FROM THE EDITOR AND ASSISTANT EDITOR

Anyone who has ever been part of a voluntary organization, particularly in a leadership capacity, realizes that there comes the time when it is necessary for the gavel to be passed — the time when new leadership takes over, guiding the organization and incorporating new ideas. That time has arrived for the editorial staff of the Carpatho-Rusyn American.

The assistant editor and I must, with much regret, step down from our positions. Family and career concerns limit the time we can devote to the newsletter. While we will maintain our interest in the work of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, it is no longer possible for us to pursue this labor of love with as much intensity as we had in the past.

Some might look upon this “passing of the gavel” as a crisis, but we see it as a great opportunity — an opportunity for growth. Such opportunities are good news to the Carpatho-Rusyn American and the Rusyn-American community because they are an indication that our ethnic group has a solid base and changes such as these will have a positive effect.

The staff of the Carpatho-Rusyn American has always been very small. And yet, over the last three years, we have seen increased participation by interested Rusyn Americans who want to become part of the effort to inform our community and others about the vital and beautiful culture of “our people.” We can attribute that increase to the educational work of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center through vehicles such as its publications and this newsletter. The awareness Rusyn Americans have of their culture and ethnic identity has come of age. The Rusyn-American community has evolved into a group of people conscious of and comfortable with its identity. We have not followed the same evolutionary pattern that other groups have followed in the United States, but we have succeeded in reaching the advanced level of awareness and achievement towards which most ethnic groups strive. This awareness was achieved with a greater emphasis on education in a more rational, rather than emotional, way.

In the process, we have also become an anomaly among American ethnic groups — many of those who are now aware of and comfortable with their Carpatho-Rusyn heritage and identity are younger individuals. Therefore, while other groups are beginning to see a waning of commitment to ethnic identity among the younger generation, we are experiencing the opposite in both the academic arena and in the Rusyn-American community in general. This is indeed an encouraging sign.

At the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center’s spring conference in Philadelphia, not only were we impressed with the quality of the scholarly work being done on our people throughout the nation, but we were also intrigued by the fact that this work was being done by individuals who just five years ago were not studying our people. They were a new breed of young scholars focusing their careers on the study and publication of material about Carpatho-Rusyns.

Just a few months later, Mr. Righetti and I had a telephone conversation in which he described the Carpatho-Rusyns’ involvement in the Pittsburgh Folk Festival, the largest ethnic festival in Pennsylvania. An observation he made was significant. He was part of a group representing the Rusyn-American community at the Carpatho-Rusyn information booth, answering questions about our culture. He mentioned that in past years, many people came to the booth to ask whether this region was where their families came from and if this was indeed their people, trying to determine whether or not they were Carpatho-Rusyn. At this year’s festival, for the first time, the majority of those who stopped at the booth did not ask, “Is this what I am?,” but instead declared, “This is what I am.” Most knew that they were Carpatho-Rusyn.

These events are indeed significant. They show the impact of organizations like the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center and vehicles such as this newsletter.

We are now in the throes of a change in leadership. During any other time period, this could have been a leadership crisis. Fortunately, it is not. Ten years of educational effort by the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center and other organizations has produced a number of educated, young Rusyn Americans who are more than capable of assuming positions with this newsletter and helping it succeed and grow.

Starting with the next issue, the Carpatho-Rusyn American will be headed by the new editor, John Haluska. Mr. Haluska, one of the founding members of the Rusin Association of Minnesota, is articulate, educated, and well-versed in the history and culture of Carpatho-Rusyns in Europe and in the United States. He has, through his involvement with the Rusin Association, helped Rusyn culture attain exposure never thought possible, securing government funding to publicize our people’s experience in this nation. We are confident that he is the right person to assist at this stage in the evolution of this newsletter.

Andrew Kovaly, currently associate editor of the Carpatho-Rusyn American, will be assuming Mr. Righetti’s editorial duties and assisting with production. Mr. Kovaly has been active in the preservation of Carpatho-Rusyn culture most of his life. As director of the Rusyforming ensemble of McKeesport, Pennsylvania, he has made thousands aware of the magic of Carpatho-Rusyn song and dance. Mr. Kovaly had also served as interim editor of this newsletter in 1983 and has valuable experience in the production aspects of publishing this newsletter.

These two individuals will, no doubt, do a fine, effective job producing this newsletter. But the stories about the Philadelphia conference and Pittsburgh Folk Festival show another facet of this leadership issue. Now, after ten years of education by the Center, many of you have the knowledge and abilities which will enable you to lend your talents to this newsletter. If you can assist in writing, printing, photography, production, or any other area, we can utilize your talents in producing the Carpatho-Rusyn American. Please write to John Haluska at Route 1, Box 488, Cambridge, Minnesota, 55008, and let him know how you might like to become involved.

In closing, Mr. Righetti and I thank all of you who have made this such an enjoyable and fulfilling experience for us. We cherish all the letters and telephone calls from subscribers and fondly recall our experiences with the Rusyn-American community. Most importantly, we are glad that we had the opportunity to contribute to a movement that is vital and growing. We have total confidence in the abilities of the new staff and we offer our support and best wishes for success.

We believe that the best has yet to come.
HAVRIJIL KOSTEL’NYK (1886-1948)

Just as few people realize that the smallest Germanic language is Faeroese (spoken in the Faeroese Islands) and the smallest Romance language is Ladin (spoken in a few valleys in northern Italy), so too do only a few know that the smallest Slavic language is Rusyn as spoken in the Vojvodina or historic Bačka region of Yugoslavia. Although Vojvodinian Rusyn has at most only 25,000 speakers, since World War II the language is an official regional one, with its own newspapers, journals, books, schools, radio and television programs, and even a university institute, the Chair of Rusyn Language and Literature at the University of Novi Sad.

The favorable status that the Vojvodinian Rusyn language enjoys during recent decades is in large part the result of Yugoslavia’s policy toward its national minorities. Yet even such policies would be ineffective if local national leaders had not done their own part in preserving the cultural and linguistic heritage of their people. In short, the success and virtual existence of the Vojvodinian (Bačka) Rusyn language is due to one man, Havrijil Kostel’nyk, whose centenary is being celebrated this year.

Havrijil Kostel’nyk was born in 1886 in the small town of Ruski Krstur (Kerestur), the center of Carpatho-Rusyn settlement in the historic Bačka region of what was then the Kingdom of Hungary, today the Vojvodina in Yugoslavia. His parents were peasant agriculturalists, and of the six children in the family only Havrijil was chosen to prepare for another career — the priesthood.

At twelve years of age he was sent farther north to Zagreb in Croatia (at the time also a part of Hungary), where he completed the gymnasium and entered the theological school in 1906. But one year later he was invited to complete his training at the Greek Catholic Seminary in L’viv, the Polish-Ukrainian city north of the Carpathians in Austrian Galicia. Finally, Kostel’nyk spent over two years at the Catholic University in Freiburg, Switzerland, which awarded him a doctorate in theology in 1913.

While still a gymnasium student Kostel’nyk revealed a talent for writing, and he published a small collection of poetry, titled Z mojojo valala (From My Village, 1904). The most remarkable aspect to this little volume was its language. Unlike many other Carpatho-Rusyn writers before and after him, who felt that their native speech was somehow unworthy for publication and who tried to write in a “higher” literary language like Church Slavonic, Russian, or Ukrainian, Kostel’nyk showed that the only way to reflect his own inner poetic feelings and to communicate them to his people was through the language closest to the heart and soul — the mother tongue. Two decades later, he provided a standard for others who also wished to teach and write by publishing the Hramatika bacvan’sko-ruskej besedi (A Grammar of the Bačka-Rusyn Language, 1923). With these two publications, Kostel’nyk provided the first literary work and first grammar, thereby single-handedly launching the history of what has come to be called the newest East Slavic literary language — Vojvodinian Rusyn.

Although Kostel’nyk continued to write some poems and prose works in his native Rusyn, after his formal studies were completed he devoted most of his attention to the Greek Catholic religious and cultural life of Galicia. He re-

These were unsettling times in eastern Europe, and Dr. Kostel’nyk was soon to be engulfed by external events. He did survive the fall of Poland and the Soviet occupation of eastern Galicia (1939-1941), the German occupation during the war (1941-1944), and the return of the Red Army and reincorporation of the region into the Soviet Union in 1944. The end of the war brought new challenges, however. With the return of a Soviet regime, the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia was outlawed in 1946 and its bishops and priests given a choice — conversion to Orthodoxy or imprisonment.

No bishops but several priests did choose for various reasons to convert to Orthodoxy, and the recognized leader of that government-supported movement was none other than the Reverend Havrijil Kostel’nyk, who actually headed the committee that pronounced in March 1946 the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in L’viv and its incorporation into Russian Orthodoxy. Because of his prominent role in these postwar developments, Kostel’nyk was assassinated in 1948 — some say by Ukrainian nationalists as revenge for his work in destroying Greek Catholicism, others say by Soviet agents because he knew too much about how the church’s liquidation took place.

(Continued on page 7)
THE SOPILKA

The author of this article, Viktor Šostak, is a specialist on Carpatho-Rusyn folk instruments and a curator at the Užhorod Historical Museum. This article is the conclusion of a series on folk instruments and was translated by Margarita S. Mikhalyova and Jerry Jumba. — Editor.

Did you hear how a sopilka plays? If not, you can hear this in Transcarpathia. Go where the bright colors and wonderful sounds create a musical magic all their own. Among the rustling of the pines and gurgling of mountain streams, many musicians are born. Under sensitive fingers, not only violins, cymbali, and trembitý play, but the leaf of the periwinkle and the skin of an ordinary fish also have a musical life in the musician's hands. But certainly the most unusual voice is that of the sopilka.

Oj chto toto v polonyni hraje na sopilci?
To mij ljubko soloden'kij dozyraje vivci.

Sopiločka javorova skrypočka z horicha,
Jak zahrajut', zaščebečut to moja uticha.
Veselen'ko zaspivaju, v sopilku poduju,
Spivanočok dosta znaju, rota ne škoduju.

Oh, who plays the sopilka on the high meadowland? It is my sweet boyfriend who is watching over the sheep.

The little sopilka made of maple, and the violin of walnut, How they play like birds, chirping for my enjoyment.

I will sing happily and play the sopilka,
I know many songs and will not wear out my lips.

In a sincere way and with great love the Rusyn people sing about this expressive instrument which they call the pysčalka, dudka, or sopilka.

The dence and copyk.

The sound of the sopilka depends on the strength of the wind flowing through the opening. The upper section, called the dence, or svistok, meaning “whistle,” contains an inserted piece of wood called the copyk. In the dence, the friction of the air column against the copyk speeds the air to create the necessary vibration that will resonate in the body of the sopilka and give us the sopilka sound.

In Subcarpathian Rus’, there were two kinds of sopilky — one with and one without the whistle mechanism. The type of sopilka containing the whistle mechanism is sometimes referred to as the dencívka. It is made of elder wood. It should be mentioned that in the Hutsul, Bojko, and Verchovyna regions of Transcarpathia, all sopilky and dencívky are called pysčalky from pysčaty (to peep).

The pitch of the sopilka’s sound depends on the length and width of the pipe. The longer and wider pipe has the lower sound, the short and thin pipe has the higher sound. With the help of six uncovered holes made with a hot iron or a carving knife, a player produces different pitches.

If you want to make a fine-sounding sopilka, it is a complicated process. It is important to select the proper wood with a sturdy, even structure that has a regular distance between the tree’s growth rings. In order to have sopilky for a folk orchestra, you must make the instruments alike to play in tune with one another. It is difficult to find perfectly matched pieces of wood. The sopilka maker must carve and drill precise measurements into like pieces of wood. For this reason, a sopilka that is made without the whistle mechanism is used by most folk orchestras in Subcarpathian Rus’. It is known as the sopilka bezdencívka. Because it has no whistle mechanism the proper sounding of this instrument demands special training and constant attention from the performer. In the hands of a good musician, it will make a fine sound.

In the Verchovyna, the mountainous central area, one can find the skosívka. The skosívka has a diagonal mouthpiece that is cut at approximately a 45° angle, with no finger holes on the body. With the help of the fingers at the bottom of the pipe one can change the pitch. The more open the hole at the bottom, the lower the pitch will be. The finger covers the hole at $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{3}$ its size. The length of the sopilka is usually 60 centimeters.

Two very interesting sopilky of the bezdencívka type are the flojara and the frylka. These are very popular among the Hutsuls of Transcarpathia.

The flojara is mentioned in this ancient kolomyjka verse:

Oj ženu ja polonynu ovečok otaru,
Ta zahudu ta zahrajù v vivčars'ku flojaru.

Jak hucula ne ljubyty koly hucul hraje,
Na flojari, na sopilci i na trembiti znaje.

Oh, I drive my sheep into the high meadowland and I play my shepherd’s flojara.

How could you not love a Hutsul who knows how to play the flojara, sopilka and even the trembita?

The length of the flojara is one meter (about 39 inches). One can change its sound with the help of six holes on its body. In addition, the performer gives a specific color to the flojara sound by humming a bass pitch that resonates in the chest. The flojara is a solo instrument, and is sometimes
A young boy from the village of Klenová in Zemplín county playing the sopilka.

called the *Dido's Flojara* (grandfather's *flojara*) because of its quiet nature.

The *frylka*, like the *flojara*, has six holes and no whistle mechanism. The mouthpiece tip is cut in a shape similar to the top of a volcano. One can produce a diatonic scale and play loudly or softly. *Frylky* are used in ensembles and play the main melody along with the violins. The musicians classify the *frylka* according to the instrument it will accompany. There is the *frylka* for violin. It is 20 centimeters long and sounds like a piccolo. The *frylka* for cymbaly is 30 centimeters long and sounds like the upper register of the flute. The *holyhonka* is 40 centimeters and sounds like the middle register of the flute.

In the mountain districts among the Hutsuls, one will find some interesting members of the *sopilka dencivka* family: The *dvodencivka*, *kuvycja*, and the *telynka*.

The *dvodencivka*, or *dzurun'kalka* is the carving of two *dencivky* from one piece of wood. It is rectangular in shape and one side has a row of six holes, the other side has no holes. It will drone a constant pitch while the six-holed side is active with a melody.

The *kuvycja* — so called because it imitates the cuckoo — is known to us as the Pan pipes. It consists of eight to ten short pipes of different lengths from the largest to the shortest. They are tied together or glued with sap or resin. A few of these are made entirely of one piece of wood. With the help of a mouthpiece having the *dence* and the *copyk*, a diatonic scale from do to do can be produced.

In the Verchovyna region, one can still find the *telynka*. It is 70 centimeters in length and has a mouthpiece but no finger holes. One can change the pitch with the index finger closing the bottom hole at $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ its size. This is a solo instrument that does not play loudly.

The sounds of the *sopilka* family express an artistic spectrum of human emotions in Transcarpathia. The most prevalent of these is heard in the vitality of happy music. These verses sung about the *sopilka* reflect this feeling:

```
Oj poženu vivci pasty u zeleni bory,
Na sopilci lýš zahraju, obivvutsja hory.

Hraj, sopilko, cile lito, skrypka dopomože,
Teper vilna Verchovyna i žytija zamožne.

Ljetsja holos sopiločky, jak voda zvoramy,
Chaj na víky mir i družba kripne mežy namy.
```

Oh when I drive my sheep to pasture in the green forest, I play my *sopilka*, and the mountains answer it.

Play, *sopilka*, all summer long. the violins will help you. Now the Verchovyna is free and our life is full.

The voice of the *sopilka* pours like water through the gorges. Let there forever be peace and friendship among us all.

Viktor Šostak
Užhorod, USSR
RECENT PUBLICATIONS 1982 (Conclusion)


This volume follows the format of the first (published in 1978) with writings by the Carpatho-Rusyn priest and father of Orthodoxy in America, the Reverend Alexis Toth. Only material from the years 1896-1897 is included, in particular 4 letters to the Russian Orthodox bishop in America, Nicholas Zerov, and 16 articles. With regard to the latter, the editor does not make clear whether they had been previously published and, if so, where. Among the topics given most attention are: the early history of the Minneapolis parish, the founding of the Greek Catholic Union, and the trial over the Wilkes-Barre parish, the first court case involving claims over property by Greek Catholic and Orthodox claimants. As in the first volume, the language is fiercely polemical and anti-Catholic.

(available for $6.00 from the AARDM, 3217 – 32nd Avenue, N.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55418).


After Aleksander Duchnovyc, the most well-known and widely-read writer of the 19th-century Carpatho-Rusyn cultural renaissance was Aleksander Pavlovyc. (See his biography in the Carpatho-Rusyn American, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1981). The contemporary Prešov Region scholar, Andrij Šlepec’kyj, who has devoted much of his scholarly career to studies on Pavlovyc, has now provided the first full-length biography of the important Carpatho-Rusyn cultural leader.

The emphasis in this study is more on Pavlovyc the cultural activist than on an analysis of the aesthetic value of his literary corpus. Six chapters trace the life and activity of Pavlovyc: the democratic content of his writings; his ties with Slovaks and Czechs; his pedagogical views; his work as chronicler and historian of the Carpathian region; and his literary heritage. Šlepec’kyj also provides an extensive bibliography (pp. 212-272) including comprehensive lists of the published and unpublished writings by Pavlovyc and the many works which include discussions about Pavlovyc. The volume concludes with several pages of photofacsimiles from Pavlovyc’s manuscripts and an index.


Besides original literary works by Vojvodinian Rusyn authors and translations into Rusyn of works by other contemporary Yugoslav authors, this volume of Svetlosc contains several important studies for understanding the past and present of the Vojvodinian Rusyns of Yugoslavia. Julijan Tamaš provides a valuable survey of how Subcarpathian and Vojvodinian Rusyn cultural activity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been viewed on the pages of the oldest Serbian journal, Letopis Matice Srp ska (No. 1). Tamaš has also published four more brief surveys on the activity of the contemporary Vojvodinian Rusyn writers Myron Kanjuch (No. 2), Ljubomyr Sopko (No. 4), Iryna Hardy-Kovačevyč (No. 5), and Jakym Čapko (No. 6). Of particular value are two statistical analyses of present-day education in the Rusyn language in Vojvodina by Jakov Kyšjuhas (Nos. 1 and 5): an extensive study of Vojvodinian Rusyn family names by Ljubomyr Medješy (Nos. 1, 2, 3); and an analysis by specialist Aleksander Dulčenko of the earliest examples of Vojvodinian Rusyn spoken and literary language during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (No. 3).


This somewhat expanded edition in Russian (the first edition appeared in Ukrainian in 1977) traces in some detail the history of the castle of Mukačevo, especially during its height of influence from the late fourteenth century (under Prince Fedor Korjatovyc) to the early eighteenth century (under Prince Ferenc Rákóczi). Included are 32 pages of black and white illustrations.


This small guidebook with 32 pages of photographs and texts in Ukrainian and Russian provides a brief history of Chust and its nearby castle which was built during the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Most emphasis is placed on changes that have occurred under Soviet rule since 1945.


Like previous volumes of the annual scholarly journal of the Society for Rusyn Language and Literature in the Vojvodina (Bačka) in Yugoslavia, this one contains six articles dealing with linguistic problems and reports on the recent and future activity of the society. Of particular interest is a long study by Djura Latiak (pp. 32-54) tracing the history of publishing in the Vojvodinian Rusyn language from the late nineteenth century to the present.


This short but well-informed study written in Hungarian is based on a wide variety of recently published works in the Vojvodinian Rusyn language of Yugoslavia. It shows how the numerous Magyar loanwords have been altered to fit the morphological needs of Rusyn.

Vanko, Juraj. “Struktúrne typy viet ukrajinských nárečí Bardejovského okresu” (The Structure of Sentence Types in the Ukrainian Dialects of the Bardejov District), Slavica Slovaca, XVII, 3 (Bratislava, 1982), pp. 195-209.

Based on data from 14 Carpatho-Rusyn villages in the Prešov Region of northeastern Czechoslovakia, specifically in the area surrounding the city of Bardejov, the author shows how the language of the inhabitants has remained Rusyn, even though their sentence structure has been increasingly influenced by Slovak.
Vol'f, Juchym. "Zustriči z otcem Oleksandrom Chiroju" (Meeting with Father Aleksander Chira), Sučasnist’, XXII, 7-8 (Munich, 1982), pp. 159-164.

This brief memoiristic account in Ukrainian comes from a Soviet Ukrainian Jew who recently was allowed to emigrate to Israel. Imprisoned in 1949 for Zionist activity, Juchym Vol’f met during his interrogation with the Reverend Aleksander Chira, a Greek Catholic priest from Užhorod, who before his arrest had been acting bishop since the death of Bishop Romža in 1947. This account ends with a description of another chance meeting of the two prisoners in Siberia in 1953. The Reverend Chira went on to serve 35 years in Soviet prisons before finally being released in 1981, two years before his death.


Atheism is the official ideology of the Soviet Union; thus, religion is considered part of an antiquated past that must be forgotten. However, certain parts of the country, including Soviet Transcarpathia, still contain numerous inhabitants who are firm believers in Christianity.

This small volume contains essays by nine convinced atheists who describe the ways in which they have during the past decade tried to undermine the religious beliefs of individuals in varying parts of Transcarpathia. The introduction claims that by the early 1980s only one-quarter of newborn babies are baptised and only one-tenth of young couples are married in church.


This brief necrology and bibliography surveys the career of Emil Baleczky (Baleč'kyj), a Carpatho-Rusyn from the village of Huklyvyj (Subcarpathian Rus’), who since 1939 resided in Budapest. During his student days, Baleczky published Russian-language poetry in Carpatho-Rusyn publications. Since the early 1950s, he taught Russian at the University of Budapest and was editor of Studia Slavica, the leading journal of Slavic studies in Hungary from its establishment in 1955 until his death. Baleczky began his scholarly career with an analysis of the 1924 grammar by the Carpatho-Rusyn leader Evmenij Sabov and he devoted much of his subsequent research to an analysis of Rusyn dialects.

IN MEMORIAM

The last months of 1986 witnessed the end of an era in Carpatho-Rusyn history. The last two national leaders and cultural figures living in North America who played an active role in the interwar years in Subcarpathian Rus’ — Augustine Stefan (1893-1986) and Dr. Stepan Rosocha (1908-1986) — passed away.

The career of Augustine Stefan (for details, see the biography in the Carpatho-Rusyn American, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1981) began as long ago as 1918, when as official representative of the Rusyn National Council he negotiated with fellow Rusyns in Vienna and Galicia about the future political fate of his homeland. After Subcarpathian Rus’ became part of Czechoslovakia in 1919, Stefan served for twenty years in local politics and the educational system, especially as director of the gymnasium (high school) in Mukačevo. When in late 1938-early 1939, the region finally attained its long-awaited autonomy, Stefan became minister of education and president of the newly elected diet.

After the Hungarian occupation of his homeland in March 1939, Stefan emigrated permanently, eventually settling after World War II in the United States. Despite his Ukrainian orientation, Stefan made several efforts to cooperate with the older, pre-World War I Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants and their descendants. He was, in particular, a strong supporter of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. His gentle and moral character displayed consistently through the venerable 93 years that he lived will remain an inspiration for future generations. Stefan died in his home in Philadelphia on September 4, 1986. Vična jomu pamjâť!

Stepan Rosocha was of a generation younger than that of Stefan and was educated during the interwar years. By the second half of the 1930s, he had become a strong critic of Czechoslovak rule, defending what he argued were the Ukrainian national interests of Carpatho-Rusyns. During the period of Subcarpathian autonomy, Rosocha was active in political life and he became commander of the Carpathian Sich, which in mid-March 1939 fought bravely but futilely in an effort to block the advancing Hungarian troops. Rosocha was forced to emigrate and after World War II settled in Toronto, Canada, where he headed the Carpathian Sich Brotherhood until his death. Stepan Rosocha died on April 20, 1986. Vična jomu pamjâť!

HAVRIJIL KOSTEL’NYK
(continued from page 3)

Despite his tragic end, caught up as it was within the whirlpool of religion and politics in eastern Europe, the Reverend Dr. Havrijil Kostel’nyk is still best remembered as the father of the Vojvodian Rusyn literary language. From the beginning, he was never ashamed to publish in his native Rusyn dialect, and his work and that of his successors today in Yugoslavia have shown that, however small a group, its culture and national distinctiveness can be preserved if its leaders are convinced of their own culture’s worth and are willing to work hard to codify and promote it.

Philip Michaels
THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN
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A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

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