

UKRAINIAN SOCIOLOGY BEFORE 1914

*by*

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Reprinted from the

JOURNAL OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Vol. 1, No. 1 (April, 1941)

## UKRAINIAN SOCIOLOGY: ITS DEVELOPMENT TO 1914\*

by Yaroslav Chyz and J. S. Roucek

AT THE beginning of the nineteenth century the Ukrainian people, who "from the Wislok to the Kuban and from the Pripet to the Black Sea . . . constitute a uniform anthropological type,"<sup>1</sup> were divided under two empires. The eastern, greater, part of Ukraine, after more than a century of semi-independence as the Cossack Republic, had, by 1775, been definitely incorporated into the Russian state as the South Russian Provinces. The western part, taken over by Austria-Hungary after the first and third partitions of Poland, was known as the province of Galicia, and the province of Bukowina was added after a successful war with Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

\*In writing this article the following works have been mainly consulted:

Mykyta Y. Shapoval "Soudobá ukrájinská sociologická myšlienka a práce" (Contemporary Ukrainian Sociological Thought and Work), *Sociologická Revue*, 1930, Vol. I, Nos. 1-2, pp. 101-106; 1931, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 195-202, 492-497; 1932, Vol. III, Nos. 3-4, pp. 295-7; 1933, Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3, pp. 189-195; 1934, Vol. V, Nos. 1-3, pp. 70-75 (Brno, Československá).

Same Author: "Soziologie der Ukraine," *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*, 1925, I-II (Köln, Germany).

Dmitro Chudabivsky, *Narysy z istoriji filozofiji na Ukrajinji* (Essays on the history of philosophy in Ukraine), (Prague, 1931), pp. 162-164.

Dmitro Doroshenko, *Obydat Ukrajinokoji litovografiji* (Outline of Ukrainian historiography), (Prague, 1932) passim.

Same author: "Entwicklung und Erzeugenschaften der ukrainischen wissenschaftlichen Forschungstätigkeit in den letzten fünfzig Jahren," *Mitteilungen der Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institute in Berlin*, April, 1927, pp. 1-10.

Mykhajlo Hruschewsky, *Pochatky Hromadshchyny* (The Origins of Community Movements), (Prague-Vienna, 1921), pp. 301-306.

*Ukraińska Záhólná Encyklopédia* (Ukrainian General Encyclopedia), Rídna Shkola pubd., (Lvów-Stanislaw-Kolomea, 1934).

J. F. Klein "Ukraine," *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York-Chicago, 1932), Vol. XXVII, p. 358.

\*For historical background see: M. Hruschewski *Istoriya Ukraïny-Rusji* (History of Ukraine-Rus), Vol. I-IX (Lvów, Kiev, 1904-1928).—O. Y. Effimenko, *Istoriya ukraïnskoho narodu* (History of Ukrainian people), Ukrainian edition by the Ukrainian governmental (Soviet) press (Charkov, 1922).—Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia*, Alfred A. Knopf (New York, 1926).—D. D. Mirsky, *Russia, a Social History*, A. A. Knopf (New York, 1931).—Stephen Budnick, *Ukraine, the land and its people*, Ukrainian Alliance in America (New York, 1918).—Marie S. Garbal, *Our Ukrainian Background*, Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (Scranton, 1936).—D. Doroshenko, *History of the Ukraine* (Edmonton, Canada, 1939).

In both parts the Ukrainian upper classes had already become completely Russianized or Polonized. This process of denationalization was extending also into the ranks of the less prosperous educated classes. In Russia the old name of Ukraine was replaced by "Little Russia." The local name of "Roosin" (Ruthenus, der Ruthene, Ruthenian) was in official use in Austria-Hungary. Pseudo-scientific theories were being spun to prove that Ukrainians were but a tribe, and the Ukrainian language but a dialect of the Russian or the Polish tongues.

The great nationalist revival, which at the turn of the nineteenth century affected the oppressed nationalities of eastern and southeastern Europe, did not miss Ukraine. Following the usual pattern of such movements Ukrainian scientists began to take interest in the language, history, folk lore, folk art, and political and social status of their nationality. They started to collect ethnological material, folk songs, historical documents and other data in order to disprove the contentions that they were Russians or Poles. This development of nationalism stimulated the beginnings of Ukrainian sociology.

The first workers in that field found material in the ancient chronicles of the Rus period and in the memoirs and the chronicles of the Cossack period of Ukrainian history. In the last decades of the eighteenth century some representatives of the upper classes had already written a few general works on Ukrainian history. The most interesting of these are *Notes on Little Russia, its People and Achievements* (St. Petersburg, 1798), by Jacob M. Markovich (1776-1804). This study has chapters, for instance, on "The past and present Civic Order of Little Russia" and on "National Characteristics of the Little Russians". It can be considered as the first attempt in more strictly sociological research in Ukraine.

Collecting, interpreting and editing old historical documents and studying Ukrainian folk poetry was the chief preoccupation of the earliest Ukrainian sociologists. They were greatly influenced by the ideas of Johann G. Herder (1744-1803), as expressed in such of his works as *Die Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (Leipzig,

1778) and *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, (1774). Most prominent among these Ukrainian sociologists were Michael Maksimovich (1805-1873) who published several collections of Ukrainian folk songs, Osip Bodiansky (1808-1876), the editor of numerous Ukrainian historical documents and professor of Slavonic languages at the University of Moscow, and Ismail Sreznewsky (1812-1880) a historian, philologist and collector of folk songs.

In the Austrian province of Galicia the Ukrainian national revival began in the early thirties of the nineteenth century with the work of M. Shashkevich (1811-1843), the priest-poet, J. Wahilevich (1811-1866), poet and journalist, and Jacob Holowatski (1814-1888), author of articles on language and politics and collector of songs. W. Podolinski (1815-1876) was important for propagating the ideology for an independent Ukrainian state instead of simple cultural autonomy of Ukrainians living within other states.

This sketchy ethnological, historical and linguistic research furnished some factual basis for romanticism in Ukrainian literature and resulted in a more scientific approach to current political and social problems. This was accomplished mainly by a circle of writers, poets, ethnologists and historians who organized in Kiev in 1847, the short-lived, secret Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. The initial aim of the Brotherhood was to secure the abolition of serfdom and to establish a democratic federation of Slavic, including Ukrainian, nationalities. The Brotherhood was discovered by the Russian police and its members jailed or exiled. Nevertheless some of them continued their scientific activities in their respective fields. The most prominent among them, outside of the poet Taras Shevchenko, were the historian Nicholas Kostomarov and the poet, historian and literary historian Pantaleymon Kulish. Some of their writings contain interesting sociological ideas.

N. Kostomarov (1817-1885) published in 1861, in the Ukrainian monthly Magazine *Osnova* (The Foundation), published in

St. Petersburg in 1861-62, his famed work "Two Russian Nationalities" in which he tried to explain the causes of social processes, especially those which influenced the rise of the Ukrainian and Russian nationalities. He grouped these factors into two categories: the geographic, e.g. climate and soil, and the historical, in which he included the socio-psychological elements and some cultural products such as literature. He indicates, although not very clearly, that the inner human forces (biological factors) are also of importance, as they influence the ability and the character of the people. The geographical factors are of the greatest importance for the foundation of nationality. According to Kostomarov a nationality changing its geographical location and coming under the influence of some other surroundings may become quite a different nationality. The historical forces and the struggle of human groups influence also the formation of local nationalistic differences.

Kostomarov came to the conclusion that because of the historical factors the Russians are materialistic, have a poor imagination and many prejudices, favor collectivism and are slaves of the state and of uniformity. On the other hand the historical and geographic factors, he contended, influenced the Ukrainians to become idealists, individualists, and religious, but able to form a state and to create beautiful songs. His conclusions can hardly be called scientific, but they were so well written and typified so well the "wishful thinking" of his period, that they became the "ABC of Ukrainian nationalism" between 1860 and 1870. In fact even today they form the basis of the less critical discussions on Ukrainian nationalism. The real contribution of Kostomarov are his historical works<sup>3</sup> and the fact that he threw light on the symbolic

<sup>3</sup>*Kryty Bityia Ukrainskoho Naroda* (The Genesis of the Ukrainian People), (Kiev, 1847); "Myli o Federativnom Nachale v Drevney Rusi" (Notions about the Federative Principle in the ancient Rus), *Osnovy* 1861, Vol. I (St. Petersburg); "Cherty Narodnoy Yuzhnorusskoy Istori" (Characteristics of the South Russian Folk History), *Ibid.* "Ukraina" (Ukraine) *Kolosol* 1860 (London); "Ruina" (The Ruin), *Viznyk Evropy* 1879-80, (St. Petersburg); *Sieverno-Russkii Narodopravistva* (North-Russian Democracies), St. Petersburg, 1863; "Ob Istoriicheskom Znachenii Yuzhnorusskago Pienosvorchestva," (The historical significance of the South Russian Folk Poetry), *Beisida* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

character of the folk poetry and its social significance.

Like Kostomarov, P. Kulish (1819-1897), a poet, historian and literary historian was an ideologist of the Ukrainian romantic nationalism. He was interested in the social task of literature and tried to establish, on a moral basis, the types of city and village people. In the later period of his life he began to expound the importance of aristocracy as a state building class.<sup>4</sup>

The writings of Kostomarov and Kulish, although dealing chiefly with history and literary history, contain many attempts to explain historical events on a sociological basis, mostly in order to disprove the contentions of Russian writers who at that time maintained that there was no Ukrainian nationality and no Ukrainian language.

The linguistic end of the argument was taken up on the Ukrainian side by several scientists, the most prominent among whom was Alexander Potebnia (1836-1891), professor at the University of Kharkov. He published in 1862 his famous work *The Mind and Language* in which he laid the foundation for the socio-psychological research of poetry and language. In his subsequent works, especially in *Language and Nationality* (1895), he described the substance and the social significance of words, legends, poetry, and science. He saw three elements in the word: the sound as its outer form, the picture as its inner content, and the meaning. According to Potebnia the mechanism of thinking is as follows: the writer or artist selects his idea (x) from the whole mass of his impressions (A) in the form of a picture (a). The reader or observer perceives first the picture (a) takes it into his mass of impressions (A) and this acceptance creates a certain idea (x). Thus the dynamics of creation (x-A-a) function in an order contrary to the dynamics of reception. The same pertains to the word and to the ideas created by it in the minds of listeners and

<sup>4</sup> Works: "Istoriya Ukrainy od naydrevniyshikh chasiv" (History of Ukraine from the most ancient times) *Odessa*, 1863, Vol. IX (St. Petersburg). "Khmelnytsina" (The Khmelnytsky Period), *Ibid.*, Vol. III. "Vihovchyna" (The Vihovtsky Period), *Ibid.*, Vol. XI-XII. *Istoriya Vyzvolenniya Rusi* (The History of the Reuniting of Rus), 3 vol. (St. Petersburg, 1875-77). "Kozaki v Otnosheni k Obshchestvu i Gosudarstvu" (Relation of Cossacks to Society and the State) *Russky Archiv*, 1877.

readers. Every language presents some closed system of consciousness because its words possess individual and specific symbolism; their inner content has been created in accord with the special consciousness of their creators and users. The language and the functional thinking are closely interconnected; the thought is reproduced by means of words that in turn create the ideas in the minds of the listeners and readers. The wealth of the language of the individual means the wealth of ideas and vice versa.

Potebnia's teachings, though obviously rich in scientific content, are hard to understand. His reputation became established only after his death and it is only now that he has come to be widely known in Ukraine and in Russia. His contributions are now appreciated as most original, although unknown in Western countries. He belongs to the school of V. Humboldt, Lazarus, Steintal, etc. The sociologist interested in language and literature as a creation of social processes and as one of their factors cannot disregard his contributions.

Vladimir Antonovich (1834-1909), a historian, anthropologist and archeologist was active in Kiev. Born into a Polonized Ukrainian family, Antonovich "returned to the nationality of his ancestors." This fact was responsible to a great extent for his deep interest in concepts of "nation" and "nationality"; he had to explain to himself, to his friends and to his enemies the ideological basis of his "return" which he did in his famous "Confession," printed in *Osnova* (Vol. III, 1862). In his later works<sup>8</sup> he created a theory of the Ukrainian social process in order to explain "the fundamental idea" of Ukrainian history. He was interested in the masses as the bearers of social processes, in the social structures and in the socio-psychological types. The factors that form nation-

<sup>8</sup>"O Proiskhozhdenii Kosachestva" (The Origins of the Cossacks), *Archiev Yugo-Zapadnoy Rosii* 1863, Vol. II (Kiev); "O Gosudakh v Yugo-Zapadnom Kraye" (The Cities in the South-West of Russia), *Ibid.* 1869, Vol. I; "O Khrestianakh v Yugo-Zapadnoy Rosii, 1700-1798" (Peasants in Southwestern Russia, 1700-1798), *Ibid.* 1870, Vol. VI, 2; "O Koldovstvie v Yugo-Zapadnoy Rusi" (Witchcraft in Southwestern Russia), *Trudy Yugo-Zap. Otdela Geograf. Obshchestva*, 1877, Vol. I, 2. (Kiev); *Razidy pro Chasy Kosacki na Ukraini* (Discourses on the Cossack Period in Ukraine), (Cernomowitz, 1895). *The Three National Types* (1895).

ality, according to him, are physical, anthropological, geographic, territorial and those historical ones which influence the mode of life. The reciprocal influence of these factors on human activity results, he maintains, in socio-historical processes which create a distinct cultural or nationality type.

Antonovich defines nationality as a "totality of characteristics by which one group of people differs from various other groups." He divides these characteristics into two classes: (1) those inborn, dependent on race and on the influence of geography, and (2) those acquired by education and appearing in the historical evolution of the social culture. The inborn characteristics are the object of anthropology and should be studied on the basis of the anatomy and physiology of the people. The acquired characteristics develop historically on the basis of inborn characteristics and are studied by history.

In his "Autobiographical Notes"<sup>4</sup> Antonovich considers that human personality is composed seventy-five percent of heredity, five to ten percent of education or the formulation of ideas on the basis of past experiences and fifteen percent of the physiological and psychological contributions of the individual himself. Though lacking scientific proof, these ideas of Antonovich are interesting and important because they were formulated before the theories of reflexes, of inborn and acquired characteristics had been developed.

Antonovich attempted to apply his theories to the national characteristics of the Russians, Poles and Ukrainians. In his article, "The Three National Types," he contends that "the nervous system of the Muscovites (Russians) is not very receptive," for which reason they are not very sensitive to the other impressions. The Poles, according to Antonovich, are very sensitive and their reaction begins immediately after irritation: theirs is the true sanguinistic type. The Ukrainians are also sensitive to impressions, but their reactions appear after a long time; they are melancholics. On this basis Antonovich characterizes Russians as absolutists who

<sup>4</sup> "Autobiograficheski Zapisky," *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, 1908, Vol. IX. (Lvov)



surrender their personal freedom to autocracy, Poles as aristocrats who base their freedom on the slavery of others, and the Ukrainians as democrats who value the fundamental ideas about the union of equal and free people.

Antonovich's scheme is a more elaborate repetition of Kostomarov's theory about the absolutism of the Russians, the aristocraticism of the Poles and democratism of the Ukrainians (Cossacks). Although scientifically still weak, it is a step forward in comparison with Kostomarov. Antonovich explained the three elements which form personality, the inborn characteristics, environment and personal development, but he was still dominated by the concept of "instincts" and concluded that the Ukrainian people had "no instinct for the creation of a state."

Nevertheless he brought out many fruitful ideas, explained in an original way the historical evolution of the Ukrainian nation and become the founder of modern Ukrainian scientific historiography.

Mikhailo Drabomanov (1841-1895) is the real founder of the sociological school among the students of social life in Ukraine. He laid the foundations for a sociological method in historiography in his "Problem of the Historical Significance of the Roman Empire and Tacitus" (Kiev, 1869) and in the "Foundations and Tasks of a Scientific Ancient History" (Kiev, 1873). In recognition of the importance of these works he was appointed professor of history at the University of Kiev and received a scholarship for study abroad. He never returned from his self-imposed exile, to which he resigned himself after the use of the Ukrainian language was outlawed in schools and in print by a Ukase of the Tsar in 1876. He died as professor at the University of Sofia in Bulgaria.

Drabomanov's chief work was the study of Ukrainian nationality as seen in its folk poetry, history and social structure in relation to world history. He contended that for the purpose of practical politics it is necessary to know history, just as the physician must know the physiology of man. He states that "instead of

instincts, traditions and habits we must base our politics on research about the individual characteristics of those political objects about which we are talking."<sup>7</sup> Emphasizing the objective method of research, Drahomanov opposed the contemporary Russian school of "subjective sociology." He also disagreed with Marxism, recognizing in it its metaphysical characteristics (called "Engelsism"). He put up against them his "scientifico-social tendency" which takes into account numerous factors in social processes. According to Drahomanov the history of a nation is determined primarily by geographical, economic, cultural and moral factors. Social ideas, especially when they reflect correctly human needs and even religions, are also important moving forces of history. He showed the influence of the mistaken theories of Rousseau upon the French Revolution and claimed that real progress can come only through those scientific and political ideas which are based exclusively on facts and reality.

It is impossible to repeat the whole wealth of sociological ideas of Drahomanov. There is a marked similarity between his influence and that of T. G. Masaryk. Neither presented any sociological system but both analyzed the historical processes from the realistic standpoint, trying to ascertain the widest possible basis of facts. This realism permeates all works of Drahomanov and all his theories regarding social sciences, social structure, genetic sociology, and various factors of social processes. His sociological and political writings contributed to the movement for the freedom of Ukraine; they dealt with all important political, social and cultural questions of his time. Despite his exile, Drahomanov stimulated the newest period of cultural and political upheaval in Ukraine and thus influenced the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1920. His main idea that no rational social activity (politics, education, economics, literature, etc.) can get along without the sociological approach is splendidly demonstrated in all his works<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>7</sup> *Istoričeska Poloha i Velikoruskaja Demokracija* (Historical Poland and the Great-Russian Democracy), (Geneva, 1882).

<sup>8</sup> More important works of Drahomanov are: *Drahomanov-Antonovich, Istoričeska Pivni Maloruskogo Naroda* (Historical Songs of the Ukrainian People), 2 vol. (Kiev, 1874-75).—M. Drahomanov, *Polityčni Pivni Ukraïnskoho Naroda XVIII i XIX wiek* (Political Songs of the Ukrainian People in XVIII and XIX Century), (Geneva, 1885).—

up to the present day forms the basis of the activities of his followers in various fields of scientific and political work.

Drahomanov's studies of Ukrainian folks songs induced several other young scientists of that time to study sociologically other manifestations of Ukrainian folk lore. Nicholas Sumtsov, Professor at Kharkov University, investigated the survivals of communal marriage in Ukrainian wedding rites,<sup>9</sup> while Nicholas Chernishov (1860-1888) studied the curious custom of Monday-holiday for brides, and the bachelor groups in the province of Podolia.<sup>10</sup> The most prominent among these socio-ethnologists was Fedir (Theodore) Wowk (Volkov), (1847-1918), whose studies on Ukrainian marriage ceremonies and customs<sup>11</sup> constitute a notable contribution to the genetic sociology of the Ukrainian people. His "Studies in Ukrainian Ethnology" are a classic in that field.

A leading Ukrainian economist, Nicholas I. Ziber (1841-1888) explained the theories of socialist materialism ("Ricardo and Marx," "The Economic Theory of Marx," "The Ricardo Theory of Capital") and at the same time did considerable research work into the beginnings of organized life, government, family life, ownership and formulation of classes in primitive and peasant groups. His works<sup>12</sup> are a very important contribution to genetic sociology, and still retain their high scientific value.

"Vostochnaya Politika Germanii i Obozrenie" (The Eastern Policy of Germany and Russification), *Vostochniy Evropy*, 1872, Vol. 2-5 (St. Petersburg).—"Novokeltizatsiia i Provansalskoye Dvizhenie" (Neo-Celtic and Provencal Movements), *Vostochniy Evropy* 1875, August-September.—"Opyt Ukrainskoy Politiko-Sotsialnoy Programmy" (Outline of a Ukrainian Politico-Social Program), (Geneva, 1884).—"Chadnicki Dumley pro Ukrainsku Nacionalnu Spravu" (Old Notions about the Ukrainian National Problem) and "Listy na Nashnipriatanku Ukrainu" (Letters to the Ukrainians on the Dnieper), *Narod*, 1890-1895 (Lvov).—Article on "Ukraine" in *Elisée Reclus Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Vol. V (London, 1880). Some of the above and other political writings of Drahomanov have been published in *Schwarzopf Politischkirchlichen Sammlungen M. P. Dragomanova* (Collection of Political Writings on M. P. Drahomanov), 2 Vol. Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition (Paris, 1905-6).

<sup>9</sup> "Dovietki i Posidielki" (All-night Parties and Prolonged Visits), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1886, III (Kiev).

<sup>10</sup> "Opyt Istolkovaniia Obychaya "Ponedilokuvaniia" (Attempt to explain the custom of "Monday-holiday"), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1887, IV.—"Paroborstvo kak otdelnaia gruppy v maloruskom seltskom obshchestve" (Bachelorhood as a separate group in the Ukrainian village society), *Ibid.*, 1887, VIII.

<sup>11</sup> "Rites et usages nuptiaux en Ukraine," *L'Anthropologie*, 1891, II, III, IV, 1892, V, Paris.

<sup>12</sup> "Eshe o bratstvakh" (On Brotherhoods), *Slovo*, 1893, I. *Ocherki Peredyznoy Ekonomicheskoy Kultury* (Outline of Primitive Economic Culture), 1893.

Serhiy Podolinsky (1850-1891) was, like Ziber, a co-worker of Drahomanov. He wrote the first Ukrainian text-book on social hygiene, short pamphlets "On Poverty," "The Steam Engine," and conceived an interesting theory on conserving the energy of the sun by human labor. The theory was rejected by Engels, although Marx seemed to have been interested in it.<sup>12</sup>

In Galicia Drahomanov's influence prompted his disciples and followers to similar studies but mostly in the field of history, literary history, and practical politics. Nevertheless his genial pupil Ivan Franko (1856-1916), a poet, novelist, ethnologist, historian and literary historian, devoted some of his studies to subjects closely related to sociology.<sup>14</sup>

The influence of Marx upon Ukrainian students of political, social and economic phenomena begins after Ziber's death. They begin to take a deeper interest in social research concerning the origins of work, production, and economic conditions in general. Mikhaylo Tuhan Baranovsky (1865-1919) and Bohdan Kisti-kovsky (1868-1920) began their activities as Marxists but later preferred the pluralistic conception in explaining social processes.

M. Baranovsky evolved a theory of a special type of socialism based on social and ethical ideas. He also wrote several highly valued works on political economy.<sup>15</sup>

B. Kistiakovsky's works<sup>16</sup> deal with the methodology of the fundamental concepts of sociology and jurisprudence and of organization of those sciences.

Alexander Stronin (1827-1889) and Leon Mechnik(ov) (1838-1888) built their sociological theories independently from

<sup>12</sup> *Zhyttia i Zdorovia Ludy na Ukraini* (Life and Health of the People in Ukraine), (Geneva, 1878). "Le Socialisme et l'Unité des Forces Physiques," *La Revue Socialiste*, 1880, 8, Paris.

<sup>13</sup> *Shcho Takie Postup* (What is Human Progress), (Lwów, 1906). *Panschyna ta ii Skasowanie 1848 r.* (Serfdom and Its Abolition in 1848), (Lwów, 1898).

<sup>14</sup> "Znachenie Ekonomicheskago Faktora v Istorii" (The Significance of the Economic Factor in History) *Mir Bozhij*, 1895, XII.—"Teoreticheskiya Osnovy Marksizma" (Theoretical Foundations of Marxism), *Ibid.*, 1904. *Osnovy Politicheskoy Ekonomii* (Fundamentals of Political Economy), (St. Petersburg, 1909).—*Sotsialna Osnova Kooperatsii* (Social Background of the Cooperative Movement), *Slovo*, 1921.

<sup>15</sup> *Gesellschaft und Einzelwesen* (Berlin, 1899). *Sotsialna Nauka i Pravo* (Social Sciences and the Law), (Moscow, 1916). *Pravo i Nauka o Prave* (The Law and Jurisprudence), Yaroslavl, 1917.

the influence of Drahomanov and Marx. Stronin created a mechanical theory of society applying the rules of mechanics to the social processes.<sup>17</sup> L. Mechnik stressed the importance of great rivers upon the development of culture.<sup>18</sup>

The publications of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Association of Lwów, especially those of its Statistical and Legal sections, contain many interesting sociological studies. Stanislav Dnistriansky's "Man and His Needs in the Legal System" (1899) attempts to analyze human needs from the legal standpoint. His article, "Customary Law and Social Ties," published in *The Legal and Economic Journal* of the T. Shevchenko Association (Vol. III, 1902) describes the social genesis of Law. A study on "Nationality and Statistics" in the periodical of the Statistical Section of the above Association contains a theory of nationality and an outline of methodology for the study of social phenomena. Dr. Vasyl Paneyko's "Rationalism and Realism in the Concept of Social Phenomena" and his "Notes on History and Theory of Statistics," as well as Volodimir Okhrimovich's valuable study on "Nationality Statistics in Galicia," appeared in the same periodical. Vjacheslav Budzynovsky's "Land Owned by Peasants" (Lwów, 1901) presents an exhaustive analysis of the relations between the small farmers and big landowners, and Volodymir Starosolsky's "Contribution to the Theory of Sociology" in the periodical of the Statistical Section of the Shevchenko Association (1902) formulated the tasks, the methods and the border line of sociology. Both Budzynovsky and Starosolsky were under the influence of Drahomanov.

A very interesting and complete system of sociology was presented by Timofiy Osadchii (1860-1920) in his *Social Existence*.<sup>19</sup> He was acquainted with the works of Spencer, Giddings, Ward, E. Durkheim and Gumplowicz. He was a pluralist in his

<sup>17</sup> *Političeskaya Nauka* (Political Science), (St. Petersburg, 1872). *Istoriya Obščestvenosti* (The History of Society), (1886).

<sup>18</sup> *La civilisation et les grands fleuves historiques* (Paris, 1889).

<sup>19</sup> *Obščestvennyj Dyst* (Moscow, 1901-1902). *Ukrainske relatsivno za yoho istoričesna dela* (Ukrainian peasantry and their Historical Destiny), (Kiev, 1911).

understanding of social factors, giving preference to the development of consciousness as the fundamental factor; according to him, to know society meant to know its social forces. Osadchiy mentioned the biological, the geographic and cosmic needs, the growth of population, literature, and the psychic factors as the main social forces. He divided them into two groups: natural conditions and the characteristics of man. The factors condition the actions of the people "with iron necessity" and thus produce social processes. Psychic factors are also ruled by the law of causation. Every social creation is the result of the action of objective forces.

Osadchiy maintains that the present classes of society developed genetically. He divides them into two groups: (1) those who do not participate directly in production (officials, priests, military) and (2) those who participate in production. The second group consists of employers (capitalists, manufacturers, merchants, landowners, peasants and artisans who hire help), peasants working their land without hired help, and the propertyless class, the workers of all classes who hire themselves. Each class performs a useful social function but snobbishness and selfishness have created the tragedy of the lower classes (poverty, cultural backwardness, social ignorance and its results).

Looking for remedies of the social ills Osadchiy rejected the theories of social reform of Fourier, Owen, Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Robertus, Lasalle, Marx, Fichte, J. S. Mill, Henry George, Wallace and others, and came to the conclusion that they all are utopians because they do not take into account the slow movement of social evolution. Osadchiy believed in slow progress which ultimately would result in socialism. Though his freedom of expression was somewhat cramped under the Tsarist regime, the incisive statement of the problems and the clarity of his language make his writings of supreme importance for the student of social thought in Eastern Europe.

The work of Osadchiy culminates the sociological thinking in

Ukraine in the pre-war period. The immediate years before the World War together with the years of the great upheaval, the Revolution and the post-war years constitute a new period of constructive research in the field of sociology in Ukraine.

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