uniontown, Bishop Takach decided upon Munhall, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Pittsburgh. This decision was largely prompted by the Board of Directors of the G.C.U., who pledged to help finance the purchase of the Chancery building. A site which would have been more convenient for the exercise of jurisdiction and further away from the center of the impending controversy was Cleveland. This site was favored

<sup>19</sup> George Michaylo, "Forty Years in the Priesthood of His Excellency Basil Takach," *Official Anniversary Volume, 1902-1942* (McKeesport, 1942), 17-21.

<sup>20</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedeninije," pp. 59-62.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix for Takach's appointment.

by many as the more desirable for the diocesan center of the Rusin Exarchate.<sup>22</sup>

The aftermath of many years of dissension and disorder among the American Uniates caused a great deal of hardship for the new bishops. The independent attitude of the clergy and the people and their distrust of the Latin hierarchy led to a lapse in observance of the laws of the Church. Within the Uniate Church, even during the episcopacy of Ortinsky, large segments of the Ruthenian people ventured against the dictates of the Roman hierarchy. It was this separatist feeling that made the task of the new bishops a perilous one. The burden was difficult to undertake, necessitating stern measures which resulted in repeated schisms.

If the early years of Takach's episcopacy were peaceful, those of Bohachevsky were filled with disorder and schismatic movements. A segment of the Ukrainian laity and clergy branded him as a "Pollack," or Polish sympathizer, which was the apogee of shame in the minds of the Ukrainians. Several schismatic movements occurred, causing many of the clergy to be suspended, while the fundamental causes of the break were presented to the people in a distorted way by those who left the Church.

The schismatic segment found a leader in the personage of Monsignor Joseph Zuck, who left the Catholic Church and affiliated with the Orthodox Church. He was consecrated the first bishop of the Independent Ukrainian Church in America, a church which in 1971 was still active among the Ukrainian people. By 1941, this church still had over forty parishes under the direction of Bishop Bohdan who was subordinate to the Greek (Hellenic) Archbishop of New York but not officially recognized by the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>23</sup>

By the close of the decade of the 1920's, the Ukrainian Uniate Church's affairs were put upon a firm foundation. However, those of the Rusin exarchate began to reflect the schismatic movements experienced earlier by the Philadelphia exarchate. The pretext for this schismatic movement was the promulgation of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree by Pope Pius XI in 1929. The section of the decree enforcing celibacy upon all future Byzantine rite priests in America was the rallying

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Rev. Joseph Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1961.

<sup>23</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 138-139.

point for the dissidents. Although this papal decree had a profound influence, upon this latest of the Rusin schismatic movements, it is also necessary to examine other features which were involved. These included the method of incorporation, jealousies and intrigues among the clergy, assignments of parishes and the interference of the fraternal organizations.

The "trustee system" of property holding was an abuse that Bishop Takach tried to eradicate during his early episcopacy. This was one of the most important factors leading to the Rusin schismatic movement of the 1930's. Most of the Uniate churches were incorporated along Protestant and Orthodox lines in regard to property rights. That is, lay trustees had control of the physical property of the church rather than the Bishop. This was contrary to the ruling of the Baltimore Synod, which permanently established methods of incorporation for Catholic church property. The reason for the Uniate refusal to abide by the norms established by this Synod was their fear of the Latin bishops. They were afraid that if the bishops had control of their church property they would be staffed by Latin Rite priests. This created added difficulty for the new Rusin bishop because these churches were not under his complete control<sup>24</sup> but remained quasi-independent in nature. To remedy this situation, Bishop Takach had new incorporation papers drawn up. This move was resented by many of the lay trustees because they felt they would lose control of their Church. The clergy, in many cases, were hired and fired by the board of administrators and in order to remain in the parish, these pastors had to cater to the whims of the trustees.

Another underlying cause was the various personal jealousies and intrigues among the clergy. In the beginning, it was motivated by the rivalry of those clergy who had emigrated from the Presov and the Mukachevo dioceses, respectively. With the emergence of native-born American Uniate priests, a third factor was added. The American priests, although better educated than most of their European counterparts were placed in an inferior position within the diocese, getting the smaller parishes and being by-passed for promotions.

The method employed in the assigning of parishes con-

<sup>24</sup> The churches were incorporated in the name of the trustees and not in the name of the bishop.

tributed to the controversy. Two principles came into conflict, that of the worthiness of the individual for a pastorate as opposed to the need of that individual. To elaborate upon this aspect, it would not be feasible to assign a married clergyman with a large family to a small parish because of the inability of this church to support its pastor and his family. Therefore, assigning of pastorates based on the priest's needs would work in favor of a clergyman with a large family and mitigate against the celibate clergy or the married clergy who had average size families.

Still another factor which must be emphasized was the attempt of fraternal organizations to control the Uniate Church. The Greek Catholic Union with a combined membership of 125,000 (distributed among its General, Sokol and Juvenile lodges)<sup>25</sup> exercised a powerful influence upon the people. Even some of the clergy came under its control, many times showing more respect for it than for the bishop. It was largely the work of this organization that kept the celibacy struggle blazing during the decade of the 1930's.<sup>26</sup>

The *Cum Data Fuerit* decree and its provision for enforcing celibacy, the trustee system, personal jealousies and intrigues among the clergy and the attempt of the fraternal organizations to dictate church policy were the factors involved in the prolonged struggle. Since the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree was the rallying point for those who fought the bishop, it is necessary to examine in greater detail some of the pertinent points of this pronouncement.<sup>27</sup>

The decree specified that the appointment of the Uniate bishops in the United States was reserved solely to the Holy See and was under the direct jurisdiction of the Apostolic Delegate in the United States. This was contrary to the provisions of the Uniate agreement of 1646, a premise used by the faction that desired to discredit Takach in the court cases of the 1930's. The first chapter of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree

<sup>25</sup> The General lodge was made up of adult members while the Sokol and Juvenile branches consisted of the young people and children, respectively.

<sup>26</sup> Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate," p. 481.

<sup>27</sup> The full text will be found in the Appendix. Sacred Oriental Congregation, *Decree on the Spiritual Administration of the Greek Ruthenian Ordinariates in the United States of America* (Rome: S.O.C., 1929).

pertained to the bishop. According to the decree the bishop was to have three chief functions:

1. Insure maintenance of the Rite by the clergy and laity through the observance of doctrines and good morals.
2. Enforce uniformity in ceremonies, devotions and sacraments.
3. Require priests to conform to uniform rubrics in this regard.

Among his duties, the bishop was to make parish visits once every five years, provide for the security of the temporal goods of churches, supported by annual "cathedraticum"<sup>28</sup> collections, make a full report to the Apostolic Delegate every five years and visit the Pope once every ten years. Controversies between bishops of the Greek and Latin Rite were to be referred to the Sacred Oriental Congregation in Rome.

The second chapter of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree, dealt with the clergy and had great significance upon the Pittsburgh Rusin Exarchate. This article became the core of the argument employed by the separatist faction of the Rusin Uniate Church. Its provision, on the whole, sought to bring the clergy and their bishop into closer harmony with one another and at the same time place them on a par with the Latins in regard to privileges and immunities. Due to the furor caused by the issuance of this decree and its use by the separatist faction, very little has been written about its beneficial intent. The second article urged that each diocese was to have both a major and minor seminary for the education of men aspiring for the clergy. Since there was a dearth of American priests, it was permissible to employ Byzantine Rite priests from Galicia, Hungary or Yugoslavia. A priest coming to the United States could not do so upon his own authority but had to receive permission from his bishop and the Sacred Oriental Congregation in Rome. The section that caused the most upheaval stated that all priests going to the United States and all newly ordained priests must be celibate.

Priests had to be of good faith and morals. Those that did not conform to this norm were to be sent away. Any priests coming over had to be under the jurisdiction of the bishop of either his old country diocese or an American diocese. How-

<sup>28</sup> Annual collections for the bishop.

ever, when in the United States, he was under the latter diocese's jurisdiction. To make certain of the power of the Rusin bishop, it empowered him to remove all pastors upon sufficient cause. To insure that the bishop was using his power wisely, priests who had been removed had the right of recourse to the Sacred Oriental Congregation at Rome. Article two was to be employed in various civil suits by Bishop Takach against the independent clergy.

The third chapter of the decree dealt with the laity of the Ruthenian rite. One of the most vexing problems confronting the Byzantine Rite in the United States was the wholesale incorporation of Ruthenians by the Latin Rite priests. To forestall this situation this article reemphasized that the attendance of Ruthenians at a Latin Rite church did not in itself constitute a change of rite. For those desiring a change of rite the *Nemini Licere* decree of December 6, 1928, had to be observed which meant that each prospective change had to be approved by the Apostolic Delegate. Latin Rite priests were explicitly forbidden to induce Greek Rite members to change to the Latin.

Other provisions dealt with the equality of the rites, allowing people of either rite to participate in the Mass and sacraments of the other. The Ruthenians were given permission to observe fasts and feasts according to the Gregorian rather than the Julian calendar. In order to prevent unscrupulous attacks upon the Church, the bishops were to keep constant vigilance over Ruthenian associations. As all Catholic bishops, they were to warn the people against joining secret, condemned, seditious, suspect associations, and those which sought to elude the supervision of lawful ecclesiastic authority. In the same manner, the bishop was to supervise all religious newspapers, magazines and periodicals. The clergy were not to write for them nor manage them without their Ordinary's permission. Takach was unable to enforce this provision in regard to the *Viestnik*, because of the support the Rusin people gave to the G.C.U.

The fourth and last chapter dealt with marriages between people of mixed rites. The wife was given the privilege of changing to the rite of her husband. After the dissolution of the marriage she was free to return to her original rite. Mixed marriages were prescribed in the Decree *Ne Temere*, but this was changed at a later date and was not pertinent in the celibacy struggle. Children were to observe the rite of their father

and even though baptized in another rite, this did not provide a legitimate change of rite for the child.

This in summary was the main content of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree, which was meant to strengthen and make more uniform the regulations and the internal organization of the rite but which had a completely opposite effect. Rather than strengthen, it weakened the Oriental Church in the United States to such an extent that it almost brought the Eastern Rite to an end.

The publication of the decree in 1929, touched off a great revolt among the Rusin people. Charges and countercharges were lodged by one group after another. The Uniate clergy of whom 85% were married, were caught in a dilemma. Should they fight to safeguard their rights even against Rome or should they remain loyal to their Church and bishop? A great number of lawsuits were initiated by a group of priests who attempted to gain control over their churches, including the cathedral in Munhall. The disobedient priests were tried by ecclesiastical courts and found guilty. Six of the priests were excommunicated *nominatum* by the Pope himself. These six were Orestes Chornak, Stephen Varzaly, Constantine Auroroff, Ireneus Dolhy, Peter Molchany and John Soroka.<sup>29</sup>

This schismatic movement raged on a large scale until the advent of World War II. Sporadic upheavals took place in the mid 1940's, but since then a type of peace has prevailed in the Pittsburgh exarchate. The loss of members, has been relatively high but because of unavailability of records, the exact number is not known. Estimates of the extent of loss vary from a low figure of 20,000 to a maximum number of over a 100,000.<sup>30</sup> These include the fairly large exodus of Uniates to the Orthodox Church. To accommodate these Rusin schismatics another diocese was created which came under the jurisdiction of the Greek Archbishop of New York. Just as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, this group has not been recognized by the Russian Orthodox Church. It is officially known

<sup>29</sup> Cardinal Tisserant letter of October 29, 1936 to Bishop Basil Takach. The "nominatum" excommunication refers to the papal naming of the individuals who are suspended.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1961; *The Catholic Directory of 1946* lists 278,171 members within the Pittsburgh Exarchate or a loss of 10,219 since 1925.

as the "Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Orthodox Church of the Eastern Rite of North and South America." The bishop of this diocese was the excommunicated Uniate priest Orestes Chornak, who had been consecrated bishop in Constantinople on September 18, 1938. The Greek Orthodox Directory of 1941 listed forty-five priests under the jurisdiction of Chornak. Of these, three returned to the Uniate Church, five were excommunicated priests of the Pittsburgh Exarchate, two were excommunicated priests of the Philadelphia Exarchate, two were converts from the Russian Orthodox Church who returned to it, and six were former students of Roman Catholic seminaries in the United States.<sup>31</sup>

The two year period prior to the issuance of the controversial papal decree was very peaceful for the Rusin people and their organizations. The bishop continued to ordain married men for the clergy, however by 1925 he had to secure special permission from Rome to do this. After 1927, Rome refused to grant Takach this special dispensation. Takach made his first personal visit to Rome in January 1928, ostensibly to make his report to the Roman Curia but essentially to inquire about the position of a married clergy. This first canonical visit was heralded by the Rusin papers as a great event. His return was marked with great rejoicing by both fraternal organizations, the G.C.U. and its journal the *Viestnik*, as well as by the United Societies and their newspaper, the *Prosvita*.<sup>32</sup>

The Twentieth Convention of the G.C.U. took place at Gary, Indiana, from June 23-29, 1929. The rumblings against the decree were few and not too vociferous. The most important occurrence at the meeting was the appointment of Reverend Stephen Varzaly as the editor of the *Viestnik*. Varzaly had emigrated to the United States in 1920 and become pastor of St. Nicholas Church at New Castle, a position he held until 1930. In that year he became ill and lost his voice. The ability to chant for a Byzantine priest is as important as the ability to preach for the Latin Rite priest. Without a voice, Varzaly was not able to conduct his parish duties. Through the efforts of Bishop Takach a collection was taken up among the clergy of the diocese which was to be used by Varzaly during his long

<sup>31</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 140.

<sup>32</sup> The *Viestnik* of February 16, 1928 had as the headline of its feature story, "Welcome home Bishop Takach."

period of recuperation. He went to Florida where he regained his power of speech, but rather than return to parish duties, through the efforts of Bishop Takach he was appointed editor of the *Viestnik*. As editor, Varzaly was to lead the opposition against the Uniate bishop and celibacy.

During the late summer and autumn of 1929, the Rusins seemed to be more interested in such local affairs as Bishop Takach's fiftieth birthday, whether they were "Rusins," "Rusians," or "Ukrainians," and attacks against Hanulya's "Rusin Elite Society"<sup>33</sup> rather than in the celibacy problem.<sup>34</sup> The year 1930 began on a rather auspicious note for the Pittsburgh Exarchate. In January 1930, the bishop, with Gregory Zatkovich as his attorney, was victorious in the opening round of the Clairton Church case. This church, The First Slavonic Church of the Ascension of Our Lord, was organized as a Uniate parish in 1906 and remained faithful to Rome until 1927. In that year a schism took place resulting from the attempt to place the church on an independent status. During the height of the flare-up, the bishop sent Reverend Peter Molchany as pastor to the Clairton Church. He was not allowed to take possession of either the church or the rectory and returned to the Chancery to report his inability to gain access. The trustees of the parish proceeded to sell the parish property to one of their members, a Peter Majdak, for a sum of \$46,000. During the struggle, the Ascension Church was placed under an interdict, or punitive censure, restraining the parishioners from participating in the sacraments of the Church. The Clairton Case was a forerunner of the Celibacy Court Cases but one of its participants, Rev. Peter Molchany, was cast in the role of defender of Church, a role he was to cast aside at a later date for that of one of the leaders of the anti-celibacy faction.<sup>35</sup>

On July 30, 1930, the directors of the Greek Catholic Union met in Binghamton, New York. It was decided to grant money for the purpose of fighting the celibacy law. The decree had

<sup>33</sup> See above, Chapter VIII.

<sup>34</sup> *Viestnik*, August 29, 1929; October 31, 1929; November 14, 1929.

<sup>35</sup> "Powanda et al. vs. Pido et al.," Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas (April Term 1930), in *The Pittsburgh Legal Journal*, LXXIX (January 1931 to December 1931), 409-413, ruled that property purchased for one religious creed could not be turned over to serve another creed.

been in force more than one year and the beginnings of agitation were heard in various churches and lodges throughout the eastern United States. It was left to the Bridgeport, Connecticut Lodge to make the first anti-celibacy proposal. It was a demand upon the leadership of the Union to fight against the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree until it was revoked.<sup>36</sup>

Be it resolved that the Supreme Assembly of the Greek Catholic Union . . . to use all LAWFUL ways and means to make known to the Holy Roman See the displeasures and dissatisfactions of the membership of our Union with any actual or alleged attempt to enforce "celibacy" on the clergy of our Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholics in U.S.A. for the reason that same is being interpreted as an infringement of our ancient traditional rights and customs, and the Supreme Assembly further respectfully solicits the immediate aid of our ecclesiastical authorities and our clergy to use their influence and good offices to the end that foregoing customs and usages of our Rite may be maintained in the future.

The G.C.U. was besieged by problems of its own and the celibacy question appeared to be a rallying point for the officers of the organization. The "Great" depression, which commenced in late 1929, was particularly damaging to the Union. A particularly heavy blow was the closing of the Johnstown Bank of which Joseph Horvath, the Union treasurer, was a high officer. The organization had \$200,000 of its funds invested in that bank. This caused a great hardship for the G.C.U. and raised the question of its very existence. State insurance organizations began to investigate this fraternal insurance company in regard to its solvency. The State of New York, in June 1931, forbade the G.C.U. from collecting dues in that State. This forced each member to send his premiums to the home office at Munhall. The state of Pennsylvania, in 1932, issued an ultimatum, stating that the G.C.U. must adopt the premium rates as stated in the "American Experience System" or cease its activities in the State. This matter was discussed and voted upon at the regular convention meeting in Detroit, June 20 to July 2, 1932, and the new rates were approved by a vote of 228 to 224. Thus, by four votes the Union adopted the "American Experience" rates and was allowed to

<sup>36</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedinenije," p. 64.

remain functioning in Pennsylvania. The system raised the rates to an almost prohibitive level for older members. Be-seiged by all these financial difficulties, the officers and direc-tors of both the G.C.U. and its newspaper pounced upon the celibacy issue as a means of diverting the people's attention from its own insolvent position.<sup>37</sup>

However, the G.C.U. alone was not solely responsible for the schismatic movement among the Rusin people. Bishop Takach was faced with the problem of enforcing ecclesiastic discipline. In order to avoid a clash between the laity and the bishop, there was a great deal of vascillating on the part of the Ordinary of the Pittsburgh Exarchate. Against the advice of various Uniate priests, the Bishop became too closely involved with the affairs of the Greek Catholic Union.<sup>38</sup> The married clergy were another great stumbling block. Some placed non-clerical functions over those of their priestly duties. Even more so than their Ordinary, the clergy were torn between spiritual and mundane matters. This was due to several factors. The state of their own private lives; the fear for the welfare of their families; and their antipathy for the bishop.<sup>39</sup>

In summing up the factors which led to the schismatic move-ment, one should include the following reasons for the split:

1. The ambitions of the officers of the G.C.U.
2. The system of lay trustees within the framework of the Uniate Church.
3. Intrigues among various groups of the clergy, some wish-ing to gain favor with the bishop, while others were ac-tively working against their Ordinary. A great bone of contention among the clergy was the handling of parish assignments.
4. Existence of groups who were not satisfied with either the bishop or the affairs of the Exarchate.
5. Those who were convinced that the Uniate Agreement of 1646 was being violated by the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree.

The spark that set off the celibacy fight was Bishop Takach's refusal to ordain three married seminarians for the priesthood. The underlying cause was the refusal to submit to ecclesiasti-cal discipline by a large segment of the laity and many of the

<sup>37</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedinjenje," pp. 64-66.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1961.

<sup>39</sup> Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," pp. 482-483.

clergy. This refusal on the part of the Bishop to ordain mar-ried men to the priesthood was the subject of an editorial in the *Viestnik* entitled, "With Justice towards All and Malice towards None." The three who were denied ordination, Basil Brenyo, Michael Cybercy and Joseph Mihaly, were pictured as heroes, together with the four suspended priests, Reverends Nevicky, Chornak, Varzaly and Auroroff.<sup>40</sup>

Rev. Stephen Varzaly, the personal nominee of Takach for the editorship of the *Viestnik*, stepped up the attack against the decree in the editorials of the paper.<sup>41</sup> These editorials against celibacy were written largely by Varzaly with help from Peter Zeedick, Stephen Steranchak, Michael Yuhasz and others. A careful perusal of the *Viestnik* during the year 1931, reveals disobedience and defiance against the Holy See. Editorials of the following nature were frequent in issues of the *Viestnik*:<sup>42</sup> "American Russky Viestnik against Celibacy" (4/7/31), "Benefits of the Julian Calendar" (4/16/31), "On a Good Bishop (by Zeedick 5/21/31), "Celibacy Hurts Us" (6/11/31), "The Old Country Greek Catholic Bishops Will Help Us in Our Fight Against Celibacy" (6/18/31), "Bishop Takach turning faithful Sons Against their Rite" (6/25/31).

Many Rusins believed that the enforcement of celibacy upon the Byzantilne Rite was an attempt by the Latins to put an end to the Oriental Catholic Church in America. This feeling is well exemplified in the editorial, "Celibacy Now—What Lat-er?"<sup>43</sup> After reviewing the Agreement of 1646, the author asks the question whether it applied to the United States. His antipathy to the Latins is made known by his complete oppo-sition to any societies in the Greek Rite Church borrowed from the Latin Church. Celibacy is the beginning of the end for the Byzantine Church in America. He stated that the Rusin people should be against celibacy as a disciplinary measure and be-cause it was forced upon the Rite against the will of the ma-jority of the people and the clergy. The problem was looked upon not merely as one of celibacy but as the giving up of tra-ditional rights guaranteed by the Uniate agreement.

<sup>40</sup> J. M. C. Cheresnya, "With Justice towards All and Malice towards None," *Viestnik* (August 27, 1931).

<sup>41</sup> In the period of 1931-1937 very few issues of the *Viestnik* did not con-tain a denunciation of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree.

<sup>42</sup> Translations of editorial and article titles from *Viestnik*.

<sup>43</sup> *Viestnik* (June 25, 1931), by S. Steranchak.



As in earlier struggles, the plea was soon voiced for the calling of a national church congress. This idea spread with amazing swiftness. By July 31, 1931, there were sixteen parishes representing fifteen cities which were in favor of such a congress. Two weeks later, nineteen more parishes supported such a meeting. By November 26, 1931, the *Viestnik* was able to announce that there were 102 parishes who were against celibacy and in favor of a national church congress. The directors of the G.C.U. neglected to mention how many members of each parish desired a national church congress but jumped to the conclusion that if so many parishes desired a meeting that it was a mandate of the people against celibacy. There are no available records.<sup>44</sup>

The seriousness of this last rift among the Rusin Uniates was compounded by the opposition of the clergy to the Papal Decree. The opposition of lay organizations might have been overcome but the irresolution on the part of the clergy was unexpected. The clergy did not seem to be able firmly to approve or disapprove the entire contents of the decree. Being married they should have been against celibacy, but because of their pledge to their bishop and the pope they had to loyally approve the dictates of their church. Bishop Bohachevsky, of Philadelphia, ran into much the same trouble in his exarchate, but handled the matter in a much different manner. At a meeting of the clergy who were considering the celibacy matter, the bishop threatened a mass suspension and excommunication of disobedient priests. This settled the matter for the Philadelphia Exarchate and prevented the split among the Galician Uniates. In Takach's diocese, the matter was handled far differently and the solution was reached only after bitter court cases and the creation of an independent Carpatho-Rusin Orthodox Church.

The Bishop of the Rusin Uniates eventually did take a stand against the editorials in the *Viestnik*. He suspended the editor, Rev. Varzaly, because of action against the Catholic Church. Varzaly made known his suspension to the directors on July 30, 1931. The directors asked that Takach reconsider the action against Varzaly. Even though the bishop did not do so,

<sup>44</sup> For a listing of churches, see the following issues of the *Viestnik* in the year 1931: July 31, August 13 and 20, September 3 and 17, and November 26.

the G.C.U. allowed this suspended priest to remain as editor of the paper. Because of the alleged anti-Catholic sentiments of the organization and its disobedience in the Varzaly business, the bishop resigned his office as protector of the society.<sup>45</sup>

The year 1932, saw the Pittsburgh Exarchate deeply embattled in the celibacy matter. Suspensions of priests were followed with their excommunications. Court proceedings were started in several parishes and the very existence of the Exarchate seemed to be threatened. An example of the irresolution of the married clergy who remained loyal to Rome, is contained in an article entitled, "In Defense of the Sacrament of the Holy Matrimony of Our Married Priests," by Reverend Joseph Hanulya. The Latin clergy were accused of only tolerating the Uniates and looking upon their wives as mere mistresses. An inquiry was directed to the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Rites, to Bishop Takach, to the Latin Rite bishops and to the Pope as to whether marriage administered before ordination is a Holy Sacrament or merely placed priests' wives on the level of "legalized mistresses?"<sup>46</sup>

One of the priests who was excommunicated was Stephen Varzaly. Not only was he the editor of the *Viestnik*, but after regaining his voice he was also the pastor of the Byzantine Rite parish at Rankin, Pennsylvania. With his excommunication, a majority of his parishioners began a schismatic church, which in 1971 was larger than the Uniate parish of that city. The *Viestnik* was placed upon the Catholic "Index" of forbidden reading matter and this naturally proved to be embarrassing to the clergy, who were members of the G.C.U. One of the clergy, the Reverend John Loya, published a letter to John Sekerak, president of the G.C.U. in January 1937, protesting the delivery of the *Viestnik* to his home. Loya stated he did not wish to receive the newspaper because of the writing of priests (Varzaly and Molchany) who were excommunicated by the Holy See.<sup>47</sup>

To press matters further, Reverends John Loya and John Kallock, together with several other priests, visited the office

<sup>45</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedenenije," pp. 64-65.

<sup>46</sup> *Viestnik* (February 11, 1932). The February 18, 1932 issue of the *Viestnik* carried the news of the death of Hanulya's wife.

<sup>47</sup> John Loya letter of January 28, 1937 to John Sekerak, *Prosvita* (January 28, 1937).



of Postmaster Farley to see if they could legally put a stop to the sending of the *Viestnik* to loyal Uniate families. Farley could not be reached, but one of his assistants advised the clerics that the only way to put a stop to the newspaper was to resign from the organization.<sup>48</sup>

As the tempo of the controversy intensified, the leaders of each of the two factions appealed to the emotions of the people. This brought about an oversimplification of the causes of the struggle. Celibacy was looked upon as the sole reaction for the dispute, with all other elements relegated to obscurity. The G.C.U., functioning as the defender of the rights of the people, was able to picture the opposition as seeking to destroy the religious privileges of the Uniate religion.<sup>49</sup> Those who remained loyal to the bishop countered by declaring that the Rusin people never broke with the Catholic Church and hence never received any additional privileges. This group, through its newspaper the *Prosvita*, denied the very existence of a Uniate agreement and demanded that the editors of the *Viestnik* prove that the Union of Uzhorod had ever occurred.<sup>50</sup> These were the conditions that existed in the exarchate on the eve of the legal proceedings which were to overwhelm the Rusin Uniate Church and bring it to the edge of disaster.

<sup>48</sup>Interview with John Kallock, Pittsburgh, August 3, 1961.

<sup>49</sup>Peter I. Zeedick and A. M. Smor, *Nase Stanovisce* (Homestead, Pa., 1934), 5ff.

### XIII. THE CELIBACY COURT CASES AND EVENTUAL RESTORATION OF UNITY

Throughout its history in the United States, the Uniate Church had experienced a number of schismatic disturbances, which were relatively short in duration and affected only certain churches. The factional disturbance of the 1930's was unlike the schismatic breaks of the past in that it was relatively long in duration, concerned a great many churches and resulted in the loss of not only whole congregations of people but of the actual churches. The seriousness of the controversy was engendered by the actions of the Rusins themselves together with those taken by outside agencies. As devastating a blow to the Pittsburgh Exarchate as were the polemics of the *Viestnik*, it could not compare with the court cases involving the Reverends Peter Molchany and Orestes Chornak. These two cases further clouded the struggle in that they were not primarily concerned with the celibacy struggle, but principally with the refusal of these clergymen to obey the dictates of their bishop.

#### A. THE COURT CASES AND THE CHORNAK AFFAIR

The case of Rev. Peter Molchany is most interesting because it involved the Cathedral parish of St. John's in Munhall, Pennsylvania. As in all these court cases, the history of the Union of Uzhorod was reviewed. Because of the lack of a written document in respect to this reunion of Pod-Carpathenian Ruthenian parishes with Rome, various dates were assigned to this event. However, from the testimony of both parties, certain rights<sup>1</sup> were reserved to the Ruthenian Greek Rite Church. These were:

1. That they be allowed to keep their rite.
2. That they have the bishop chosen by them.
3. That they should freely enjoy ecclesiastical liberties.

The interpretation of these provisions was the bone of contention. Those who sought to remove Bishop Takach held that he was not elected by the priests and therefore not legally their bishop. Also Takach's appointment of pastors was in violation

<sup>1</sup>See above, Chapter III.

of the privilege of "jus patronatus" or the nomination of priests, which they held was reserved to the congregation. It would be impractical here to go into detail regarding the testimony, evidence and examination of the various witnesses, but a short summary of the case is necessary to show the extent of the rebellion of several priests of the Pittsburgh Exarchate.

St. John's Greek Catholic Church was founded and received a charter in 1897 from the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, for the purpose of holding public worship in accordance with the doctrines of the Greek Catholic Church united with Rome. In 1900, the church trustees petitioned for Rev. Alex Holosynay, a Greek Catholic priest from Mukachevo, to serve as their pastor. He came and served them as pastor until May 25, 1930.<sup>2</sup> Due to the illness of Holosynay, in March of 1930, Molchany, the same priest who was assigned as pastor at Clairton, was appointed assistant pastor of St. John's Cathedral. At a meeting held on May 25, 1930, the members of St. John's elected Molchany as their pastor, but this appointment was not confirmed by the bishop who held that Holosynay was the pastor of the parish. A year and a half later, on December 10, 1931, Bishop Takach ordered the removal of Molchany as the assistant of the Cathedral and appointed him pastor of St. George's Church in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania. A meeting of the Church trustees was held on December 11, 1931 and a committee was appointed to protest the removal of Rev. Molchany. Another meeting was held in the subsequent two days and again they were told that the bishop was going to make the change. Since Molchany did not comply with the order, Takach suspended him as of December 16, 1931, and forbade him to hold any service in the Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> A preliminary court injunction forbidding Molchany to hold services was issued on December 31, 1931, but was dissolved on January 12, 1932, with Molchany continuing to function as pastor

<sup>2</sup>Rt. Rev. Basil Takach vs. Rev. Peter Molchany, *Brief for the Appellant* in the Supreme Court of Pa. for the Western District, No. 15, March Term 1935 (Munhall, 1935), pp. 2-5.

<sup>3</sup>Molchany was unwilling to accept the Aliquippa parish but showed an inclination toward a transfer to his former parish at Clairton. A non-documented source states that this did not transpire because Rev. Gorzo, the pastor at McKeesport and a close advisor of Bishop Takach, wanted Clairton for his son-in-law, the Rev. Michael Rapach, the pastor at Aliquippa. Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1959.

of the Church.<sup>4</sup> Judge George V. Moore, on May 17, 1934, entered a decree "nisi" to make permanent the preliminary injunction. On August 28, 1934, the Court sitting enblock and consisting of Judges Moore, McNaugher and Musmanno dismissed Molchany's exceptions and entered a final decree in favor of Bishop Takach.<sup>5</sup>

The victory for the Pittsburgh Exarchate in the lower court of Allegheny County received major consideration in the newspapers of Pittsburgh and its metropolitan district. The March 26, 1935, editions used the following banner headings:

"Greek Bishop Wins in Munhall Fight"—*Pittsburgh Press*  
"Pastor Barred from Cathedral"—*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*  
"Court Upholds Pulpit Ouster"—*Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph*  
"Bishop Is Upheld in Moving Pastor"

—*McKeesport Daily News*

"Rev. Molchany Barred from Munhall Church"

—*Homestead Daily Messenger*

Both the *Post Gazette* and the *McKeesport Daily News* erred in referring to Rev. Molchany as the "pastor" of the Cathedral parish. There was more involved in this case than that of a Rusin Uniate priest defying the orders of the Bishop. A great deal of the mortgage on the Cathedral and the Bishop's residence was held by the G.C.U. In order to stop the foreclosure upon this property, Bishop Takach appealed to the Latin Rite Bishop of Pittsburgh. Most Reverend Boyle, for assistance. If there was any hatred or jealousy between the bishops of both Rites, it was completely forgotten, for not only did Bishop Boyle come to the material assistance of the Uniate bishop, but he also issued a decree condemning the action taken by the schismatic groups. This decree of Bishop Boyle's naturally was resented both by the trustees of St. John's Greek Rite Church and the directors of the *Viestnik*.<sup>6</sup>

Another sidelight of the trial was the intercession of a papal legate, Bishop John Bucys, in an effort to settle the controversy. According to the testimony of Rev. Molchany, this papal

<sup>4</sup>Basil Takach vs. Peter Molchany, Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, Pa. (hereafter as C.C.P.A.C.), Sec. A, No. 82 (March, 1932), pp. 1-10.

<sup>5</sup>Rt. Rev. Basil Takach vs. Peter Molchany, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (Western District), No. 15, (March, 1935), pp. 2-3.

<sup>6</sup>*Viestnik* (January 21, 1932).

representative had secretly reinstated him as a priest of the Cathedral parish for a period of two months, subject to compliance with the terms of settlement. These efforts, however, eventually proved ineffective because of additional demands made by Bishop Takach. This activity was secret and off the record, and had no direct bearing upon the court decision but was used by Molchany in his appeal to the State Supreme Court.<sup>7</sup>

The question was whether the bishop or the congregation had the right to elect and dismiss parish priests. In the end, Basil Takach was victorious<sup>8</sup> and Molchany had to leave St. John's Cathedral parish. This was a rather hollow victory because the majority of the parishioners went with Rev. Molchany and organized a new schismatic church with him as their pastor.<sup>9</sup>

The acknowledged leader of the Rusin schismatic movement was Orestes Chornak, the pastor of St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church of Bridgeport, Connecticut. He was looked upon as a good priest by his clerical contemporaries but was thoroughly against the edict of 1929. A combination of circumstances led to his defection. These were the death of his wife, who exerted a great deal of influence upon him, and the persuasion of several clergymen to lead the opposition against both the *CumData Fuerit* decree and the dictates of Takach.<sup>10</sup> Chornak's antagonism toward celibacy led to the Greek Catholic Bishop's attempt to remove him from Bridgeport and send him to the small Uniate parish at Roebing, New Jersey.

<sup>7</sup>B. Takach vs. P. Molchany, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (Western District), No. 15 (March, 1935), pp. 8-9.

<sup>8</sup>Basil Takach vs. Peter Molchany, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the *Atlantic Reporter*, CLXXVII (March-April, 1935), 697-700. The final decision which was reached on March 25, 1935, favored the Bishop of the Pittsburgh Exarchate.

<sup>9</sup>For a fuller understanding of the case, see the testimony in Allegheny County Court, No. 82 (March Term 1932), and Case No. 15 (March Term 1935), before the Supreme Court of Pa. for the Western District.

<sup>10</sup>Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1959. According to Hanulya, Chornak was to be merely a figurehead for a group of clergymen who desired to wrest control of the diocese. Using the bait of the bishopric to Chornak, who was a widower and now eligible, they secured his consent. However the resulting excommunications of several clergymen frightened the groups to such an extent that they abandoned the plan, leaving Chornak to continue alone.

Takach, by his action, desired to assign him to a church which was far enough away from the controversy and by so doing severely impair Chornak's power of leadership. Chornak refused to obey the orders of the bishop and despite the suspension he continued to function as the pastor of the Bridgeport Church.<sup>11</sup>

The Court case that was instituted in February 1932, had an unusual variation in that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Hartford rather than the Greek Catholic Bishop was the plaintiff. This was due to the by-laws of incorporation of the Church (1905) which placed it under the bishop of the Hartford Diocese. Since the charter was not amended, the Church technically belonged to the Hartford Diocese. The case was before the courts of Connecticut for twelve years. Begun by Bishop John C. Nolan in 1932, it was continued by his successor M. F. McAuliffe. The basis for the court case hinged on one of the by-laws of incorporation which stated that the bishop of the Hartford Diocese must approve the sale of any of the property of St. John's Church. Since the church was sold to the dissident Carpatho-Russian group without the approval of the bishop, both Nolan and McAuliffe contended it must be declared void.<sup>12</sup>

The lower courts of Connecticut ruled against Chornak, as did the Connecticut Superior Court. Judge Inglis of the Superior Court ruled that the Church property belonged to the Hartford Diocese and Chornak had to leave immediately. Bishop Takach appointed Reverend Daniel Maczkov to be the new pastor.<sup>13</sup> The final disposition of the Bridgeport Case took place in February 1944, before the State Supreme Court of Connecticut. The court held that the Church, residence and school property were legally part of the Hartford Diocese. Since the charter of the Church explicitly stated that the Church was united with Rome, the Independents must vacate and return the church property to the Uniate worshippers.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>*Viestnik* (January 16, 1930); *Prosvita* (January 19, 1930).

<sup>12</sup>*Prosvita* (December 8, 1938).

<sup>13</sup>"Roman Catholic Bishop Wins St. John's Church Court Suit," *Bridgeport Times-Star* (September 12, 1941); the *Viestnik* whose banner now read the *Greek Catholic Messenger* carried a resume of the case in its Sept. 18, 1941 issue under "Bishop Chornak ordered to leave St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church in Bridgeport, Conn."

<sup>14</sup>*Prosvita* (February 24, 1944).

During the course of the trials involving St. John's Greek Catholic Church of Bridgeport, Chornak was experiencing censure by both Latin and Greek Rite ordinaries. After his suspension, a Church trial was conducted before the metropolitan tribunal of Philadelphia. The adherents of Chornak maintained that his transfer and suspension should be declared null and void and he should be completely exonerated of all charges of irregularities and be given compensation since the start of his suspension. The prosecution maintained that Bishop Takach ordered Chornak transferred to the Roebing, New Jersey, parish on December 11, 1930, which he refused to do. Chornak appealed on the 13th but was turned down by the bishop. The bishop finally on December 31, 1930, threatened Chornak with suspension if he did not heed his instructions. The suspension took effect on January 13, 1931, which Chornak appealed to the Apostolic Delegate on February 12th. The answer, which was sent two days later, was in the negative.<sup>15</sup>

Rev. Valentine Gorzo was the "promoter inatitiae," or the chief prosecutor at this Church trial and he accused Chornak of irregularities in performing his duties as pastor of St. John's. The tribunal voted in the affirmative to try Chornak on the charges set forth by Rev. Gorzo. Rev. J. Hanulya was Chornak's personal choice to act as his procurator or defense attorney. The hearings commenced on May 27, 1932. The decision of the tribunal, headed by Bishop O'Hara and Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia judged Rev. Orestes Chornak guilty and unless he recanted he was to be considered excommunicated from the Catholic Church, as of June 10, 1932.

Reverends S. Varzaly and O. Chornak appealed the ruling of the metropolitan court of Philadelphia to the Apostolic Delegate, P. Fumasoni-Biondi, who replied that Rome would not honor any request appealing the action of the court.<sup>16</sup>

Chornak continued to use the role of a Greek Catholic priest who was in communion with Rome but against celibacy and in favor of the privileges of the Union of Uzhorod. His campaign to win Uniates to his new church was progressing so

<sup>15</sup>Chornak also sent an appeal to the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church in Rome, on September 20, 1931.

<sup>16</sup>P. Fumasoni-Biondi letters of February 10, 1933 to O. Chornak and S. Varzaly in *Prosvita* (March 16, 1933).

well that the new Apostolic Delegate, Cicognani (later Cardinal) sent a letter to Bishop Takach concerning the methods used by Chornak. In the March 1936, issue of *Vostok*,<sup>17</sup> Chornak wrote that he was in contact with the Apostolic Delegate, and he was not leaving the Catholic Church but rather organizing the "Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Diocese of the Eastern Rite" according to the lines drawn up under the Pact of Uzhorod of 1646. Cicognani stated that Chornak was no longer in communion with the Catholic Church and should not be regarded as such. The contents of this letter was to be made known to all Uniate clergy in order to instruct their parishioners.<sup>18</sup>

Later, in the course of the same year, another letter dealing with the Chornak subject was dispatched to Takach. This letter was from Cardinal Tisserant and was to be delivered through the office of the Apostolic Delegate. It concerned primarily the establishment in the United States of an "Administration of Carpatho-Ruthenian Greek Catholics" headed by Orestes Chornak, a priest of the Pod-Carpathian Ruthenian ordinate. Other priests involved included: Stephen Varzaly, Constantine Auroroff, Ireneus Dolhy, Peter Molchany and John Soroka. These six priests were excommunicated by *nominatum* of the Holy See.<sup>19</sup>

Bishop Takach, in his pastoral letter, listed several steps to be taken by the Uniate clergy and laity in regard to the schismatic movement. He stated that the Oriental Church was never inflicted with such a strict penalty as the papal *nominatum* excommunication of the six clergymen, and this was to be a warning for those who complacently sat back and watched the schism develop. All were to support the true Church, and the American Uniate priests were to strive to be "great men" in the critical period. The clergy were obligated to explain the seriousness of a *nominatum* excommunication, and were to pray for the return of the dissidents. The following special services were prescribed.

<sup>17</sup>*Vostok* (March, 1936), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>A. G. Cicognani letter of April 7, 1936 to Basil Takach reprinted in *Viestnik* (April 16, 1936).

<sup>19</sup>Cardinal Tisserant letter of October 29, 1936, to A. G. Cicognani and Basil Takach, reprinted in *From the Bishop of the Greek Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh*, No. 225 (November 25, 1936).

1. During the Sundays in Advent, an *Ektenia* was to be said, "for the increase of charity and the extermination of anger and all ill will."
2. At all Friday evening devotions during Advent, a *Paraklis* in honor of the Blessed Virgin and an *Akathist*, or service to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, was to be said.
3. The Sisters of St. Basil were to conduct a novena for the purpose of the return of the schismatics.<sup>20</sup>

By this time, Chornak was not receiving the clerical aid that he expected from the Pittsburgh Exarchate. In the beginning, many were ready to follow his example; but because of the threat of excommunication on somber reflection, they remained faithful to their Catholic obligation. Chornak, on November 23, 1937, called an independent church council at Pittsburgh. The great majority of the dissident clergy and people approved Chornak as the first bishop of the Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Diocese of the Eastern Rite in North and South America.<sup>21</sup> He received his consecration at Constantinople on September 8, 1938, from several Greek Orthodox Archbishops. By 1939, Chornak's diocese numbered forty parishes with approximately fifty thousand members, most of whom were former Uniates.<sup>22</sup>

There were many other court cases, besides those of Munhall and Bridgeport. The majority were won by the Pittsburgh Exarchate but many were likewise victories for the independent or dissident church followers. In all these church cases, the procedure to a large extent was identical. The Rusin schismatics tried to show that the Union of Uzhorod gave them certain rights one of which was the right of each parish to pick its own pastor. This they claimed under the "Jus patronatus" or the right of the patrons to choose their pastors.<sup>23</sup> The most significant consideration in the final disposition of the majority of cases was the wording of the charters of incor-

<sup>20</sup> *From the Bishop of the Greek Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh*, No. 225 (Nov. 25, 1936).

<sup>21</sup> *Time* (Dec. 6, 1937), pp. 60-61.

<sup>22</sup> Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup> In a great many of the Church Cases involving the Rusin Uniates, the proposal of "jus patronatus" was submitted. For example, see Rt. Rev. Basil Takach vs. Peter Molchany, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, No. 15 (March, 1935), *Brief for the Appellant*, pp. 93-104 and pp. 169-175.

poration. Was it merely to be a Greek Catholic Church or a Greek Catholic Church united with Rome? There was one significant exception to this rule, the Ambridge Case, which although it was a Greek Catholic Church united with Rome, nevertheless, was awarded to the independents.<sup>24</sup>

In the Gregory Moneta vs. Michael Varnar Case, according to court testimony, the Ambridge congregation prior to 1922, were members of St. Peter and Paul's Greek Catholic Church of Ambridge which was Ukrainian (Galician) in origin. In February 1921, the Rusins requested that their native chant be used for certain services. The Ukrainians faction refused, causing the Rusins to meet in the Carpatho-Russian Hall on February 19, 1922, for the purpose of organizing their own parish. Michael Yuhasz, an officer of the G.C.U., and Reverend George Tegza, addressed the conclave and pointed out the merits of a parish of their own. The Slovak Hall in Ambridge was rented for church services and a charter was granted on September 15, 1922. The official name of the Church was to be "St. John the Baptist Uhro-Rusin Greek Catholic Church." It was to have a threefold purpose. One was to convey the spiritual and moral teaching of the Greek Catholic Church. To provide educational facilities for the Rusin people was the second purpose. Lastly, church officials were not to convey the property to the Russian Orthodox Church or any other church.<sup>25</sup>

Other facts brought out by the counsel for Rev. Moneta, who was assigned to the church by Takach, was that the pastors from Rev. J. S. Malanak, the first pastor, down to Moneta were all at the time of their appointment united with Rome. Moneta served as pastor on two separate occasions, from November 1927, to August 1931, and November 12, 1935, to date. Although the congregation protested and asked for his removal, because of his attempt to supersede the authority of the board of trustees, Moneta refused to leave and was supported by the bishop. Beside trying to show that the bishop had sent priests to Ambridge since 1925, Moneta's counsel brought out further facts to prove that this was a Uniate parish. The Cathedraticum or annual offering to the bishop, was

<sup>24</sup> Gregory Moneta vs. Michael Varnar et al., Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, No. 22 (March, 1940).

<sup>25</sup> Gregory Moneta vs. Michael Varnar et al., Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, No. 22 (March, 1940), I, 1245A-1248A; III, 3-4.

paid several times, and the bishop conducted services at the church on different occasions.

The Decree Nisi of the lower court ruled in favor of Michael Varnak, the defendant, holding that persons and not things were incorporated. The congregation was incorporated and not the church. A church can hold fast to Roman Catholic doctrine and observe the Byzantine ritual, but still be independent of papal authority. Since the bishop had not exercised any real authority over the church except the excommunication of the defendant on October 20, 1936, the church was not considered part of the exarchate and therefore was independent.

The attorneys for Rev. Moneta and the Pittsburgh Exarchate were Thomas Granahan and Gregory Zatkovich. The two had collaborated in many of the church trials in the early 1930's, sometimes successfully and on other occasions unsuccessfully. During the trial, Bishop Takach was called as a witness for Rev. Moneta. During the course of the cross examination, the matter of the bull designating Takach as bishop came under close scrutiny. The document had been altered in several places and was used by the defense to discredit Takach. The words "Podkarpatska Rus" were placed over the erased word "Czechoslovakia." Bishop Takach's testimony brought out the fact that as much of his exarchate consisted of people who had migrated from the former Hungarian area, it would be more accurate to use the name of the area rather than that of the Czech republic. When he had made known these facts to the papal authorities, they merely substituted the words "Podkarpatska Rus," rather than draw up a new document.<sup>26</sup>

#### B. ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED SOCIETIES

While the courts were deciding the ownership of various Rusin parishes, a great struggle was being waged by the advocates of both factions in the celibacy struggle. The oldest and largest fraternal organization, the G.C.U., was firmly entrenched as the proponent of anti-celibacy. This was a great blow to the exarchate, for not only did the organization provide material assistance, but its newspaper served as the quasi-official paper of the diocese. The other fraternal society, the

<sup>26</sup>"Moneta vs. Varnak," In the Supreme Court, I, 385A-386A.

United Societies, a newer and far weaker organization, became the champion of the bishop and his cause.

Little so far has been said of the United Societies and their official newspaper, the *Prosvita*. It began as an offshoot of the G.C.U. with the withdrawal of three fraternal branches. This occurred on March 29, 1903, at St. Nicholas Church, McKeesport, Pennsylvania. The new organization was organized with branches at St. Nicholas Church, Holy Trinity Church of Glassport, Pennsylvania and St. Michael the Archangel parish, also of McKeesport. The main purpose of the new organization, according to its officers, was to provide good leadership which was lacking in the Greek Catholic Union. The provisional officers, Michael Cuprik and Michael Zebak, called for a convention to be held on April 5, 1903. At this time, the organization consisted of three hundred members who chose as their officers: Michael Martahuz president, John Repko, vice-president, M. Boutun, corresponding secretary, M. Zebak, secretary, and A. Kobulnicky, treasurer.<sup>27</sup>

With the death of Reverend Alexis Medvecky, on January 18, 1908, a new spiritual advisor was chosen, Rev. Valentine Gorzo. Gorzo served in this capacity until his death in 1946. The organization grew to include eleven branches by 1909, and by the eighth convention held in 1913, placed itself on the side of Ortinsky in the Ukrainian episode. During this convention, Gorzo, the spiritual director, had the by-laws amended to include the statement that the purpose of the United Societies was to work for the best interests of the Catholic Church.<sup>28</sup>

The organization had a steady growth during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In 1915, it consisted of seventy-three branches with a combined membership of 2,418. By 1922 this was increased to 219 branches, 9,193 members and total assets of \$112,769.58. Three years later, it boasted of 15,442 members and a total valuation of \$193,102.90. At the time of the celibacy struggle, it had a membership of 20,321 members distributed among 429 lodges, having a total capital of \$309,798.94.

<sup>27</sup>Alexander Papp, "O nas pro Nas.—O Nasom Sobraniju," *Kalendar Sobranija 1938* (McKeesport, 1938), 38. The editor of the United Societies is not to be confused with Bishop A. Papp of the Mukachevo diocese.

<sup>28</sup>Papp, *Kalendar Sobranija 1938*, pp. 43-44.

In the year 1919, the organization purchased the *Prosvita* for \$13,500. This became the official newspaper and also the printing press for Bishop Takach during the lean years of the 1930's. There were those who claimed that the United Societies merely gave lip service to the cause of the bishop during the celibacy question but contributed very little materially to winning the struggle. The United Societies during their fifteenth convention, at Detroit, Michigan in 1931, renewed its pledge of loyalty to the Church and to the Pittsburgh Exarchate. The United Societies' critics point to the succeeding convention held in Philadelphia in 1935, as an indication of its selfish motives. The exarchate was in dire need of funds, the only substantial help coming from Bishop Boyle and the Latin diocese of Pittsburgh. The Cathedral was to be sold at a sheriff's sale and many of the clergy were expecting the United Societies to come to the bishop's assistance. The society did pledge itself to continue to fight the cause of the bishop, but only loaned the diocese \$16,000 to help save the Cathedral.<sup>29</sup> Many were critical of a loan rather than an outright gift of the money.<sup>30</sup>

There were several outstanding editors of the organization newspapers. Rev. J. Hanulya was the first editor of the *Rusin*, Rev. V. Balogh became the first editor of the *Prosvita*, being succeeded in 1933, by Rev. A. Papp, who was the leader of the pro-Bishop faction, in the later stages of the celibacy fight. In order to keep this struggle in its proper perspective, it is necessary to compare the material in the two fraternal publications. The *Viestnik* was generally against celibacy, while the *Prosvita* was completely in favor of celibacy.

### C. THE K.O.V.O.

This anti-celibate feeling pervaded the G.C.U. and the Uniate peoples in general. The struggle commenced at the Detroit convention of the G.C.U. held from June 20 to July 2, 1932. The convention was wholeheartedly against celibacy, the bishop and the celibate clergy. The post of spiritual advisor was once again offered to Martyak, the former Administrator of the Rusin Uniate Church. Should he decline, the

<sup>29</sup> Papp, *Kalendar Sobranija 1938*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1959.

post was to be offered Reverend Michael M. Staurovsky. As expected, Martyak declined because he believed that the society through its opposition to the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree, was ruining the work he so painstakingly brought about during his years as a priest, administrator and spiritual director of the Union. Staurovsky, an American-born priest, adopted a program aimed at achieving peace, brotherhood and co-operation for the common good of the Church, people and the G.C.U. It was the aim of the new spiritual director to make peace with the bishop and have him lead the fight against celibacy.<sup>31</sup> To achieve this objective, Staurovsky was the author of a petition circulated among the Rusin clergy stating their opposition to the celibacy section of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree. Many of the leading clergy of that period were signatories to the position. This petition was denounced by the advocates of celibacy who believed that it was schismatic in tone.<sup>32</sup>

The anti-celibacy faction utilized the method which was used so effectively against Ortinsky almost a quarter of a century ago, namely, the people's religious congress. Once again, the G.C.U. organized a committee to take the lead in this new struggle with Takach. This organization was the K.O.V.O., *Komiteta Oborony Vostocnoho Obrjada* (Committee for the defense of our Faith), which was founded for the purpose of defending the Greek Rite from alleged efforts to Latinize it. At the head of the K.O.V.O. was Rev. J. Hanulya and the secretary was A. M. Smor.<sup>33</sup> Other priests who attended the first meeting at Johnstown, Pennsylvania on April 10, 1932, were Chegin, Simkow, Staurovsky, Krusko, Koman and the suspended priests, Chornak, Varzaly and C. Auroroff. The lay members included M. Yuhasz, president of the G.C.U., Dr. P. I. Zeedick, G. Zatkovich and S. Steranchak.<sup>34</sup>

There were various clergy who attacked the bishop as being unfit to head the Pittsburgh Exarchate.<sup>35</sup> Takach was accused

<sup>31</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedenenije," pp. 67-68.

<sup>32</sup> "Are you loyal to the Holy Father?" *Prosvita* (February 23, 1933).

<sup>33</sup> Hanulya believed he had the right to passively resist the celibacy decree as long as he did not go contrary to its teachings. See Hanulya editorial in the *Prosvita* (Sept. 29, 1932); Smor temporarily served as editor of the *Viestnik*, 1935-1936.

<sup>34</sup> "K.O.V.O. Organization," *Viestnik* (July 7, 1932).

<sup>35</sup> For details of these accusations, see *Viestnik* (August 4, 1932).



of using the celibacy struggle to hide his own failures and in order to continue his despotism and nepotism in the diocese. Varzaly attacked Takach as being a bad pastor, unqualified, incapable and hated by both the people and the clergy.<sup>36</sup>

The K.O.V.O. leadership in February 1933, issued a call for another People's Church Congress. Its aim was to end the celibacy struggle, which had engulfed the exarchate the past three years. Many of the G.C.U. officers and members of the board of directors were leaders of the K.O.V.O. faction of the people. In the meantime, a lively literary battle was beginning, involving the two rival Rusin newspapers. The *Prosvita* was attacked for printing untruths about celibacy, such as the claim that celibacy was instituted during the administration of Monsignor Martyak. The *Viestnik* attacked celibacy by listing various married clergy ordained by Bishop Takach prior to 1929. The head of the diocese was attacked for enforcing decrees which were harmful to the Rusin people. Those opposing celibacy pointed out an old axiom of episcopal rule, namely, "If a bishop recognizes a law to be certainly harmful in his diocese, he is not obliged to urge its observation."<sup>37</sup> The Roman authorities of the Catholic Church were attacked as being anti-Oriental, especially Cardinal Sincero, who headed that part of the Roman Curia dealing with problems of the Byzantine Rite. The editors of the G.C.U. paper began to demand the privileges guaranteed by the Union of Uzhorod.

Extensive preparations were made for the Rusin Religious Congress which met in Johnstown during June of 1933. One of the resolutions adopted by the Congress provided for the clergy to attend meetings of the K.O.V.O., especially those who had high positions in the exarchate, namely, T. Zsatkovich, the Chancellor, J. Grigassy, the bishop's secretary, V. Gorzo, spiritual director of the United Societies and A. Papp, editor of *Prosvita*. There was to be organized a committee of laymen and clergy which was to carry on the financial affairs of the diocese. The lay groups would be very powerful, having the right to name three candidates for the office of the bishop of the exarchate. Lastly, the organization should have an of-

<sup>36</sup>"Destructive Work of Bishop Takach," *Viestnik* (August 4, 1932); S. Varzaly letter of October 1, 1932 to Most Rev. G. P. O'Hara in *Viestnik* (October 6, 1932).

<sup>37</sup>*Viestnik* (February 23, 1933).

ficial newspaper to disseminate information among the faithful.<sup>38</sup>

Approximately 1,500 delegates assembled at the Nemo theatre in Johnstown for this religious gathering. Among the delegates were five clergymen and all the important officers of the G.C.U. The general tone of the speeches was against the Latinization of the Byzantine Rite. Three of the priests spoke during the first session; they were Igor Maczko, Stephen Zacharias, John Soroka, while the other two, N. J. Voloshuk and J. Kolchun, merely attended the meetings. The excommunicated priest, S. Varzaly, made an impassioned plea for the Oriental rite. He stated, "We must fight until we achieve an ultimate triumph—the safeguarding of our Eastern Rite."<sup>39</sup>

The following month the K.O.V.O. held a large convention in Pittsburgh, lasting from July 26 to 28, 1933. Three hundred and eleven delegates, forty-five priests and sixty cantors attended. The executive committee of the Religious National Congress of the Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Church of America, headed by Stephen Steranchak addressed a letter to Pope Pius XI on August 14, 1933. The K.O.V.O. Convention adopted the following twelve resolutions which were contained in the letter:<sup>40</sup>

1. Rome must adhere to the Uniate agreement signed at Uzhorod.
2. The celibacy decree must be revoked and the attempted Latinization of the clergy must be stopped.
3. The bishop and his clerical advisors must be recalled immediately. If this is not done, the members of the K.O.V.O. will refuse to obey his dictates.
4. The penalties inflicted upon those fighting celibacy must be rescinded.
5. The married seminarians must be ordained.
6. The new bishop must be an American citizen chosen by the American Rusin clergy.
7. The Pittsburgh Exarchate must be represented in the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Rite.

<sup>38</sup>*Viestnik* (June 15, 1933).

<sup>39</sup>"Rusin Church Congress," *Johnstown Tribune* (June 12, 1933).

<sup>40</sup>Stephen Steranchak letter of August 14, 1933 in the *Viestnik* (October 5, 1933). Other members of the Committee were Andrew Hleba, Peter Korpos, George Varga, John Ruda, George Jogas, John Lois and the Reverends Varzaly and Molchany.

8. The papal officials must use the term "Carpatho-Russian" rather than "Ruthenian" to designate the people of the Exarchate.
9. The exercise of local autonomy in such matters as salaries for priests and cantors must be approved. The Congress would pick two priests, two cantors and five laymen to compile these new Diocesan Statutes.
10. The articles of incorporation were to be changed to allow for the recording of church property in the name of the congregation. Neither the bishop nor the pastor would be allowed to serve as trustees.
11. The parish was not obligated to pay the salary of priests who work against the interests of the Greek Catholic Union.
12. The Papal authorities must comply with this communication within sixty days or the K.O.V.O. would secede from the Catholic Church and organize an independent church.

There was no turning back after these resolutions were adopted. The very foundation of authority of the Catholic Church was denied by this letter. The clergy who were vacillating up to this point, now had a clear-cut choice to make: either to remain loyal to the Church and obey the dictates of Bishop Takach or follow the K.O.V.O. along its road to church independence. Rev. Hanulya, on September 10th, stated that none of the priests of the Exarchate would sign the resolution of the Pittsburgh Congress.<sup>41</sup> However, various laymen in several parishes immediately adopted the Pittsburgh resolution. The Russka Dolina parish on Saline Street in southside Pittsburgh, together with St. John's Church on Carson Street, firmly adhered to the K.O.V.O. resolutions, as did the Greek Catholic Churches in the Johnstown area.<sup>42</sup>

Some who leaned toward Independence in Church affairs reviewed the whole Uniate problem in a pamphlet entitled, *Nase Stanovisce* (Our Rights). It reviewed the beginning of the celibacy struggle. The G.C.U. steadfastly maintained the rights of the Uniates, against Bishop Takach and the United Societies. The pamphlet pointed out the confused testimony of the bishop's secretary in regard to the Union of Uzhorod. One

<sup>41</sup> *Viestnik* (October 5, 1933).

<sup>42</sup> *Viestnik* issues of October 5 and October 13, 1933.

of the privileges was the right of the clergy to pick the bishop, a right forfeited to their Hungarian rulers. Bishop Ortinsky had signed the proposals of the Johnstown National Church Congress on December 12, 1913, which provided that the bishop would ordain married men to the priesthood and would defend the Greek Catholic rights. Bishop Takach, in a pastoral letter of May 18, 1931, stated that Rome took away the right of married clergy, the reason for this was that it was a discipline and not a right of the Uniates.<sup>43</sup>

The *Nase Stanovisce* further emphasized that celibacy could destroy the Greek Rite in America. It has been fostered by the agitation of the Latin clergy, who were jealous of the Oriental Church's special privileges. The danger was not celibacy but the Latinization of the Byzantine Rite. As dangerous as the Latin menace was to the Greek Rite, that of the Ukrainian peril was even greater. The Ukrainians had exerted influence upon high church officials, including the Pope. The *Nase Stanovisce* emphasized that in order to safeguard the Rusin Uniate Church from these twin menaces, the people had to adopt a militant program of opposition. The authors of this pamphlet further pointed out that celibacy had not been a problem in the Uniate Church of America for forty years, but the combined agitation of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Ukrainians had made it such. To combat them, it was necessary for the Rusin people to exercise the power of "jus patronatus," that of choosing their own bishop, and use the English language in their Mass.<sup>44</sup> Thus, those opposing Bishop Takach, were not only fighting celibacy, but also Latinization and Ukranization. The Church fight now had tinges of nationalism. A point neglected by Zeedick and Smor was that celibacy was also imposed upon the Ukrainian by the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree.

The K.O.V.O. organization continued its fight against celibacy during the mid 1930's. The Exarchate charged that the K.O.V.O. was operated by the G.C.U. with a Mr. Laputka as its administrator and Rev. Varzaly its official mouthpiece.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Zeedick and Smor, *Nase Stanovisce*, pp. 37-41.

<sup>44</sup> Zeedick and Smor, *Nase Stanovisce*, pp. 42-72. Of those three proposals, the last was enacted during the mid 1950's, with the Divine Liturgy (Mass) at present celebrated in English.

<sup>45</sup> Balogh, "K.O.V.O. and What it Means," *Prosvita* (December 1, 1932).

The K.O.V.O. petitioned the Congress of the United States to investigate the religious freedom of the Greek Catholics in the Pittsburgh Exarchate. This petition was signed by four members of the G.C.U.; they were Michael Herko, John Krupa, Michael Roman and Frank Manna.<sup>46</sup> The directors of the Greek Catholic Union and Rev. Varzaly began to agitate for another Church Congress. The view of the directors was that the religious strife of the past five years had not settled any of the crucial problems. This Congress would definitely decide whether to abide by the celibacy decree or to go contrary to it.<sup>47</sup>

#### D. ROME AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE PITTSBURGH EXARCHATE

To counter the effects of the K.O.V.O. Convention, Bishop Takach called a meeting of all the clergy of his Exarchate to meet at the Passionist monastery in Pittsburgh on August 30, 1933. A resolution was made and adopted by the assembled delegates that no priest could or would sign the protest. This proposal was signed by ninety-three of the priests who attended and later by twenty others who could not be present. This total of 113 priests showed the almost complete solidarity of the Rusin clergy against the K.O.V.O. Convention and its threatened schism.<sup>48</sup>

On December 7, 1933, a group of the officers of the G.C.U. called upon Archbishop Giovanni Cicognani, the Apostolic Delegate, to aid them in their cause against celibacy. They told of the sad state of the Exarchate and the resulting unrest caused by the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree. They asked that the Apostolic Delegate plead their case with the Roman Curia. Cicognani listened attentively and told the representative of the G.C.U. to keep the peace within the diocese until the Pontiff made a final ruling. Those who took part in this meeting, all leaders of the K.O.V.O., were George Pulak, F. Habansky, M. Yuhasz, John Popp, M. J. Laputka, J. Masich, J. Morris and Dr. P. I. Zeedick.<sup>49</sup>

The year 1934, was rather calm as compared with the preceding year. Whereas, in 1933, various slurs were made against those priests who advocated celibacy, the following

<sup>46</sup> *Viestnik* (February 4, 1935).

<sup>47</sup> *Viestnik* (January 31, 1935).

<sup>48</sup> *Prosvita* (September 7, 1933).

<sup>49</sup> *Viestnik* (December 14, 1933).

year saw a return to fact and an appeal to reason rather than emotion. There were various court cases, the majority being won by the bishop. The case involving Rev. Nicholas Szabados vs. Michael Buchovsky, heard in Cambria County,<sup>50</sup> ended in victory for Takach as did the Johnstown Case. Staurovsky, as editor of *Viestnik*, was still attempting to bring a compromise settlement between the Chancery and G.C.U. "Blessed are the peacemakers" was not appropriate for Rev. Staurovsky, for he was looked upon with suspicion by the clergy of the Exarchate and not trusted by various directors of the G.C.U. In an editorial, he wrote that priests are to guide the faithful and in religious matters have more rights than the laity. He further stated that the inability of the clergy to participate in the K.O.V.O. resolutions was because of the ultimatum and tone of the proposals. They were not proper and, therefore, not acceptable. However, he was in favor of Steranchak's proposal for another Church Congress.<sup>51</sup>

On May 21, 1934, the Rev. Varzaly and A. S. Smor spoke to the young Greek Catholics at Barnesboro. The privileges of the Union of 1646 and the fight against the Latinization of the diocese were the main topics. Michael Roman, who was to be the editor of the *Greek Catholic Messenger* (1937), stated: "At the outset, we must say that we are not giving up, and never shall surrender. We are in this struggle to its happy ending."<sup>52</sup>

In July 1934, Rome finally replied to the K.O.V.O. resolutions in a letter to Takach by way of Cicognani. It explained the rebellion and agitations of the Rusins as a result of the fear that these privileges had been taken away. It further emphasized that celibacy actually was in effect in America since 1890. The decree had not done away with the privileges of the married clergy but merely referred to the conditions in the United States. The letter further stated that the decree *Cum Episcopa* of August 17, 1914, a modification of the con-

<sup>50</sup> Judge Charles C. Greer, "Opinion and Decree," of St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church of Johnstown, Penna. vs. Michael Buchovsky, et al., Court of Common Pleas of Cambria County, Penna., No. 8 (June Term 1932), (Decision rendered on October 5, 1934).

<sup>51</sup> Staurovsky, "K.O.V.O.," *Viestnik* (May 17, 1934).

<sup>52</sup> "Greek Catholic Express Protest of Latinization," *Johnstown Tribune* (May 21, 1934).

stitution *Ea Semper* of June 14, 1907, although it did not mention celibacy, nevertheless the provision remained in force. The *Cum Data Fuerit* merely re-announced celibacy.

The reason for the omission in the *Cum Episcopa*, the letter continued, was because of the indulgent attitude of Rome toward the statements of Ruthenian bishops in Europe to the effect that there was a shortage of a celibate clergy to staff the churches in America. The letter further specified that in the period 1914-1929, Rome had upheld its ban against married clergy. However, in 1925, Bishop Takach had asked for permission to ordain some married clerics, Rome had acceded to the request but emphasized that it did so to meet an emergency and did not condone the practice. In 1929, it was felt that the time had arrived for the restating of the policy of celibacy. Rome did not disturb the immigrant married clergy even when they took views that differed from the Catholic point of view. To discuss the provisions of the decree was one thing but to threaten to go into schism was a grave undertaking. This the K.O.V.O. did at the convention held in Pittsburgh from July 26 to 28, 1933. The members of the K.O.V.O. hid under the cloak of the defense of the privileges of the Ruthenian Church, but its true motives were rebellious and schismatic. The Holy See could not remain silent in the face of this opposition. The clergy had to attest their loyalty to the Holy See and to their bishop.<sup>53</sup>

Bishop Takach warned the clergy to keep the contents of the letter to themselves and that it was not to be made known to the laity. He reemphasized that the clergy must lead the people according to the dictates of the Roman Catholic Church. In regard to celibacy, he wrote, "The letter contains the final word of the Holy See in the matter of celibacy. It is no longer a debatable question."<sup>54</sup> Those favoring an independent Church had laid down their ultimatum at the K.O.V.O. Convention of 1933. Rome, Takach and the clergy of the Pittsburgh Exarchate made known their steadfast position as a result of the letter of Cardinal Sincero. Celibacy was here to stay in the Oriental Church of America.

<sup>53</sup> Luigi Cardinal Sincero letter of July 23, 1934 to Apostolic Delegate Giovanni Cicognani and transmitted to Bishop Takach, July 23, 1934 in *From the Bishop of the Greek Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh* (Homestead, Pa., 1934), No. 263.

<sup>54</sup> *From the Bishop of the Greek Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh*, No. 263.

The Roman Curia was very much disturbed by the agitation prevailing among the Rusin Uniates. As early as October 15, 1932, the Apostolic Delegate, Biondi, had sent a communication to the Rusin clergy touching upon the celibacy matter.<sup>55</sup> The Pope and the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church had devised a formula for all the priests of the Ruthenian diocese, who were under Bishop Takach. This was a testament of the loyalty of the Rusin clergy to the Holy See. By the end of October, over forty of the clergy of the Pittsburgh area signed the declaration.<sup>56</sup> The Greek Rite Ordinary and his staff were swamped with the voluminous correspondence that took place with Church authorities in America and Rome. The conditions of the Exarchate were described in briefs to the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church. Long descriptions of the conditions of the Rusins under the Hungarians and Czechs were followed by the description of the schismatic rebellion in the Pittsburgh Exarchate. The spread of the rebellion was placed upon the *American Russki Viestnik* and the priests Varzaly and Chornak.<sup>57</sup>

The whole history of the independent movement was described in correspondence to Church authorities. The early immigration, hostility of the Latin Rite bishops and priests, the incorporation of Church property in the name of the trustees of the parish and the lack of proper direction which often resulted in schisms were reviewed by Takach and Rome. These independent movements began during the visits of the two apostolic visitors, Reverends Nicephorus Chanat and Hodobay, during the tenure of Bishop Ortinsky, during the Apostolic Administrators, Reverends Martyak and Ponyatishin, and continued in the 1930's.

Takach next described the location of his diocese covering the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut. Sixty-five percent of the parishes were in the state of Pennsylvania where the conditions in regard to schism were very grave in 1930. The unsettled conditions that prevailed

<sup>55</sup> Apostolic Delegate P. F. Biondi letter, No. 2970-1, of Oct. 15, 1932 to the Rusin Uniate Clergy. Copy in author's possession.

<sup>56</sup> Declaration of October 25, 1932. Unpublished. Original in the Munnhall Byzantine Arch-eparchy Chancery. Copy in author's possession.

<sup>57</sup> B. Takach letters to Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church, Homestead, September 21, 1931—text in Latin. Originals in the Munnhall Byzantine Arch-eparchy Chancery. Copy in author's possession.

in the parishes of East Pittsburgh, St. Clair, and Clairton were of a serious nature threatening the peace of the Exarchate. This was counterbalanced by the excellent church relations in such parishes as Perth Amboy, New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Braddock, Homestead, Lyndora, Avella, Uniontown and Sheffield all in the state of Pennsylvania. Several laymen were singled out for their excellent work, with a special commendation being accorded Gregory Zatkovich.<sup>58</sup>

In 1934, the bishop reported the following facts to the Church authorities at Rome. The rebellious conditions continued to be grave and frustrating to the Ordinary of the Pittsburgh Exarchate. Those in rebellion were continuing to fight the Church authorities. Their slogan was to protect the Rusin people from "Latinization and celibacy," and were using the following two arguments. One, that the Pope was not supreme in the Greek Rite Church and, two, that the Union of Uzhorod (1646) was a bilateral pact with the papacy, giving them certain privileges. Varzaly and the *Viestnik* were continuing to foment trouble for the diocese, as were certain other priests who wrote for the paper.<sup>59</sup>

Besides correspondence with Rome on the condition of the diocese, the Greek Rite Chancery was busy dealing with the excommunication proceedings of the previously mentioned priests. Especially voluminous were the reports sent to the Apostolic Delegate dealing with Reverend Orestes Chornak, who was excommunicated by the Diocesan Tribunal. His appeal of September 20, 1931, to the Sacred Congregation contained a list of irregularities of the tribunal and its staff, together with a report of the progress of S. John's Church of Bridgeport during his pastorate. This appeal led to the Philadelphia Metropolitan Clerical Court's action of August 1932, confirming Chornak's excommunication.<sup>60</sup>

In 1934, Bishop Takach promulgated in twenty statutes a reorganization of the diocese. In these new laws, the powers

<sup>58</sup> Basil Takach letter on "De Statu Dioecesis," April 12, 1934. Unpublished. Copy in author's possession.

<sup>59</sup> Takach letter on "De Statu Dioecesis," April 12, 1934.

<sup>60</sup> *Documentum Appellationis Orestes Chornak* (Bridgeport, September 20, 1931). Copy in author's possession, original in Munhall Byzantine Arch-eparchy Chancery.

of the bishop and the Pope were clearly defined as were the functions of the priests, laity and the Church Committees. The trusteeship system and the lay directors of the Church were subordinated to the bishop. In the main, these new laws were an attempt at the reorganization of the Rusin Uniate Churches. Since most of the Uniate parishes of the Pittsburgh Exarchate were organized prior to the naming of a Byzantine bishop, there was no clear distinction of the power of the bishop over individual churches. This reorganization was aimed at remedying the situation.<sup>61</sup>

In the course of the editorial and newspaper rivalry between *Viestnik* and *Prosvita*, many libelous statements and falsehoods were common on both sides. The amazing part of this rivalry was the almost complete absence of any libel suits against the two papers. Each side twisted the truth in a manner that was more palatable to its readers. A case in point involved the Canadian Uniates. The *Viestnik* carried the story of a Uniate priest, Reverend Andrew Sarmatiuk, who had to choose between his wife and family and the Catholic Church. The article asserted the accomplishments of this Ukrainian priest, who at one time was secretary to the Canadian Bishop Ladyka, and now was forced to leave the church. This was an example of the evils of the celibacy degree according to the *Viestnik*, showing how a married priest had to give up his family in order to live up to the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree.<sup>62</sup>

The correct version of the story in *Prosvita*, was that the priests, Reverends Sarmatiuk and Shumsky were suspended by Bishop Lubov for undertaking marriage after their ordination. This was contrary to the dictates of not only the Latin Rite, but also against the laws of the Oriental Church. The Byzantine Church allowed marriage prior to receiving ordination but not afterward. The *Cum Data Fuerit*, however, ended this practice in the United States.<sup>63</sup>

The followers of the bishop claimed that the disturbances in the Pittsburgh Exarchate were not against the celibacy decree, but rather against the legitimate authority of the Church. The church fight continued during all of the 1930's and into

<sup>61</sup> B. Takach, *Schema Domasnych Statutov Cerkvej—Parochij Dieceziju Greceskoho Obrjada* (McKeesport, 1934).

<sup>62</sup> *Viestnik*, issues of February 14, 21, 28, 1935.

<sup>63</sup> *Prosvita* (February 25, 1933).

the following decade. On July 14 and July 28, 1940, the *Viestnik* published an article against the *Prosvita*. This time the case was taken to court and the *Viestnik* was found guilty of slander. This was one of the few times that either side took legal action against its literary competitors.<sup>64</sup>

The officers of the G.C.U. and the Church authorities could look back at the celibacy issue at the beginning of 1936, and see only disaster as its aftermath.<sup>65</sup> The Rusin Exarchate witnessed a schism in the diocese and the creation of an independent church. The loss of membership was estimated by the Ordinary to be around twenty thousand; at best, this was a conservative figure. The G.C.U., rather than gain more members, saw a decline in new membership and a sizeable loss of the old members. The bishop from time to time addressed letters to various high officers of the organization<sup>66</sup> telling them to keep out of ecclesiastic matters but this had no effect on the course pursued by the *Viestnik*.

#### E. ATTEMPTS TO END THE CONTROVERSY

In 1936, the G.C.U. began to take a more conciliatory stand upon the matter. This stand resulted from the election of more conservative officers of the organization and the failure of the K.O.V.O. group to overthrow celibacy. The periodic review of the celibacy problem by the *Viestnik* took place in several issues of the paper, entitled, "Our Fight of Self-Defense." The G.C.U. maintained that it was not fighting against the legitimate authority of the pope and the church, but fighting for what was rightfully theirs. In the seven years in which the fighting raged, twenty-two parishes went schismatic, which was roughly one-sixth of the diocese.

The G.C.U. further elaborated that at a conference of priests in 1931, Takach stated that the priests could protest against the decree, but they should not involve the people in the controversy. This was followed by a conference of priests on September 1, 1931, which was held in Pittsburgh protesting

<sup>64</sup> *Prosvita* (November 28, 1940).

<sup>65</sup> Roman, "Istorija Greko-Kaft Sojedinjenje," pp. 66-69.

<sup>66</sup> Two such letters were sent to Michael Yuhasz, the president of the G.C.U. See, Basil Takach letters of July 31, 1933 and August 30, 1933 in *From the Bishop of the Greek Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh, Homestead, Pa., No. 149* (1933).

against celibacy. A petition was sent to Rome against celibacy. The answer from Rome was in the negative. The Detroit Convention of the G.C.U. embroiled the organization in the celibacy controversy. The hope was the recall of Bishop Takach. When this did not materialize, the Religious National Congress met in Pittsburgh in July of 1933, and issued the famous ultimatum to the papacy.

These were unfortunate developments according to the article, but necessary for the Greek Rite. The "Our Fight of Self-Defense," ends with a list of reforms. Those demands were similar to those voiced by the K.O.V.O. resolutions. They can be divided into two categories, those for Podkarpatska Rus and those for the United States. In the former category would be included:

1. Byzantine bishops should be made Cardinals.
2. Lvov should be raised to a Patriarchy.
3. Ruthenia to be raised to an Archbishopric.
4. Rusin representative to be on the board of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church.

The recommendations in regard to the latter category consisted of: (1) an Archbishopric for Greek Catholics in the United States; (2) an institution of a seminary; (3) a pension plan for Rusin priests; (4) an adequate supply of books for Greek Catholic schools and churches; (5) the Divine Liturgy translated into the vernacular; (6) annual diocesan meetings.<sup>67</sup>

Although more and more people were inclined to follow the advice of Michael Roman,<sup>68</sup> who advocated "For a better future of our Church, our people, and our organization, let there be peace!"<sup>69</sup> others preferred to remain outside of the folds of the Church. This group had too much to lose by abandoning the fight. Into this category would fall those excommunicated, both lay and clergy.

Reverend John Baycura of Homer City, Pennsylvania, one of the Rusin Uniate's married clergymen and a bitter foe of the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree, decided to give added publicity to the celibacy struggle. He decided to go on a hunger strike

<sup>67</sup> "Our Fight of Self-Defense," *Viestnik*, June 4, 11, 18, 1936 issues.

<sup>68</sup> At the twenty-second convention of the G.C.U. held at Wilkesbarre, Pa., Roman was selected as editor of the *Sokol* or young people's newspaper. In July 1936, he became the acting editor of the *Viestnik* and permanent editor in 1937.

<sup>69</sup> *Viestnik* (August 20, 1936).

in the nation's capital. In the end, it did not change the complexion of the dispute, but his story was carried by the large newspaper chains.<sup>70</sup>

The new president of the G.C.U., John Sekerak, chosen at the Wilkes-Barre convention, pledged himself to work for the defense of the Eastern Rite. He wrote a letter to Bishop Takach, asking for peace. However, Takach would have to put an end to celibacy in the diocese and not contest the various court cases. Sekerak also inquired into the suspension of Rev. Molchany and advocated his reinstatement. The twenty-second convention of the G.C.U. had chosen Molchany as the spiritual advisor, and this was the reason for Sekerak's inquiry into the matter. Sekerak's program for the G.C.U. called for an orderly and honest administration of the society, discipline in all matters for the officers and directors, peace for the members, end of the celibacy controversy, and a sound fiscal system in regard to the orphanage at Elmhurst, Pennsylvania.<sup>71</sup>

Molchany entered into the controversy on one other occasion, that of his suit against the United Societies. The court ruled that the society existed as an insurance organization and was exclusively religious. It was under the protection of the Rusin bishop and had a spiritual advisor. Molchany was a member since 1931, but was notified on August 4, 1936, that unless he was reinstated from his excommunication of 1933, within sixty days, he would be expelled from the society and forfeit all premiums. He was expelled on October 10, 1936. The decision of the court also stated that section 66 and 135 of the United Societies charter, a person expelled had the right of appeal to the bishop. Molchany filed the suit to get back the money he had paid into the society. The court ruled that the suit was brought in prematurely and that a person had to exhaust all means according to the society's by-laws before filing suit.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup>"Priest on Hunger Strike protesting Marriage Ban," *Pittsburgh Press* (September 3, 1936); "Priest Weaker on Third Day of His Hunger Strike," *Pittsburgh Press* (September 4, 1936); "Priest, Father of 3, Ends Hunger Strike," *Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph* (September 5, 1936).

<sup>71</sup>*Viestnik* (January 14, 1937); Sekerak's letter to Takach, *Viestnik* (July 8, 1937); Sekerak, "Why was Father Peter E. Molchany Suspended," *Viestnik* (August 11, 1938); "Istorija," *Golden Jubilee*, 71-72.

<sup>72</sup>Peter Molchany vs. United Societies of Greek Catholic Religion of the U.S.A. in the Court of Common Pleas, Allegheny County Court, No. 366 (1937).

The last attempt of the G.C.U. to get the papal authorities to listen to their plea, was the trip of Dr. Peter I. Zeedick, John Sekerak and George Ferrio to Rome. This group left on September 6, 1938, and the report submitted to the organization on October 10, 1938, read like a grand tour of the continent. In Paris they consulted with the Czechoslovakian ambassador, Dr. Osuski, who recommended they see Cardinal Verdie in Rome. On arrival at Prague, they had a conference with Cardinal Gaspari who advocated peace and order in the Pittsburgh Exarchate. They had a conference with Bishop Gojdic in Presov and Bishop Stojka in Uzhorod. In the latter city they also paid a call on Constantine Hrabar, the governor of Podkarpatska Rus.

From there they set off for Rome where they presented their case to the Czech ambassador to the Vatican, V. Radimsky. Later they visited Cardinal Tisserant, the head of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church. Their audience with Pius XI took place at the summer palace at Gondolfu. The arguments used by the trio was that celibacy was against the privileges granted in the Union of Uzhorod. Another argument maintained that celibacy was detrimental to the health of the Rusin clergy. Nothing constructive emerged from this visit.<sup>73</sup>

The G.C.U. began its peace making program soon after Sekerak was made president. Outside pressure from the Pennsylvania State Insurance Department plus the loss of membership made the G.C.U. desirous of settling the differences with the church. On November 2, 1936, Sekerak and Ferrio had an appointment with Cardinal Paccelli, the papal secretary of state, who was on a mission to the United States. In September 1937, Rev. Stephen Varzaly was expelled as the editor of the *Viestnik*, while Rev. Molchany was forced to resign as Spiritual Advisor on July 26, 1938.<sup>74</sup> The tone of the *Viestnik* changed drastically with the elevation of Michael Roman to its editorship in October 1937. Gradually the rift between the G.C.U. and the bishop began to heal. Peace was finally restored between these two powerful organizations of

<sup>73</sup>P. I. Zeedick, J. Sekerak and George Ferrio, "Report of October 10, 1938" in *Viestnik* (October 20, 1938). Also carried in biography of John Sekerak, by M. Roman, "Progressivna Dijateljnost Hl. Predsdatela Sojedeninija, Hna Joanna P. Sekeraka," *Golden Jubilee*, 81-98.



the Rusin people, their church and their fraternal organization.

At the twenty-third convention of the G.C.U. at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania from June 24 to July 3, 1940, Bishop Takach was invited to address the delegates. Members of the organization who were not members of the Catholic Church united with Rome, could not attend as delegates. A close scrutiny of delegates was made to see that their papers were in order. Those who did not possess proper identification were not allowed into the sessions. One of the Uniate priests, Reverend Andrew Dzmura lacked the proper credentials, which necessitated a vote by the entire membership, before he was allowed to be seated. The convention adopted resolutions stating that all officers must be Greek Catholic members united with Rome, and all members of the Catholic Church. Sekerak and Roman were re-elected to their respective offices, while the Reverend Nicholas T. Elko was elected spiritual director of the organization.<sup>75</sup> Although there were sporadic outbursts of the celibacy matter during the early 1940's, especially in court cases, the great controversy ended with the twenty-third convention of the G.C.U.

The effects of the prolonged struggle over celibacy were immeasurable. The thousands of Greek Catholics who joined dissident churches were only part of the loss of the Pittsburgh Exarchate. A like number of people either legally or without sanction joined the Latin Rite. For the G.C.U., it not only resulted in a reduction of membership but also brought an end to this organization as a powerful voice in molding Rusin public opinion.

The celibacy struggle deeply hurt the Pittsburgh Byzantine Exarchate. During the episcopacy of Basil Takach a total of twenty-six new churches were founded (five of these were mission churches); while serious disturbances took place in thirty-eight Byzantine Catholic Churches resulting in the loss of membership and the creation of new independent or schismatic churches. It is difficult to estimate the number of Byzantine Rite Catholics lost to the newly created Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church, during the schismatic upheavals of the 1930's. The Vicar-general of the Exarchate, Stephen Gulovich,

<sup>74</sup> Roman, "Progressivna Dijatelnost," pp. 88-90.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Roman, "Convention," *G.C.U. Messenger* (December 19, 1940).

placed the number at between eighteen and twenty thousand.<sup>76</sup> This, at best, is an ultra-conservative figure; others placed the actual number at two or more times that figure.<sup>77</sup> This does not include the many thousands who have changed to the Latin Rite. Churches having disturbances, as early as 1926 and continuing until as late as 1946, numbered over forty and involved all parts of the Pittsburgh Byzantine diocese.<sup>78</sup>

There were other reasons for the Pittsburgh Exarchate's loss of membership during the celibacy crisis. One of these was the change of rite from the Oriental to that of the Latin. Many of Uniates left their rite without formal application to change to the Latin Rite. Two factors contributed to this exodus: Unscrupulous priests and bishops of the Western church who enticed their Eastern brethren to come into their rite; and the feeling on the part of the young people of the Eastern Rite that their church was inferior to that of the Latin. This feeling was brought about by the immigrant Rusin priests who could not comprehend American ways and the shame generated by the celibacy struggle.

Complaints of the Rusin clergy against the Latins, in regard to infringement upon their rite were prevalent throughout the history of the Byzantine Rite in the United States. The story of the humiliation of Toth by the Latin hierarchy was repeated many times in various areas of Eastern and Mid-Western United States. Much misunderstanding was caused by a lack

<sup>76</sup> Stephen Gulovich, "Rusin Exarchate in the United States," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI, No. 8 (October-December, 1946), 481.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with J. Hanulya, Cleveland, June 14, 1959. A non-partisan editor lists a total membership of 100,000 in the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in 1961. This Orthodox Diocese established by Patriarchial Document listed as No. 1379 on September 19, 1938, was under the jurisdiction of Orestes Chornak in 1963. It consisted of 65 churches staffed by 51 priests. Benson Y. Landis, 1963 *Yearbook of American Churches. Information on All Faiths in the U.S.A.* (New York, 1963), pp. 41 and 251. Over 85% of the members are of Rusin extraction which would indicate a much larger group of Rusins left the Uniate Church than the Pittsburgh Exarchate estimated. However, even Landis's figures are subject to revision for Lauriston L. Scaiffe in *Parishes and Clergy of the Orthodox and Other Eastern Churches in North America* (Buffalo, 1953), lists a total of 53 churches in Chornak's diocese, 39 of which have full time pastors, 4 are mission parishes and 10 are vacant.

<sup>78</sup> Byzantine Slavonic Rite Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, *Silver Jubilee, 1924-1949* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1949), 130.

of a codification of Canon Law for the Oriental Church. An attempt at such codification was made in 1924, during the first year of Takach's episcopacy, but further progress was not made until after his death.

The issuance of "Instructions" or "Regulations" by representatives of Rome (who were designated by such titles as NUNCIUS, PREINTERNUNCIUS, ADMINISTRATOR, DELEGATE VISITATOR OR VICAR), were made contradictory to the true intention of the church. Confusion was most common in regard to change of rite, especially among couples of mixed rites. A codification of the Canon Law for the Oriental Church would have brought about an end to the Latin Rite's infringement upon the Byzantine Church. However, this was not done and the problem was never satisfactorily solved. The change of rite, according to the Papal Decree of 1950, must go through the Apostolic Delegate and be granted only for grave causes. However, the decree was not always interpreted accordingly.<sup>70</sup>

From time to time, celibacy continues to be debated by the people and clergy of the three Rusin Eparchies. Many still resent the *Cum Data Fuerit* decree but have learned to live within the framework of the papal edict. Although schismatic tendencies over the proclamation are things of the past, the celibacy controversy is still a sensitive subject to the Ordinaries of the three Eparchies. The movement for a married clergy in the United States is rapidly drawing to a close. Where in 1930, the married clergy made up a majority of the clergy, by 1971 they constituted a mere minority of the Eparchies. The youngest of these non-celibate clergy are now in their late sixties, making it a mere matter of time until celibacy is universal in the Byzantine Rite among the Rusin people of the United States. Schism among the people seems to be a thing of the past. The last potential incident coming to an end with the appointment of Nicholas T. Elko as the bishop of the Pittsburgh Byzantine Catholic Exarchate, on March 6, 1955.

<sup>70</sup>Letter of Julius Grigassy of March 30, 1957 entitled: *To All the Most Reverend Ordinaries of the Greek Catholic Diocese of the Old Slavonic Rite* (McKeesport, Pa., 1957). Origassy was the former secretary of Bishop Takach and the Canon Law "expert" of the diocese.

#### XIV. THE RUSIN UNIATE COMMUNITY RESTORED IN THE UNITED STATES AND ABOLISHED IN THE OLD COUNTRY

The coming of the second World War brought an end to the intrafactional struggle within the Pittsburgh Exarchate. After a decade of religious strife the Exarchate was both financially and physically exhausted. Although the G.C.U. made peace with the Uniate clergy nevertheless, the activities of the G.C.U. were still viewed with suspicion by the Uniate hierarchy. This distrust which prevailed during the period of Bishop Takach continued under his successor, Daniel Ivancho. However, with the accession of Nicholas T. Elko as bishop there was a gradual improvement of relations between the two agencies of the Rusin people. This in part stems from the bishop's being a former spiritual advisor and a friend of the G.C.U. This spirit of friendship has been exhibited many times by grants of money to the seminary fund by the G.C.U. and on the opposite side by the appointment of priests as spiritual advisors of the organization in their respective parishes.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Takach, having overcome the schismatic disturbances in the exarchate, was afflicted by physical maladies. The most serious was the discovery of a malignant tumor of the throat. With the bishop having difficulty in performing his tasks, the need for an auxilliary bishop became more apparent. The only difficulty was the choice of the individual for this post. That he would be an American became evident because of the turmoil among the Uniates in Europe following the war, and the renewed vitality of the Byzantine Church in the New World. The consensus of the clergy<sup>2</sup> and informed laity<sup>3</sup> was that either Reverend Stephen Gulovich or Monsignor George Michaylo would be consecrated as the new auxilliary of the exarchate. However, neither of the two were named; a relative dark horse, Reverend Daniel Ivancho, received the approval of the Holy See.

<sup>1</sup>Michael Roman, "Bishop Names Spiritual Advisors," *Viestnik* (April 10, 1962), 1.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with Rev. John Kallock, Pittsburgh, August 31, 1961.

<sup>3</sup>Interview with G. Zatkovich, Pittsburgh, July 24, 1961.

On November 5, 1946, in the presence of dignitaries of both the Latin and Byzantine Rites and of lay representatives of the defunct Hungarian royal family, Daniel Ivancho was consecrated Bishop-elect of the titular See of Europus and Coadjutor Bishop of the Pittsburgh Exarchate by Bishop Bohachevsky.<sup>4</sup> Ivancho, from the time of his consecration until the death of Takach on May 13, 1948, exercised the powers of bishop in fact, if not in name. Takach was relegated more and more to that of a figurehead, with the real power in the hands of his coadjutor. The exarchate was turned over to the new bishop, who exercised jurisdiction over the Ruthenians from Czechoslovakia, and also the Hungarians and Croatsians of the Byzantine Rite. With headquarters at Munhall, Pennsylvania, the diocese contained 147 secular priests and nine regular clergy who ministered to the Rusin Uniates in the states of Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. It contained 187 churches and chapels with a membership of 278,171.<sup>5</sup>

Many innovations were made under Bishop Ivancho within the religious framework of the diocese. His ambition was the construction of a new cathedral and a seminary for the education of Rusin youths who aspired to the priesthood. The exarchate, being in an impoverished state, did not possess the economic resources for such a grandiose scheme as envisioned by their bishop. Therefore, Ivancho turned to the parishes for the needed capital. Ivancho, who addressed the Twenty-fifth G.C.U. Convention held at Cleveland in 1948, proposed the sale of the buildings and land at Elmhurst, Pennsylvania, which housed the orphanage. The greater part of this money was to be used to defray the costs of building the new seminary. He implored the convention to do this in order to show their good faith and allegiance to the Uniate Church.<sup>6</sup>

The appeal of Ivancho resulted in the adoption of a resolution calling for the closing and the sale of the physical assets

<sup>4</sup>For a complete description of the ceremony see, Clement C. Englert, "Byzantine Episcopal Consecration," *The Homelitic and Pastoral Review*, XLVII, No. 5 (February, 1947), 369-372.

<sup>5</sup>Gulovich, *Windows Westward*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>6</sup>Daniel Ivancho address of June 28, 1948 to the G.C.U. Convention in the *Messenger* (July 22, 1948), p. 1.

of the orphanage. The G.C.U. realized from this transaction \$329,011.14, of which one half was to be turned over to the Chancery to finance the building of the seminary. The following G.C.U. convention which met at New York City in 1952, moved to turn over the remainder of the money to the bishop for the use of the diocese.<sup>7</sup> The organization continued to aid the seminary fund in the 1960's. At its Twenty-eighth Convention held at Chicago, in 1960, the delegates passed a resolution to donate \$100,000 for this purpose, which was to be paid in four equal annual payments.<sup>8</sup>

The problem of educating men for the priesthood was always a vexing one for the Uniates. Until the 1920's, most of the clergy were foreign born and educated. However, in that decade many American-born youths wished to become priests of the Oriental Rite. They were required to enter Latin Rite seminaries at either St. Vincent's at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, St. Bonaventure's in Olean, New York, or St. Mary's at Baltimore, Maryland, for a great deal of their theological training. In their last two years, schooling had to be continued at either of the Rusin seminaries at Presov or Uzhorod. After a successful completion of their studies in Europe, they returned and were ordained by Bishop Takach.

This method was neither efficient nor acceptable to the Rusin Uniates. The *Cum Data Fuerit* decree called for the construction of a Byzantine seminary, but financial resources were not available. The method of receiving part of their education in Latin Rite seminaries and part in Europe continued until the advent of the war heralded by the Munich agreement. With this avenue closed, a new scheme evolved, that of sending prospective candidates for all of their education to the Benedictine college and seminary of St. Procopius at Lisle, Illinois. At St. Procopius, a Byzantine priory was formed. This plan functioned under Takach but disagreements between the archabbot and Ivancho necessitated the abandonment of this method.

A new seminary, located on Perrysville Avenue on the north-side of Pittsburgh, was completed in 1952, and thus provided

<sup>7</sup>Stephen M. Takach, "Lest It Be Too Late," *Kalendar*, 1955 (Munhall, Pa., 1955), 39-40.

<sup>8</sup>Stephen M. Takach, "What Does Our Record Show?," *Kalendar*, 1962, 32.

for the first time an American seminary for the training of Uniate priests. It was and remains 1971 the only complete Byzantine seminary in the Western hemisphere. Prospective candidates for the priesthood received their theological training at this institution, while much of their academic learning was acquired at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. The seminary structure combines the architectural design of both the Russian and Byzantine world, being distinguished by its onion shaped dome, mosaics and the three bar cross of St. Andrew. Other innovations during this period included the beginnings of an order of Franciscans for the Byzantine Rite and the standardization of the various religious practices within the diocese.

The greatest problem was not in the religious realm but was more generally confined to that of the social-political area, the threat of Ukranization. This problem had confronted the Rusins several times in the past, especially under Ortinsky, and was again intensified during the 1950's. Papal officials in 1954 decided to incorporate the exarchate under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian exarchate of Philadelphia. Ivancho immediately went to Rome in order to voice his opposition to this move and was successful in maintaining the independence of the Pittsburgh exarchate. Soon after this incident, because of reasons of health, Bishop Ivancho was relieved by Rome of his episcopal duties and forced into retirement.<sup>9</sup>

The dislike and fear of the American Rusins of their Ukraine brethren has been expressed many times by both their religious and lay officers. They felt that Ukrainian nationalism was a destructive force in the life of the Rusin people and must be resisted at all cost.<sup>10</sup> During the celibacy struggle, Rome was accused of fostering Ukranization, and on this account one of the Rusins directed stinging indictments against the Catholic Hierarchy. He wrote:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Daniel Ivancho, "Pastoral letter regarding the Ukrainians," August 12, 1954, reprinted in the *Viestnik* (August 19, 1954); Kohanik, *Highlights of Russian History and the "Ukrainian" Provocation*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>10</sup>*Viestnik* (April 4, 1933).

<sup>11</sup>A. M. Smor, "Against the Ukranizational Rome," *Viestnik* (April 12, 1934).

. . . . . We will not tolerate that which the Ukrainian Roman circles work out from the UNIATE Greek Catholic church—ONE UKRAINIAN national church. WE ARE NOT UKRAINIANS, and they want to Ukrainise us from Rome, but if by means of the Church they want to destroy us nationally, we are raising our voice against this and will revolt.

These were harsh words spoken during a period of great agitation by those opposing celibacy, but they were not any more forceful than the following blast which appeared as a result of the 1954 scheme.<sup>12</sup>

The Ukrainians imagined that with one swing they will seize our bishop and the whole "Greek Catholic Union" as they delivered Carpathian Russia to the wicked communists. They thought that if it will be impossible to take us over through nationalism, they will be able to take us over under their jurisdiction religiously. To us, Carpatho-Russian people, as here, so in our native country under the green Carpathians, there can be no greater insult and offense than when someone calls us Ukrainians. We know not such people on the world's map.

In the waning days of his episcopacy; Ivancho received back into the folds of the Catholic Church, one of the leaders of the celibacy struggle, Rev. Constantine Auroroff. On November 19, 1954, Auroroff made a public repentance in the presence of the bishop and several church officials. His story was one of constant drifting between the Orthodox and Uniate churches. He was the son of an Orthodox priest and was ordained a priest of that church by Bishop Alexandrov in New York City on January 26, 1914. During the episcopacy of Ortinsky he became a Uniate clergyman but because of his effects to help Chornak, he was excommunicated in the 1930's. With his re-entrance into the Pittsburgh exarchate he served as pastor of St. Nicholas Church in Danbury, Connecticut, until his death on June 22, 1960.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Michael Roman, "Ukrainization," *Messenger* (Sept. 9, 1954), 1.

<sup>13</sup>John Kallok, "Rev. C. Auroroff, 72, Dies," *Byzantine Catholic World* (July 10, 1960), 1 and 14.

The events of late 1954 saw the Reverend Nicholas T. Elko, the vicar-general of the exarchate, become the Apostolic administrator of the diocese on November 29th, due to the illness of Bishop Ivancho. The Rev. Elko possessed all the power of the bishop with the exception of that of ordination. This power was conferred upon him on February 16, 1955, with the naming of Elko the titular bishop by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani. His consecration took place in Rome on March 6, 1955, and because the Rusins had no established diocese he was named Exarch on September 5, 1955.<sup>14</sup> To assist him an auxilliary bishop was appointed in the person of the Reverend Stephen Kocisko, who was consecrated at St. Paul's Cathedral on October 23, 1956.

It is too soon to evaluate critically the events which have transpired under Elko's regime. By 1963, the diocese had expanded to include parishes in the South, Far West and Alaska. Whether this expansion would be successful in holding together the Rusin Byzantine Rite people remained to be seen. In regard to the parish at Anchorage, Alaska, there was great doubt of its viability. Undertaken for the purpose of converting the Orthodox people of Russian ancestry, it has shown little or no progress in this regard. The Reverend Robert E. Bayusik, its first pastor, was dependent upon the charity of the Latin Rite chaplains and his fellow Byzantine priests in the other states for the existence of the church.<sup>15</sup> Within the diocese, beside the Basilian order of nuns, several new orders of nuns were added, including the Franciscans and the order of Christ the Teacher. There were in the diocese two monastic orders of priests, the Franciscans at Immaculate Heart Monastery at Sybertsville, Pennsylvania, and the Benedictine Monastery at Butler, Pennsylvania. The diocese, which was divided into fourteen deaneries has churches in thirteen states and the District of Columbia. The Uniate population of the exarchate which totaled 312,793 was distributed among 194

<sup>14</sup> *Messenger* (Dec. 30, 1954), p. 1; "Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh," *Kalendar, 1962* (Munhall, Pa., 1962), 77.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with J. Kallock, Pittsburgh, August 31, 1961. For a history of the Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska, see Michael Kovach's Ph.D. dissertation, unpublished, University of Pittsburgh, 1957.

churches and chapels staffed by 231 secular and monastic priests.<sup>16</sup>

The diocese also maintained a weekly newspaper, the *Byzantine Catholic World*, as well as the St. Cyril and Methodius Reunion Institute. Until July 1963, the Rusins had only one exarchate, that of Pittsburgh. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Uniates have three eparchies, or dioceses, the arch-eparchy at Philadelphia and eparchies at Chicago, Illinois and Stamford, Connecticut.<sup>17</sup>

#### A. DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE DURING WORLD WAR II

Although the Rusin people in the United States were shocked by the events which transpired in Europe during the fateful days of September 1938, but embroiled in their church fight over celibacy, very little was done to change the developments that led to the partition of Czechoslovakia and the subsequent Hungarian absorption of Ruthenia. The sentiment of the clergy was best expressed by the spiritual advisor of the G.C.U., who stated that this was not the American Rusins' fight and as such they should not become embroiled in the affairs of Czechoslovakia.<sup>18</sup> However, some Rusin lay leaders were vocal against the injustice committed against Czechoslovakia. A Carpatho-Russian People Committee was one of the twenty-one national groups which sent the following telegram to the President of the United States on September 30, 1938:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Official Catholic Directory, Anno Domini, 1963* (New York, 1963), pp. 623-628. The Pittsburgh Exarchate has more members than the other Eastern Rite Dioceses. The three Ukrainian dioceses have a total of 269,731 members. During the 1960's the Ukrainian Uniates have decreased in total numbers according to the Catholic Directory. In 1961 their total was 304,885; in 1962 their membership dropped to 268,956 while that of the Pittsburgh Exarchate have shown totals of 285,917 and 297,822 members during these same two years. The leaders of the Pittsburgh Exarchate cite the percentage gain for the period 1961-1963 as being 5% while the rest of the Catholic population grew by less than 4%. However, over the period 1953-1963 the Exarchate grew at a rate of 12.4%. The Pittsburgh's diocese growth may be attributed to two factors, namely, the opening of parishes in the mid-West and West, together with the use of the English language in the service.

<sup>17</sup> "New Byzantine See Created," *Byzantine Catholic World* (Aug. 27, 1961), 1.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas T. Elko, "Let's Be Wise and Stay Out of Other Peoples' Wars," *Viestnik* (September 14, 1939).

<sup>19</sup> Carpathian-Russian Peoples Committee, Gregory Zatkovich, Chairman; Stephen Takach, Secretary.

ON BEHALF OF OVER A MILLION MEMBERS BEHIND CONGRESS OF AMERICAN NATIONAL GROUPS WE URGE YOUR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO SECURE CONFERENCE OF ALL NATIONS TOWARDS PRESERVATION OF PEACE. THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT OUR OPINION NO SOLUTION, UNDEMOCRATIC. THE VOICE OF VICTIM TO BE DISMEMBERED NOT EVEN HEARD. THE WHOLE PROCEDURE MUNICH CONFERENCE UNFAIR TO NATIONS CONCERNED AND PEOPLES INTERESTED IN PRESERVATION PEACE AND MAINTENANCE AND EXTENSION NATIONAL MINORITY RIGHTS. DISMEMBERMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA DOES NOT MEAN PEACE. IF THIS AGREEMENT GOES INTO EFFECT IT MEANS NOT ONLY THE DESTRUCTION OF SACRED TREATIES BUT THE DESTRUCTION OF A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY. DISMEMBERMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS TO PROCEED TO DISMEMBER OTHER SMALLER EUROPEAN NATIONS, TO DESTROY THE LAST VESTIGE OF DEMOCRACY, AND TO SECURE NEW VANTAGE POINTS TO LAUNCH A GENERAL WORLD WAR FOR WHICH THEY ARE PREPARING. WORDS OF ASSURANCE AND SIGNATURES OF AGGRESSORS NOTORIOUS FOR VIOLATION PLEDGES NOT GUARANTEE FOR MAINTENANCE PEACE. SOLUTION NATIONAL MINORITY PROBLEMS ONLY THROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. AMERICAN AS STANDARD BEARER DEMOCRACY SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS FOR COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS OF WORLD FOR PEACE ON BASIS YOUR PROPOSAL.

Other groups, especially the Magyars, desired "justice" for Hungary. They painted a picture of progress for the minority groups living under the rule of the Magyars. They claimed that although few Ruthenians could speak Hungarian, they had lived under the Magyars for one thousand years, and felt more at home among the Magyars than under the Czechs. This

kinship was best exemplified, according to the Magyar Association, by the fact that the Ruthenians were able to retain their language and customs.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, the Czechoslovakian tragedy was being debated by the Rusin people in the United States. Not all American Rusins were against Hungarian revisionist views. A Rusin priest wrote the following to the Hungarian Prime Minister.<sup>21</sup>

Thousands of our Ruthenian brethren are being compelled to flee from Ruthenia by the cruel treatment of the Czech police. We beg Your Excellency to find means to enable our brethren in the old country to separate from Czechoslovakia and join the southern part of Carpatho-Russia, which has once more become Hungarian territory. We appeal to Your Excellency to assist the Carpatho-Russian people while still subject to Czech rule to secure the right to decide its future destiny by plebiscite to be held under neutral control. . . .

As was the case during World War I, the Rusins were divided about the course that should be followed. Unlike twenty years ago, however, the American Rusins were not to play a significant role in the re-creation of a Subcarpathian-Ruthenia.

The vocal and literary efforts of various Czech leaders in exile seemed to promise a better day for the Ruthenians. President Eduard Benes was the foremost of these Czech propagandists. He clearly spelled out the nations war aims, and promised a thorough overhaul of the Czechoslovak government after the war. "As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, we shall consider all loyal citizens of the State as equal without distinction of origin, religion or language in the restored Republic."<sup>22</sup> Benes believed that only if Germany were rendered definitely unable to make wars again would there be any hope of peace in Europe. He stated that Germany must return to her pre-Munich frontiers, and should become a confederation

<sup>20</sup>United Magyar Civic Association of Pennsylvania, "Justice for Hungary," (Pittsburgh, October, 1938).

<sup>21</sup>Alec Medweczky, Pastor of St. Elijah, Ruthenian Church of New Jersey, Cablegram of November 26, 1938 to M. Bela Imredy, in *Danubian Review*, VI, No. 7 (December, 1938), pp. 33-34.

<sup>22</sup>Eduard Benes, *Czechoslovakia's Struggle for Freedom* reprinted from the *Dalhousie Review* (Halifax, Nova Scotia, October, 1941), p. 13.

of states, with the core of Central Europe being a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation.<sup>23</sup>

With the United States becoming an active participant in the war, following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and the subsequent declaration of war by the Axis powers, the American Rusins began to formulate plans of assistance to their European brethren. There were already in existence, two Carpathian Rusin political organizations in America. The American Carpathian-Russian Council, which was predominately Uniate in its religious beliefs, was headed by Gregory Zatkovich. Its official organ was the quarterly entitled, *The Carpathian*. Its Orthodox counterpart was the Carpathian-Russian Unity organization, headed by Reverend Ivan Ladizinsky. This group published a monthly paper entitled, *Jedinstvo* (Unity). The methods followed by these two organizations were similar, including the sending of telegrams and other communications to the presidents of the United States and Czechoslovakia (in exile), as well as disseminating their message through the various news media in the United States.

Prior to the entrance of the United States into the war, Ladizinsky made an offer of co-operation to the American Carpathian-Russian Council. His offer was accepted by Gregory Zatkovich and a meeting was to be held in Pittsburgh on March 22, 1942, to work out the details.<sup>24</sup> Zatkovich was chosen as the chairman of the conference which was held at the William Penn Hotel. There were about one hundred and twenty-five delegates present, representing the two organizations. The speakers at this council included thirteen civic and political leaders of American and Slavic origin. Their names and titles were as follows.<sup>25</sup>

Sarah Soffel, Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County

James J. Davis, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania

<sup>23</sup> Eduard Benes, *The Organization of Postwar Europe*, reprinted from *Foreign Affairs Quarterly Review* (January, 1943), p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> "Letters of I. Ladizinsky to C. Zatkovich, November 7, 1941; G. Zatkovich to I. Ladizinsky, December 16, 1941," *The Carpathian* (July, 1943), 7.

<sup>25</sup> "Pervoje istoriceskoja zasidanije Amerikanskoj Karpatorusskoj centralnoj konferencii uvincalos' bolsim uspicnom (The First Historical Meeting of the American Carpatho-Russian Central Conference), *Jedinstvo* (April, 1942), 1-4.

Samuel A. Weiss, U.S. Congressman from Pennsylvania  
Jan Masaryk, Vice-Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia  
I. Ladizinsky, President of the Carpathian-Russian Unity  
Jan Papanek, Minister Plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia  
Blair Gunther, President of the American Slav Congress  
J. J. Zmrhal, President of Czechoslovak National Council of U.S.A.

M. Yuhasz, President of World War I, American Carpathian Rusin Council

B. Lencher, Judge of the County Court

V. S. Platek, President of the National Slovak Society of the U.S.A.

S. Zeman, President of the Slovak Evangelical Union of the U.S.A.

S. Werlinich, President of the Serbian Fraternal Union of U.S.A.

The directors of the two groups agreed to the following provisions:

First: *The Carpathian* which was the organ of the "council," would be published in English, and the *Jedinstvo*, its Orthodox counterpart would be published in Carpatho-Rusin. Both publications were to refrain from publication of controversial religious material. This was to prevent a breakdown according to religious lines.

Second: The officers of the two organizations were to adhere strictly to the terms and conditions of the joint declaration.

Third: An invitation was issued to all Carpatho-Russian groups to affiliate with the "conference."

Fourth: Exchange of information, written material, publication and holding of meetings were to be entrusted to the presidents of both organizations.

The "Joint Declaration" was a statement of principle attesting to the common goals of the two member organizations. In it they affirmed the independence of both bodies but dedicated their respective organizations to insure the following provisions:

1. The preservation of the United States and its constitution.
2. The victory of the Allied Nations over that of the Axis powers.
3. The liberation of the subjugated nations of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece and Holland.



4. The liberation of Ruthenia and its reunion with the Czechoslovak Republic as an autonomous republic according to the provisions of the Treaty of St. Germaine.
5. The establishment of peace according to the provisions embodied in the Atlantic Charter.
6. The co-ordination of the activities of the conference, regardless of the religious persuasion of the members, in behalf of the common objectives.

Although independence of the member organizations was guaranteed, steps were taken to provide closer co-operation. This mutual action was expressed in the declaration of the "American Carpathian-Russian Central Conference" which stated:<sup>26</sup>

We believe that our common aims may be most effectively attained through co-operation rather than non-cooperative action, and we accordingly deem it advisable to agree to the creation of a cooperative medium or agency.

Finally, the conference adopted the by-laws of the conference. This basic law of the conference was embodied in six articles:<sup>27</sup>

1. The list of officers. It was to include the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, assistant secretary, assistant treasurer, and sergeant of arms of each of the organizations.
2. Meetings were to be called by mutual agreement of the presidents. A chairman was to be chosen by a majority of the quorum present. A quorum consisted of at least four representatives of each of the member organizations.
3. Each president was empowered to appoint alternate representatives for those unable to attend the meeting.
4. Decisions were to be approved by three-fourths of each group in order to be binding.
5. The conference was to be prohibited from merging the various groups. It also was forbidden to act upon any matter that was not directly associated with the attainment of the common aims of the conference.
6. The withdrawal of member groups from the conference simply required a written notice to that effect.

As early as September 1, 1941, Gregory Zatkovich cabled

<sup>26</sup> "A Joint Declaration," *The Carpathian* (July, 1943), 10.

<sup>27</sup> "A Joint Declaration," pp. 9-10.

President Benes requesting the Czech president to outline the role of Carpathian Ruthenia in the post war world.<sup>28</sup> In his reply of September 18, 1941, Benes cabled:<sup>29</sup>

Czechoslovakia will remain true to ideals which it was founded and no doubt that Carpathian Russia under Saint Germaine-en-Laye Treaty within framework of Republic will progress towards increased prosperity of its population.

Benes reiterated this pledge concerning Carpatho-Ruthenia at a meeting of the Conference held at the Hotel Windermere, Chicago, Illinois, on May 23, 1943. He reiterated that the union of Ruthenia with Czechoslovakia was the result of the voluntary wish of the inhabitants of that area. He also stated that the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had given definite assurances of the restoration of Czechoslovakia, with Ruthenia as a self-governing unit therein. Benes agreed to respect the autonomous features of Ruthenia as embodied in the treaty of St. Germaine, and he also guaranteed the prompt creation of a Rusin Sojm or parliament immediately Republic concerning it, namely:<sup>31</sup>

On his return to the Czech legation in Washington he reaffirmed his pledge by a written letter to the American Carpathian-Russian Council. He repeated the pledge of the Czech after the restoration of the Czech Republic.<sup>30</sup>

Our Carpathian-Russian brothers are fighting in our Army both in Soviet Russia and Great Britain, thus sealing with their blood this union which proved to be so successful for the well-being of Carpathian-Russian people and so useful for our Republic as a link with the East.

<sup>28</sup> Cablegram from Gregory Zatkovich to President Benes, September 1, 1941, reprinted in *The Carpathian*, III, No. 7-9 (July-September, 1943), 4.

<sup>29</sup> Cablegram from President Benes to Gregory Zatkovich, reprinted in *The Carpathian*, III, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Eduard Benes, "Remarks to the Members of the American Carpathian-Russian Central Conference at the Hotel Windermere in Chicago, May 23, 1943, reprinted in *The Carpathian*, III, 11-12.

<sup>31</sup> Eduard Benes letter of May 29, 1943 to the American Carpathian-Russian Council, reprinted in *The Carpathian* (July, 1943), pp. 11-12.

## B. THE RETURN OF RUTHENIA TO HUNGARY

The return of Ruthenia to its former Magyar masters was not too well received by the Rusin people. The military occupation of Ruthenia saw a rapid decrease in the population of the cities of Kosice and Uzhorod.

The civil administration replaced its military counterpart in 1939, and pursued the Hungarian policy of Magyarization in Ruthenia. The Uniate Church was left relatively free, but the Orthodox bishop, Vladimir Rajic, was imprisoned and a pro-Hungarian layman, Ivan Popov, was sent to Magyarize the church. This was followed by the imprisonment and the execution of the Rusins who had helped the Czech authorities. A Czech source lists a total of five thousand people who were executed. At the town of Velky Bockov, over a 150 were executed; of this total twenty-seven were members of the teaching profession. Magyar concentration camps were established at Hyiregyhaza and Garany.<sup>32</sup>

There were also Rusins who collaborated with the Hungarian government in its policy of Magyarization. Stephen Fencik and Andrew Brody were the leaders of the Ruthenian group which was most compatible to the Hungarian officials. Bishop Alexander Stojka supported the Hungarian regime for the purpose of protecting the Uniate Church and to secure the adoption of the Rusin dialect as the language of Ruthenia.<sup>33</sup> The long promised Hungarian reforms were postponed because of the war menace, and in its place severe restrictions were placed upon the Rusin inhabitants. Magyar landlords had their land returned, and they took over all the governmental position in Ruthenia. To carry out further the Magyar policies, many Rusin schools were shut down. Those left in operation were staffed by Rusin teachers who had pursued courses in the Hungarian language.

The Hungarians also attempted to bring an end to the multiple languages in the province. Ukrainian, Russian and the local dialect, Rusin, were replaced by the Magyar language. All civil and military affairs were conducted in the latter tongue. A youth organization, the "Levente" was organized. It was patterned after that of the Fascist youth movement.

<sup>32</sup> A Document of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Czechoslovakia Fights Back* (Washington, 1943), pp. 170-177.

<sup>33</sup> Stefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*, p. 33.

The Hungarian government also sought to force Magyar culture upon the Rusins. In furtherance of this policy, the "Kuryak Union" was the only cultural organization allowed to exist in Ruthenia. According to the Budapest daily, *Nepszava*, even the theatre in Uzhorod was to perform plays in the Magyar language. The Rusins were given representation in the parliament at Budapest in the person of Andrew Brody, a Rusin who previously had been dismissed from office by the Volosin government.<sup>34</sup>

The Nazi sweep of Eastern Europe kept Ruthenia safely under Hungarian domination. The Nazi failure to capture Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad led to a rejuvenation of the Russian fighting spirit. For the next two years, the eastern front was very fluid, the Germans successful during the summer months, the Russians successful during the winter. In the Carpathian Mountains of Ruthenia, guerilla warfare commenced in the summer of 1941, and became intensified by September of 1943.<sup>35</sup> The 1943-1944 winter campaign of the Red Army gained momentum during the spring of 1944. By April 1944, Russian forces had reached the Carpathian Mountains; six months later, the Red Army had almost all of Ruthenia encircled.

## C. THE INCORPORATION OF RUTHENIA INTO THE SOVIET UNION

The communist dictator, Stalin, had great Russian victories celebrated by issuing "Orders of the day," which were accompanied by cannon salutes. In regard to Ruthenia, three orders of the day were issued. The first, issued on October 18, 1944, commemorated the Red Army's passage over the Carpathian Mountains. This was followed by the second, issued on October 26th, celebrating the capture of Mukachevo. The third was proclaimed the following day, commemorating the capture of Uzhorod. Ruthenia was liberated by the combined forces of the Red Army, Ruthenian partisans, and a Czech brigade.<sup>36</sup>

Ruthenia had never been part of Russia, either Kievan, Muscovite, or Communist. Benes had been given assurances by Moscow that the area would be part of a post-war Czecho-

<sup>34</sup> *Czechoslovakia Fights Back*, pp. 168-172.

<sup>35</sup> John A. Lukacs, *The Great Powers and Eastern Europe* (New York 1953), p. 523.

<sup>36</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 23-25.

slovakia. This was incorporated in a Treaty of Accord which was signed on May 8, 1944.<sup>37</sup> At first it seemed that the Soviet Union would live by its promise to return Ruthenia to the new Czechoslovakia. However, the Red Army was received very favorably by the local populace, and the Czech officials had difficulty restoring authority in the area.<sup>38</sup>

The Minister of Reconstruction and Commerce of the Czechoslovak government in exile stationed at London, Frantisek Nemeč, was to act as its representative in Ruthenia, in liaison with the Soviet occupational authorities. Nemeč arrived in Ruthenia toward the end of October, getting to the city of Chust on the 27th. The transfer of control from military to civilian authorities began to take place. During the first month of his stay in Chust, the Czech government delegate worked well with the Ruthenian National Council,<sup>39</sup> which was a self-appointed communist-oriented body.<sup>40</sup>

The leader of the Ruthenian National Council was the communist Ivan Turjanica (also spelled Turjanycja), who was assisted by his lieutenants, I. Vas, I. Petruscak, and S. Borkanjukova. The twenty-seventh anniversary celebration of the Red Revolution began the agitation for incorporating Ruthenia with the Soviet Ukraine. By mid-November, the Kiev radio began to demand union with the Soviet Union. On November 19, 1944, the Communist Party of Ruthenia at Mukachevo voted for union with Russia. This petition of the "First Congress of the Peoples Committees (Soviets) of the Transcarpathian Ukraine" was duly approved by the National Council on the twenty-sixth at the cinema in Mukachevo.<sup>41</sup>

The National Council of Seventeen became the provisional government. It became the supreme organ containing the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Ivan Turjanica became the head of the National Council with Petro Sova and Petro Lentur serving as vice-presidents.<sup>42</sup> The Ruthenian

<sup>37</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 24-35.

<sup>38</sup> Andrew Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe* (New York, 1949), pp. 101-104.

<sup>39</sup> The provisional civil government of Ruthenia.

<sup>40</sup> Dana Adams Schmidt, *Anatomy of a Satellite* (Boston, 1952), pp. 80-81.

<sup>41</sup> Walter Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies* (London, 1952), pp. 137-140.

<sup>42</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 49-50.

National Council requested that Nemeč leave the country because of the union of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union. Nemeč flew to Moscow and protested to Molotov the illegality of the Council's action. The Russian foreign minister merely replied that the Soviet Union "could not remain deaf to such an appeal from a Slav brother nation."<sup>43</sup>

The National Council notified the Czech government in London of its action. Being powerless to act the Czech authorities in London made no response, and thus Ruthenia became de facto a part of the Soviet Union. The question was settled by the return of the Czechoslovak government to Prague. The treaty of June 29, 1945, concluded by the two governments confirmed the cession of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union. This treaty was promulgated on November 22, 1945.<sup>44</sup>

The sovietization of Ruthenia took place at a rapid rate. "Justice" was primarily directed at those who collaborated with the Hungarian government. The following were condemned to death: Andrew Brody, Michael Demko, Stephen Fencik and Monsignor Alexander Ilnyckyj. The organization of the economy, as well as the religious and educational sectors of Ruthenian culture were completely under Communist influence. The separation of church and state occurred on December 5, 1944, followed by the separation of the church and educational facilities on April 20, 1945.<sup>45</sup>

Although Ruthenia had never been a part of the territories of Russia, this was completely disregarded in the treaty between Prague and Moscow. The Czech prime-minister, Fierlinger, signed the treaty even though certain inconsistencies were in the document. The principal clause of the agreement stated that "Sub-Carpathian Russia is again uniting, in conformity with the desire expressed by the population and on the basis of amicable agreement reached between the two contracting parties, with its ancient motherland, the Ukraine."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> H. Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution*, p. 181.

<sup>44</sup> A. Bohmer, S. Kocvara and J. Mosek, "Church and State in Czechoslovakia," in Vladimir Gsovski (ed.), *Church and State Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York, 1955), pp. 7-12.

<sup>45</sup> Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 50-62. For a more complete but partial account of the Soviet takeover, see Frantisek Nemeč, *The Soviet Seizure of Subcarpathian Ruthenia* (Toronto, 1955).

<sup>46</sup> Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe*, p. 104.

The Rusin leaders in the United States, both civil and clerical, feared the effects of this incorporation. They felt that they had been betrayed by the Czech leaders. The leaders of the Pittsburgh Exarchate were especially concerned because of their fear for the Uniate Church in the old country. Several months after the Russian takeover, a petition was sent to the United States State Department and the Representatives of the United States at the World Security Council. This memorandum signed on April 23, 1945, reviewed the history of the Ruthenian province and people from its early origin to its incorporation within the Soviet Union. It was not only critical of the Soviet Union but of the Czechoslovak Republic as well. The memorandum stated that the counties of Spis, Saris, Abauj, Zemplin, Uz, Bereg, Ugoca, and Maramaros formed Ruthenia, but that the Czechoslovak government separated Spis, Saris, Abauj, Zemplin and one-half of Uz and had annexed them to the territory of Slovakia.<sup>47</sup>

Other parts of the memorandum reviewed the part Carpatho-Ruthenia played during the Second World War. It was particularly critical of the Czech and later Nazi Germany's policy of denationalizing the people and converting them to "Ukrainianism." Neither the title given Ruthenia during Hitler's project, "Carpatho-Ukraine," nor the Soviet's designation "Zakarpatska Oblast" were acceptable to the American Rusins. The memoranda further indicated that the decision of the Ruthenian National Council was illegal, as was the secret agreement between the governments of Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. for the incorporation of Ruthenia by the latter power. The people were Rusins and not Russians, nor was the territory ever included in the Russian nation. The American Rusins recommended the holding of a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations, after the withdrawal of military occupation forces, to determine the future of Ruthenia.

The American Rusins resolved that the annexation was illegal. They vigorously protested this act because "the Carpathian Mountains are a natural barrier and have naturally separated these people at all times."<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, they held

<sup>47</sup> (Rev.) George Michaylo, *A Memorandum in Behalf of Podkarpatska Rus to the State Department of the United States of America and Representatives of the United States of America at the World Security Conference* (Signed at Munhall, Pa., April 23, 1945), p. 11.

<sup>48</sup> (Rev.) George Michaylo, *A Memorandum*, p. 9.

that the territory ceded Slovakia should be restored to Ruthenia. Finally, provision should be made to guard the people in their religious rite. The signers of the memorandum of April 23, 1945, included representatives of the Uniate clergy, the Greek Catholic Union, the United Societies and the Rusin cantor organization.<sup>49</sup>

The clergy and the officers of the G.C.U. and the United Societies had formed a *Komitet Pomosci*, or a committee to help the Rusins in the old country on February 3, 1945. The organization, through financial collections, was able to raise \$29,114.48 for war relief in Ruthenia. However, only \$3,016.63 was raised by the *Komitet Pomosci* directly, the remainder was contributed by the diocesan churches.<sup>50</sup> The threat of the Soviet annexation of Ruthenia forced the American Uniates to withhold this financial help from the Mukachevo Diocese and to entrust its distribution to the Bishop of the Presov Diocese. Lesser sums were sent to the Hungarian Greek Catholic centers at Haydudorg and Miskolc.<sup>51</sup> Beside the monetary contribution the *Komitet Pomosci* was able to send to Europe, 10,000 tons of food and clothing.<sup>52</sup>

Several Rusin leaders, hearing of the impending annexation of Ruthenia by the Soviet Union, sent a delegation to the State Department on May 29, 1945, to protest this act. Not receiving a satisfactory reply, the leaders made plans to reactivate the Carpatho-Ruthenian Congress. It met in Munhall Pennsylvania, on August 14, 1946. At this meeting a protest was drafted concerning the religious situation in Ruthenia. This document was sent to the Secretary of State who was attending a conference in Paris. This protest reviewed the history of Ruthenia from its incorporation into Czechoslovakia to its absorption by the Soviet Union.<sup>53</sup> In a subsequent message the *Memorandum* of the previous year was sent to the Secretary of State.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> (Rev.) George Michaylo, *A Memorandum*.

<sup>50</sup> Collection for European Relief, *Queen of Heaven*, XX, No. 6 (June, 1946), 8-10.

<sup>51</sup> *Queen of Heaven*, XX, No. 6 (June, 1946), p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> Michael Roman, "D'ijatelnost' Karpatorruskoho Kongressa," *Kalendar*, 1947 (Munhall, 1947), 68-69.

<sup>53</sup> S. M. Tkatch, "Protest Letter to James F. Byrnes" (Munhall, Pa., August 14, 1946), *Viestnik* (August 22, 1946).

<sup>54</sup> S. M. Tkatch, Letter to James F. Byrnes, September 18, 1946 in *Kalendar*, 1947, p. 74.

The only satisfaction that the signers of the document received was a State Department reply confirming the receipt of the communication and a statement on the disposition of the problem.<sup>55</sup> In essence the State Department dismissed the problem by stating that since the incorporation of Ruthenia within the Soviet Union was an internal problem of the Czechoslovak government, the United States was powerless to intervene.

The annexation of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union resulted in the separation of the two Rusin dioceses. That of Mukachevo, which was in Ruthenia, was incorporated into the Soviet Union, while that of Presov, which was in Slovakia, remained part of the Czechoslovak State. Prior to the war there were 82,012 Rusin Uniates in Slovakia, while the Orthodox Church had a membership of 9,067. During the war, the area of Eastern Slovakia was greatly devastated. A great many of the villages were burned and the population dispersed. After the war, many of these displaced persons chose to migrate either to the Soviet Union or other parts of Czechoslovakia. The statistics of 1948 showed a migration from the Presov Diocese of almost 75,000 people, while 237,245 remained in Slovakia.<sup>56</sup>

The Greek Catholic Church emerged from the Hungarian occupation as a strong militant organization. With the death of Bishop Stojka, Paul Gojdic was appointed the bishop of Presov, with Theodore Romza becoming auxiliary bishop of Mukachevo on September 8, 1944. In 1946, Romza was given the power and title of Apostolic Administrator, and became the bishop of the Mukachevo Diocese.<sup>57</sup>

During the early phases of the Soviet occupation, the Russian commander sought to establish cordial relations with the Rusin bishop. However, this phase ended with Romza's refusal to sign the manifesto issued by the National Council seeking to cede the provinces to the Soviet Union.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> James F. Byrnes letter of October 10, 1946 to S. M. Tkatch, reprinted in *Kalendar, 1947*, p. 74.

<sup>56</sup> *Schematismus venerabilis cleri diocesis Fragopolitanae sev Presovensis, pro anno Domini 1948*; Presov, 1948 in Ladislav Potembra, *Ruthenia in Slovakia and the Greek Catholic Diocese of Presov* (Rome, 1961), pp. 218-220.

<sup>57</sup> Michael Lacko, *The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Uzhorod*, (Rome, 1961), Reprint Slovak I, 146.

<sup>58</sup> Manifesto reprinted in Markus, *L'incorporation*, pp. 114-115.

In line with the Soviet policy of destroying the Uniate Church, the Orthodox Church in Ruthenia was encouraged by the occupation authorities to take over fifteen Uniate churches. In December 1944, a delegation of Orthodox clergymen flew to Moscow to petition the Russian Orthodox Church to incorporate the Orthodox Church of Ruthenia. To forestall the expected Orthodox takeover in Ruthenia, Bishop Romza decided on a program of parish visitation. It was on one of these parish visits that Romza met his end. Reliable reports<sup>59</sup> state that his horsedrawn wagon was struck by a Red Army truck. As Romza was not killed in the accident, the soldiers beat the bishop and left him unconscious. After the departure of the soldiers, Romza and his companions were taken to a hospital in Mukachevo. While at the hospital, Romza succumbed. The common belief was that he was poisoned.<sup>60</sup>

At the time of the death of Romza, November 1, 1947, the communists had confiscated all the schools, the seminary and sixty-seven of the Uniate churches. In February 1949, a full scale Communist offensive was directed against the Uniate Church in the Soviet annexed territory of Carpatho-Ruthenia. By August 15th the liquidation was complete. In the Presov diocese of Czechoslovakia a movement was launched to liquidate the Uniate Church after the Communist seizure of power in February 1948. This was accomplished on April 28, 1950.<sup>61</sup> The Czechoslovakian statistical data for 1957 revealed there were 74,898 Ruthenians in the state. Deducting 10,000 members of the Orthodox Church, the former Rusin Uniate population was estimated as approximately 64,898, as opposed to 233,111 Slovak Greek Catholics in the province of Slovakia.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, the Rusin Uniate Church formed by the Union of Uzhorod of 1646 came to an end in Ruthenia in 1950, with the forced liquidation of the Dioceses of Uzhorod and Presov. In

<sup>59</sup> Attwater, "The Ukrainian Tragedy," pp. 532-534; Peter Kilcoyne, "Ruthenian Martyrdom," *Catholic Digest* (June, 1946), 5-9; Lacko, *The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Uzhorod*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>60</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, 2nd Session, *Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), pp. 32-35.

<sup>61</sup> Lacko, *The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Uzhorod*, pp. 155-170.

<sup>62</sup> *Statisticka Rocenka Republiky Ceskoslovenske*, (Prague, 1958), 41, cited in Potembra, *Ruthenians in Slovakia*, p. 220.

1950, only the Rusin Diocese of Pittsburgh<sup>63</sup> remained in existence and loyal to the Catholic Church.

Simultaneously, a successful movement was launched to destroy the Uniate Church in Galicia. This branch of the church likewise exists only in the three eparchies of the Ukrainians in America. Communist influence in Europe had destroyed the Uniate Church but in the New World a revitalized Byzantine Rite had remained faithful to the Catholic Church.

#### D. CONCLUSION

The events that transpired since the end of the Second World War have resolved several of the problems confronting the Rusin people. These developments have been superimposed upon the people of Ruthenia and their brethren in the United States by outside forces. Whether these changes will benefit the people remains to be seen, but chances of altering them would be practically impossible. These events affect the lives of the people in Ruthenia and to a lesser extent the people of Rusin extraction residing in the United States. As the two groups differed in their problems and of necessity in their solutions, it is mandatory to deal with them separately.

The conjectural aspects concerning the political, economic and social aspirations of the Rusin population came to an end with the inclusion of Ruthenia within the Ukrainian state of the Soviet Union. This incorporation brought to an end the inability of the people and of their former rulers, the Hungarians and Czechoslovak states, to settle the ethnographic and the linguistic adherence of the people. No longer was Ruthenia openly torn by Ukrainian, Russian, Magyar and Rusin factions. After its absorption, the solution was apparent. Ruthenia became part of the Ukrainian republic, and as such, it owed obedience to the Soviet Union. This solution, although it quite possibly did not satisfy the Rusin people, nevertheless might be more acceptable to those who were advocates of both the Russian and Ukrainian intellectual movements in Ruthenia.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup>On July 31, 1963 the Pittsburgh Exarchate was divided into two eparchies which are in Pittsburgh and Passaic, New Jersey. "Nicholas T. Elko, letter of August 1, 1963, To the Reverend Clergy, Religious and Faithful," *Byzantine Catholic World*, VIII, No. 8 (August 11, 1963), 1.

<sup>64</sup>See above Chapter VI.

Very little has been written of Ruthenia since its absorption, yet in keeping with Communist policy, a certain amount of freedom in regard to language in speaking and education is to be expected.<sup>65</sup> This would seem to contradict the suggestion in the preceding paragraph, but it must be remembered that the Communist leaders realize that, ". . . the obliteration of national distinctions, and especially of language distinctions, is a considerably longer process than the obliteration of class distinctions. . . ."<sup>66</sup> The ultimate goals of the Communist party have been soft-pedaled during the early 1960's, as evidenced by Premier Khrushchev's reference of the equality of the many people of the Soviet Union and the preservation of local customs and traditions during his tour of the United States in September of 1959.<sup>67</sup>

The changes that have occurred in the economic sphere is likewise difficult to gauge. There is a complete absence of such data relating to Ruthenia. Being a mere appendage of the Ukraine, Ruthenia's productivity has been contained in the economic reports of that Soviet Republic. Politically, as is the case of all Soviet territories, the area is under a one-party system. As such, only the Communist party functions in the political life of the area. Not only has the Communist party been supreme in the political arena, but it also has complete control of the other segments of Ruthenian life.

All things being considered, it has not been in the political life but in the religious realm of the territory that the greatest change has occurred. Although the Communist party was the largest single political party of pre-war Ruthenia,<sup>68</sup> the largest segment of the Rusin people adhered to the Uniate faith.<sup>69</sup> Soon after the conclusion of the war the Soviet Union launched a campaign to bring to an end the Uniate Church in the newly annexed provinces of Ruthenia and Galicia. The third centennial of the Union of Uzhorod and the 350th anniversary of

<sup>65</sup>C.P.S.U. (Draft), *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 93-97.

<sup>66</sup>*Programme of the Communist Party*, p. 94.

<sup>67</sup>Nikita S. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev in America* (New York, 1960), p. 31.

<sup>68</sup>Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe*, p. 78; H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between Wars*, p. 180.

<sup>69</sup>Busek and Spulber, *Czechoslovakia*, p. 141.

the agreement at Brest-Litovsk were used by Joseph Stalin to announce that the Galician Uniates had once again adopted the Orthodox religion.<sup>70</sup> At the time, over three and one-half million people adhered to the Uniate religion in Galicia with another three quarters of a million members in Ruthenia and Slovakia.<sup>71</sup>

The inroads made by the Orthodox Church, with the support of the Communist party, in Ruthenia and Slovakia were slower than in Galicia but nonetheless just as effective. The Communist enforced restoration of Orthodoxy began in Ruthenia with a campaign of friendship toward the Uniate Church, but soon changed to one of opposition and suppression. Through various tactics, the Communists brought an end to the Uniate Church in the diocese of Mukachevo on August 29, 1949, and in the diocese of Presov on April 28, 1950. In both instances, the imposition was preceded by an elaborate petition asking for admittance into the Orthodox Church.<sup>72</sup> Suffice it to say, both were accepted by the Patriarch at Moscow. The suppression of the Uniate Church in Galicia and Ruthenia was also carried out in Soviet controlled Rumania and other satellite countries. With the forcible dissolution of the Uniate agreements in eastern Europe, only the Byzantine Rite dioceses of the United States and Canada remained steadfast to the Uniate Church.

Americans of Rusin extraction, as other immigrant people, have been assimilated into American society. Their cultural pattern differs greatly from their antecedents. Being largely of the third and fourth generation, the people do not cling with great tenacity to old world culture and ideals. However, through their church, a certain amount of European flavoring pervades their thinking and modes of conduct.

The Rusins in America also differed with their Latin Rite counterparts in educational policy. The former lack of parochial school facilities had forced the Rusin youth to attend the public school system. The Rusins preferred to attend the public schools rather than the parochial educational system because they feared the Latin Rite would further encroach upon the

<sup>70</sup>Peter Kilcoyne, "Ruthenian Martyrdom," *Catholic Digest* (June, 1946), 5.

<sup>71</sup>Donald Attwater, "The Ukrainian Tragedy," *Commonweal*, XLIII (March 8, 1946), 532-534.

<sup>72</sup>Lacko, *The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Uzhorod*, pp. 152ff.

rights of the Uniate Church. Their attendance in the public schools was a distinguishing feature in contrast to the parochial school preference of the Latin Rite. It also served as an important element in the assimilation of the Rusin people.

By 1971, Rusins of American extraction were engaged in the various professional, technical, skilled, semi-skilled and manual labor occupations in the United States. Until the close of the war, the greater percentage was gainfully employed in the semi-skilled and non-skilled activities in the coal and steel producing regions of Pennsylvania. However, the widespread adoption of automation in industry, resulted in the dispersal of this people into various regions of the nation. This was not merely a technological problem for it had social and religious implications for the Uniates.

The social question was primarily felt by the G.C.U. and the United Societies which as early as the mid-1930's were experiencing a decline in membership. The mobility of the population since the war further aggravated this decline in fraternal type of insurance. The young people preferred the stability of large insurance companies over that of the two Rusin insurance organizations. The attempts of these two fraternal societies to boost memberships by drives during the period 1945-1971, had limited success.<sup>73</sup>

The Uniate Church has attempted to keep pace with this dispersal of population by establishing new churches in various sectors of the nation, but because of the failure of the Rusin people to live in compact communities, these efforts have also met with a limited amount of success. However, the creation of the three eparchies from the Pittsburgh Exarchate has further consolidated the Uniate Church by dispelling the threat of Latinization and the "Ukrainian menace," and made possible certain reforms.<sup>74</sup> To stop the exodus of Uniate youth into the Latin Rite, the Uniates began to construct their own parochial schools and to conduct their services in the English language.

As far-reaching as these innovations may be, certain of the Rusin clergy desired greater reforms.<sup>75</sup> They sought revisions

<sup>73</sup>*Viestnik and Prosvita* files, 1945-1971.

<sup>74</sup>Nicholas T. Elko, "Pastoral Letter of August 1, 1963," in *Byzantine Catholic World* (August 11, 1963), p. 1; see also *Pittsburgh Press and Post Gazette* (August 1, 1963).

<sup>75</sup>Gulovich, "The Rusin Exarchate in the United States," pp. 26-28.



in the liturgy and other church services which would have greater appeal to the people living in the United States. In particular, the length of the services, the repetition of litanies, the lack of both religious and social societies were factors that they sought to remedy. Movements to make such changes have been blocked in the past by those who saw in these reforms an attempt to Romanize the Uniate Church. Nevertheless, with or without episcopal approval changes are taking place in this respect. More and more Uniate Churches are dispensing with the features of the Byzantine Rite and are adopting architectural lines of the Roman Church.

Notwithstanding all these desires for reform, the Rusin Uniate Church has emerged from the last world conflict in a stronger position than it had in the 1930's. The Munhall Archeparchy, for the first time since the celibacy struggle, had become in 1971, the largest branch of the Byzantine Rite in the United States. There are several factors that had contributed to the regeneration of this branch of the Uniate Church. Unlike its Ukrainian counterpart, it was severely impaired by the schism of the 1930's and consequently required a thorough reformation. With the advent of native born and American educated bishops and clergy, strides had been made to give the Uniate Church an American flavor which resulted in the loosening of the ties with Europe. This should not be construed to imply that there was a complete break with the old homeland. As late as 1963, Bishop Elko made "Voice of America" broadcasts which were transmitted to eastern Europe.<sup>76</sup> The construction of a parochial school system has been one of the leading factors that has led to this revival. Through it, the clergy and religious orders have been able to instill in the youth a sense of loyalty to their rite and the necessity of its preservation. All these factors together with the use of the vernacular in the Divine Liturgy have strengthened the Rusin Uniate Church in America.

The developments within the former Pittsburgh Exarchate, are merely a small segment of the total picture. Although small in total numbers affected, the Rusin Uniate Church's influence must be considered in any attempt to bring about unity

<sup>76</sup>Orest A. Czerniek, "Radio Free Europe Worker Reports on U.S. Visit," *Viestnik* (August 3, 1963).

within the whole Christian Church. If the Second Vatican Council meets with success in this effort, the formula achieved at Brest and Uzhorod may be used once again to reunite those Christians who adhere to the Orthodox Church. The Uniate Church in America, which had borrowed heavily from its old world background, is now in the position to repay this debt to its European parent.

APPENDIX A: UNION OF UZHOROD<sup>1</sup>

By the grace of Christ elected Most Holy FATHER and UNIVERSAL PATRIARCH. We the priests, the innate sons of the Holy Greek Rite and the inhabitants of the Apostolic Kingdom and who are registered through the counties in the list of our names, we know that the royal sacrament should be hidden, but the works of God should be revealed and be manifested more clearly than the sun to all people, as such one, through which the inexpressible goodness and mercy of our God toward the rational creature used to be declared. Therefore, fixed unto this principle and angelic rule, we let know before the whole world, to your Holiness and we announce and we extol with praises rising to heaven, namely that by the grace of God and our Saviour, which was liberally difused into us by the operation of which the most loveable glad tidings of the Salvation of the Souls, and by the abdication of the Greek insane Schism, we have been taken back and we have been rebetrothed to the Immaculate Virgin, to the Spouse of the Only Begotten Son of God, that is to say to the Holy Roman Church, which without any guilt on her part, up to this day had been hated by us. This very reduction of ours had been done in the year of Salvation one thousand six hundred forty nine on 24th day of April during the reign of Ferdinand the Third, the Sacred Roman Emperor in the latin church of the Fort of Ungvar, on the grounds of the Right Honorable Count George de Homonna, who was present. The Right Reverend Bishop of Munkacs, Basilus Taraszovics, who has already departed from among the living ones, who by having followed the tenets of the Schismatics and heretics broke the fetters of the Holy Union, he publicly reannounced the announcement of the Catholic Church. Perceiving this the venerable father in Christ the Lord George Jakusics, Bishop of Eger, who is already resting in Christ, having with him the reverend Basilian Fathers invited for this purpose; the Father Peter Parthenius, who to-day, is our Bishop and the reverend Gabriel Cassovicus, he invited us most kindly through his letters to Ungvar, and delivering us an opportune person about the Holy Union, through the aforesaid Fathers, what he had in mind, by the Holy Spirit disposing us so, he effected it most easily, and he set up the Feast Day of St. George the Martyr for the profession of the Faith. On that day we sixty-three priests assembled, having followed the aforesaid Most Reverend Bishop of Eger into the above-mentioned Church. Having celebrated the Mystery of the Sacrifice without the shedding of blood in our Ruthenian Language, and some of the priests having confessed their sins sacramentally, we pronounced the Profession of the Faith publicly and in audible voice the prescribed form. That is to say: we believe all and everything that our Holy Roman Mother Church orders to believe, we profess our Holiest Father Lord Innocent the X. to be the Universal Pastor of the Church of Christ and of us, we profess that we wish and want to depend on Him with our Successors, but with these added conditions: First; that we be allowed to keep the Greek Rite, Second; to have the Bishop chosen by us and confirmed by the Apostolic See, Third; To use freely the ecclesiastical immunities, to which the Most Reverend Bish-

<sup>1</sup>As it appears in the *Golden Jubilee*, pp. 372-374.

op most easily consented. The same thing had been approved in the year of 1648 by the Benedict KISDI, Bishop of Eger with his Vicar General, while the Reverend Father in Christ, Thomas Jaszbereny, S.J., religious was assisting This affair of ours was in the highest degree strengthened by the paternal solicitude of the Right Honorable and Right Reverend Prince of Hungary, George Lippay, Arch Bishop of Esztergom, who had been visited twice by a delegation consisting of the aforesaid Basilian Fathers; also the Right Reverend Bishop of Vac, Lord Matthew Tarnoczy, to whom we are bound in perpetuity. By informing YOUR Holiness of all these things, we humbly and unanimously ask the paternal benediction, the promotion of our affair and the confirmation of the Reverend Father Parthenius the Bishop elected by us. Ungvar, year 1652 Fifteenth day of January, the obedient servants, the Greek Rite priests.

Alexius Ladomirski,  
Arch Deacon of Makovica.  
Stephan Andreas,  
Arch Deacon of Spis.  
Gregory Hostovicki,  
Arch Deacon of Homonna.  
Stephen . . . . . ,  
Arch Deacon of Strena.  
Daniel Ilvanovich,  
Arch Deacon of Uza.  
Alexius Philipovics,  
Arch Deacon of Stropko.

APPENDIX B: PAPAL BULL APPOINTING  
BASIL TAKACH BISHOP

Pius Bishop, Servant of Servant of God, to beloved son Basil Takach chosen Titular Bishop Zelen, greetings and Apostolic blessings. Whereas, through the death of His Excellency, Soter Ortinsky, Titular Bishop of Daulien, the faithful of the Ruthenian Rite in the United States of America have remained without their proper pastor for a long time because of various circumstances of time and things, in order that this condition of things be not protracted any longer, our beloved sons, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, attached to the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church, in a meeting held on February 25, of last year, in order that the spiritual welfare of the Ruthenians in the United States of America be taken care of, because of the diversity of their origin and the contentions that divide them, recommended the appointment of two bishops: One namely for the Ruthenians who originally came from the *Podkarpatska Rus*<sup>1</sup> and the other for the Ruthenians from Galicia. Moreover, the same Cardinals have decided that the Bishop who will evercise ordinary jurisdiction over the Ruthenian faithful originally from Galicia would have his See in the city of Philadel-

<sup>1</sup>Place of erasure brought out in the Ambridge Court Case.

phia and that all the parishes founded by the Ruthenians from Galicia as well as the mixed parishes in which these Ruthenians outnumber the others, be under his obedience. That the Bishop who will exercise ordinary jurisdiction over the Ruthenian Faithful from *Podkarpatska Rus* have his habitual residence in the city of New York and that all the parishes founded by the Pod Carpathenian Ruthenians as well as the mixed ones in which these are more in number according to a list to be composed later, be under his obedience. We have approved and confirmed this suggestion and since the Episcopal title of the Church of Zelen, under the Archbishop of Amas, whose title was borne by his Excellency, Bishop Maria Felix Choulet, through his death became vacant, upon the advice of our Venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, upon the advice of our Venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by our Apostolic authority, we elect you, the former rector of the Seminary of Munkacs, to the vacant Episcopal Church of Zelen and confer upon you its title with all the rights, privileges and burdens and obligations attached to such sublime dignity, so that you may exercise ordinary jurisdiction over the Ruthenian Rite faithful from Pod Carpathia. We want that the clergy and the faithful subject to your care, would consider you as the Father of their souls and would accept you with devotion and respect as well as they would display obedience and reverence to your salutary admonitions and precepts and would joyfully consider you as their benovolent father. Furthermore, we want and command, having fulfilled all that is necessary by the law before you receive Episcopal consecration, you be obliged to make a profession of the Catholic Faith together with the traditional oaths according to the formula attached to this letter in the hands of any Catholic Bishop in communion with the Apostolic See, and that you return these formulas to the Holy See, signed by you and the respective Bishop bearing his official seal to the Holy See within six months. We hereby authorize the Bishop, chosen by you, to accept the profession of faith and the oaths mentioned in our own name and in the name of the Roman Church. And moreover, with the intention of being helpful to you, we allow you to choose any Catholic Bishop of your Rite in Communion with the Apostolic See for your Consecration; this Bishop is to be assisted by two priests of your rite in higher office or Ecclesiastical dignity provided two Catholic Bishops in Communion with the Holy See could not easily be contacted to attend the Consecration; to this Bishop chosen by you we give full and absolute faculty to perform the ceremony of consecration. However, we strictly command that unless you first make the profession of faith and take the required oaths according to the usual forms of the Apostolic See, you will be forbidden to receive the above mentioned consecration and the by you chosen Bishop is also forbidden to perform this consecration. We want that in case you or the Bishop chosen by you would oppose this our precept, that God forbid, both of you will incur immediately the penalty of suspension from exercising acts of episcopal power and from the both spiritual and temporal administration of the churches entrusted to your care. We are confident and foster hope that God Almighty will assist you in faithfully discharging the duties and obligations hereby imposed upon you so that

through your pastoral endeavor and studious diligence, the Christian faith will increase from day to day.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's in the year of the Lord 1924, May 8, in the 3rd year of our Pontificate P.P.

/s/ Octavius Card. Cagiano Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church  
/s/ Julius Campori, Apostolic Protonotary  
/s/ Raphael Vivili, Apostolic Protonotary  
/s/ Paul Pericoli, Consultor of the Apostolic Chancery  
expedited on May 20, 3rd year of Pontificate  
for the sealer /s/ Alfred Liberati

#### APPENDIX C: *CUM DATA FUERIT* CHAPTER I

##### Bishops of the Greek-Ruthenian Rite

Art. 1. The appointment of Bishops of the Greek-Ruthenian rite for the territory of the United States of North America is reserved to the Apostolic See.

Art. 2. The Bishops of the Greek-Ruthenian and their legitimate successors in the United States of North America shall remain under the immediate jurisdiction and power of this Apostolic See, and shall exercise full ordinary jurisdiction over all the faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite who live permanently or temporarily in the United States of North America, respectively according to the diversity of origin above described, but dependently upon the Apostolic Delegate at Washington for the time being.

Art. 3. The said Bishops have the right and power to rule and govern their flock and to establish laws and statutes in matters which are not contrary to the common law. Their chief function will be to see that doctrine and good morals as well as the rites and discipline peculiar to this Church be observed faithfully and in their entirety. It will therefore devolve upon them to establish uniformity in the ceremonies which are used in various devotions and in the administration of the sacraments according to the rubrics of approved liturgical books, and to require of their priests the strict observance of the uniform practice so established.

Art. 4. Ordinaries are obliged to visit frequently the parishes and missions intrusted to their care, so that they cover their territory at least every five years either by themselves, or if they are lawfully delegated, and so that they may be well acquainted with their flock, and may better provide for all those things that concern its spiritual welfare.

Art. 5. In their canonical visitation of parishes, Bishops shall investigate whether the pastors perform diligently all their parochial duties, especially the visiting of the sick, the instruction of the children, and the preaching of the word of God on Sundays and feast days. They shall, moreover, inspect all records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, and the inventory of ecclesiastical property for the past two years; and they shall demand of every rector of a mission an accounting, that is, they shall

examine and check the books showing the income and expenses of each church, its material condition, outstanding obligations, etc. On this occasion especially they shall diligently watch that no abuses except in as regards ecclesiastical discipline, especially in the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals, the worship of God, devotion to the saints, preaching, and the fulfillment of pious wills; and they shall take serious measures to safeguard the purity of faith and morals in clergy and people, to see that the food of Christian doctrine is given to the faithful, especially to children and the uneducated, and that the teaching of children and young people in the schools be conducted according to the principles of the Catholic faith. If they find that abuses have crept in, they shall repress them prudently but with vigor, making use, if need be, of ecclesiastical penalties.

Art. 6. In order that the most diligent provisions may be made for the security of the temporal goods of churches, cemeteries, schools, and of all those things that belong to the Church, Ordinaries shall: (a) see to it that the rector or the Council of administration do not hold in their own name property for the acquirement of which the faithful have in any way contributed; (b) in business transactions, take counsel of men of experience, and of their own consultors, and use such forms of title-deed and observe all the prescriptions which correspond to the laws of the different States, and which favor the administration, conservation, and perfect transmission of ecclesiastical property; (c) establish such rules as they judge fitting for the administration of ecclesiastical property.

Art. 7. The annual support of both Bishops shall consist of offerings in the nature of the CATHEDRATICUM, which shall be fixed in an equitable manner by the Bishop after hearing from his consultors, and which every church belonging to the Ruthenian bishoprics shall be bound to pay. The rectors of churches shall be responsible for the full payment of these offerings and of the other offerings which shall be fixed by the Bishop and his consultors, for the seminary, the orphanage, the missions, etc.

Art. 8. As has been declared at the beginning of this Decree, the Ordinary for the faithful who come from Galicia shall have his seat at Philadelphia, Pa.; the other Ordinary shall have his at Homestead, Pa. principally for the convenience and advantage both of the clergy and of the CURIAE of the two bishoprics, a Ruthenian priest may have a domicile in New York, and act as vicar or delegate of both Ordinaries, giving assistance to the faithful of the Ruthenian rite, but especially to those priests who are just landing in America or sailing away, always under the dependence and according to the wishes of the Ordinaries.

Art. 9. The Bishops shall, every five years, give a full and exact account of the personal, moral, and material condition of the missions of their rite, to the Apostolic Delegate, who shall send it to the Sacred Oriental Congregation; and they shall, at least every ten years, make a visit AD LIMINA to pay their respects and obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, and to give him an account of their performance of their pastoral duty and of everything which pertains to the condition of their

church, the morals and discipline of clergy and people, and the welfare of the souls committed to their care.

Art. 10. Any controversies which may arise between a Bishop of the Greek-Ruthenian rite and the Bishops of the Latin rite in the United States, shall be referred to this Sacred Oriental Congregation.

## CHAPTER II

### The Clergy of the Greek-Ruthenian Rite

Art. 11. Since it is necessary that there be priests of good life, endowed with zeal and prudence, learned in sacred science, and aloof from political factions, the Ordinaries shall see to it that when the opportunity presents itself, at least a major and a minor seminary be erected for the two bishoprics, for the education of the clergy of the Greek-Ruthenian rite. In the meantime let the clerics attend a Latin seminary designated by the Ordinary; and let them have one or two priests of their rite to instruct them thoroughly and carefully in their own rite and liturgy. To meet the expenses of the education of the clerics, let both the rectors of the churches and the churches themselves of the Greek-Ruthenian rite in the United States contribute. Ordinaries should earnestly commend to the clergy and people the pious work of ecclesiastical vocations, and should see to it that priests, especially pastors, apply themselves to guard from the contagions of the world, boys who show signs of an ecclesiastical vocation, to train them to piety, instruct them in elementary studies, and foster in them the seeds of the divine vocation.

Art. 12. Until there shall be a sufficient number of Greek-Ruthenian priests who have been educated in the United States, whenever any mission of the Ruthenians, either vacant or newly erected, is to be provided with a rector, the Ordinaries shall ask for priests of the Bishops of the Greek-Ruthenian rite of Galicia or Hungary or Jugo-Slavia, through the agency of the Sacred Oriental Congregation. But a Greek-Ruthenian Bishop can give no faculties, either to celebrate Mass, or administer the sacraments, or to perform in any way whatsoever any ecclesiastical functions, to any priest who has gone to the United States on his own authority, without having been either called thither by one of the Greek-Ruthenian Bishops or sent by the Sacred Congregation. In the meantime, as has already several times been provided, priests of the Greek-Ruthenian rite who wish to go to the United States of North America and stay there, must be celibates.

Art. 13. Priests who are looking for money, or who are vacillating in faith and morals, or who are given to drink, shall by no means be sent to America, nor allowed to come there; and if any such are found, let them be sent away as quickly as possible. If, when they have been sent away, they fail to obey, let them be coerced with canonical penalties, including suspension from sacred functions.

Art. 14. Every priest coming from Europe who stays in the United States of North America for the spiritual care of the faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite, remains incardinated in the diocese of his origin,

unless he be incardinated with the observance of all the requirements of law by one of the two Greek-Ruthenian Ordinaries in the United States. But in the meantime the Bishop of his place of origin shall in no way exercise jurisdiction over him; but the said priest shall be solely under the jurisdiction of the Greek-Ruthenian Bishop. Such priests may not return or be recalled to their own country without the express permission of their Ordinary of the Greek-Ruthenian rite in the United States, to be given in writing. The Bishops of their place of origin are responsible to the Sacred Oriental Congregation if they receive such priests without written authority from one of the two Ordinaries of the Greek-Ruthenian rite in the United States.

Art. 15. All rectors of Greek-Ruthenian parishes and missions in the United States are removable at the will of the Ordinaries of the Greek-Ruthenian rite. They may not, however, be removed without grave and just reasons.

Art. 16. A priest who has been removed has, however, the right to interpose a recourse IN DEVOLUTIVO against the decree of removal, to the Sacred Oriental Congregation.

Art. 17. The Ordinaries must provide for the support of a priest, by assigning him a salary, to be drawn proportionately from the mass or total of all the revenues of the Church.

Art. 18. The stole fees and emoluments of the sacred ministry in each mission shall be fixed by the Greek-Ruthenian Ordinaries according to the approved customs of the various localities.

Art. 19. Greek-Ruthenian Ordinaries shall exercise their jurisdiction only upon the Greek-Ruthenian clergy and people. But if in any place there are faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite, but there is no mission established there or no priest of the Greek-Ruthenian rite there, the Ordinaries shall communicate their jurisdiction over the faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite to a priest of the Latin rite at that place, and notify the Ordinary of what they have done, until such time as there may be a priest of the Greek-Ruthenian rite in the place.

Art. 20. Priests must remember that they must lead a holier life than lay people, both interiorly and exteriorly, and excel them in virtue and good deeds by way of example, if they wish their ministry to conduce to the salvation of souls. Hence, they must frequently go to confession, and every day give some time to mental prayer, visit the Blessed Sacrament, be devout to the Blessed Virgin, and examine their consciences.

Art. 21. All priests must every three years at least, or even oftener if they have a good opportunity, give themselves to spiritual exercises for a time to be fixed by their Ordinary; and let no one be excused from them except in a particular case, for just cause, and with the express permission of the Ordinary.

Art. 22. All are bound by a special obligation to show reverence and obedience, each to his own Bishop; and they must also frequently preach this duty to the people.

Art. 23. Priests must not cease from study, especially from sacred studies; and in sacred subjects let them follow the solid doctrine that

has been handed down by tradition and is accepted in the Church, avoiding profane novelties of expression and the science which is falsely so called.

Art. 24. After having finished their course of studies, all priests, unless they be for just cause dispensed by the Ordinary, must every year at least for three full years, take an examination in various branches of sacred science designated in advance, in the manner which shall be determined by the Ordinary.

Art. 25. Likewise several times a year, in the various rural deanships, on days fixed by the Ordinary, meetings or conferences on moral and liturgical subjects shall be held; to which may be added such other exercises as the Ordinary may judge helpful to promote the learning and piety of the clergy. If it is difficult to hold these meetings, the solutions to questions shall be sent in writing according to the rules fixed by the Ordinary. Those who are obligated to attend the meeting shall, if the meeting is not held, send a written solution of the cases or on exposition of some other question that has been proposed, unless they shall have been expressly excused beforehand by the Ordinary. In the conferring of officers, other things being equal, those who have shown the greatest merit in the aforesaid examinations or conferences should receive due consideration.

Art. 26. Pastors, quasi-pastors, and missionaries are bound by a grave obligation to announce the word of God to the people by a brief explanation of the Gospel or of some part of Christian doctrine, on Sundays and the feasts of obligation throughout the year, and to attend to the Catholic instruction of the faithful, especially children, according to the instructions received from the Ordinary. And if they are found negligent, they shall be punished in proportion to the gravity of the offense.

Art. 27. The Ordinaries of the Greek-Ruthenian rite shall, as opportunity offers, at least once a year, gather together at least the principal priests, both secular and religious, of their jurisdiction, for the purpose of learning from their experience and counsel what matters need to be better regulated.

### CHAPTER III

#### The Faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian Rite

Art. 28. The faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian Rite are bound to attend and liberally to support their own churches, and to observe the prescription of their own rite; but in districts where there are no churches nor priests of their rite, and where, owing to the distance, they cannot go to their own church without grave inconvenience, they must, in order to fulfill the precepts of the Church, hear Mass in a Catholic church of the other rite, and receive the sacraments from a priest of the other rite.

Art. 29. Attendance on the part of Greek-Ruthenians, even though it be continuous, at the churches of the Latin rite, does not effect a change of rite. As regards transferring from rite to another, the norms

given by the Sacred Oriental Congregation by the Decree NEMINI LICERE, 6 Dec., 1928, should be duly observed. Hence, to transfer to another rite, Greek-Ruthenians must send a petition to the Apostolic Delegate, and truly set forth the canonical causes which seem to make such a transfer desirable. It will be better, however, that this petition be sent to the Apostolic Delegate through their own Ordinary.

Art. 30. Priests of the Latin rite are not allowed to induce any member of the Greek-Ruthenian rite to transfer to the Latin, contrary to, or aside from the canonical provisions which govern changes of rite.

Art. 31. The faithful of the Latin rite, even if a priest of their own rite is available, can validly and licitly confess their sins and receive sacramental absolution from a priest of the Greek-Ruthenian rite approved by his Ordinary. So too the faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite can confess their sins to a priest of the Latin rite who is approved by his Bishop. Priests of the Latin rite, however, cannot absolve the faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite from censures and reserved cases established by the Greek-Ruthenian Ordinary, without the latter's permission. The same thing, in turn, is true of the Greek-Ruthenian priests regarding the censures and reservations established by the Ordinary of the Latin rite. And in order to avoid difficulties, which rather frequently occur in practice, let the respective Bishops, if they have reserved any cases, inform each other of the reservations they have made.

Art. 32. All the faithful of whatever rite may, for devotion receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, consecrated according to any rite; and besides, where necessity urges and there is no priest of the other rite available, a Greek-Ruthenian priest may administer the Eucharist which has been consecrated from unleavened bread; and conversely, a priest of the Latin rite may administer that which has been consecrated from leavened bread; but each must follow his own rite in administering it.

Art. 33. Any member of an Oriental rite validly and licitly fulfills the precept of Paschal Communion even if he communicate in a rite other than his own. It is desirable, however, that the faithful fulfill the precept of the Paschal Communion each in his own rite, and in his own parish church; and those who may have fulfilled it in another parish should take care to inform their own pastor of the fact that they have fulfilled it.

Art. 34. Holy Viaticum should be received by the dying in their own rite and from the hands of their own pastor; but in case of necessity it is allowed to receive it from any priest; the priest however, must administer it according to his own rite.

Art. 35. The celebration of funerals and the reception of emoluments in families of mixed rite, belong to the pastor of that rite to which the deceased belonged.

Art. 36. To prevent grave inconvenience which might accrue to Ruthenians, they are given permission to observe feasts and fasts according to the customs of the places in which they are staying; but such observance does not produce a change of rite. As regards the hearing of Mass on feasts which fall on the same day in both rites, they are bound,

in order to fulfill the ecclesiastical precept, to assist at the sacred liturgy in the church of their rite. If there is one in the place.

Art. 37. Associations of the faithful of the Greek-Ruthenian rite shall be under the vigilance of the Ordinaries, and these shall name the priest who is to have charge of the said associations, lest any abuse creep into them in regard to faith, morals or discipline. Hence it is praiseworthy on the part of the faithful to join associations which have been formed, or at least approved, by ecclesiastical authority. They should, however, be on their guard against associations which are secret, condemned, seditious, suspect, or which seek to elude the supervision of lawful ecclesiastical authority.

Likewise Catholic newspapers, magazines, and periodicals are under the supervision of the Ordinary; and without his permission priests should neither write in them nor manage them.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### Marriages Between the Faithful of Mixed Rite

Art. 38. Marriages between Catholics of the Greek-Ruthenian and of the Latin rite are not forbidden; but to prevent the inconveniences which usually arise in families from the diversity of rites, it is provided that the wife may, at the time of the marriage or during its continuance, pass over to the rite of her husband but after the marriage has been dissolved she is free to return to her own original rite.

Art. 39. Marriages, both between Greek-Ruthenians and between the faithful of different rites, must be contracted with the observance of the form prescribed by the Decree NE TEMERE; and hence they are to be blessed in the rite of the women, by the woman's pastor.

Art. 40. Matrimonial dispensations in marriages of mixed rite must, when they are needed, be asked of and granted by the Bishop of the prospective bride.

Art. 41. Persons born in the United States of North America of parents of different rites, are to be baptized in the rite of the father; for the children of both sexes must absolutely follow the rite of the father.

Art. 42. Baptism received in another rite on account of grave necessity, that is when the child was near death, or was born in a place where at the time there was no pastor whom the father could consider his pastor, does not produce a change of rite; and the one who performed the baptism must send the record thereof to the proper pastor.

Art. 43. Children belong to the jurisdiction of that pastor to whose rite their father belongs, except those born illegitimately, who follow the rite of their mother.

His Holiness, Pius XI, ratified and confirmed all the above provisions in the audience of 9 Feb., 1929, and ordered the present Decree to be issued, to be effective for ten years.

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APPENDIX D: DECLARATION OF COMMON AIMS OF THE  
INDEPENDENT MID-EUROPEAN NATIONS

IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED AT INDEPENDENCE HALL,  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
ON OCTOBER TWENTY-SIXTH, ONE THOUSAND NINE  
HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN.

We, representing together more than fifty million people constituting a chain of nations lying between the Baltic, the Adriatic and the Black Seas, comprising Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, Uhro-Rusins, Lithuanians, Roumanians and Italian Irredentists. Unredeemed Greeks, Albanians, Zionists and Armenians, wholly or partly subject to alien domination, deeply appreciating the aid and assistance given our peoples by the government and people of America and of the entente allies on behalf of ourselves and our brethren at home, do hereby solemnly declare that we place our all—peoples and resources— at the disposal of our allies for use against our common enemy, and in order that the whole world may know what we deem are the essential and fundamental doctrines which shall be embodied in the constitutions hereafter adopted by the people of our respective independent nations, as well as the purpose which shall govern our common and united action, we accept and subscribe to the following as basic principles for all free peoples.

First. That all governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.

Second. That it is the inalienable right of every people to organize their own government on such principles and in such form as they believe will best promote their welfare, safety and happiness.

Third. That the free and natural development of the ideals of any state should be allowed to pursue their normal and unhindered course unless such course harms or threatens the common interest of all.

Fourth. That there should be no secret diplomacy, and all proposed treaties and agreements between nations should be made public—prior to their adoption and ratification.

Fifth. That we believe our peoples, having kindred ideals and purposes, should coordinate their efforts to insure the liberties of their individual nations for the furtherance of their common welfare, provided such a union contributes to the peace and welfare of the world.

Sixth. That there should be formed a league of the nations of the world in a common and binding agreement for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace among nations.

In the course of our history, we have been subject to, and victims of aggressive and selfish nations and autocratic dynasties, held in subjection by force of arms.

We have suffered destruction of our cities, violation of our homes and lands, and we have maintained our ideals only by stealth, and in spite of the tyranny of our oppressors.

We have been deprived of proper representation and fair trial. We have been denied the right of free speech, and the right freely to assemble and petition for the redress of our grievances. We have been denied free and friendly intercourse with our sister states, and our men

have been impressed in war against their brothers and friends of kindred races.

The signers of this declaration, and representatives of other independent peoples, who may subscribe their names hereunto, do hereby pledge on behalf of their respective nations, that they will unitedly strive to the end that these wrongs shall be righted, that the sufferings of the world war shall not have been in vain, and that the principles here set forth shall be incorporated in the organic laws of whatever governments our respective peoples may hereafter establish.

APPENDIX E. PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF  
ST. GERMAINE-EN-LAYE, SEPTEMBER 10, 1919  
AS APPLIED TO RUTHENIA  
CHAPTER 11.

Article 10.

Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State, and to accord to it the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State.

Article 11.

The Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have powers of legislation in all linguistic, scholastic and religious questions, in matters of local administration, and in other questions which the laws of the Czech-Slovak State may assign to it. The Governor of the Ruthene territory shall be appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and shall be responsible to the Ruthene Diet.

Article 12.

Czecho-Slovakia agrees that officials in the Ruthene territory will be chosen as far as possible from the inhabitants of this territory.

Article 13.

Czecho-Slovakia guarantees to the Ruthene territory equitable representation in the legislative assembly of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, to which Assembly it will send deputies elected according to the constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. These deputies will not, however, have the right of voting in the Czecho-Slovak Diet upon legislative questions of the same kind as those assigned to the Ruthene Diet.

Article 14.

Czecho-Slovakia agrees that the stipulations of Chapters I and II so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League

of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Czecho-Slovakia agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Czecho-Slovakia further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Czecho-Slovak Government and any other Power a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Czecho-Slovak Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party hereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Bibliographical Note:

The many phases of the problem, together with its various ramifications necessitated the utilization of both historical sources, as well as parochial literature. The historian's failure to critically examine the role played by the Rusin people required this acquisition. It was necessary to consult the Slavic departments of the following: the Library of Congress, the New York Public and the Alliance College Library. Research was also done at the libraries of University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie, Gannon College and the Erie Public. The materials of the two Rusin fraternal organizations, the G. C. U. and the United Societies were ransacked and the parochial literature of the Pittsburgh Exarchate was canvassed. Of significant value to gathering material for the monograph were the interviews with those who had participated in the controversial problems besetting the Rusin people. The issues were both religious and civil, such as, celibacy, the Byzantine vs the Roman Catholic Latin Rite, the Uniate vs the Orthodox Church, the language controversy, national affinity and autonomy. Very little Carpatho-Ruthenian literature is available in the United States, resulting in various gaps in the early history of the people. This unavailability of early Rusin material and the incorporation of Carpatho-Ruthenia with the Soviet Union are problems not covered and awaiting further research.

### I. SOURCE MATERIALS

#### A. INTERVIEWS

Dzmura, Rev. Andrew, personal interview, Braddock, Pennsylvania, July 14, 1961. Reverend Dzmura was the pastor at St. Peter and Paul Church in Braddock and former dean of the South Pittsburgh area of the Pittsburgh Byzantine Diocese. During the celibacy crisis he was assigned to various churches which were in danger of turning schismatic. He was especially helpful in securing contacts with both the clerical and civil leaders of the Rusin Community.

Hanulya, Rev. Joseph, personal interview, Cleveland, June 14, 1959. Reverend Hanulya was one of the early Uniate priests in America arriving in 1904. He was instrumental in founding the Rusin Elite Society which advocated the training and education of the youth of the Ruthenian immigrants. He authored several pamphlets and was one of the early leaders among the clergy who were in opposition to celibacy. However, he did not break with the Uniate Church but continued his opposition from within. Hanulya died on October 8, 1962.

Kallock, Rev. John, personal interviews, Pittsburgh, on November 28, 1957, July 6 and 20, 1961, August 3 and 17, 1961. He was the former editor of the defunct monthly magazine the *Chrysostom* and the first editor of the *Byzantine Catholic World*, the Uniate newspaper of the Pittsburgh Byzantine Catholic Diocese. He had a collection of books and

magazines dealing with Rusin History and was the first president of the Bishop Takach Historical Society.

Pipik, Rev. John, personal interview, Pittsburgh, July 25, 1961. Reverend Pipik was the pastor of St. Mary's Church in East Pittsburgh. One of the former secretaries of Bishop Takach, Pipik was a valuable source of information concerning the problems that the Byzantine Chancery handled during the 1930's.

Roman, Michael, personal interviews, Homestead, Pennsylvania, July 20 to August 10, 1961. Mr. Roman was the editor of the *Viestnik* (Messenger) and a former leader of the young Rusins during the celibacy fight. He had published the pamphlet, *Short Biographies of Famous Carpatho-Russians* and was one of the organizers of the Basil Takach Historical Society.

Varzaly, Mrs. Stephen, The widow of one of the leaders of the dissident priests during the celibacy struggle. The interview took place in Munhall, Penna. during June of 1964. She reiterated the stand of her husband and blamed many of the clergy of the Pittsburgh Exarchate for the excommunication of her husband. She stated that several abandoned the struggle in favor of better positions within the exarchate. She was also critical of Bishop Chornock accusing him of being opportunistic. Only her husband seemed to be motivated by unselfish ends. Her relationship to the Exarchate was left unclear and she seemed confused on the matter.

Zatkovich, Gregory, personal interviews, Pittsburgh, July 21, 25, and 29, 1961 and August 5, 1961. Mr. Zatkovich was the former governor of Carpatho-Ruthenia and the spokesman of the American Rusin people who sought the incorporation of the region with the Czechoslovakian attitude toward Ruthenia. During World War II he headed the Slavic league of Pittsburgh and was the editor of the *Carpathian*, a monthly Rusin publication.

Zeedick, Peter I., personal interviews, Pittsburgh, July 15, 1959 and August 18, 1959. Dr. Zeedick was a medical practitioner in Pittsburgh and the Medical consultant of the Greek Catholic Union. He has perhaps the largest collection of material on the history of the Carpatho-Ruthenian people. He was particularly interested in the ethnic origins of the people and also of their migrations to the United States. During the celibacy quarrel he was one of the leaders of the K. O. V. O. group which sought to prohibit a celibacy clergy for the Uniates in America. He was the author of several pamphlets and a contributor to the *Viestnik* and the *Kalendar* publications of the G. C. U.

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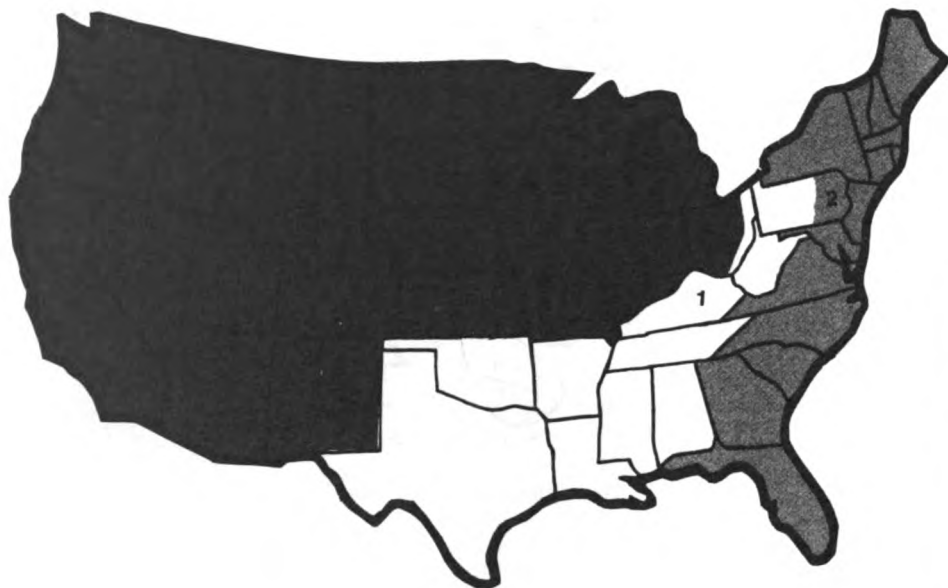
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