

Andrei S. Markovits and
Frank E. Sysyn, editors

Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism

Essays on Austrian Galicia



Distributed by Harvard University Press
for the
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute

HARVARD UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
Monograph Series

Editorial Board

Omeljan Pritsak, *Editor-in-Chief*
Ihor Ševčenko
Paul R. Magocsi, *Managing Editor*

Committee on Ukrainian Studies

Edward Keenan
Horace G. Lunt
Richard E. Pipes
Omeljan Pritsak, *Chairman*
Ihor Ševčenko
Adam Ulam
Wiktor Weintraub

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Andrei S. Markovits and
Frank E. Sysyn, editors

Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism

Essays on Austrian Galicia

Distributed by Harvard University Press
for the
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute

Publication of this volume was made possible in part through a grant from the B'nai B'rith Society in Vienna.

Copyright 1982 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

All rights reserved

ISBN

Library of Congress Catalog Number 80-53800

Printed in the United States of America

The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute was established in 1973 as an integral part of Harvard University. It supports research associates and visiting scholars who are engaged in projects concerned with all aspects of Ukrainian studies. The Institute also works in close cooperation with the Committee on Ukrainian Studies, which supervises and coordinates the teaching of Ukrainian history, language, and literature at Harvard University.

Preface

ON APRIL 28–30, 1977, the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Soviet and East European Language Center at Harvard University sponsored a conference on “Austria-Hungary, 1867–1918.” Reflecting the interest of the Institute in furthering studies on the Ukrainians of the Habsburg Monarchy, the conference included a number of talks on Austrian Galicia. As a result of discussions with the participants, the organizers, Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn, conceived a plan to use the papers presented as the core of a volume on Austrian Galicia. In addition to the conference papers (Chapters 6, 7, 9, 10) and additional unpublished contributions solicited (Chapters 8 and 11), the volume includes a number of fundamental articles already published (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5). To place the problems discussed in the various papers in their imperial context, Andrei Markovits has provided an introduction and bibliography (Chapter 1).

The volume presented to the reader is not a history of Galicia or of its Ukrainians. It does, however, represent a collection of works from differing perspectives by the major Western scholars who study the province. In practice, the essays have a natural thematic unity as they treat various aspects of national movements and nationbuilding in Galicia. While the focus of the volume is on the Ukrainians, the contributions on the Poles and the Jews serve to emphasize the need for further studies on the interrelations of the three major peoples of the province.

Transliteration has been standardized according to the Library of Congress system for Cyrillic. For a multilingual region, geographic designations always pose difficulties. In Austrian Galicia, German, Polish, and Ukrainian were all official languages. The current border between Poland and the Ukraine has been accepted as the divide for Polish and Ukrainian place names. The standard English Cracow and

Warsaw are used. A table of geographic names is intended to facilitate recognition by providing Ukrainian, Polish, German, and Yiddish versions of place names.

We wish to thank the editors of the *Austrian History Yearbook*, the *Slavic Review*, and *Canadian Slavonic Papers* for permitting republication of materials. It should be noted that Ivan L. Rudnytsky has provided a revised and updated version of his article. With our permission John-Paul Himka published his conference paper in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* and Paul R. Magocsi published his conference paper in the *Ukrainian Heritage Notes* of the Ukrainian Studies Fund.

We wish to express our thanks to Janet Vaillant, Associate Director of the Soviet and East European Language and Area Center Program, for her assistance in organizing the conference and the U. S. Office of Education for financial support. We are grateful to B'nai B'rith of Vienna for its partial subsidy for publication. Our gratitude is also extended to Ann Orlov for her careful editing and Brenda Sens for her meticulous typing of the manuscript. Finally we wish to thank Omeljan Pritsak, Director of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, and Paul R. Magocsi, Managing Editor of the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, for their encouragement of our project.

Andrei S. Markovits
Frank E. Sysyn
Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 1982

Contents

Preface	v
Chapter	
1. Introduction: Empire and Province <i>Andrei S. Markovits</i>	1
2. The Ukrainians in Galicia Under Austrian Rule <i>Ivan L. Rudnytsky</i>	23
3. The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy <i>Piotr Wandycz</i>	68
4. Jewish Assimilation in L'viv: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman <i>Ezra Mendelsohn</i>	94
5. Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1866) and the Ukrainian National Identity <i>Peter Brock</i>	111
6. The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1905–1907 <i>Leila P. Everett</i>	149
7. Voluntary Artisan Associations and the Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia (the 1870s) <i>John-Paul Himka</i>	178

8. Natalia Kobryns'ka: A Formulator of Feminism <i>Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak</i>	196
9. The Language Question as a Factor in the National Movement in Eastern Galicia <i>Paul R. Magocsi</i>	220
10. The Image of Austria in the Works of Ivan Franko <i>Leonid Rudnytsky</i>	239
11. Bibliographic Guide to the History of Ukrainians in Galicia: 1848–1918 <i>Paul R. Magocsi</i>	255
List of Contributors	321
Map	322
Table of Geographic Names	323
Index	325

Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism
Essays on Austrian Galicia

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Empire and Province

Andrei S. Markovits

FEW ROYAL HOUSES proved to be as successful in creating and retaining an empire as the Habsburgs. A mixture of clever diplomacy characterized by that famous slogan “*Bella gerunt alii; tu felix Austria nube*” (Others wage war; you, happy Austria, marry), good fortune in the decline of many of the Habsburgs’ immediate competitors, and a crucial position as the defender of the Occident from the Ottoman Empire helped the Habsburgs consolidate a vast empire. Yet, the accumulation of kingdoms, duchies, princedoms and the title of Holy Roman Emperor, which made the Habsburgs almost an all-European dynasty in the sixteenth century and the dominant force in Central Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, proved a major drawback in forming a modern state. Although the Habsburgs possessed a core of hereditary Austrian lands, they could not depend upon the tradition of an historic kingdom as a force to unite their diverse domains. Transformation of the Holy Roman Empire into a unitary German state proved an elusive dream. Despite the Habsburgs’ successes in controlling their domains, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary retained state and national traditions very different from those of the Germanic lands.

The extension of Habsburg power was especially successful in the East. The Eastern expansion of Habsburg rule determined the economic, social, and political structure of the Austrian Empire that emerged. Vienna came to be the capital not for the German-speakers of Cologne and Hamburg, but for the motley populations of Chernivtsi and Braşov. As Europe became more differentiated into an economically, culturally and socially dynamic West and a stagnant, traditionalist East, the Habsburg domains swelled toward the East. This gradual expansion was paralleled by a slow decline in the Habsburgs’ power within the German states. After failing to convert the Holy Roman

Empire into a centralized German state, the Habsburgs lost even their predominant position. Following defeat at the hands of the Prussians (1740–1748), the humiliation inflicted by Napoleon's armies, and the disaster at Koeniggratz in 1866, again at the hands of the Prussians, Austria developed into a state with a power base in east central Europe rather than in the economically more advanced west. The retardation of the modernization process in east central Europe had important consequences in shaping the Habsburg state. At least four factors contributed to differentiating the Habsburg lands from much of western Europe.

1. Manorial estates, owned by the nobility and worked by a servile peasantry, remained the dominant form of agriculture. Despite resistance, the sixteenth century culminated in the decisive defeat of the peasantry, leading to an ossification of the agricultural structure. In most of the Habsburgs' domains, the peasants remained serfs and the landed aristocracy's system of domination persisted until the nineteenth century. Because a strong commercial class failed to develop, the landed aristocracy retained a central position in the country's economic development.

2. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the Habsburgs were frequently at war with the Ottomans. These wars devastated the Kingdom of Hungary and taxed the resources of the other Habsburg domains. Although they strengthened the position of the monarch, they impeded demographic growth, urbanization and economic investment in much of the Habsburg territory.

3. The Habsburg espousal of militant Catholicism may have been yet another factor limiting modernization in the Empire. The dynasty was relatively successful in imposing Catholicism on dissenting nobles, burghers, and peasants. The Catholic church that emerged not only allied with the dynasty and aristocracy, but also functioned as a bulwark against new ideas and social forces.

4. During the early modern period, the Habsburg domains were largely landlocked and far removed from the burgeoning Atlantic trade that began in the sixteenth century following the discovery of the Americas. Partially as a result of the economic ramifications of the lack of a maritime trade, the development of a politically significant and economically mature bourgeoisie was delayed until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In addition to these four factors, the very diversity of the Habsburg domains made their transformation into a modern state extremely

difficult. Yet despite all impediments, the Habsburgs had considerable success in welding their domains into a unified bureaucratic central European state. The highpoint was reached under the great enlightened despot, Joseph II (1780–1790). Even Joseph's failure to achieve total standardization and centralization did not impede the formation of a Habsburg absolutist state—an Austrian Empire. Yet, when the nineteenth-century empire faced problems of class conflict and demands for political rights and franchise, it did so from a far different position than did France and England. The most salient feature of the empire was the dichotomy between nation and state.

Seldom have the two processes of *state formation* and *nationbuilding* been at such irreconcilable odds as in the case of the Austrian Empire. "Austria," after all, was little else than the monarch, the imperial bureaucracy and the army. (It was not by chance that one of Austria's leading poets, Franz Grillparzer, extolled Marshal Radetsky's victories in Italy in 1848 with the words, "In thy camp is Austria," thereby emphasizing the military's singular role as a unifying force in an otherwise highly centrifugal multi-ethnic political entity.) Certain structural adaptations to new situations, notably the establishment of the Dual Monarchy after the *Ausgleich* with Hungary (1867), were adjustments designed to salvage the political structure. For the Austrian Empire by its very essence could not take the necessary step that strengthened many other political units in the nineteenth century: a structural accommodation to nationalism. Internal contradictions finally led to failure.

"State" and "nation" have often fulfilled different structural and human needs. Indeed, their coexistence is of recent origin, certainly not predetermined and not necessarily a component of future social organization. Moreover, the two are often in direct conflict with each other with respect to political arrangements and cultural expressions. The state, after all, represents an "instrumental" structure. One needs the state, tolerates it, even benefits from its existence; however, one need not love it. The ties between the state and the community (society) are of a rational-legal nature. The opposite is true of the nation. Rather than debate the differences between "people," "tribe," "nationality" and "nation" fruitlessly, we may view all four—and for our purposes mainly the last—as a conglomeration of human beings tied together by common cultural and historical bonds and affective patterns of interaction. Thus, the nation, unlike the state, is an "expressive" entity. The individual's membership is

affirmed by emotions, habits, common values, traditions—in short, what Emile Durkheim called the *conscience collective*. The day-to-day bonds between the individual and the nation need not be based on rational-legal authority as they are between the individual and the state. They are, in contrast, the routinized affirmation of common sentiment.

In examining the interactions of states, nations and individuals, we must briefly look at the modern state's origins and purpose. The absolutist state—in many ways the first full manifestation of the modern state—was clearly an attempt by the center to extend and consolidate its domination vis-à-vis the periphery. The person of the absolutist monarch embodied a territorial sovereignty and unity wherein the rule of the center was recognized as legitimate by the periphery. "Center" not only entails a geographic concept; it includes political, economic, cultural and linguistic factors. The state developed into an efficient form of political domination over a given territory. Concretely, the formation of the absolutist state was predicated on the relatively advanced nature of organizational control in the form of bureaucracy. These efficient institutions became necessary for such crucial state activities as waging war, levying taxes, constructing roads and communication facilities and protecting nascent indigenous industries by tariffs. Bureaucracies became the concrete embodiments of the modern state, which can best be described as the most efficient form of political rule and administrative control on the part of certain interests in a given society.

For proper functioning, the state's institutions had to establish certain criteria that would facilitate their *modus operandi*. Thus a *lingua franca*, usually the language of the center—specifically the dialect of its elite—was often established as the sole form of official communication. Furthermore, strict rules and regulations were instituted with regard to ranks, promotion, competence and hierarchies in the bureaucracies. Thus, gradually, a common state culture—a statist *esprit de corps*—developed which dominated the political life of an absolutist state. It is important to note in this context that in its early phases the state fulfilled its function of domination, control, regulation and accumulation without relying on nationalism.

One of the most important factors in the modernization of the Austrian Empire was the active intervention of the state in societal matters. Indeed, the role of the state could best be viewed as an accelerator of the empire's development. This "modernization from

above," in which the state assumed a leading role, was initiated in the eighteenth century. As an enlightened absolutism, the state actively intervened in the economy by establishing an incipient framework for industrialization. The Habsburg state, beginning with Charles VI (1711–1740), continuing under his daughter Maria Theresa (1740–1780), and culminating during the rule of Joseph II (1780–1790) began a systematic development of productive forces. The state invested in the building of roads and ports, abolished provincial duties and taxes, took over some mining industries and established above all a highly centralized, uniformly regulated and ubiquitous bureaucracy. The bureaucracy became the backbone of centralized power and, along with the army, embodied the Austrian state. The state also had to perform the crucial tasks of capital accumulation and rationalization of investment. Both required an efficient and regulated tax system, a well-developed national accounting procedure, and a more rational approach to problem-solving.

During the reigns of Charles VI and Maria Theresa, the government was preoccupied predominantly with modernizing Austria's military and productive forces while maintaining existing social relations. Joseph II believed that the rapid development of Austria would require and entail a change in the country's social structure and its ideology. Motivated by the new philosophical and economic ideas of the Enlightenment, Joseph furthered the state's interference in the relations of landlords and peasants that had begun in his mother's reign.

Convinced that economic progress could be ensured only by restructuring relations in the countryside, Joseph began to dismantle the serf system. He took vigorous and daring steps to curtail the Church's power, and he did not hesitate to expropriate properties owned by convents and monasteries. Josephinian reforms included the granting of toleration to Jews and Protestants and the abolition of ghettos in urban areas. In general, the reforms solidified the state in Austria and furthered new types of social and political organization. However, the Josephinian state's leading role in accelerating the modernization process created an antagonistic relationship between the state and the powerful clerical-aristocratic alliance. Both the aristocracy and the higher clergy saw their privileged positions jeopardized by the monarch's intervention and actively opposed the monarch's endeavors. This situation, however, was of short duration.

Fear of the French Revolution resulted in a new alliance of the

throne, aristocracy, and the Church. This alliance continued throughout the nineteenth century, although the state was compelled to adjust to new social forces and demands for political privileges. Groups dissatisfied with Joseph's tampering with the social order, with his indifference to the particular traditions of the various lands, and with his confrontations with the Church carried on a partially effective reaction at the end of his reign and in the reign of his successor Leopold (1790–1792). In particular, the “political nation” of Hungary resisted amalgamation into a unified Habsburg state. Francis II (1792–1835), far from sharing Joseph's concepts of enlightened absolutism, was a proponent of traditional religious and social values.

The absolutist, centralized, bureaucratic Habsburg state of the first half of the nineteenth century had to contend with traditionalist localism and particularism of the elites as well as with new ideologies and movements that questioned its structure and ideology. Traditionalist loyalty to historic politics was partially appeased by the formation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867 and subsequent government decentralization. But in the nineteenth century the centralist-localist dispute was no longer solely between the monarchy and the provincial elite. New intellectual and social forces gave birth to liberalism, an ideology that sought to guarantee political and economic privileges for the emerging bourgeoisie, for the bureaucrats, and for the professionals. By the end of the nineteenth century, Habsburg constitutional monarchism and the enfranchisement of large groups of the population had complied with the basic demands of nineteenth-century liberals. Yet, although the Reichsrat served as an Austrian parliament, its weighted curial system of representation demonstrated that the new groups had not overturned the traditional elites of the empire, but rather had been coopted by them. The alliance of throne, aristocracy and Church continued and only the onslaught of World War I succeeded in breaking up their mutually rewarding relationship. It weathered its only major domestic test with confidence and determination. The revolutions of 1848 must be regarded as a success for both the aristocracy and the state, which together managed over the long run to defuse the challenge of the bourgeoisie and liberals.

The events after 1848 foreshadowed all the future conflicts that were to determine the empire's history until its collapse. The cooptation of the middle class into the aristocratic state was intensified after Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1866. Successive economic difficulties for the state and the bourgeois-financiers and industrialists

led to a new alliance that brought about cartels and oligopoly in all major industries and banks. The state's direct and/or indirect participation in all aspects of economic life meant a growing exchange and functional interdependence with all social structures. The state became an integral part of a newly developing capitalist society.

The Habsburg state of the nineteenth century retained important characteristics of the traditional order, particularly the position of the monarch and nobility, yet at the same time it answered the demands stemming from economic modernization and social change. How did the Habsburg state measure up in fulfilling the functions of a modern state? One can discern three large and interdependent areas that can be seen as *minima* in the state's tasks.

1. The establishment and maintenance of general conditions of material production; the providing of an infrastructure for modern material existence.

2. The development of a regulating and repressive mechanism allowing for a legitimate and authoritative system of conflict resolution between competing interests and groups in society. It is in this context that one can think of the modern state's relationship to classes as one of "relative autonomy" in which no particular class dominates the state exclusively at the cost of all other classes, yet one can at times discern—as in the Habsburg monarchy—the preeminence of one class, the aristocracy in the case of pre-1918 Austria.

3. The construction of institutionalized channels that allow for regularized forms of participation on the part of the populace in order to enhance the legitimacy of government. The increasing complexity of class structures and interest groups in modern societies gives rise to divergent expressions of political, social, and cultural demands. Whether institutionalized or diffuse these pressures must be dealt with by the modern state. A particularly potent force in molding modern societies has been the articulation of national identity. When the inhabitants of a state have shared common ethnic, linguistic, and cultural traditions, nationalism has strengthened the nation-state. In a multinational society in which not one nation is clearly dominant it is the modern state's difficult—often impossible—task to be a neutral arbiter among nationalities. In short, in an era of the confluence of nationalism and statehood the modern state needs to find structural ways to facilitate the creation and foster the continued well-being of the nation as a *Gemeinschaft*.

Regarding the first dimension, the Habsburg state fulfilled its

functions quite successfully. Electricity was introduced, mining was modernized, roads were built, the Adriatic port of Trieste was expanded, and above all, the state proceeded to construct a relatively extensive railroad grid. The empire's cities were modernized and the structures of administration and education were developed to correspond with more rational and uniform criteria.

With respect to the second dimension, the Habsburg state succeeded in protecting the basic interests of the dominant aristocracy and parts of the bourgeoisie from the increasingly persistent challenges of the peasantry and the nascent working class. This was achieved through the delicate balance of a precarious yet enduring stick-and-carrot policy not unlike the one followed by Bismarck in the neighboring German Reich.

It is only with respect to the third dimension that the Habsburg state failed to fulfill its function, and thereby contributed to the dissolution of the multinational empire. Political compromises such as the *Ausgleich* and the recognition of Galician autonomy did reduce national and regional discontent to a limited degree. The extension of suffrage allowed greater segments of the population to take part in political processes. Yet no compromises and reforms could permanently resolve conflicts among contending classes and economic and national groups. Once enfranchised, peasants and workers were able to express their grievances against landlords and industrialists and could struggle against the remaining inequalities of rights and privileges that buttressed the existing social and economic order. Socialist ideology and politics proved a major threat to the Habsburg regime. But while socialism challenged almost all European governments, Austria had to face the additional threat of contending nationalisms. Each nationalist movement made demands on the government, the granting of which would enrage another national movement. Trapped amidst these movements, the government sought to strike balances that would allow the maintenance of the political and social order. To understand the Habsburg dilemma, we must look more closely into the nationalist and socialist movements of the empire.

Mass political nationalism is a newcomer to history, especially when compared to the existence of the modern state. Even more than the latter its development depends upon a large measure of literacy, which in turn requires some form of compulsory education, and channels of communication for elites and their followers—in short a

general world view that extends beyond the traditional confines of family, village, and religion. As it developed in Central and Eastern Europe, nationalism represents a social force wherein people emphasize similarities with brethren beyond the immediate horizon while at the same time discerning hitherto ignored differences between themselves and their immediate "foreign" neighbors. Nationalism is the extension of a *Gemeinschaft* beyond immediate boundaries. It is a political manifestation of hitherto little emphasized cultural, linguistic, and social bonds. The common tradition—or *conscience collective*—is extended geographically, politically and socially. Similarities as well as differences are heightened in terms of speech, dress, and habits.

Extremely important in the development of modern nationalism is the interaction of class interests and relations. Nationalism's ideological form and content is largely determined by the social groups and classes that, at a particular time in the society's historical development, take the lead in nationalist development. The rising bourgeoisies of the nineteenth century played an important role in almost every European country. What is most important, however, is the interaction among the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy, the peasantry, and the nascent working class in the development of the national community. The relationships of these groups and of their national communities to the existing states and their structures determine the forms of nationalism.

When the modern state evolved on the basis of medieval kingdoms and in territories of relatively homogeneous populations (for example, England and France) state and nation became synonymous terms and nationalism buttressed the power of the state. In Germany and Italy, nationalism and the unified state evolved simultaneously and nourished each other. In Russia, a conflict ensued as an autocratic state that had emerged in a Russian core area and had embodied national cultural traits and ideology grappled with the problems of multinational empire, emerging nationalism among the minorities, and the evolution of modern Russian nationalism. Nowhere was the interaction between state and nation more difficult than in the multiethnic Habsburg Empire of the nineteenth century.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the unity of the empire depended, to a considerable degree, on the penetration of the periphery by three interdependent bureaucratic forces: centralized taxation, education, and the military establishment. German became the

lingua franca of all three. More than any other state, Austria *qua* state fulfilled mainly “instrumental” functions. Its very essence consisted of its manifest aloofness and “neutrality” vis-à-vis the particularisms of any one of the territorial, ethnic, and cultural members of the empire. Austria’s existence as a state of numerous different—and often antagonistic—national groups demanded a supra-national posture on the part of the center (the monarch and the bureaucracy) in Vienna. This supra- or a-national posture was well reflected in the consciousness of the Austrian aristocracy—the prime beneficiary—which remained a-national until its very destruction in 1918. Thus, what everywhere else had been only a symptom of the initial phases of absolutism—namely the a-national domination of the monarch—was to remain a permanent and necessary feature of the Austrian monarchy. This a-national quality of the Austrian Empire eventually alienated even the German population of the empire. With the emergence of modern nationalisms focusing on historic lands and on national communities, the entire structure of the empire was called into question. The difficulties of satisfying conflicting claims and demands proved the most serious threat to the maintenance of the state by the end of the nineteenth century.

The national factor affected all political, social, and economic development in the empire, including another political newcomer to history and the other crucial contribution of the nineteenth century to contemporary political life: socialism. Representing a far greater threat to the imperial order than liberalism, socialism challenged both the traditional political order and the new economic conditions. Based upon concern for the oppressed, socialism demanded an economic and political restructuring of the empire. Whether utopian or Marxian, socialists sought to unite the oppressed classes in a struggle for their rights. The extension of suffrage and the conferral of political rights made the working class and peasantry potentially powerful forces. The integration of the socialist groups into the empire’s political system defused revolutionary content and forced socialists to deal practically with numerous political, social, economic, and cultural issues. One of the foremost issues for the socialists was the national problem. Reflecting the empire’s unique multiethnic structure and nationality problems, socialism in the Habsburg monarchy responded to these objective conditions by establishing institutions, creating ideas, formulating programs—in short, conducting politics that re-

flected the peculiarities of the empire. Indeed, the particularity of Austrian socialism received structural and intellectual recognition in the concept of "Austro-Marxism."

In numerous ways, "Austro-Marxism" reflected the political, cultural and social realities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Recognizing the state's central role in the empire's unification and modernization, Austro-Marxists, like Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, espoused not the destruction of the state apparatus, but its takeover and utilization as an instrument for systemic transformation. Participating in Austrian parliamentary institutions, Austro-Marxists perceived the possibility of achieving socialism through parliamentary means. Witnessing the growing importance of the Austrian *Beamtentum*, the Austro-Marxists concluded that the participation of salaried employees—"the new working class"—was potentially indispensable to the industrial proletariat.

Perhaps the major intellectual contribution of Austro-Marxists was their analysis of class relations and national movements. The writings of orthodox Marxism had very little, if anything, to add to the problems of the existence of numerous nationalities in one state. The reconciliation between class and nation in theory and practice remains largely unsolved for most Marxists to this day. It is to the credit of Austro-Marxism that it, more than any other social movement and school of thought, made a genuine attempt to come to terms with this crucial problem.

The Austro-Marxists saw the rise of political nationalism as an integral part of both modernization and capitalism to be understood in connection with the dynamics of class configuration. In this context, Bauer and Renner, the two foremost Austro-Marxist writers on the problem of nationality and the nation-state, showed how *nationbuilding* and *statebuilding*, although different social processes, were inevitably "topdown" developments, starting with an elite at the center and moving to the lower classes at the periphery.

In the area of political nationalism, Bauer and Renner are associated with two notable and partly opposing schools of thought among the Austro-Marxists. One school, closely identified with Bauer's writings, held that nationality was only one aspect of a society's historical relations to productive life and that nationalism, therefore, ultimately remained a secondary question for socialists and the working class. A more pragmatic interpretation, associated with Renner, regarded

nationalism as a more potent and independent social phenomenon requiring a solution *within* the given political realities. This solution would take the form of preserving the multinational character of the empire in a democratic, federal "state of nationalities" (*Nationalitätstaatenstaat*).

The Austrian Social Democratic Workers party provided a living example of the practical relevance of Austro-Marxism's theories. Until the destruction of the empire, the party incorporated each nationality's manifest expression of socialist politics. Thus, Austro-Marxism's attraction for the empire's ethnically diverse working classes lay in its underlying tenet of "independently together"—of a consciously articulated national self-determination of all classes—which conveyed a sense of belonging and care without intrusion and interference. Only with this attitude, resulting from a rigorous theoretical analysis of the empire's obvious national differences, could Austro-Marxism appeal to such a motley group of Social Democrats.

The Austrian Social Democrats attempted the formation of a *Gemeinschaft* for the working classes of every nationality in the empire. This genuinely felt humanitarian and egalitarian wish remained theoretically unrefined and practically unfulfilled. Austro-Marxism's "international" posture placed it in a very ironic situation: A party and movement whose very *raison d'être* consisted in the successful transformation of the *status quo* inadvertently became its only major ally in an objective sense. The Austrian Social Democrats, although explicitly anti-Habsburg, antimonarchist and antiestablishment on all accounts, ended up in a peculiar and involuntary coalition with the Habsburg state by the virtue of their "Austrianness." Austrian social democracy, just like the state, became an "Austrian" institution. Austro-Marxism with its center in Vienna and its numerous affiliates in the periphery remained genuinely "Austrian" until at least the latter part of 1917. The socialist movement and Austro-Marxism had to develop an analysis of the national question in order to define their relation to social classes and to the state. Yet, in the end, their resolution for the empire's national problems was no more successful than that of the Habsburg dynastic traditionalists. The diversity of the empire's lands and peoples proved too great a stumbling block for both imperial state-loyalists and for social radicals.

Religious, ethnic, social, and economic factors in each of the Habsburgs' domains determined the interaction of such contending forces as imperial traditionalism, bureaucratic centralism, local patriotism,

liberalism, nationalism, and socialism. The changing patterns of these factors and forces produced greatly divergent results. In early-nineteenth-century Tyrol, the dynasty turned to the peasantry to undermine the position of the German bourgeois liberals. In Hungary, centralizing tendencies that tried to utilize the discontent of non-Magyar peoples ultimately failed in a confrontation with the Hungarian nobility. The nobility successfully enlisted the support of the newly emerging Magyar bourgeoisie. This led to the formation of the Dual Monarchy, the retention of numerous aspects of the traditional order, and the growth of unbridled, militant Magyar nationalism. In Bohemia, rapid industrialization resulted in the rise of a Czech bourgeoisie which marshalled workers' and peasants' support in a challenge to the German position in this land. In small, backward Bukovina, Austrian bureaucracy and even more markedly German culture remained vibrant in part by retaining the support of the Jewish population in the midst of a complex social and national situation involving Ukrainians, Rumanians, and Poles.

* * * * *

At the end of the eighteenth century, the extent to which the Habsburg domains were a central and eastern European empire, instead of a central and western European conglomerate, was most dramatically demonstrated by the loss of the Austrian Netherlands and the annexation of a large tract of land from the Polish state—the “Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.” Of all the pieces fitted together to form the Habsburgs’ Austrian Empire, the large Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria seemed most out of place. No matter how adept the publicist, no reference to historical claims and ancient names could conceal that the Habsburgs had taken the land by military conquest. Falsehood was evident in the territory’s very name. Not conterminous with the medieval Ukrainian-Ruthenian Principality-Kingdom of Halych-Volyn (Galicia-Volhynia), the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria did not even include the Volhynian city of Volodymyr (Vladimir) from which it derived part of its name. It did, however, include a large piece of ethnically Polish territory that had never been part of the Galician-Volhynian principality, including, after 1846, the ancient Polish capital of Cracow. The ultimate irony of the resurrection of a remote claim of the kings of Hungary to a medieval

principality was that the territories were not even incorporated into the Habsburgs' Hungarian domains.

However questionable their method of acquisition, the Habsburgs were to rule over the Galician crownland for almost a century and a half. The impact of this rule on the Austrian Empire was considerable. The annexation brought into the empire an economically backward territory with few natural resources (particularly before the discovery of and demand for oil late in the nineteenth century). This densely populated land with its numerous Polish nobles dedicated to the political principles of the Commonwealth, its fervent Hassidic Jewish communities, and its East Slavic, Uniate Ukrainians seemed alien to the empire's statesmen and bureaucrats. However, as industrialization advanced in Upper and Lower Austria and Bohemia, Galicia came to be a useful source of raw materials and an outlet for industrial goods.

The ramifications of the annexation of Galicia went far beyond the economic sphere. The Habsburgs' participation in the partition of the Polish state involved Austria in the intractable Polish question. The annexation of eastern Galicia at least quadrupled the number of Ruthenians-Ukrainians in the empire. They were a people most of whom after the end of the eighteenth century lived in a Russian Empire that officially viewed them as part of the Russian people. The Ruthenians became a bone of contention between the two empires. The addition of Galicia's Jews dramatically increased the Austrian Empire's Jewish population and the migration of the Galician Jews to other parts of the empire in the nineteenth century was a crucial factor in the empire's economic and cultural life. Finally, the annexation of Galicia, with its peculiar problems of social structure, national relations, and political antagonisms complicated the empire's already intricate constitution. As absolutism declined and Habsburg subjects became Austrian citizens, the problem of placating and manipulating the forces of Galician society further exacerbated an already delicate situation.

For the lands and peoples of Galicia, annexation by the Habsburgs profoundly altered their economic, political, social and cultural life. Tearing these lands from their traditional orientation toward the Vistula and Dniester Basins disrupted longtime economic patterns and diverted commerce in new directions. Annexed during the First Partition of Poland, the inhabitants of these lands were not deeply affected by the Polish political, cultural and economic revival of the

1770s to 1790s. Instead they were influenced by political, cultural, and social reforms of Emperor Joseph. Under the scepter of the Habsburgs, modernization, secularism, mass education, the birth of modern cities and the popular franchise came to the Galician lands. One need only visit the Galician capital of Lemberg (now L'viv) to see the impact of imperial Austrian architectural styles and tastes. Sixty years after the empire's demise, one can still find traces of its influence in the manners and speech of the inhabitants of former Galicia.

For the three major peoples of Galicia, the later period of Austrian rule witnessed the emergence of modern nationalism and the advancement of the nationbuilding process. At the same time, changes in agricultural production and the limited industrialization of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century brought about a new class structure and the emergence of conflicting views on political and social organization. The result of popular suffrage and of the increase in literacy was mass mobilization for national movements and for the divergent views of political parties. In the course of Austrian rule attempts at absolutism and bureaucratic centralization were abandoned in favor of local autonomy and dependence on the Polish aristocracy. At the end of the empire's existence this coalition crumbled in the face of an expanded franchise, the political activism of Ukrainians and Jews, and the demands of the peasantry and the working class.

Of all the developments under Austrian rule, the formation of mass national movements was undoubtedly the most lasting. Poles, Jews and Ukrainians all advanced in the process of modern nationbuilding. Although the period of reaction of the early nineteenth century had made the Habsburgs the most hated of the partitioning powers, in the long run Poles found that the Habsburg system allowed for a development of Polish cultural and political life unparalleled in the other partition zones. Initially Habsburg rule brought about a partial germanization of Galician Jewry which was followed in the late nineteenth century by a limited polonization. Yet despite restrictive measures against Jews, the Habsburg lands with their Edict of Toleration and constitutional guarantees provided a favorable framework for the development of modern Jewish identity. For those Jews who left the traditional religious community, but rejected assimilation, opportunities were available for Jewish political and cultural work.

Of the three major peoples of Galicia, the Ruthenians-Ukrainians were most profoundly influenced by and indeed indebted to the Habsburgs. It is true that throughout the Habsburg rule they remained largely an impoverished peasant people, plagued by overpopulation, illiteracy, and land hunger. They had almost no influence in Vienna and were frequently sacrificed to the interests of Polish landlords and nationalists. Yet it was Habsburg rule that converted Galicia into a Ukrainian Piedmont. Self-interest motivated the Habsburgs to support on occasion the Ruthenians in their struggles against the Poles and to emphasize the differences between Russians and Ruthenians. But in so doing the Habsburg rulers advanced the Ruthenians' national consciousness. In the late nineteenth century, educational privileges and political rights hastened the formation of a well-defined Ukrainian national identity and mass national movement. The Polish charge that the Austrians invented the Ruthenians, and the Russian charge that Austria (possibly with the Poles) created a hitherto nonexistent Ukrainian nation out of "Little Russians" are incorrect, but beneath them is the truth of the crucial role of the Habsburg rule in Ukrainian nationbuilding.

Only by studying each of the provinces and peoples of the Habsburg Empire can we understand the structure and institutions of the empire as a whole. By the same token, the developments in each land and among each people must be viewed within the context of the empire's problems and policies. The essays that follow provide a basis for studying the position of the peoples of the crownland of Galicia, and in particular its Ukrainian population, as a part of the Habsburg state.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a list of selected works for further reading. They are arranged according to the four broad categories that underlie the introductory essay: I. Formation of Modern States; II. Nationalism; III. General Works on Austria; and IV. The Nationality Problem in Austria. For more detailed bibliographic materials on Galicia in the late nineteenth century, see Chapter 11 below. For works on all other specific nationalities of the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century, see the bibliography in Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 587–600. The works listed below should be regarded as a general and suggestive survey of the vast literature in the respective fields and not as an exhaustive bibliography.

I. Formation of Modern States

- Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1974).
 Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship* (New York, 1964).
 Max Beloff, *The Age of Absolutism, 1660–1815* (London, 1954).
 Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, ed., *The Decline of Empires* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967).
 ———. *The Political Systems of Empires* (New York, 1963).
 ———. and Stein Rokkan, ed., *Building States and Nations* 2 vols. (Beverly Hills, California, 1973).
 Otto Hintze, *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. Felix Gilbert (New York, 1975).
 Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, 1968).
 Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966).
 Eric Nordlinger, *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).
 Dankwart Rustow, *A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization* (Washington, D. C., 1967).
 Theda R. Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (New York, 1979).

Paul Sweezy et al., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1976).

Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1975).

———, Louise Tilly and Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century, 1830–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, 2 vols., (New York, 1974).

II. Nationalism

Józef Chlebowczyk, *On Small and Young Nations in Europe. Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe* (Wrocław-Warsaw, Gdańsk, and Cracow, 1980).

———. *Procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu: od schyłku XVIII do początku XX w.* (Warsaw, 1975).

Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and its Alternatives* (New York, 1969).

———. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1966).

———. *Tides Among Nations* (New York, 1979).

Karl W. Deutsch, and William J. Foltz, ed., *Nation-Building* (Chicago, 1971).

Karl W. Deutsch and Richard L. Merritt, *Nationalism and National Development: An Interdisciplinary Bibliography* (Cambridge, 1970).

Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation* (Boston, 1960).

Carlton J.H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, 1966).

———. *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York, 1960).

Miroslav Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen* (Prague, 1968).

Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (London, 1966).

Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origin and Background* (New York, 1958).

———. *Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1938).

———. *Nationalism, Anticolonialism, Neutralism* (Washington, D.C., 1960).

———. *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton, N.J., 1965).

———. *Nationalism and Realism: 1852–1879* (Princeton, N.J., 1968).

- . *Prophets and Peoples: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Nationalism* (New York, 1975).
- Otto Pflanze, "Characteristics of Nationalism in Europe, 1848–1871," *Review of Politics*, V. XXVIII, 2 (Notre Dame, Ind., 1966), pp. 139–143.
- Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Nationalism* (New York, 1966).
- Hugh Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (London, 1956).
- . *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origin of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, 1977).
- . *Nationalism and Communism: Essays, 1941–63* (London, 1969).
- . *Nationalism Old and New* (Sydney, 1965).
- Boyd C. Shafer, *Faces of Nationalism: New Realities and Old Myths* (New York, 1974).
- . *Nationalism: Interpreters and Interpretations* (Washington, D.C., 1966).
- . *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* (New York, 1955).
- Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: A Trend Report and Bibliography* (The Hague, 1975).
- Louis L. Snyder, *The Dynamics of Nationalism: Readings of its Meaning and Development* (Princeton, 1964).
- . *The Meaning of Nationalism* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1954).
- . *The New Nationalism* (Ithaca, 1968).

III. General Works on Austria

- Victor Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs* (Vienna, 1922–1924).
- Richard Charnatz, *Österreichs innere Geschichte 1848–1907* (Leipzig, 1909–1911).
- Louis Eisenmann, *Le compromis austro-hongroise 1867: étude sur le dualisme* (Paris, 1904).
- Gustav Gratz, and Richard Schüller, *The Economic Policy of Austria-Hungary in its External Relations* (New Haven, 1928).
- Harry Hanak, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary during the First World War: A Study in the Formation of Public Opinion* (London, 1962).
- Hugo Hantsch, *Die Entwicklung Österreich-Ungarns zur Grossmacht* (Graz, 1959).
- . *Geschichte Österreichs*, 2 vols. (Graz-Cologne, 1969).

- . *Gestalter der Geschichte Österreichs* (Innsbruck, 1962).
- . *Studien zum geschichtlichen Denken und Forschen* (Vienna, 1965).
- . *Österreich: Eine Deutung seiner Geschichte und Kultur* (Innsbruck, 1934).
- Alfons Huber, *Geschichte Österreichs*, 5 vols. (Gotha, 1885–1896).
- Oszkar Jaszi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago, 1964).
- William Murray Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938* (Berkeley, 1972).
- Raimund F. Kaindl, Hans Prichegger, and Anton A. Klein, *Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutschösterreichs*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1958–1965).
- Robert A. Kann, "The Dynasty and the Imperial Idea," *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. III. pt. 1 (Houston, 1967), pp. 11–31.
- . *The Habsburg Empire: A Study of Integration and Disintegration* (New York, 1957).
- . *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1512–1918* (Berkeley, 1974).
- . *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History: From Late Baroque to Romanticism* (New York, 1960).
- Hans Kohn, *The Future of Austria* (New York, 1955).
- . *The Habsburg Empire, 1804–1918* (Princeton, 1961).
- C.A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918* (London, 1971).
- Victor S. Mamatey, *Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1815* (New York, 1971).
- . *The United States and East Central Europe, 1914–1918: A Study in Wilsonian Diplomacy and Propaganda* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1972).
- Arthur J. May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867–1914* (New York, 1968).
- . *The Passing of the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1914–1918*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1966).
- Franz M. Mayer, *Geschichte Österreichs mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kulturlebens*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1909).
- Richard G. Plaschka, and Karlheinz Mack, eds., *Die Auflösung des Habsburgerreiches* (Vienna, 1970).
- Alfred S. Pribram, *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908–18* (Hamden, Conn., 1971).
- Josef Redlich, *Austrian War Government* (New Haven, 1929).
- . *Österreichische Regierung und Verwaltung im Weltkrieg* (New Haven, 1925).

- . *Das österreichische Staats- und Rechtsproblem: Geschichtliche Darstellung der inneren Politik der habsburgischen Monarchie von 1848 bis zum Untergang des Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920).
- . *Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria: A Biography* (Hamden, Conn., 1965).
- Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980).
- Gordon Brook Shepherd, *The Last Habsburg* (New York, 1968).
- H. E. Strakosch, *State Absolutism and the Rule of Law: The Struggle for the Codification of Civil Law in Austria 1753–1811* (London, 1967).
- Victor L. Tapié, *Monarchie et Peuples du Danube* (Paris, 1969).
- A.J.P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809–1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary* (New York, 1965).
- Leo Valiani, *The End of Austria-Hungary* (London, 1973).
- Ernst Violand, *Die soziale Geschichte der Revolution in Österreich* (Leipzig, 1850).
- Franz von Krones, *Handbuch der Geschichte Österreichs*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1876–1879).
- Adam Wandruszka, ed., *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna, 1975).
- . *Das Haus Habsburg: Die Geschichte einer europäischen Dynastie* (Vienna, 1956).
- Adam Wandruszka, and Peter Urbanitsch, eds., *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna, 1973).
- Ernst Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement, 1700–1800* (New York, 1973).
- Eduard Winter, *Barock: Absolutismus und Aufklärung in der Donaumonarchie* (Vienna, 1971).
- . *Frühliberalismus in der Donaumonarchie* (Berlin, 1968).
- Zbynek A.B. Zeman, *The Break-up of the Habsburg Empire, 1914–1918: A Study in National and Social Revolution* (London, 1961).
- Erich Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs, von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1971).

IV. The Nationality Problem in Austria

- Otto Bauer, *The Austrian Revolution* (New York, 1970).
- . *Austromarxismus. Texte zur Ideologie und Klassenkampf von*

- Otto Bauer u.a., ed. by H.J. Sandkühler and Rafael de la Vega (Frankfurt, 1970).
- . *Geschichte Österreichs, eine Einleitung zum Studium der österreichischen Geschichte und Politik* (Vienna, 1913).
- . *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1924).
- . *Der Weg zum Sozialismus* (Vienna, 1919).
- Tom Bottomore and Patrick Goode, eds. *Austro-Marxism* (Oxford, 1978).
- Ludwig Gumpowicz, *Das Recht der Nationalitäten und Sprachen in Österreich-Ungarn* (Innsbruck, 1879).
- Peter Hanak, ed., *Die nationale Frage in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Budapest, 1966).
- Karl Gottfried Hugelmann, ed., *Das Nationalitätenrecht des alten Österreich* (Vienna, 1934).
- Hugo Hantsch, *Die Nationalitätenfrage im alten Österreich: das Problem der konstruktiven Reichsgestaltung* (Vienna, 1953).
- Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970). The revised and enlarged German edition of this work *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburgermonarchie*, 2 vols. (Vienna-Cologne, 1964), includes considerable additional material, particularly in the chapters on the Slavic national groups.
- Hans Mommsen, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat* (Vienna, 1963).
- R. John Rath, ed., "The Nationality Problem in the Habsburg Monarchy in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical Appraisal," *Austrian History Yearbook*, III, pt. 1 (Houston, 1967), pp. iii–308.
- Karl Renner, *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen* (Vienna, 1918).
- Ignaz Seipel, *Nation und Staat* (Vienna, 1917).
- Peter F. Sugar, and Ivo J. Lederer, eds., *Nationalism in Eastern Europe* (Seattle, 1969).
- Theodor Veiter, *Das Recht der Volksgruppen und Sprachminderheiten in Österreich* (Vienna, 1970).
- Henryk Wereszycki, *Austrja a powstanie styczniowe* (L'viv, 1930).
- . *Historia Austrii* (Wrocław, 1972).
- . *Pod berlem Habsburgów: zagadnienia narodowościowe* (Cracow, 1975).
- Franz Zwitter, Jaroslav Sidak, and Vaso Bogdonow, *Les problèmes nationaux dans la monarchie des Habsbourg* (Belgrade, 1960).

*The Ukrainians in Galicia Under Austrian Rule**

Ivan L. Rudnytsky

ON THE EVE of World War I, the Ukrainian inhabitants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire numbered some four million. They were divided among the Austrian provinces of Galicia (3,380,000) and Bukovina (300,000), and the Kingdom of Hungary (470,000).¹ In each of these three territories the Ukrainians lived under quite different conditions. This calls for the separate treatment of each of the three groups. As, however, the Galician Ukrainians were not only the most numerous, but also historically by far the most important, this paper will deal only with them.

The official designation for the East Slavic inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire was “Ruthenians” (*die Ruthenen*); in their own language they called themselves *rusyny*. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Galician and Bukovinian Ruthenians began to favor the adoption of a new national name—“Ukrainians”—which finally prevailed.

The Impact of Austrian Enlightened Despotism

Ethnic nationality was of no political consequence in the eighteenth century. At the time of the annexation of Galicia to the Austrian Empire in 1772, the nobility of the land had been polonized for a long time. Thus it is not surprising that properly speaking the Austrian government had at first no “Ruthenian policy.” Although the legal pretext used at the time of the First Partition of Poland was the alleged

* Chapter Two is a revised and updated version of an article published in the *Austrian History Yearbook*, III, part 2 (1967), pp. 394–429.

¹ Stephan Rudnyckij, *Ukraina: Land and Volk* (Vienna, 1916), pp. 143–146.

right of the Habsburg dynasty to the inheritance of the medieval Rus' Galician-Volhynian kingdom, the newly acquired province was, for all practical purposes, treated as a slice of Polish territory. However, the Ukrainian population of Galicia was soon to feel the impact of the new regime. The reform measures of the Austrian "enlightened" monarchs, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, directly affected the two social groups that had retained their Rus' identity: the peasants and the Uniate clergy.

The most important measures enacted by the Austrian government, between 1772 and 1790, in favor of the Galician peasantry were the following: the limitation of the *corvée* to a maximum of 3 days a week, and of 156 days a year from a peasant household, with a decreasing scale of services from the poorer groups of villagers; a strict prohibition of any additional exactions beyond the statutory *corvée*; the creation of a cadaster and the securing to the peasants the possession of the plots actually held and cultivated by them; the organization of villages into communities with elected officers; the granting of certain basic personal rights, such as the right to marry without the master's permission and of the right to complain and appeal against the decisions of the landowner to the organs of state administration.²

One has to recognize the limitations of these reforms. The Austrian government did not aim at a condition of civic equality. The empire was to remain a hierarchical "society of estates." The peasant, technically no longer a "serf," still continued to be a "hereditary tenant" of the *dominium* (manorial estate). Besides the right to the peasants' unpaid labor, the *dominium* also retained important prerogatives of an administrative, judicial, and fiscal nature. After the death of Joseph II in 1790, and with the beginning of prolonged wars against France, further reforms were discontinued. The conservative tenor of the post-Napoleonic period made administrative practice more sympathetic to the landowners' interests. Still, the Galician peasant had become "at least an object of law, and not, as before [under the old

² On Galicia's agrarian and peasant problems, until 1848: Ivan Franko, "Panshchyna ta її skasuvannia v 1848 r. v Halychyni" (1913), *Tvory v dvadtsiaty tomakh*, Vol. XIX (Kiev, 1956), pp. 560–661; Ludwig von Mises, *Die Entwicklung des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Galizien (1722–1848)*, in *Wiener staatswissenschaftliche Studien*, Vol. IV, pt. 2 (Vienna, 1903); M.P. Herasymenko, *Ahrarni vidnosyny v Halychyni v period kryzy panshchynnoho hospodarstva* (Kiev, 1959); Roman Rozdolski, *Stosunki poddańcze w dawnej Galicji*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1962).

Polish regime], outside any law."³ Writing on the eve of World War I, Ivan Franko stated: "Our people have not forgotten him [Joseph II], and they still speak of his wise and humane treatment of his subjects."⁴ The pro-peasant reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II laid the foundation for the dynastic loyalty of the Ukrainian masses in Galicia, which was to last until the end of the monarchy.

The Greek Catholic, or Uniate, Church occupied a crucial place in the history of the Galician Ukrainians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵ The Austrian government granted to the Uniate Church and clergy an equal status with their Roman Catholic counterparts, which had been denied to them by the former Polish regime. In 1774, Maria Theresa decreed a new official term, "Greek Catholics"; the purpose was to stress the parity of the "Greek" and the "Roman" rites. This principle of parity, repeatedly emphasized by Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Leopold II, was implemented by a series of practical measures: the improvement of the legal and economic position of the Greek Catholic clergy, the creation of seminaries, and the creation of cathedral chapters in L'viv and Przemyśl, whose members were to assist the bishops in the administration of their dioceses. The crowning reform, in 1808, was the elevation of the L'viv bishopric to the rank of Metropolitan See of Halych.⁶ This had been originally suggested, as early as 1773, by Bishop Lev Sheptyts'kyi of L'viv (1717–1779) with the argument that a Galician "Greek" metropolis would extend Austrian political influence among the Uniates of the western Ukraine, still part of Poland (until the Second Partition of 1793), and help to counter Russia's "schismatic" propaganda there.⁷

³ Rozdolski, *Stosunki poddańcze*, Vol. I, p. 261.

⁴ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XIX, p. 585.

⁵ On ecclesiastical developments, particularly during the early decades of Austrian rule: Julian Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, 2 vols. (Würzburg and Vienna, 1978–1880), esp. Vol. II; Anton Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien* (Leipzig, 1921); Eduard Winter, *Byzanz und Rom im Kampf um die Ukraine* (Leipzig, 1942); Irynei L. Nazarko, *Kyivs'ki i halyts'ki mytropolyty*, in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, series II, section 1, Vol. XIII (Rome, 1962).

⁶ Myron Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis: Eius historia et iuridica forma*, in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, series II, section 1, Vol. XII (2nd ed., Rome, 1960).

⁷ The text of Lev Sheptyts'kyi's secret memorandum is reprinted in Władysław Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna kościoła w Galicji za rządów Maryi Teresy*, Vol. II (Cracow, 1909), pp. 513–515.

Polish cultural influence among the Greek Catholic clergy, which had its roots in pre-Partition times, increased during the early decades of Austrian rule. The lifting of the social and educational status of the clerical class made its members more susceptible to the tempting example of the way of life of the Polish gentry. But in spite of the dominance of the Polish language in Ruthenian clerical families, which was to last well into the second half of the nineteenth century, there were early symptoms of an anti-Polish political attitude. In 1809, when Galicia was temporarily occupied by the forces of Napoleon's Polish satellite, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Metropolitan Antin Anhelovych (1756–1814) refused to participate in any Polish patriotic demonstrations, and suffered for his loyalty to the Habsburg cause.⁸

The struggle of the Cossack Ukraine for political independence in the seventeenth century was closely associated with the defense of Orthodoxy against Islam and Roman Catholicism. The Uniate Church appeared at that time as an adjunct of alien Polish domination. By the nineteenth century, a curious reversal of roles had taken place. After the subordination of the Metropolitan See of Kiev to the Moscow Patriarchate (1685), the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine lost its autonomy, and gradually became completely russified. The Uniate Church, suppressed in the Russian Empire (1839), was limited to the Habsburg domains. But here it experienced a remarkable resurgence. The beneficial reforms sponsored by the Austrian government raised the educational and civic standards of the Greek Catholic clergy above those of the contemporary Orthodox clergy. At the same time, the impact of Austrian "Josephinism" enabled the Greek Catholic Church to rid itself of the Polish connection. It was now in a position to assume the role of a Ukrainian national church. From 1848 on, the Greek Catholic clergy provided the political leadership of the Ukrainian community in Galicia. Later, the leadership gradually passed into the hands of the lay intelligentsia, many of whom were, however, sons of clerical families.

The Intellectual Awakening

The end of the Napoleonic wars initiated a long period of international and internal peace. But during these drowsy Biedermeier years an indigenous intellectual life began to take shape among

⁸ Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, Vol. II, pp. 875–882.

Galicia's Greek Catholic clerical intelligentsia. Beginning in the 1820s, a few scholars appeared among them: historians (Mykhailo Harasevych [1763–1836], Denys Zubryts'kyi [1777–1862]) and grammarians and ethnographers (Ivan Mohyl'nyts'kyi [1777–1831], Iosyf Lozyns'kyi [1807–1889], Iosyf Levyts'kyi [1801–1860]). However, their works were written in Latin, German or Polish. Some Polish scholars also published important collections of Ukrainian folklore.

The next step, in 1832, was the formation of a patriotic circle among the students of the Greek Catholic theological seminary in L'viv. The leader of the group was Markiiian Shashkevych (1811–1843), a talented poet and an inspiring personality. His closest associates were Iakiv Holovats'kyi (1814–1888) and Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1860). The three young men were nicknamed "The Ruthenian Triad."⁹

What differentiated the Triad from their predecessors and older contemporaries was their determination to lift the vernacular to the level of a literary language. They decided to publish an almanac, containing samples of folk poetry and some original works. After many difficulties with censorship, a small volume appeared in 1837: *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Nymph of the Dniester). It was printed in Buda in Hungary, where censorship was more lenient than in Galicia. The *Rusalka* was the beginning of modern Ukrainian literature in Galicia, and also a milestone in the formation of national consciousness.

The *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* may appear today as completely innocuous and devoid of political significance, but contemporaries felt this "linguistic revolution" to be radical and dangerous. Shashkevych and his friends had further plans: they started a systematic collection of folkloristic materials and intended to publish educational literature for the peasants. But their initiative was paralyzed by the establishment. Said the police director of L'viv: "We already have enough

⁹ A first-hand account of the Shashkevych circle is found in the reminiscences of Iakiv Holovats'kyi, "Perezhitoe i perestradannoe" (1881), *Pys'mennyky Zakhidnoi Ukrainy 30-50-kh rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1965), pp. 229–285. From the extensive literature on the Galician "Awakeners" the following works are of interest to a student of social thought: Ivan Zanevych (Ostap Terlets'kyi), "Literaturni stremlinnia halyts'kykh rusyniv vid 1772 do 1872," *Zhytie i slovo*, I–IV (L'viv, 1892–1895); H. Iu. Herbil's'kyi, *Rozvytok prohresyvnykh idei v Halychyni v pershii polovyni XIX st.* (L'viv, 1964); Jan Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830–1848* (Cracow, 1973); and Mykhailo Tershakovets', *Halyts'ko-rus'ke literaturne vidrodzhenie* (L'viv, 1908).

trouble with one nationality [the Poles], and these madmen want to resurrect the dead-and-buried Ruthenian nationality.”¹⁰ But even more crippling than bureaucratic obtuseness was the hostility of the Greek Catholic hierarchy. Metropolitan Mykhailo Levyts'kyi (1774–1858) and his collaborators felt that the use of the “peasant language” in print was undignified, indecent, and possibly subversive. Ecclesiastical censorship confiscated the edition of *Rusalka*, and prevented other vernacular publications. The humiliations and persecutions to which the members of the Ruthenian Triad were exposed contributed to Shashkevych's premature death, and finally drove Vahylevych to the Polish camp.

Shashkevych and his circle were well aware that the Galician “Ruthenians” and the “Little Russians” across the Austrian-Russian boundary were one and the same people. They were stimulated by the young vernacular literary movement in the eastern Ukraine, and by personal contacts with some scholars of Ukrainian background at Russian universities (Izmail Sreznevs'kyi, Mykhailo Maksymovych, Osep Bodians'kyi). The latter were by no means Ukrainian nationalists, but they encouraged their Galician friends' romantic enthusiasm for the popular language and folkloristic studies.

Another inspiration emanated from the Czechs.¹¹ The spectacular achievements of the Czech national movement were an obvious model for the Galician “Awakeners.” Through the intermediary of Karel Vladislav Zap, a Czech man of letters employed in the Galician administration, Holovats'kyi and Vahylevych established contacts with the leading Czech Slavists, and contributed to Prague periodicals. Both the Czechs and the Galician Ukrainians inclined to an Austro-Slavic political program. In an article published in 1846, the outstanding Czech publicist, Karel Havlíček, called the Ukraine “a lamb between two wolves,” Russia and Poland, and “an apple of discord thrown by fate between these two nations.” He advised Austria to support the Ukrainians in Galicia, who then would be in a position to influence their compatriots in the Russian Empire.¹²

¹⁰ Zanevych, “Literaturni stremlinnia,” *Zhytie i slovo*, II (1894), p. 444.

¹¹ Several important studies on Czech-Ukrainian relations in the nineteenth century are to be found in *Z istorii chekhoslovats'ko-ukraïns'kykh zv'iazkiv* (Bratislava, 1959). See also Vladimír Hostička, “Ukrajina v názorech české obrozenecké společnosti do roku 1848,” *Slavia*, XXXIII (Prague, 1964), pp. 558–578.

¹² Karel Havlíček Borovský, *Politické spisy*, ed. Zdeněk Tobolka, Vol. I (Prague, 1900), p. 59.

Iakiv Holovats'kyi expressed, also in 1846, strikingly similar views in an article published in a German journal.¹³ After describing the social plight and cultural stagnation of his people, oppressed by the Polish aristocracy and neglected by their own reactionary high clergy, Holovats'kyi explained why, in spite of these unsatisfactory conditions, the Galician Ruthenians felt no attraction toward Russia. The peasants knew that in Russia there was no legal protection for the serf against abuse; the Greek Catholic priests had a better life than Russian Orthodox popes. Moreover, in Russia "there is little hope for their literature and nationality. Muscovitism swamps everything. . . The centralizing Russian government looks askance at the emergence of a Little Russian literature." Holovats'kyi concluded that "by favoring Ruthenian literature [in Galicia], Austria could exercise influence on Little Russia."

The anti-Russian revolt in Congress Poland (1830–31) caused a burgeoning of underground activities in Galicia. These culminated, fifteen years later, in the ill-starred revolt of 1846. Polish conspirators, who thought of their country with pre-Partition frontiers, extended their propaganda to the Ukrainian community.¹⁴ The attempts at proselytizing among the peasantry gave birth to a propagandistic literature in the Ukrainian vernacular. But this agitation met no favorable response. Revolutionary propaganda was more successful with educated Ukrainians. At least some segments of the Greek Catholic intelligentsia were susceptible to the libertarian appeal of the Polish cause. A conspiratorial group formed, in 1833–34, among the students of the L'viv seminary. But even before its suppression by the authorities, in 1838, it met with opposition from the ranks of the young people themselves. Some Ukrainian members of the underground Association of the Polish People demanded that its name be changed to "of the Polish and Ruthenian People," but this proposal was rejected with scorn.¹⁵ This rigidity of the Polish revolutionaries led to an anti-Polish reaction, and the Ruthenian national current,

¹³ Havrylo Rusyn (Iakiv Holovats'kyi), "Zustände der Russinen in Galizien," *Slawische Jahrbücher*, IV (Leipzig, 1846), pp. 361–379.

¹⁴ Stefan Kieniewicz, *Konspiracje galicyjskie (1831–1845)* (Warsaw, 1950); passages relevant to the question of Polish-Ukrainian relations are on pp. 103–104, 155–161, 213–214.

¹⁵ Moritz Freiherr von Sala, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes vom Jahre 1846* (Vienna, 1867), pp. 98–102.

headed by the Shashkevych circle, gained the upper hand among the seminarians. The wider question of the Polish impact on the Galician "Awakeners" requires a double-edged answer. European liberal ideas reached Ukrainians of that generation mostly through Polish channels. On the other hand, the assertion of a separate Ukrainian nationality necessarily implied a struggle against the traditional Polish hegemony. "The work was accomplished quietly and without much ado. The Poles lost their hold on a nation, which only a few years before was closely associated with and hardly distinguishable from them. There was no need for [the governor of Galicia] Count Stadion to 'invent' the Ruthenians in 1848; he already found them there."¹⁶

The 1848 Revolution

Immediately following the outbreak of the Viennese revolt, the Poles staged large-scale patriotic demonstrations in Galicia. On March 18, 1848, they addressed a petition to the emperor, demanding extensive autonomy for Galicia, which they treated as a purely Polish land. One month later, on April 19th, the Ukrainians submitted a petition of their own; they asked for the recognition of their nationality, and for equal rights for the two peoples inhabiting Galicia.¹⁷ The formation of a Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada), on May 2nd, contradicted the claim of the Polish National Council to speak for Galicia as a whole. The Supreme Ruthenian Council, presided over by the Greek Catholic bishop-coadjutor of L'viv, Hryhorii Iakhymovych (1792–1863), formulated its program in a manifesto of May 10th.

Some of the more important acts of the Galician Ukrainians during the revolutionary period were the following: the formation of a network

¹⁶ Sala, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes*, p. 102.

¹⁷ The text of the petition, and of the manifesto of May 10, mentioned below, is in Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukrainsiv 1848–1914* (L'viv, 1926), pp. 17 and 21–24. For accounts of Ukrainian participation in the 1848 Revolution, see Stepan Baran, *Vesna narodiv v avstro-uhors'kii Ukraini* (Munich, 1948); E. M. Kosachevskaia, *Vostochnaia Galitsiia nakanune i v period revoliutsii 1848 g.* (L'viv, 1965); Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *The Spring of a Nation: The Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia in 1848* (Philadelphia, 1967); Mikhal Danylak, *Halyts'ki, bukovyns'ki, zakarpats'ki ukrainsi v revoliutsii 1848–1849 rokiv* (Bratislava, 1972); and Jan Kozik, *Miedzy reakcją a rewolucją: Studia z dziejów ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji w latach 1848–1849* (Warsaw and Cracow, 1975).

of thirty-four local branches of the Rada throughout the country; the founding of *Zoria halytska* (The Galician Star), the first Ukrainian-language newspaper not only in Galicia, but in all Ukrainian lands; participation in the Slavic Congress in Prague in June of 1848; a campaign for election to the first Austrian Reichstag and participation in parliamentary work; formation of a Ruthenian National Guard and military detachments, which took part in the war against insurgent Hungary; organization of public meetings, presentation of addresses to the provincial and the central government, collection of signatures under petitions; and the holding of an Assembly of Ruthenian scholars (Sobor Rus'kykh Uchenykh), October 19–26, 1848, to determine guidelines for cultural and educational policies.

The Supreme Ruthenian Council was launched with the blessing of the governor of Galicia, Count Franz Stadion. This brilliant eccentric has been called “a conservative reformer in the style of [Baron von] Stein and Robert Peel,”¹⁸ an exponent of “enlightened conservatism in the spirit of a revised and refined Josephinism.”¹⁹ Appointed to Galicia after the disastrous Polish revolt of 1846, his policy in 1848 was to frustrate the irredentism of the Polish gentry and intelligentsia by an appeal to the class interests of the peasants (both Ukrainian and Polish), and by support of Ukrainian national claims. Without waiting for a law applying to the whole empire, on April 22nd he abolished by decree the *corvée* and “hereditary tenancy,” thus stealing the thunder from the Polish democrats, who themselves had intended to claim credit for this necessary and overdue reform. Similarly he established the close links with Iakhymovych and the leaders of the Rada, giving the Poles an opportunity for the quip that “Stadion invented the Ruthenians.”

The position of the Galician Ukrainians was analogous to that of the smaller nationalities of Hungary, who also made common cause with the dynasty and the Vienna government against the brand of “liberty” offered to them by the Magyar gentry. In the Austrian half of the monarchy the Ukrainians stood closest to the Czechs, these chief defenders of a united empire, reorganized on Austro-Slavic lines.²⁰

¹⁸ Friedrich Friedjung, *Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860*, Vol. I (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1908), p. 100.

¹⁹ Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918*, Vol. II (New York, 1950), p. 62.

²⁰ V. Žáček, “Pro zv”iazky chekhiv i zakhidnykh ukraintiv u revoliutsiinykh 1848

During the Slavic Congress in Prague a deadlock occurred within the Polish-Ruthenian Section. The Czechs, working behind the scenes, mediated a compromise resolution, adopted by the section on June 7, 1848: the Ukrainians agree to postpone the issue of Galicia's division, and the Poles conceded the principle of the equality of the two nations in all administrative and educational matters.²¹ The subsequent forced dissolution of the Slavic Congress buried the resolution of June 7th. Yet it remained, until the reform of the electoral law for the Galician Diet in February 1914, the only instance of a Polish-Ukrainian compromise.

In the Austrian constituent Reichstag, in Vienna and Kroměříž, the Ukrainian deputies usually followed the example and advice of their Czech colleagues. During the debates of the Constitutional Committee, the Pole Florian Ziemiałkowski had called the Ruthenians "an artificial nation, invented last year." He was vigorously refuted by the Czech spokesmen, František Palacký and František Ladislav Rieger. Said Rieger on January 24, 1849: "Let us respect the national strivings of a people, persecuted by both the Russians and the Poles, and called to an independent existence."²²

The question of national identity was answered by the Supreme Ruthenian Council in the "Ukrainian" sense, that is, in asserting the distinctness of their people not only from Poland, but from Russia as well. The Rada's manifesto, of May 10, 1848, stated: "We Galician Ruthenians (*rusyny halyts'ki*) belong to the great Ruthenian nation who speak one language and count fifteen millions, of whom two and one half inhabit the Galician land."²³ It is, however, noteworthy that in all the pronouncements of the Rada and of its individual leaders we do not find any specific references to the condition of their compatriots in Russia and to the reciprocal relations of the two parts of the

ta 1849 rokakh," *Z istorii chechoslovats'ko-ukraïns'kykh zv"iazkiv*, pp. 343–369; Vladimír Hostička, *Spolupráce Čechů a haličských Ukrajinců v letech 1848–1849*, in *Rozpravy Československé Akademie Věd: Řada společenských věd*, Vol. LXXV, no. 12 (Prague, 1965).

²¹ For the text of the resolution, Vaclav Žáček, ed., *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848. Sbírka dokumentů* (Prague, 1958), pp. 314–315. See also, Lawrence D. Orton, *The Prague Slav Congress of 1848* (Boulder, Colo., 1978).

²² Anton Springer, ed., *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses im Oesterreichischen Reichstage 1848–49* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 31.

²³ Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, p. 21.

nation, divided between the Russian and the Austrian Empires. The politically sophisticated Czech leaders realized the international implications of the Ukrainian revival in Galicia. Rieger said in the Constitutional Committee: "The liberty of the press [in Austria] will give full scope to the Ruthenian element. Their freedom-breathing literature will bring about the melting of the rigid ice of Russian absolutism . . . This, gentlemen, is the most important thing in the question: the fall of the European despot, the enemy of liberty, is near at hand, once this people enters the ranks of the Slavic peoples."²⁴ Yet such wider perspectives were absent in the thinking of the leaders of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, men of good will, but timid and provincial in their intellectual outlook.

Another blind spot in the thinking of the Supreme Ruthenian Council was its neglect of social and economic problems. The abolition of the *corvée* and "hereditary tenancy" still left many issues unsolved: there was the question of indemnity to be paid to the landowners and the question of forests and pastures, which previously had been used jointly by the manors and the villagers and which now were claimed by the former as their exclusive property. These problems were of burning urgency to the peasants. A Ukrainian peasant deputy, Ivan Kapushchak, in an impassioned speech in the Reichstag on August 17, 1848, denied that the demand of indemnity was justified: serfdom was in itself a cruel abuse, and therefore ought not be compensated. "Let them keep the rods and whips, with which they used to beat our weary bodies, and may this serve them as indemnity!"²⁵ The speech made a strong impression on the chamber. But the Rada which consistently advocated the rights of the Greek Catholic Church and clergy and their equality with the "Latin" Church and clergy, failed to take into account the social grievances of the bulk of their people.²⁶

The emergence of the Supreme Ruthenian Council was a direct

²⁴ Springer, *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses*, pp. 30–31.

²⁵ Quoted from Marian Tyrowicz, ed., *Galicja od Pierwszego Rozbioru do Wiosny Ludów, 1772–1849* (Cracow, 1956), pp. 230–232; Roman Rosdolsky, *Die Bauernabgeordneten im konstituierenden österreichischen Reichstag 1848–1849* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 136–138.

²⁶ However, a prominent member of the Rada, Hryhorii Shashkevych (no relation of the "Awakener," Markiiian Shashevych) proposed to the Reichstag a bill to create in Galicia commissions of arbitration to adjudicate cases arising between the landowners

challenge to the Polish claim that Galicia was an organic part of Poland. Polish leaders tried to undermine the Council's position by opposing to it a body which was supposed to represent a pro-Polish current among the Ruthenians. On May 23, 1848, a Ruthenian Assembly (Rus'kyi Sobor) appeared, composed of a handful of Polish noblemen whose families were of Rus' extraction and of a few polonized Ukrainian intellectuals. The Sobor started the publication of a paper, in Ukrainian, but with Polish characters, and engaged as its editor, Ivan Vahylevych, the former companion of Markiian Shashkevych. But the experiment folded quickly. The bulk of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, grouped around the Rada, denounced the Sobor as a sham. Polish patriots of Ukrainian background, on the other hand, aspired to a full membership in the Polish society. An irreversible result of the 1848 Revolution was the permanent separation of the Poles and the Ukrainians into two distinct national communities.

The primary practical goal of the Supreme Ruthenian Council was the separation of the Polish and the Ukrainian areas of Galicia into two provinces, formed along ethnic lines. The issue had originally been raised by the Austrian government itself, without any regard to Ukrainian demands, as a punitive measure after the Polish revolt of 1846 and in connection with the annexation of the former Republic of Cracow. This program was energetically pursued by the Supreme Ruthenian Council in 1848. A memorandum was submitted to the Ministry of Interior on July 17th and again on October 28th. In August, a petition with 15,000 signatures brought the matter to the attention of the Reichstag; ultimately 200,000 people signed the petition. The plan was not only vigorously opposed by the Poles, but also became entangled with the wider issue of a territorial reorganization of the whole empire.

Radical proposals of a new administrative structure based on ethnic principles, like the one submitted to the Reichstag's Constitutional Committee by Palacký, raised a host of conflicting interests and claims.²⁷ The Constitutional Committee decided to retain the

and the peasants. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, p. 37; Rosdolsky, *Die Bauernabgeordneten*, pp. 167–169. For agrarian problems in Galicia during the 1848–1849 Revolution, see *Klasova borot'ba seliansiva Shkhidnoi Halychyny (1772–1849). Dokumenty i materialy* (Kiev, 1974).

²⁷ For details of the Palacký plan, see Springer, *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses*, p. 26.

historical provinces, but, as a concession to the ethnic point of view, to create within the framework of the provinces new, ethnically homogeneous, self-governing units, named *Kreise*. These provisions were taken over in the constitution proclaimed, after the forcible suppression of the Reichstag, by imperial fiat, on March 4, 1849. After the collapse of its architect, Stadion, however, the constitution of March 4th, like its parliamentary predecessor, remained a dead letter. The historical provinces survived the revolutionary crisis, the compensating *Kreise* never became a reality. During the neoabsolutist era the government continued for a time to toy with plans for a territorial reorganization of Galicia, but nothing came of it.²⁸

From Neoabsolutism to the Austro-Polish Compromise

The transition to the neoabsolutist decade (1849–1859) brought about a decline of overt political activities among all Austrian nationalities. The Supreme Ruthenian Council dissolved in 1851. Its former leaders reverted to predominantly ecclesiastical preoccupations. The internal cohesion of the Ruthenian community was weakened by the internal rift into a Russophile and a Ukrainophile faction. At the same time, a most dangerous opponent arose to the Ruthenian cause in the person of Count Agenor Gołuchowski, appointed governor of Galicia in 1849. He was at first scorned by his Polish compatriots as a tool of Vienna. But, as a matter of fact, Gołuchowski rendered to the Polish cause invaluable services. He was instrumental in the final defeat of the plans for Galicia's territorial division. He undermined the central government's trust in the loyalty of the Ruthenians by denouncing them to Vienna as Russophiles. Furthermore, he filled the ranks of the civil service, which had been predominantly German prior to 1848, with Poles. Gołuchowski's governorship thus smoothed the path for the Polish takeover in 1867.

Austria's defeat in the Italian war in 1859 led to an era of constitutional experiments. The Galician provincial Diet met for the first time in 1861. The Ruthenian membership was still comparatively strong, one third of the chamber. But the situation was much less

²⁸ For details, Richard Charnatz, *Oesterreichs innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 23. For a detailed discussion of the problems of Galicia's partition, see Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Sprava podilu Halychyny v rr. 1846–1850," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, XCIII (1910), pp. 54–69, XCIV (1910), pp. 58–83; XCV (1910), pp. 54–82; XCVI (1910), pp. 94–115; XCVII (1910), pp. 104–154.

favorable for the Ukrainians than in 1848; the relative strength of the Poles had increased both in the province and in Vienna, and the support of the central government had become vacillating. The leadership of the Ukrainian community rested with the conservative "Old Ruthenians," who were quite unequal to the requirements of a complex and shifting political constellation. Their paternalistic approach to the peasantry prevented them from building up a strong and reliable mass basis among their own people, which would have enabled them to brave the storm. They failed to come to terms with the Poles, when this might perhaps still have been possible. The Old Ruthenian leaders leaned blindly on the Austrian German centralists, whose exponent was the administration headed by Anton von Schmerling (1861–1865).

The period of constitutional experiments came to an abrupt end with Austria's defeat by Prussia, in 1866, and the establishment of the Dualist system. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 found its corollary in the simultaneous Austro-Polish Compromise. The more ambitious Polish plan to obtain a special constitutional position for Galicia miscarried; legally Galicia remained on the same footing with the other "crownlands" of the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy. Yet for all practical purposes, full control over the land was turned over to the Polish upper classes. The fate of the Ukrainians was similar to that of the non-Magyar nationalities of Hungary. In either case, the dynasty and the central government sacrificed their loyal supporters of 1848. To one of the chief authors of the Dualist system, Foreign Minister Count Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, is attributed the saying that "whether and to what extent the Ruthenians may exist, is left to the discretion of the Galician Diet."²⁹

A few brief indications must suffice to give an idea of the power structure in Galicia and the respective position of the two nationalities during the Dualist epoch.³⁰ The viceroy of Galicia was always appointed from the Polish aristocracy. In Vienna a special "Minister for Galician Affairs" guarded Polish interests. The electoral system, based on the representation of *curiae*, or economic groups, secured a strong Polish preponderance both in the provincial Diet and in Galicia's

²⁹ Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, p. 104.

³⁰ For a full presentation of the intricacies of constitutional and legal arrangements, see Konstanty Grzybowski, *Galicja 1848–1914. Historia ustroju politycznego na tle historii ustroju Austrii* (Cracow, Wroclaw and Warsaw, 1959).

representation in the Reichsrat (central parliament). Ukrainians could expect to be elected only from the peasant *curia*, but their share was further reduced by administrative pressure and electoral corruption.³¹ Both the state administration, headed by the viceroy, and the autonomous provincial administration, under the jurisdiction of the Diet, were staffed almost exclusively by Poles, and transacted business in Polish. The land's two universities, which had been German during the absolutist era, became polonized (with a few Ukrainian chairs at L'viv University). The same thing applied also to secondary education, and for many years the Ukrainians were restricted to a single secondary school (*Gymnasium*). The entire social, economic, and educational policy was geared to the interests of the Polish ruling class. With only minor changes, this system remained in operation for forty years, until the electoral reform of 1907.

Twenty years after their political debut in 1848, the Galician Ukrainians had suffered a disastrous defeat. What they saved from this shipwreck was very little—the entrenched position of the Greek Catholic Church, elementary schools in the native languages, a token recognition of their claim to a place in secondary and higher education, certain minimal linguistic rights in the dealings with authorities. However, despite the upper-class bias of the Austrian constitution and the malpractices of the Polish-controlled Galician administration, the Ukrainians in Austria still enjoyed that most important benefit, a constitutional rule of law. They could publish newspapers and books, form associations, hold public meetings, take part in elections (even if against great odds), express their grievances from the parliamentary tribune, and fight legally for the improvement of their position. First, however, they had to learn how to make effective use of these opportunities. This necessitated a profound change of attitude on the part of their leaders; they had to learn how to stand on their own feet politically, not to expect favors from the government, or any outside help, and to rely, first and last, on the organized strength of their own people.

³¹ In 1861 there were 49 Ukrainian deputies to the Galician Diet. By 1867 their number had been cut to 14, out of a total membership of 144. From the Reichsrat elections of 1879 there emerged 3 Ukrainian deputies, as against 57 Poles. See Karl Gottfried Hugelmann, ed., *Das Nationalitätenrecht des alten Oesterreichs* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 693 and 713.

The Nature of the Polish-Ukrainian Conflict

The Polish-Ukrainian relationship was the major internal problem of Galicia. The struggle between the two communities, which broke out overtly in 1848, went on relentlessly with an ever-increasing intensity and bitterness, from year to year and decade to decade. The conflict shaped not only those sections of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples who lived in the Austrian Empire, but also exercised a fateful influence on the historical destiny of all of Poland and the Ukraine.

The distribution of nationalities in the province of Galicia, according to the 1910 census, was 47 percent Roman Catholics (Poles), 42 percent Greek Catholics (Ukrainians), and 11 percent Jews. A distinction, however, should be made between western and eastern Galicia, divided approximately by the San River. The former was overwhelmingly, 89 percent Polish. The latter was a land of mixed populations: the Ukrainian majority of 62 percent was faced by Polish and Jewish minorities of 25 and 12 percent respectively.³² A distinguished Polish social historian made the observation: "The distribution of Poles in eastern Galicia is unfavorable, because they are spread out over the entire area, but with the exception of the city and district of L'viv, they are nowhere in a majority . . . The Polish population of eastern Galicia is concentrated mostly in the cities and manorial estates."³³

Whatever one may say about the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, "race" played no role in it. Ethnic intermingling between the two communities

³² Rudnyckyj, *Ukraina*, p. 145. It is to be noticed that the Polish minority in eastern Galicia had considerably increased in the course of the nineteenth century. In 1857 there were only 21.5 percent Roman Catholics there. No precise data are available for the earlier period, but it is likely that the percentage of Poles was even smaller. "In Ruthenia lived [in 1772] a small minority of Roman Catholic Poles; they were mostly noblemen and town dwellers, and here and there also unfree peasants," A.J. Brawer, *Galizien wie es an Oesterreich kam: Eine historisch-statistische Studie über die Verhältnisse des Landes im Jahre 1772* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1910), p. 21. The increase of the Polish population was due to several causes: higher mortality among Ukrainians; colonization by Polish settlers from the western part of the province; continued assimilation. The sons of the German officials, who had come to Galicia during the absolutist period, usually became Poles. The same thing applied to the Armenians and some emancipated Jews. Ukrainian villagers, when they moved to towns, or rose to a higher social status, frequently became polonized, and this process began to slow down only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

³³ Bujak, *Galicya*, Vol. I (L'viv and Warsaw, 1908), pp. 72–73.

had been going on for centuries. The Polish nobility was largely of Rus' ancestry. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of Polish peasant settlers had imperceptibly blended with the surrounding Ukrainians. Even in times of sharpening nationalist disputes, inter-marriage remained very frequent. There was a saying in Galicia that "the Polish-Ukrainian frontier runs across the marriage bed."

The identification of the Poles with Roman Catholics, and the Ukrainians with Greek Catholics, requires some qualification. There still existed in the second half of the nineteenth century the vanishing breed of *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*: educated Greek Catholics who considered themselves culturally and politically as Poles. On the other hand, there was the much more numerous stratum of the so-called *latynnyky* ("Latins," that is, people of Latin rite), Roman Catholic peasants who in language and customs had become assimilated to their Ukrainian fellow villagers. These intermediary groups tended to melt away in the heat of the nationality struggle. Despite these exceptions, religious allegiance provided a simple and clearcut means of national identification. Uniatism represented a synthesis of Eastern and Western cultural elements. The Galician Ukrainians were the most westernized branch of Eastern Slavdom. Nevertheless, next to their Polish neighbors they still felt themselves heirs to the Eastern tradition. Thus the line separating the Poles and the Ukrainians in Galicia was an extension of the age-old boundary between the worlds of the Roman and the Byzantine civilizations.

The dominant position of the Polish nationality was bolstered by the social privileges of the landed nobility and upper middle class. Conversely, for the Ukrainians, the struggle for national and social emancipation was one. A Polish student could state: "The fact that 'peasant' and 'Ruthenian,' on the one hand, and 'Pole' and 'squire,' on the other, have become synonymous, is fatal to us . . . The social element of the national question tremendously facilitates the Ruthenians' work of national education of their people, and makes it difficult for us to defend our position."¹⁴

Beyond the clash of actual social interests, there was an invidious conflict on the psychological plane. The outlook of the Polish intelligentsia and middle class was largely derived from the tradition of the gentry. The origins of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were plebeian; every educated Ukrainian was only one or two generations removed

¹⁴ Bujak, *Galicya*, Vol. I, p. 84.

from either a parsonage or a peasant hut. Thus even those Polish and Ukrainian groups whose formal education and living conditions were similar displayed a divergent social mentality. Both communities viewed their present conflict in the image of the great seventeenth-century wars between Polish nobles and Ukrainian Cossacks. These stereotypes were reinforced by literature. The talented and extremely popular historical romances of Henryk Sienkiewicz contributed much to the picture in Polish minds of the Ukrainians as rebellious barbarians.

Lastly, the two nations were separated by incompatible political ideologies. Polish political thought took as its point of departure the pre-Partition Commonwealth, in which the corporate unity of the noble class was identical with the unity of the nation. Such an attitude made it extremely difficult for the Poles to reconcile themselves to the idea of a separate Ukrainian nation. The claim that the Ruthenians constituted a nation, in principle endowed with equal rights with the Poles, seemed to the latter preposterous. Hence the inveterate Polish tendency to explain the Ukrainian movement as a foreign "intrigue": Austrian (Stadion!), Russian or, later, Prussian.

As early as 1833, Wacław Zaleski, the distinguished collector of folklore, directed a barb against the Ruthenian Triad: "The Slovaks, the Silesians and the Moravians have united with the Czechs; with whom should the Ruthenians unite? Or should we perhaps wish for the Ruthenians to have their own literature? What would happen to German literature, if various Germanic tribes attempted to have their own literatures?"³⁵ The Polish democratic leader, Florian Ziemalkowski, proclaimed in January 1849 in the Constitutional Committee of the Austrian Reichstag: "As for Galicia, it belongs to the Polish nationality . . . Before March 1848 a Ruthenian was a person of Greek, and a Pole a person of Catholic religion. There were Ruthenians and Poles in the same family. It is unnecessary to say who has created the split, but this is a difference of religion, and not of nationality . . . The Polish language is not that of the Masurians [the ethnically Polish peasants of western Galicia], but is rather a literary language, common to the several tribes inhabiting Galicia, although they talk in their different dialects."³⁶ The eminent historian, the Reverend Walerian Kalinka, an advisor to Prince Adam Czartoryski,

³⁵ K. Ostaszewski-Barański, *Wacław Michał Zaleski (1799–1849). Zarys biograficzny* (L'viv, 1912), p. 353.

³⁶ Springer, *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses*, p. 20.

"the uncrowned king of the Polish exiles," wrote in 1858: "The nations have their age-old boundaries, and it would be foolhardy to want to trespass them. History had concentrated the Ruthenian nationality on the far [eastern] side of the Dnieper; its heartland is today in the *Slobids'ka* Ukraine [province of Kharkiv]. The Ukraine of the near [western] side of the Dnieper, conquered and defended by Polish arms, and inhabited by a people from whose bosom the [polonized] nobility has sprung, is, and, God willing, shall never cease to be, a Polish province."³⁷ Count Leszek Borkowski stated bluntly in 1868 in the Galician Diet: "Rus' does not exist. There is only Poland and Moscow."³⁸

Large segments of Polish public opinion never retreated from this basic position. Others, more flexible and realistic, did so, although grudgingly and slowly. Some Poles considered the possibility of a future Polish-Ukrainian alliance against Russia, of course under Poland's leadership. This was, for instance, the opinion of the Cracow conservative, Count Stanisław Tarnowski, in 1866: "We must not oppress, but should rather nurture, the Ruthenian nationality here in Galicia, and it will grow strong also on the Dnieper . . . It will remain Rus', but a Rus' fraternally united with Poland, and dedicated to one common cause."³⁹

Left-wing Poles and Ukrainians were temporarily, in the 1870s and 1880s, brought together by their common opposition against the ruling conservative regime in Galicia. The outstanding Ukrainian writer and scholar of the period, Ivan Franko (1856–1916), had an important part in the formation of the Polish Peasant party.⁴⁰ But cooperation tended to break down once the former fringe groups assumed political responsibility.

The Polish position is well summarized by the statement made shortly before the fall of the Austrian Empire not by an extreme nationalist, but by a perceptive scholar of moderate views and a self-proclaimed partisan of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation: "Polish public

³⁷ *Wiadomości Polskie*, no. 30 (Paris, 1858), quoted from Waleryan Kalinka, *Diela*, Vol. IV, pt. 2 (Cracow, 1894), p. 212.

³⁸ Stefan Kaczała, *Polityka Polaków względem Rusi* (L'viv, 1879), p. 306.

³⁹ Michał Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, Vol. III (Warsaw, 1931), pp. 296–297.

⁴⁰ Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Dzieje Stronnictwa Ludowego w Galicji* (Warsaw, 1956), Elżbieta Hornowa, *Ukraiński obóz postępowy i jego współpraca z polską lewicą społeczną w Galicji 1876–1895* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1968).

opinion looks upon this province as a trust whose splitting up in whatever form is inadmissible; its unity must remain a *noli me tangere* . . . The Poles are bound by a sacred obligation to regard Galicia as a 'historical area', where they are called to fulfill the duties of the master of the house . . . [The demand of equal status for the two languages, Polish and Ukrainian] means the wish to create a pretended justice, which would consist in putting on a footing of equality two totally unequal things.⁴¹ What the Poles were willing to concede to the Ukrainians was, at most, the position of a tolerated minority; but Ukrainian hands had to be permanently kept off the levers of political control, and the educational and economic opportunities of the Ukrainian community were to be carefully restricted in order not to inconvenience the "masters of the house."

The Ukrainian point of view was formulated by Ivan Franko: "We wish the Poles complete national and political liberty. But there is one necessary condition: they must, once and for all, desist from lording it over us, they must, once and for all, give up any thought of building a 'historical' Poland in non-Polish lands, and they must accept, as we do, the idea of a purely ethnic Poland."⁴²

The divergence of national ideologies was too wide to be bridged by compromise. This basic incompatibility often frustrated or delayed the solution of practical issues, which were treated not in a pragmatic way but as pawns in a power struggle. A thick cloud of pent-up emotions and mounting hostility settled over the land.

The Russian and the Ukrainian Idea in Galicia

In 1848 the Galician Ruthenians broke away from the idea of "historical" Poland. The next step in their search for national identity was the defining of the contents of their recently rediscovered Rus' individuality. This question permitted two alternative answers: "All-Russian" or "Ukrainian."⁴³ We have seen that the Supreme Ruthenian

⁴¹ Stanislaus von Smolka, *Die reussische Welt: Historisch-politische Studien* (Vienna, 1916), pp. 77–78, and 75–76.

⁴² Ivan Franko, "Nash pohliad na pol's'ke pytannia" (1883), *Vybrani suspil'no-politychni i filosof's'ki tvory* (Kiev, 1956), p. 282.

⁴³ For a general orientation to the problem: Ostap Terlets'kyi, *Moskvofily i narodovtsi v 70-ykh rr.* (L'viv, 1902); Mykola Andrusiak, *Narysy z istorii halyts'koho moskovofil's'tva* (L'viv, 1935), and *Geneza i kharakter halyts'koho rusofil's'tva v XIX–XX st.* (Prague, 1941); and Filipp Svistun, *Prikarpatskaia Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii Trum-*

Council was in favor of the Ukrainian thesis, but that this decision carried little internal conviction. The issue had indeed a certain air of unreality. Galicia's contacts with the Russian Empire, including the Ukraine, were tenuous and the intellectual outlook of the Ruthenian intelligentsia, despite an abstract preference for either the All-Russian or Ukrainian ideology, was primarily Austrian and provincial Galician. The question of self-identification overlapped with that of a conservative or liberal-populist orientation in civic and educational work. As early as 1848, in the Assembly of Ruthenian Scholars, the issue came up in an embryonic form; the partisans of the vernacular clashed there with those advocating the restoration of Church Slavonic as the language of literature. The problem was not resolved at that time, and for many years the life of the Ukrainian community was bedevilled by linguistic and orthographic controversies, which assumed a partisan political character.

The Old Ruthenian, or Russophile ("Muscophile"), current crystallized in the 1850s. It was nicknamed "the St. George Circle" (*sviatohorci*), after the Greek Catholic cathedral in L'viv, where several leaders of the group were canons. Support of the Old Ruthenian trend came from the Greek Catholic clergy, and the whole movement was clerical-conservative. The Old Ruthenians wished to oppose to the Polish language not the lowly vernacular, but another language of equal gentility. Church Slavonic seemed the obvious candidate, but the utter impracticality of the scheme soon became evident. Some Old Ruthenian leaders began to point to literary Russian as the linguistic norm, with the argument that natives of Little Russia from Kievan seventeenth-century scholars to Nikolai Gogol had contributed to the making of the Russian literary language. The leading Old Ruthenian publicist, Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1827–1908), devised a theory that Great and Little Russia should have a common written language, pronounced in two different ways, each of which would be admitted as correct.⁴⁴ This was suggested to Didyts'kyi by the circumstance

bull, Conn., 1970; reprint in 1 volume of 2 volumes, L'viv, 1896–97). On the initial stage of the controversy, see Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, ed., *Korespondentsiia Iakova Holovats'koho v liutakh 1850–62*, in *Zbirnyk Filolohichnoi sektiï Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, VIII–IX (L'viv, 1905). A penetrating commentary analysis is to be found in the articles of Mykhailo Drahomanov, collected in *Politycheskiiia sochineniia M. P. Dragomanova*, eds. I. M. Grevs and B. A. Kistiakovskii (Moscow, 1908).

⁴⁴ Bohdan Didyts'kyi, *Svoiezhytievyyi zapysky*, Vol. I (L'viv, 1906), pp. 10–14 and 64–65.

that educated Galicians were able to read Russian, but could not speak it. The idiom the Old Ruthenians actually used in their publications was an odd mixture of Ukrainian, Church Slavonic and Russian, with Polish and German additions, ironically called *iazychiie* (jargon) by their opponents. This macaronic language remained the hallmark of the Russophile party for many years.

Another important feature of the Old Ruthenian ideology was the insistence on such formal traits of the Rus' identity as the Byzantine liturgy, the Julian calendar, and the Cyrillic alphabet with the historic "etymological" spelling. The Russophiles believed that only by upholding these venerable traditions would their people succeed in resisting Polish wiles. The Austrian administration had, indeed, during Gołuchowski's governorship tried to impose the Latin script on the Galician Ukrainians. This attempt was beaten off by the St. George Circle.⁴⁵ A typical expression of the Old Ruthenian mentality was the "ritualist movement" (*obriadovyi rukh*) of the 1850s and 1860s; its purpose was to purge the Greek Catholic ritual of all "Latin accretions."⁴⁶

At first, the Old Ruthenians had a certain general, rather vague sympathy for Russia. The ritualistic traits of the Rus' tradition, which they valued most highly, were common to the entire East Slavic world. Their lack of first-hand experience masked the differences between Russia proper and the Ukraine. Their ingrained conservatism made them admire the mighty monarchy of the tsars. But the decisive factor in their Russophilism was an anti-Polish animus. They felt that whatever weakened the unity of the Rus' world played into the hands of the Polish enemy, and they suspected their Populist opponents of collusion with the Poles. The rupture with Polish society was so difficult that the generation of Ruthenian intellectuals, which had effected the break, tended to lean to the opposite direction. The anti-Polish resentment induced even the surviving member of the Ruthenian Triad, Iakiv Holovats'kyi, who in his 1846 article had spoken as a Ukrainian "separatist," now to assume a pro-Russian stand. Appointed in 1848 to the newly created chair of Ruthenian literature at L'viv University, he was forced to resign his professorship because of his participation in the Moscow Slavic Congress of 1867 and ended his days in Russia.

⁴⁵ Didyts'kyi, *Svoiezhytiivyi zapysky*, Vol. I, pp. 72–81.

⁴⁶ Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien*, pp. 121–136.

Political events in the 1860s speeded the transformation of Old Ruthenianism into outright Russophilism. The rapprochement between the dynasty and the Poles was a terrible shock to the St. George Circle. It not only destroyed their hopes, but also outraged their moral sense. They felt let down by the emperor and the Vienna government, whom they had loyally served since 1848. In the face of the impending Polish takeover in Galicia, only one hope seemed left: salvation from the East. There was a saying among the Galician Ukrainians: "If we are to drown, we prefer the Russian sea to the Polish swamp." Austria's critical international situation made the disintegration of the empire look probable. At the height of the Austro-Prussian war, in the summer of 1866, several articles appeared in the Old Ruthenian newspaper, *Slovo* (The World), which, while stressing loyalty to Austria, at the same time proclaimed the doctrine of the ethnic and cultural unity of the Russian nation, "from the Carpathians to the Urals."⁴⁷

At about the same time, individual Russophile leaders entered into relations with the Russian Pan-Slavists. The liaison man was the Reverend Mikhail Raevskii, chaplain of the Russian embassy in Vienna. He organized a salon for Ruthenian and other Slavic intellectuals and students in the Austrian capital, and through his hands flowed subsidies from the Slavic committees of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The sums which reached Galicia were not large, but this dependence on secret Russian aid helped to keep the key figures of the Russophile party "in line."⁴⁸

The spontaneous growth of pro-Russian sentiment in the 1860s was not limited to the Galician Ukrainians. All the Slavic nationalities of the Habsburg Empire, with the exception of the Poles, reacted similarly to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. Even the linguistic theories of the Old Ruthenians, odd as they may seem, were not without parallels among other Slavic peoples. For instance, the Slovak writer and publicist Ludevít Štúr proposed the adoption of Russian by all Slavic peoples as a common literary language.⁴⁹ Yet to

⁴⁷ Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, pp. 80–81.

⁴⁸ Mieczysław Tanty, "Kontakty rosyjskich komitetów słowiańskich ze Słowianami z Austro-Węgier," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, LXXI, 1 (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 59–77. See also Ulrich Picht, *M. P. Pogodin und die Slavische Frage: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Panславismus* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 161–179.

⁴⁹ Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1953), p. 23.

the Ukrainians the issue possessed certain specially ominous aspects. For them Russophilism was not simply a question of a political orientation; it contained a threat to their national identity. The bulk of their people lived within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, which denied the existence of a Ukrainian nationality. The Ukrainian movement there could maintain itself only with difficulty against persecution by the tsarist government and against tremendous societal pressures. If the section of the Ukrainian people who lived outside Russia, and to whom the opportunity of free choice was given, had embraced the ideology of a one and indivisible Russian nation, this would have doomed the prospects of Ukrainian nationalism. If, on the other hand, the nationalist trend prevailed in Galicia, this was bound to have serious repercussions in the central-eastern Ukraine.

The opponents of the Russophiles were referred to as the Young Ruthenians, or, more commonly, the Populists (*narodovtsi*), the Ukrainophiles, or simply Ukrainians.⁵⁰ Even in the 1850s, voices were raised against the reactionary linguistic policy of the St. George Circle, in favor of the vernacular as a literary language, in accordance with the precepts of the Ruthenian Triad. The Populist movement was born, around 1860, under the inspiration of the poems of Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861), which were received by young Galician intellectuals as a prophetic revelation: They “enthusiastically read Shevchenko, the first and greatest peasant poet of all Europe.”⁵¹ A programmatic pamphlet, published in 1867, summarizes the main points of the Populist philosophy: “We are the upholders of the great testament of our unforgettable Bard, Taras Shevchenko . . . We are proud of belonging to a nation of fifteen million, whose name is Ruthenians or Ukrainians, and whose country’s name is: our Mother Rus’-Ukraine . . . Our sworn enemies are the Polish nobility and the Muscovite government . . . We shall always stand on the side of our poor, rag-covered peasant people.”⁵² The pamphlet professed

⁵⁰ *Narod* means both “people” and “nation” in Ukrainian. Thus *narodovtsi* may be rendered as either “populists” or “nationalists,” but the former is, probably, more accurate.

⁵¹ Terlets’kyi, *Moskovofily i narodovtsi*, p. 24.

⁵² Fedir Chornohora (Danylo Taniachkevych), *Pys'mo narodovtsiv rus'kykh do redaktora politychnoi chasopysi “Rus’” jako protest i memoriial* (Vienna, 1867), pp. 3, 5, 6, 15.

loyalty to the Greek Catholic Church and the Austrian Empire, but rejected clericalism and servility toward Vienna.

In the 1860s there was an air of youthful romanticism about the *narodovtsi*. This showed, for instance, in the sporting of Cossack costumes. The first organizational expression of the movement were semisecret circles (*hromady*) among university and *Gymnasium* students. The Populists were joined by a few veterans of the 1848 generation, who disapproved of the reactionary policy of the St. George Circle: the Reverend Stefan Kachala (1815–1888), Iuliiian Lavrivs'kyi (1821–1873), and Ivan Borysykevych (1815–1882). The leading figures among those who entered public life in the 1860s and 1870s, and who may be regarded as the founders of modern Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia were Danylo Taniachkevych (1842–1900), Omelian Partyts'kyi (1840–1895), the brothers Volodymyr (1850–1883) and Oleksander Barvins'kyi (1847–1927), the brothers Omelian (1833–1894) and Oleksander Ohonovs'kyi (1848–1891), Natal' Vakhnianyn (1841–1908), and Iuliiian Romanchuk (1842–1932). It is noteworthy that although some were priests, most were not: this was the first generation of Galicia's Ukrainian lay intelligentsia. The majority became teachers of secondary schools, and the *narodovtsi* assumed the character of a "professors' party."⁵³

Until the 1880s the "Old" party controlled the metropolitan's consistory, the major Ruthenian institutions (for example, the "National Home" in L'viv, founded 1849), the leading newspaper *Slovo*, and the parliamentary representations to the Reichsrat and the Galician Diet. The *narodovtsi* did not yet feel ready to venture into "high politics," and they concentrated their efforts in the educational field. They were supported, from the outset, by the great majority of the elementary school teachers in the countryside. The Populists tried at first to work through the older institutions, controlled by the Russophiles, but cooperation proved impossible. Their first major organizational undertaking was, in 1868, Prosvita (Enlightenment), an association for adult education, which founded reading halls in the villages and published popular literature. Prosvita was the parental

⁵³ The best picture of the early stages of the Populist movement is to be found in the reminiscences of Oleksander Barvins'kyi, *Spomyny z moho zhyttia. Obrazky z hromadians'koho i pys'mens'koho rozvytku rusyniv*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1912–1913). See also S. M. Trushevykh, *Suspil'no-politychnyi rukh u Skhidnii Halychyni v 50-70-kh rokakh XIX st.* (Kiev, 1978).

body from which, in the course of years, sprang other institutions and organizations. Populism gradually spread among the masses and laid a firm organizational groundwork. The first Populist periodical, in 1862, failed, as did repeated later attempts. Only in 1880, thanks to the initiative of Volodymyr Barvins'kyi, were the *narodovtsi* able to successfully launch a representative newspaper, *Dilo* (The Deed), transformed into a daily in 1888. Its title implied a polemic against the Russophile paper, *Slovo* (The Word).⁵⁴

The dynamism of the Populists contrasted with the stagnation of the "Old" party, whose reliance on outside aid had imbued it with a quietist spirit. The turning point came in 1882. The high command of the Russophiles was affected by the treason trial against some of its best known personalities, among them Adol'f Dobrians'kyi (1817–1901), a native of the Carpatho-Ukraine, and the Reverend Ivan Naumovych (1826–1891), the party's chief orator and journalist. The trial actually ended in an acquittal, but it showed, at the same time, the duplicity of the Old Ruthenian leaders who publicly had always asserted their allegiance to the Austrian Empire and the Catholic Church while secretly favoring Russia and Orthodoxy.⁵⁵ After the trial, the most compromised defendants, especially Naumovych, emigrated to Russia, thus weakening the movement in Galicia. As another result of the 1882 trial, the Austrian government asked for and obtained the resignation of Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych (1821–1900), blamed for having tolerated Russophile propaganda. This was the beginning of the end of the "St. George Circle." Many ordinary patriots of Old Ruthenian persuasion became painfully aware that Russophilism represented, ideologically and politically, a blind alley. By 1890, the leadership of the Ruthenian community in Galicia had definitely passed to the "Ukrainians," while the Russo-phile camp showed signs of disintegration.

⁵⁴ For a presentation of the organizational achievements of the Ukrainian movement up to the 1880s, see Volodymyr Hnatiuk, *Natsional'ne vidrozhennia avstro-uhors'kykh ukraintsiiv (1772–1880 rr.)* (Vienna, 1916). On the history of the Prosvita association, see *Storichchia materi "Prosvity"* (Winnipeg, 1968).

⁵⁵ For a contemporary account, see M. P. Dragomanov, "Protseess postyidnyi vo vsekh otnosheniakh" (1882), *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*, Vol. II (Paris, 1906), pp. 626–637.

The Emergence of the Radicals

As more and more former Old Ruthenians were passing over to the Populists, the latter assumed a more conservative and clerical coloring. It was a deliberate policy of the Barvins'kyi brothers to make the Ukrainian national idea palatable to the Greek Catholic clergy, still the leading element in the Galician Ukrainian society. In this they succeeded, but, as a result, the Ukrainian national movement sloughed off much of its original democratism and nonconformism. Such a tame, "respectable" version of Populism could no longer satisfy the bolder minds of the young generation. Repeating the pattern of the 1860s, a new youth movement emerged among the students in the second half of the 1870s. The outstanding members of the group were Ivan Franko, Mykhailo Pavlyk (1853–1915), and Ostap Terlets'kyi (1850–1902). The *Weltanschauung* of the "Radicals," as they called themselves, was one of positivism and non-Marxian socialism. Their informal circle was construed by the authorities as a revolutionary conspiracy. The trial against Franko and his friends, in 1878, was the first antisocialist trial in Galicia. The Radicals had to suffer not only from persecution by the Austro-Polish administration, but also from the ostracism of their own compatriots, who were particularly shocked by the militant agnosticism of the youthful rebels. In spite of many hardships and setbacks, the Radical trend maintained itself through the 1880s, producing pamphlets and short-lived journals.⁵⁶

Growing contacts with Russia and the central-eastern Ukraine were instrumental in overcoming Russophile myths. Typical in this respect were the experiences of Kornlyo Ustianovych, the painter and poet, as related with many colorful details in his reminiscences. As a student he had belonged to the Raevskii circle in Vienna, and was an ardent "Pan-Russian." He visited the country of his dreams, in 1867 and 1872, to find out that the Galician Ruthenians, despite all their handicaps, enjoyed constitutional liberties far beyond the reach of Russian subjects. He saw that tsarism, admired by the St. George Circle from afar, was the object of scorn of the best elements of the Russian society. And he convinced himself that, all official denials to the contrary, the Russians and Ukrainians were essentially different,

⁵⁶ On the beginnings of the Radical movement, see O. I. Dei, *Ukrains'ka revoliutsiino-demokratychna zhurnalistyka* (Kiev, 1959). On the 1878 antisocialist trial, see V. I. Kalynovych, *Politychni protsesy Ivana Franka ta toho tovaryshiv* (L'viv, 1967).

and that the latter suffered national oppression. Ustiiianovych returned from Russia a determined Ukrainian nationalist.⁵⁷ This was by no means an isolated case. The eminent east Ukrainian scholar and civic leader Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841–1895), professor at the Kiev University, and after 1876 an exile in Switzerland, tells in his “Autobiography”: “I conceived [ca. 1872] the plan of spreading the Ukrainian trend in Galicia with the aid of modern Russian literature, which by its secularist and democratic character would undermine Galician clericalism and bureaucratic spirit. This would make young intellectuals turn to the *demos*, which is Ukrainian there, and Ukrainian national consciousness would follow by itself . . . I dare to say that no Slavophile from Moscow had distributed as many Russian books in Austria as did I, a Ukrainian ‘separatist’.”⁵⁸ The plan succeeded brilliantly when in 1876, under Drahomanov’s influence, the Russo-philic student organization of L’viv adopted a Ukrainian platform. Through his writings and an extensive correspondence, Drahomanov acted as a mentor of Franko and other progressive Galician intellectuals. He may be regarded as the spiritual father of the Radical movement there; he not only formulated its program, but also advised its leaders on current questions of policy. Drahomanov himself said retrospectively, in 1894: “Of all parts of our country, Rus’–Ukraine, Galicia has become to me equally as dear as my own region of Poltava; it has become my spiritual homeland.”⁵⁹

Relations between the “Dnieper” (central-eastern) Ukraine and Galicia, whose educated classes were bred in different intellectual traditions, were fraught with psychological difficulties. In spite of

⁵⁷ Korniylo N. Ustiiianovych, *M. F. Raevskii i rossiiskii panslavizm. Spomyyny z perezhytoho i peredumanoho* (L’viv, 1884).

⁵⁸ M. P. Drahomanov, “Avtobiohrafiia” (1883), *Vybrani tvory*, Vol. I (Prague and New York, 1937), p. 68.

⁵⁹ “Vidpovid’ M. Drahomanova na iubileini pryvitannia,” *Vybrani tvory*, p. 89. Drahomanov devoted extensive memoirs to his early relations with Galicia: *Avstrosus’ki spomyyny, 1867–77* (L’viv, 1889–1892), reprinted in Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi*, Vol. II (Kiev, 1970), pp. 151–288. A bibliography of Drahomanov’s published correspondence with Galician personalities is to be found in Ivan L. Rudnytsky, ed., *Mykhaylo Drahomanov: A Symposium and Selected Writings*, in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, II, 1 (New York, 1952), pp. 131–140. See also Yaroslav Bilinsky, “Drahomanov, Franko, and the Relations between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia,” in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy*, VIII, 1–2 (New York, 1959), pp. 1542–1566.

this, collaboration was a vital necessity for both regions of the Ukraine. For Galicia, it was necessary because the Habsburgs' Ukrainians derived formative ideas from the Dnieper Ukraine; for the Dnieper Ukrainians, because Galicia was a sanctuary from tsarist persecution. After the "Ukase of Ems," 1876, which prohibited Ukrainian cultural activities in the Russian Empire, Galicia became, for thirty years, the place of publication of works of east Ukrainian writers. Journals, such as *Pravda* (The Truth, 1867–1896, with interruptions), and *Zoria* (The Star, 1880–1897), which appeared in L'viv, united local and Dnieper Ukrainian contributors. Funds collected by east Ukrainian donors were used for the foundation of the Shevchenko Society of L'viv (1873), which later evolved into a representative, all-Ukrainian scholarly institution. Modern Ukrainian nationalism owes much of its character to the interaction of the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia. An example of this was the elaboration of a standard literary language, based on the Poltava dialect, but incorporating significant Galician elements, particularly in scientific, political, and business vocabulary.⁶⁰ In the 1890s Galician Ruthenians embraced the terms "Ukraine," "Ukrainian," as their national name. Such a change in nomenclature had obvious inconveniences, but it was dictated by the desire to stress moral unity with the Dnieper Ukraine, and also by the determination to prevent any further confusion of "Rus'" with "Russia."

An east Ukrainian leader, speaking in his memoirs of his first trip to Galicia in 1903, observed: "At that time, Galicia was for us a model in the struggle for our nation's rebirth; it strengthened our faith and hope for a better future. Galicia was a true 'Piedmont' of the Ukraine because prior to 1906 a Ukrainian press, scholarship, and national life could develop only there."⁶¹ The "Piedmont complex"—the conviction that their small homeland was called to take the forefront of the whole nation's struggle for liberation—occupied a large place in the thinking of the Galician Ukrainians on the eve of the Great War.

"*The Ukrainian Conquest*"⁶²

"As nothing gives more pleasure to a doctor than to observe the

⁶⁰ George Y. Shevelov, *Die ukrainische Schriftsprache 1798–1963* (Wiesbaden, 1963).

⁶¹ Ievhen Chykalenko, *Spohady (1861–1907)* (2nd ed., New York, 1955), p. 336.

⁶² Title borrowed from that of a chapter in Smolka, *Die reussische Welt*, pp. 103–120.

gradual recovery of a patient . . . similarly the greatest pleasure of a historian is to watch the rebirth of a nation, which from a morally and politically degraded state advances toward a normal life."⁶³ These words of Franko, a distinguished contemporary witness, may be supplemented by the statement of a historian, writing in the interwar period: "In a short stretch of twenty years, preceding the Great War, a tremendous change has taken place in eastern Galicia: in the place of a depressed peasant mass arose a politically conscious peasant nation." The same historian, in comparing the balance of strength of Galicia's two nationalities, concluded that "although the Polish upper class considerably surpassed the Ukrainian leading circles in culture and material power, the Ukrainian peasantry, on the other side, were superior to the Polish peasantry [of western Galicia] in national consciousness, civic spirit, discipline, and even in culture and morality."⁶⁴

Toward the end of the century Galicia went through a grave economic crisis. "A dozen and more years after the administration of the province had completely passed into Polish hands, it was still one of the poorest crownlands of the monarchy . . . There is no doubt that during the first twenty-five years of Polish rule little was done to raise the country from poverty, and that Galicia's [Polish] great land-owners and bourgeoisie showed insufficient economic and social initiative."⁶⁵ Some 40 percent of Galicia's territory belonged to the latifundia. The yield of agriculture was the lowest of all Austrian provinces. The peasants used primitive, almost medieval, implements and methods of production. The countryside was entangled in a tragic net of illiteracy, usury, and alcoholism. The progress of urbanization and industrialization was slow; at the turn of the century the number of industrial workers had not yet reached 100,000. Mounting population pressure caused endemic famine; approximately 50,000 people died every year of malnutrition. The Vienna government showed little interest in the development of a distant and strategically exposed province. The provincial Diet and administration combined incompetence with callousness.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ivan Franko, *Moloda Ukraïna. Providni idei i epizody* (L'viv, 1910), p. 17.

⁶⁴ W. Kutschabsky, *Die Westukraine im Kampfe mit Polen und dem Bolschewismus in den Jahren 1918–1923* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 14–15.

⁶⁵ Marian Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowej, 1795–1921* (London, 1961), pp. 412–415.

⁶⁶ Culled from the articles of R. Dymins'kyi and S. Baran in *Entsyklopediia ukrai-*

The new militancy of the Ukrainian masses was dramatically expressed in the agrarian strikes which, in 1902, encompassed over 400 village communities in 20 districts of eastern Galicia. The peasants refused their labor to the manorial estates, trying to obtain improved wages and a more humane treatment. The strike movement had started spontaneously, but organization and guidance was soon given to it by the Ukrainian political parties.⁶⁷

Other forms of economic self-help were less spectacular, but perhaps more effective in the long run. Population pressure was eased by emigration overseas, mostly to the United States, in part also to Canada and Brazil. It is calculated that from 1890 to 1913 approximately 700,000 to 800,000 Austro-Hungarian Ukrainians (from Galicia and Transcarpathia) left the country; this amounted to between a third and a half of the total population increase for the period.⁶⁸ Of importance also was the movement of seasonal workers to various European countries, mostly Germany. About 75,000 migrants went there on the average every year from 1907 to 1912.⁶⁹ Ukrainian organizations made agreements with German authorities concerning the recruitment and the working conditions of the migrants, which the Polish press interpreted as evidence of a Prussian-Ukrainian, anti-Polish "intrigue." Both American immigrants and European seasonal workers were able to save money, a large proportion of which was sent back home. Cash appeared for the first time in the hands of the eastern Galician peasants. This was used for purchase of land. The large estates were frequently badly managed and deeply in

noznavstva, Vol. I (Munich and New York, 1949), pp. 1037 and 1046–1047; Stefan Kieniewicz, ed., *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej (1850–1914)* (Wrocław, 1952), see the Editor's Introduction and the source materials in parts 5 through 8; Walentyna Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji*, Vol. I (Warsaw, 1958), pp. 27–204; P. V. Sviezhyński, *Ahrarni vidnosyny na Zakhidnii Ukraïni v kintsî XIX—na pochatku XX st.* (L'viv, 1966).

⁶⁷ For a penetrating contemporary analysis, Ivan Franko, "Bauernstreiks in Ostgalizien" (1902), *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Ukraine: Ausgewählte deutsche Schriften des revolutionären Demokraten, 1882–1915*, ed. E. Winter and P. Kirchner (Berlin, 1963), pp. 411–422. See also Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji*, Vol. I, pp. 263–282.

⁶⁸ Volodymyr Kubiiiovych, et al., *Heohrafiia ukraïns'kykh i sumezhnykh zemel'* (2nd ed., Cracow and L'viv, 1943), p. 301; Iuliian Bachyn's'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka emigratsiia*, Vol. I (L'viv, 1914), pp. 81–97.

⁶⁹ *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*, Vol. I, p. 149.

the red. The process of breaking up of the latifundia among smallholders was known as "parcelling" (German: *Parzellierung*). This involved complicated legal and credit operations. Moreover, it also had political overtones: Polish leaders used "parcelling" to bring to eastern Galicia settlers from the western part of the province. The Ukrainians formed a special Land Bank in 1908. The percentage of eastern Galician land in great estates decreased from 40.3 percent in 1889, to 37.8 percent in 1912.⁷⁰ Simultaneously, the Ukrainian cooperative movement made spectacular advances.⁷¹ Its modest beginnings lay back in the 1880s, and it gained momentum in the 1890s. By 1914 the whole country was covered with a tight network of credit unions, cooperative stores, associations for the purchase of agricultural products, cooperative dairies, and so forth. The association, *Sil's'kyi Hospodar* (The Farmer), spread agricultural instruction. A Polish observer noted: "Militant 'Ukrainianism' has secured in them [the cooperatives] a number of entrenched strongholds and many outposts, and their work has much contributed to the rise of a nationalist spirit among the masses. Practical peasant minds can be most easily attracted to a movement when they see that it coincides with their vital, everyday interests."⁷² Similar conclusions were reached by a Russian student of the nationality problems of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: "The lot of the Galician peasant is a hard one, and . . . he needs aid from the educated class. Neither the Polish gentry, nor the 'Muscophiles', who expected salvation from a mythical Russian intervention, gave this needed aid. There is no question that the 'Ukrainians' have done a praiseworthy job."⁷³

The veteran Prosvita association continued to expand. In 1914 it counted 77 branches and nearly 3,000 local reading halls. Private Ukrainian schools supplemented the deficiencies of the public educational system, especially in the field of secondary and trade schools. In

⁷⁰ The "parcelling" procedures are vividly described in the memoirs of Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, "Spohady z moho zhyttia," *Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st.* (New York and Paris, 1961). The Reverend Voinarovs'kyi was an eminent agrarian reformer and a close advisor to Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi.

⁷¹ For a detailed survey, see Illia Vytanovych, *Istoriia ukrains'koho kooperatyvnoho rukhu* (New York, 1964), pp. 134–167.

⁷² Smolka, *Die reussische Welt*, p. 134.

⁷³ A. L. Pogodin, *Slavianskii mir. Politicheskoe i ekonomicheskoe polozhenie slavianskikh narodov pered voynoi 1914 goda* (Moscow, 1915), p. 185.

the last prewar decade there was also an upswing of gymnastic and sport associations, Sokil (Falcon, following the well-known Czech model), and Sich (named after the Cossack stronghold of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries). Assessing the achievements of two decades, in 1907 Franko reached an optimistic conclusion: "Our impoverished people, who for many years were the object of systematic exploitation and stultification, have by their own strength and energy pulled themselves out of this humiliating condition . . . They look with a cheerful confidence toward a better future."⁷⁴

Besides the mobilization of the people, the progress of the Ukrainian community involved the development of an intellectual life corresponding to the needs of a diversified, modern society. Two men were leaders in this endeavor, Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (1866–1934).⁷⁵ Franko was amazingly productive and versatile. He made outstanding contributions as poet, novelist, literary historian and critic, translator, student of folklore, and political publicist. He was also a living model of intellectual integrity and selfless civic service. A university career had been denied him because of his radical views, but he acted as a mentor to the rising generation of writers and intellectuals. Hrushevs'kyi was a native of the Dnieper Ukraine. Appointed in 1894 to the newly established, Ukrainian-language chair of East European history at L'viv University, he deployed there an activity which has well been called "gigantic." His standard *History of the Ukraine-Rus'* reached the eighth volume by 1913. Elected president of the reorganized Shevchenko Scientific Society, he raised it to the level of an unofficial Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. "For sixteen years (1897–1913) Hrushevs'kyi stood at the helm of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and during that time the society gained wide recognition in the world of scholarship, published hundreds of volumes . . . built up a large library and a museum, gathered around it scores of Ukrainian scholars . . . While lecturing at L'viv University Hrushevs'kyi trained several scholars, who later

⁷⁴ Franko, *Beiträge*, p. 434.

⁷⁵ On Franko, see Mykhailo Vozniak, *Veleten' dumky i pratsi* (Kiev, 1958). See also the collection of reminiscences, *Ivan Franko u spohadakh suchasnykh* (L'viv, 1956). On Hrushevs'kyi, see the biographical sketch by B. Krupnyts'kyi included as an introduction to the first volume of Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, Vol. I (New York, 1954), pp. i–xxx.

made great contributions to Ukrainian historiography.”⁷⁶ Next to Drahomanov, Hrushevs'kyi was the eastern Ukrainian who made the strongest impact on Galicia. Franko and Hrushevs'kyi collaborated closely in the Shevchenko Society, and on the editorial board of the monthly, *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (Literary and Scholarly Messenger), founded in 1898. This journal united the best literary talent of Russian and Austrian Ukraine, and exercised a great influence as an organ of opinion.

Relations between the Ukrainian national movement and the Greek Catholic Church had not been happy in the second half of the nineteenth century. Authoritative circles of the clergy favored the Old Ruthenian trend while, at the same time, Uniate metropolitans and bishops often displayed obsequiousness toward the province's Austro-Polish administration. Clerical tutelage over the society was resented by the growing lay intelligentsia, and militant anticlericalism was one of the chief driving forces of the Radical movement. A new chapter opened with the elevation of Count Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1865–1944) to the Metropolitan See of Halych.⁷⁷ A descendant of a polonized family which had produced several Uniate bishops in the past, Sheptyts'kyi reverted to the Eastern Rite, and was made metropolitan, when only thirty-five, in 1900. Sheptyts'kyi is universally recognized as one of the outstanding Slavic churchmen of the century. His pastoral labors cannot be discussed here; it suffices to mention his founding of new monastic orders, liturgical reforms, and promotion of theological studies. While keeping aloof from current politics, Sheptyts'kyi rendered great services to the Ukrainian cause by a tactful use of his connections in Vienna, and also as a generous

⁷⁶ Dymtro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*, in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy in the U.S.*, V–VI (New York, 1957), p. 262. For the history of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, see *Istoriia Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (New York and Munich, 1949), and Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Ohnyshche ukrains'koi nauky*. Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka (New York and Philadelphia, 1951).

⁷⁷ Cyrille Korolevskij, *Metropolitte André Szeptycky, 1865–1944*, in *Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificaе Ucrainorum*, Vol. XVI–XVII (Rome, 1964). This extensive biography, devoted primarily to Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral and ecumenical work, ought to be supplemented by two essays, which deal with his public activity and influence on the life of the Ukrainian community: Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Zhyttia i diial'nist* (Munich, 1947); and Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt* (Yorkton, Sask., 1958).

patron of the arts. In 1910 Sheptyts'kyi delivered a great speech in the Austrian House of Lords in support of the creation of a Ukrainian university in L'viv. Intellectually alert and aware of the needs of the times, he encouraged the clergy's participation in civic life. The fact that the Greek Catholic Church was now headed by a grandseigneur who was also an impressive, colorful personality gave a new self-assurance to the Ukrainian national movement. Sheptyts'kyi, however, was not a narrow nationalist but a man of a supranational vision: the idea to which he had dedicated his life was the reconciliation of Western and Eastern Christianity. This implied a respect for all the traits of the Oriental religious tradition compatible with Catholic dogma. He made several incognito trips to Russia, and kept in touch with Russian groups sympathetic to the idea of Union.

The "New Era" and the Formation of Ukrainian Political Parties

The year 1890 brought an attempt at a Polish-Ukrainian compromise, known as the "New Era."⁷⁸ The origins of that important episode were complex, and they stretched from Vienna to Kiev. The period was marked by a growing tension between Russia and Austria-Hungary, and there was a possibility of Galicia's soon becoming a theater of military operations. The Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Count Gustav von Kálnoky, advised the viceroy of Galicia, Count Kazimierz Badeni, to placate the Ruthenians. Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908), a professor at Kiev University, an eminent historian, and a leader in the national movement in the Dnieper Ukraine, also intervened in Galician affairs. The prospects of Ukrainian nationalism in the Russian Empire seemed bleak then, and Antonovych was concerned with the strengthening of the sanctuary in Galicia. In this his views coincided with those of his former friend and rival of many years, the exile Drahomanov. But the approach of the two men diverged. Drahomanov connected Ukrainian national gains in Galicia with political democratization, defense of the social interests of the peasantry, and anticlericalism; this implied

⁷⁸ The background of the New Era, especially the extent of the involvement of the Austrian government, has never been fully explored. For the role played by the Kievan Ukrainians, see D. Doroshenko, *Volodymyr Antonovych. Ioho zhyttia i naukova ta hromads'ka diial'nist'* (Prague, 1942), pp. 78–84. For developments in Galicia itself, see Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, pp. 235–275. Important information is also found in Evhen Olesnyts'kyi *Storinky z moho zhyttia*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1935), Vol I, pp. 221–243.

a struggle against the conservative Austro-Polish regime. Antonovych, on the other hand, believed that the consent of the Polish ruling circles was essential for the satisfaction of pressing Ukrainian cultural needs. Some spokesmen of the Polish minority in the Dnieper Ukraine, who favored the idea of a Polish-Ukrainian collaboration against Russia, served as intermediaries between the group headed by Antonovych, the so-called “Kievan *Hromada*,” and the authoritative Polish aristocratic circle in the Austrian Empire. Antonovych’s chief contact among his Galician compatriots was the leader of the moderate Populists, Oleksander Barvins’kyi. Preliminary negotiations, which were shrouded in secrecy, took place in L’viv and Kiev.

The New Era was inaugurated in November 1890 by an exchange of declarations of good will between Governor Badeni and the spokesmen of the *narodovtsi* in the Diet. No precise terms had however, been agreed upon. Thus the attempt at compromise was, from the very first, vitiated by a basic misunderstanding. The Poles were willing to make certain minor concessions to the Ukrainians in the field of education and linguistic rights. For instance, Antonovych was to be appointed to a newly created Ukrainian-language chair of history at L’viv University. Antonovych declined, and designated his most brilliant disciple, young Hrushevs’kyi. But what the *narodovtsi* had expected was a change in the political system, and this was not forthcoming. Soon the Ukrainians felt that they had been deceived, while the Poles were incensed over the ingratitude and lack of moderation of their partners. By 1894 the New Era had petered out. The elections of the Diet, in 1895, and to the central parliament, in 1897, took place under conditions of shocking administrative abuse, unusual even in Galicia.⁷⁹ But the Ukrainian movement could no longer be intimidated. The indignation, provoked by the “Badeni elections,” was the signal for the beginning of a general Ukrainian offensive against the existing regime in Galicia.

The New Era had stirred up Ukrainian public opinion, and led to a regrouping of political forces. The first to organize were the Radicals, who, in 1890, created the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical party.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ For a picturesque description of the electoral malpractices in a Galician provincial town during the 1895 elections, see Olesnyts’kyi, *Storinky z moho zhyttia*, Vol. II, pp. 96–115.

⁸⁰ Materials on the history of the Radical party are found in the memoirs of Ivan Makukh, *Na narodnii sluzhbi* (Detroit, 1958).

After the death of Drahomanov in 1895, whose authority had kept the movement together, both the nationalist wing (including Ivan Franko) and the Marxist wing broke away from the Radical party. The nationalistically oriented former Radicals merged with the Populists, most of whom by that time had abandoned the New Era policy. In 1899, the rejuvenated *narodovtsi* formed the Ukrainian National Democratic party.⁸¹ From that time on, a two-party system was in operation among the Ukrainians. The National Democrats were in strong preponderance, the Radicals forming a permanent opposition. In the Reichsrat and the Diet, however, both parties mostly worked together. The National Democrats were a broad coalition party, perhaps comparable to the Congress party of India, and they included a spectrum of shades, from near-socialists to Greek Catholic priests. The common platform, in whose formulation Franko and Hrushevs'kyi had a hand, was one of democratic nationalism and social reform. The leaders of the party were Iuliian Romanchuk, Kost' Levyts'kyi (1859–1941), Ievhen Olesnyts'kyi (1860–1917), Teofil' Okunevs'kyi (1858–1937), and Ievhen Petrushevykh (1863–1940). After the separation of the right- and leftwing dissidents, the Radicals continued as a party of agrarian socialism and militant anticlericalism. Its character may be defined as standing halfway between the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries and the peasant parties of east central Europe. Its leaders, besides the old guardian of Drahomanovian orthodoxy, Mykhailo Pavlyk, were Lev Bachyns'kyi (1872–1930), Kyrilo Tryl'ovs'kyi (1864–1941), and Ivan Makukh (1872–1946). Most leaders of both parties were lawyers by profession, but there was in that generation also a remarkable crop of “peasant politicians,” talented orators

⁸¹ On the history of the National Democratic party, besides the basic work of Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukrainsiv, 1848–1914* (L'viv, 1926), see also two books of biographical sketches: Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ki polityky. Syl'vety nashykh davnykh posliv i politychnykh diiachiv*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1936–1937); Izidor Sokhots'kyi, “Budivnychi novitn'oi ukrains'koï derzhavnosti v Halychyni,” in *Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX–XX st.* (New York and Paris, 1961). The last book also contains the memoirs of Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, cited above. On the programs of the National Democrats and Radicals, see Wilhelm Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicyi 1846–1906*, Vol. II (Cracow, 1907), pp. 317–362; Stepan Baran, *Nasha prohrama i organizatsiia. Prohrama i organizatsiia Ukrains'koï natsional'no-demokratychnoi (narodnoi) partii* (L'viv, 1913); and Zakhar Skvarko, *Prohramy Narodno-demokratychnoi i Radykal'noi partii* (Kolomyia, 1913).

and organizers risen from the masses. The program of the National Democratic party stated: "The final goal of our striving is the achievement of cultural, economic and political independence by the entire Ukrainian-Ruthenian nation, and its future unification in one body politic."⁸² A similar statement was in the program of the Radicals. This was, at that time, a distant ideal rather than a practical goal, but the proclamation of the principle of an independent national state by the major Ukrainian parties in Galicia was a turning point in the evolution of Ukrainian political thought.

The two minor parties, the Social Democrats, with a Marxist program, and the conservative Christian Social party, exercised only limited influence, but they included some respected personalities, and stimulated ideological discussions. Ukrainian Social Democrats played a certain role in the trade union movement, which was making its first steps in Galicia; the trade unions were nationally mixed, but in them too there was a perceptible tension between the Polish and the Ukrainian faction.⁸³

Political Struggles, 1900–1914

From the turn of the century until the eve of the Great War, a great political battle was fought unremittingly in Galicia. It is impossible, in the framework of this paper, to discuss the episodes of the struggle. This was a time when elections, either to the Reichsrat or to the Diet, were taking place at frequent intervals. Each election was accompanied by a wave of mass rallies, demonstrations, and clashes with the police, which in turn led to arrests and trials. Parliamentary oratorical duels were accompanied by complicated behind-the-scenes negotiations on the provincial level and in Vienna. Political struggle overlapped with social strife, such as the agrarian strikes. Simultaneously, the Ukrainian community was engaged in building its cultural and economic institutions. One has to turn to contemporary fiction to get the feeling of the deep ground swell which was running through the Ukrainian people.⁸⁴ A symptom of this excitement was the assassination of the viceroy of Galicia, Count Andrzej Potocki, by a Ukrainian

⁸² Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, p. 327.

⁸³ Volodymyr Levyns'kyi, *Narys rozvytku ukrains'koho robitnychoho rukhu v Halychyni* (Kiev, 1914).

⁸⁴ The stories of Les' Martovych (1871–1916) are particularly illuminating. See Les' Martovych, *Tvory*, ed. Iu. Hamorak, 3 vols. (Cracow and L'viv, 1943).

student, Myroslav Sichyns'kyi (1887–1980) in 1908. This was, however, an individual act, and not the outcome of a plot. The Ukrainian movement, despite its increased militancy, continued to adhere to legal and evolutionary methods.

Beginning with a series of mass rallies in 1900, Ukrainian agitation concentrated on the issue of electoral reform: the abolition of the *curiae*, and introduction of the universal, secret, and direct ballot. Many other groups in Austria desired a democratization of the franchise, and, under the impact of the 1905 Russian Revolution and in connection with difficulties with Hungary, this cause was espoused by the imperial government. The reform became law in January 1907. "One Slav national group, the Ruthenians, was the chief winner in the franchise reform, by more than trebling its previous parliamentary representation at the expense of the Poles. Still, the new Ruthenian quota remained less than half the representation due them on the basis of the proportional system."⁸⁵ Through a gerrymandering of electoral districts, one Reichsrat seat was granted to the Poles in proportion to 52,000, and to the Ukrainians to 102,000 inhabitants. In the parliamentary elections of 1907 the Ukrainians gained twenty-seven seats in Galicia (seventeen National Democrats, three Radicals, two Social Democrats, and five Russophiles), and five seats in Bukovina. In the cities, there was an electoral alliance between the Ukrainians and the Zionists; with the support of Ukrainian votes, two nationalist Jewish deputies appeared for the first time in the Vienna parliament.

The problem which dominated the Galician political scene for the next six years, 1907–1913, was reform of the provincial statute, especially of the Diet's franchise.⁸⁶ Three parties were involved: the Ukrainians, the Poles, and Vienna. The central government regarded a Polish-Ukrainian compromise as highly desirable, because of the threat of a war with Russia. Moreover, since 1907 the Ukrainians had become a power factor in the Reichsrat. While suggesting to the Poles a conciliatory policy, and offering its good services as a mediator,

⁸⁵ Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, Vol. II, p. 223.

⁸⁶ Viceroy Bobrzyński's memoirs provide rich information: Michał Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamiętników* (Wrocław and Cracow, 1957). Cf. the monographic study by Józef Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji 1905–1914* (Warsaw, 1956). A contemporary essay full of brilliant insight is Ludwik Kulczycki, *Uгода polsko-ruska* (L'viv, 1912).

the central government did not intend to impose a new provincial statute from above. The reform was to come as a result of an agreement between Galicia's two nationalities. A "compromise" meant, however, under the given conditions, Polish abdication of its monopoly of power in Galicia. As a Polish publicist acutely observed, the chief difficulty consisted in the lack of a basis for a *quid pro quo*.⁸⁷ Whatever the Poles as a nationality could desire in Austria was already their own. Polish public opinion violently resisted the idea of making unilateral sacrifices without receiving compensation. Also, the dynamic nature of the Ukrainian movement made it evident that concessions which the Poles might consider as acceptable if they were to be final would rather turn out to be a downpayment, and that the Ukrainians would soon come up with further demands. A deadlock ensued on the question of the provincial statute's reform. To force the hand of the Polish majority of the Diet, the Ukrainian members repeatedly took recourse to "musical obstruction" (1910–1912): armed with whistles, trumpets, and drums, they raised an uproar, which completely disrupted the Diet's work. The provincial legislative machinery had come to a virtual standstill.

The other major issue, besides franchise reform, was the question of the founding of a Ukrainian university.⁸⁸ At L'viv University there existed, in 1914, ten Ukrainian-language chairs. The Ukrainian plan had been originally to increase gradually the number of these chairs, and thus to prepare the future division of the school into two independent institutions, a Polish and a Ukrainian one, as the Prague University had been divided into a Czech and German school. This, however, was prevented by the refusal of the university administration to create additional Ukrainian chairs, and to admit the "habilitation" of Ukrainian scholars. From 1901 the Ukrainians concentrated their efforts on the foundation of a new, separate university. The

⁸⁷ Konstanty Srokowski, *N.K.N. Zarys historii Naczelnego Komitetu Narodowego* (Cracow, 1923), pp. 19–21.

⁸⁸ A. Figol', "L'viv's'kyi derzhavnyi universytet im. I. Franka," *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva. Slovnnykova chastyna*, Vol. IV (Paris and New York, 1962), pp. 1420–1421; Vasyl' Mudryi, *Borot'ba za ohnyshche ukraïns'koi kul'tury na zakhidnykh zemliakh Ukraïny* (L'viv, 1923). On the negotiations in connection with the university problem, see Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamiętników*, pp. 302–317; and Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867–1914* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and Cirenster, U.K.), pp. 136–155.

L'viv University became the scene of clashes between the school administration and Ukrainian students and brawls between Polish and Ukrainian students. In 1912 the Austrian government promised to create a Ukrainian university in Galicia by 1916, but Polish objections delayed the implementation of the decision.

During the last prewar years the Russophile trend entered its final transformation. Its traditionalist, "Old Ruthenian" wing had all but disappeared by that time. The remaining hard core, under the leadership of Volodymyr Dudykevych (1861–1922) abandoned the macaronic *iazychiie*, and attempted to square theory with practice by introducing literary Russian in its publications, at least in those for the educated class. A lease on life was given to moribund Russophilism by outside aid. The viceroys Leon Piniński (1898–1903) and Andrzej Potocki (1903–1908), wishing to divert the rising Ukrainian tide, threw their support to the Russophiles. The latter also received financial and moral aid from Russia. After the failure of its Far Eastern designs (1905), imperial Russia returned to an active policy in the Danubian-Balkan area. The tsarist government was also worried about the impact of Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia on the population of Russia's southwestern provinces. At the 1908 Slavic Congress in Prague, "a Polish-Russian pact was concluded concerning the attitude towards the Ukraine. . . . The gist of the pact was that the national movement of the Ukrainians in Galicia ought to be impeded and combatted [by the Poles]. As a counterpart, the Russian government promised in general terms to satisfy Polish national needs [in Congress Poland]."⁸⁹ With abundant financial means provided by Russia and with the tacit toleration of many Polish officials, the "Galician Russians" conducted a brisk propaganda, out of proportion with their real strength.⁹⁰ The decline of Russophilism was reflected in their continual loss of votes. In the last elections to the Diet in 1913, only one Russophile deputy was elected, as against thirty-one seats gained by the Ukrainian parties. Yet this did not deter the Russophile leaders. Having lost the competition for the minds of the people, they staked their hopes on the coming Russian invasion. A well-qualified Polish observer stated: "This [Russophile] trend ought to be regarded as an outpost of the Russian government in our land . . .

⁸⁹ Srokowski, *N.K.N.*, pp. 12–13.

⁹⁰ For a description of the Russophile propaganda in the prewar years, see Leon Wasilewski, *Die Ostprovinzen des alten Polenreiches* (Cracow, 1916), pp. 263–265.

A comparison of the Ruthenian national institutions with those of the Muscophiles shows conclusively that the former result from the natural development of a people full of strength and vitality, eager to expand its achievements in breadth and depth; the latter, on the other hand, are an artificial product, planted from outside, without a firm foundation and a future."⁹¹

By 1913 a Polish-Ukrainian agreement concerning the provincial statute reform seemed near-at-hand. The opposing camps reached the point of exhaustion in their negotiations, and Vienna was prodding for a settlement.⁹² A last-minute delay occurred when Viceroy Michał Bobrzyński, the architect of the compromise, was forced to resign by an intrigue of the Polish opponents of the reform. Negotiations, however, went on. A decisive role in the smoothing away of the last difficulties was played by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. The Diet finally passed the reform bill on February 14, 1914. The new provincial statute, which embodied most features of the preceding year's compromise platform, was a marvel of complexity. It retained the system of representation by *curiae*, and established within each *curia* the ratio of Polish and Ukrainian seats.⁹³ The Ukrainians were to receive 62 seats out of 228, or 27 percent of the membership of the Diet. This was the same ratio as obtained in Galicia's representation to the Reichsrat, according to the 1906 law. The Ukrainians were also to obtain two places on the eight-person Provincial Board (*Landesausschuss*), and to be represented on the various committees of the Diet. The Polish and Ukrainian members of the Provincial Board and of the committees were to be separately elected by the Diet's deputies of each nationality.

The implications of the reform were greater than its rather modest explicit terms. The provincial statute of 1914 was the first instance of a Polish-Ukrainian compromise; the agreement reached at the 1848 Slavic Congress in Prague had remained on paper, and the 1890 New Era had foundered on a basic reciprocal misunderstanding. The 1914 compromise did not grant to the Ukrainians what they felt to be their due, but at least it broke the monopoly of power, which the Poles had

⁹¹ Kulczycki, *Uгода polsko-ruska*, pp. 47 and 51.

⁹² For the 1913 "principles of compromise" see Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza*, pp. 226–228.

⁹³ Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, pp. 685–691; Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza*, pp. 262–265.

had in Galicia since 1867. The Ukrainians were now to become partners in the provincial government, from which they had been previously virtually excluded. Moreover, the Poles would no longer be able to discriminate against the educational and cultural advancement of the Ukrainian community. It had been a consistent policy of the Polish-dominated Diet to restrict the creation of Ukrainian secondary schools.⁹⁴ Now the control over Ukrainian elementary and secondary education was to be taken from Polish hands. As an immediate result of the changed situation, the opening of ten new Ukrainian secondary schools was planned for the fall term of 1914. As a part of the compromise, the Polish side promised to desist from further obstruction against the creation of a Ukrainian university in L'viv.⁹⁵ There was at that time a universal feeling that the compromise of February 1914 amounted to a turning point in the history of Galicia's two nationalities.

It is possible to extrapolate Galicia's further development, assuming that the Austrian regime had lasted. It is not likely that the Ukrainians would in the foreseeable future have been able to achieve their major goal—the province's partition on ethnic lines—because that issue depended on a territorial-administrative reorganization of the whole empire. But the balance of power in the undivided province was bound to shift considerably, once the artificial handicaps of the Ukrainians were removed. With the continued economic and educational progress of the masses, and the accelerated formation of a native intelligentsia and middle class, political preponderance in eastern Galicia was likely to pass to the Ukrainians in the course of ten to twenty years. A Polish scholar prognosticated in 1908: "Our prospects in eastern Galicia are unfavorable. The fate of the English nationality in Ireland, of the German in Czech lands, and the probable future fate of the German nationality in Upper Silesia, serve us as a bad augury."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ In 1911–12 there were in Galicia seventy Polish and eight Ukrainian *Gymnasiums* for boys, twenty Polish and one Ukrainian *Gymnasium* for girls, fourteen Polish and no Ukrainian secondary technical schools (*Realschule*). Hugelmann, *Das Nationalitätenrecht des alten Oesterreichs*, p. 709; Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education*, pp. 110–135.

⁹⁵ Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, pp. 686 and 693.

⁹⁶ Bujak, *Galicya*, Vol. I, p. 94.

The Coming of the War

The threat of a European war had loomed on the political horizon ever since 1908. In 1912, 200 leading members of the National Democratic, Radical and Social Democratic parties met in a conclave to discuss the international crisis caused by the Balkan War. The meeting issued a declaration (December 11, 1912), which reaffirmed the loyalty of the Galician Ukrainians to the Austrian Empire and promised to support actively the Austrian cause in the event of a war against Russia.⁹⁷ From that time, the gymnastic associations, Sich and Sokil, following the example of earlier Polish efforts, started the military training of their members, in view of the coming struggle against Russia.

When the war came, in the summer of 1914, Galicia's three leading Ukrainian parties formed a Supreme Ukrainian Council (Holovna Ukraïns'ka Rada), electing as its president Kost' Levyts'kyi, the chairman of the National Democrats. On August 3rd, the Council issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people.⁹⁸ The manifesto's salient points read: "The Russian tsars have violated the Treaty of Pereiaslav [1654], by which they had promised to respect the independence of the Ukraine . . . For three hundred years the policy of the tsarist empire has been to rob the enslaved Ukraine of her national soul and to turn the Ukrainian people into a part of the Russian people . . . The victory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall be our own victory. And the greater Russia's defeat, the sooner will strike the hour of liberation for the Ukraine." The first practical step of the Council was to sponsor the creation of a legion, named "Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters" (Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi) which was to form a distinct unit within the Austrian Army, and serve as the nucleus of a future Ukrainian national army.⁹⁹

The policy of the Council was supported by a group of émigrés from the Dnieper Ukraine, residing in Galicia. On August 4th they founded a political organization, Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny), purporting to speak in the

⁹⁷ Extensive excerpts from the declaration are to be found in Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamiętników*, p. 296.

⁹⁸ For the full text, Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, pp. 720–722.

⁹⁹ On the paramilitary movement in Galicia and the origins of the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters, see Stepan Ripets'kyi, *Ukraïns'ke sichove strilets'tvo. Vyzvol'na ideia i zbroinyi chyn* (New York, 1956), pp. 17–76.

name of the central-eastern Ukraine. The leading members of the Union were Oleksander Skoropys' Ioltukhovs'kyi (1880–1950), Volodymyr Doroshenko (1879–1963), Andrii Zhuk (1880–1968), and Mariian Melenevs'kyi (1878–?). The platform of the organization called for the creation of an independent Ukrainian state, with a constitutional-monarchical form of government, a democratic franchise, and a policy of agrarian reform.¹⁰⁰

It is important to realize that the attitude of the Galician Ukrainians and of the émigré Union was by no means shared by the spokesmen of the Ukrainian movement in Russia. They had never been “separatist,” and they believed that the future of the Ukrainian people was in a democratic and federated Russia. An outstanding representative of the federalist tradition in Ukrainian political thought was Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. Although a professor at the University of L'viv, he had retained his Russian citizenship, and at the outbreak of hostilities he voluntarily returned to Russia.

In 1914 Galicia had been an Austrian province for 141 years. At the outbreak of the war only a few people guessed that this was the beginning of the end of an historical epoch.

¹⁰⁰ Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy 1917–1923 rr.*, Vol. I (Uzhhorod, 1930), pp. 30–32.

CHAPTER THREE

*The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy**

Piotr S. Wandycz

FOR NEARLY A century and a half the peoples of the large part of the old Polish state shared the destinies of the Habsburg Empire. Annexed when the monarchy was entering the phase of Enlightened Despotism, Galicia commenced its history as a mere province of the Habsburg Empire. When in 1918 this province broke away from Austria-Hungary, which by then had advanced far in the direction of constitutionalism and capitalism, Galicia had become almost a junior partner in the monarchy.

At the time of the conquest, Austria was in many ways the strongest of the three partitioning powers. By 1918 she was by far the weakest. Were the Poles a factor of integration or of disintegration in the monarchy? Were they an asset or a hindrance to the development of the Austrian Empire? Concomitantly, did Habsburg rule mean progress or stagnation for Galicia and was it conducive to the survival of Polish national aspirations? In short, was there a happy symbiosis between the Poles and the monarchy or were the consequences of the incorporation of Galicia into the empire negative for both?¹

* Chapter Three is reprinted from *Austrian History Yearbook* III, part 2 (1967), pp. 287–313. Some names of places have been changed, for instance Lvov to L'viv, to conform to the usage adopted here and explained in the preface to this volume.

¹ The most recent discussions of the historic problem of Galicia are in Henryk Wereszycki, "Dzieje Galicji jako problem historyczny," *Malopolskie Studia Historyczne*, I, 1 (Cracow, 1958), pp. 4–16; and Josef Buszko, "Jeszcze o Galicji jako o problemie historycznym," *ibid.*, II, 2–3 (Cracow, 1959), pp. 84–95. Wereszycki maintains that nationalism and Buszko that the class struggle played the key role in the relations between Galicia and Austria.

The Polish question in Austria assumed different forms during the period of over a hundred and fifty years when Galicia was part of the empire, but some generalizations apply to the entire period. Four points especially must be kept in mind: (1) the absence of direct contact between the Polish and Austrian masses; (2) the multiplicity of levels on which Polish-Austrian relations operated; (3) the specific position of Galicia resulting from the partitions of Poland; and (4) the province's diverse internal structure.

The generality of Poles, unlike the Czechs, did not come in contact with the German population, but only with the bureaucracy and the army. Except for brief and halfhearted attempts at colonization under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, there was no large influx of Germans into Galicia.² Paradoxically, of those who came, many were rapidly assimilated and polonized. The recognition of the lack of direct relations between the Austrian and Polish masses is important to understanding the position of the Galician peasants. Having no foreign rival and seeing in the administration a protector rather than an enemy, the peasant remained passive or even inimical to Polish national uprisings against Austria. When in the last decades of the nineteenth century the peasantry reached a higher stage of national consciousness, an armed struggle against Austria was no longer practical. Besides, by that time, local administration had passed largely into Polish hands. Hence, the absence of German-Polish friction in Galicia, unlike in Silesia or Poznań, delayed a national awakening of the peasantry and generally eliminated nationalistic passions from Austro-Polish relations.

The second point mentioned above concerns the multiplicity of levels on which relations existed between the Poles and the monarchy. Apart from normal intercourse between the central government and the province of Galicia, close contacts resulted from Polish participation in the Parliament in Vienna and from the frequent appointments of Poles to important posts in the monarchy. Polish influence upon the Austrian state was considerable. One need mention only the names of a few Austrian premiers and cabinet ministers such as Alfred Potocki, the two Gołuchowskis, Kazimierz Grocholski, Kazimierz Badeni, Julian Dunajewski, Leon Biliński, or Franciszek

² Wacław Tokarz, *Galicja w początkach ery józefińskiej w świetle ankiety urzędowej z roku 1783* (Cracow, 1909); and the remarks in Jan Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski do 1864 r.* (Warsaw, 1953), p. 284.

Smolka, who presided over the Parliament in 1848, to show that the Poles wielded considerable influence in the Austrian Empire. Finally, because the empire was a multinational state, Polish relations with the other large national groups, particularly the Hungarians and the Czechs, had a bearing on the monarchy. Hence, the Polish question in Austria cannot be reduced merely to a story of the relationship between Vienna and the crown land of Galicia but must be studied in conjunction with the other issues which affected the empire.³

The third point refers to the manner in which Austria acquired Galicia. The Habsburgs took part in the first partition of Poland in 1772 by carving out a region which had no separate identity in the Polish state and which was separate from the other Habsburg possessions, both geographically and economically. The name "Galicia and Lodomeria," which was given to the conquest, harked back to the medieval principalities of Halych and Volodymyr, once claimed by the Hungarian crown. Vienna did not take the historic "claims" seriously; yet it revived old names and applied, or rather misapplied, them to the acquisition.⁴ The artificiality of the conquest colored the Austrian attitude toward Galicia, and Maria Theresa, who deplored the partitioning of Poland, thought of trading the province for other territory.⁵ From the beginning the issue of the Poles in Galicia could not be divested from its international character or ever solved within the context of the Danubian monarchy. Austrian possession of Galicia also affected relations among Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, although on the whole it tended to cement rather than impair cooperation among the three monarchies. Seen as part of the overall Polish question, the Galician issue could enter into various combinations. Galicia might become a Polish Piedmont and open the way to

³ Lack of space does not permit us to discuss the Polish question in Austrian Silesia (Teschen). Although the Silesian Poles lived outside the province of Galicia, they had intimate relations with it and their deputies in Parliament belonged to the Polish Club in the Reichsrat.

⁴ Austria's role in the first Partition is pointed out in Herbert Kaplan, *The First Partition of Poland* (New York, 1962); and the two illuminating articles by Teofil E. Modelski: "Wywód ks. W. Kaunitza z 1772 o podziale Polski," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XXXI, 1-2 (L'viv, 1917), pp. 55-106; and "Rozbiór wyvodu Kaunitza z 1772 r. o podziale Polski," *ibid.*, XXXVII, 1-2 (L'viv, 1923), pp. 88-124.

⁵ Maria Theresa called the Partition a "Schandfleck." See Hugo Hantsch, *Die Geschichte Oesterreichs*, Vol. II: 1648-1918 (2nd ed., Graz, 1955), p. 218.

the reunion of all Polish lands under the scepter of the Habsburgs. It might gravitate toward Russia, or even Prussia, especially in the early period when Austrian rule was more harsh than that of the other two powers. Whether the Poles chose a pro-Austrian or an anti-Austrian line, the fate of Galicia was linked with the international situation and events in Russian or Prussian Poland. Even the staunch Habsburg supporters among the Poles realized this. There is much truth in the often made assertion that Polish loyalty to the monarchy was on the whole conditional and temporary.⁶

The fourth and last generalization concerns the inner structure of Galicia. When one uses the terms "Poles" and "Galicia," one must remember that they do not imply monoliths. Galicia was diversified in a socioeconomic and in a national sense. It had upper and middle classes which were politically mature and nationally conscious; the word "Poles" as used here applies primarily to them. These classes stood in opposition to a large mass of peasantry. In the eastern part of the province this social division received reinforcement from religious and, in time, national antagonism between the Ruthenians (Ukrainians), who composed the bulk of the rural population, and the Polish upper crust. This state of affairs was of tremendous importance for Austro-Polish relations in that Vienna kept these internal divisions alive to hold the province in check. *Divide et impera* reigned here, and for a long time the peasantry and the Ruthenians proved to be a reliable weapon in the hands of the Austrian administration. The vested interests of the Polish gentry prevented their adopting a far-sighted, imaginative policy which could have deprived Vienna of this trump card. The conservative nature of the empire, however, set limits to the support which the Habsburg Monarchy could give the peasants and Ruthenians against the Polish nobility.

To complete the above generalizations, one final remark is necessary. The history of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century cannot be divorced from the general trends in Europe. The twin forces of nationalism and socioeconomic change, liberated by the

⁶ As Robert A. Kann has put it, the "loyalty of the Poles to the empire was one 'on notice.'" See his *The Habsburg Empire: A Study in Integration and Disintegration* (New York, 1957), p. 56. Peter Sugar has remarked in a somewhat exaggerated manner that the Poles were "only marking time in the empire awaiting the restoration of independence." See his "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies under Habsburg Rule," *Slavic Review*, XXII, 1 (Seattle, March 1963), p. 56.

French Revolution and the industrial revolution, affected Danubian Europe and influenced the nature of relations between the Poles and the monarchy. The relative importance of these two forces has been assessed differently by historians. Those of the new Marxist school have stressed economic causes and have explained the failure of the Habsburg Empire by dwelling on deficiencies of capitalism.

A study of the Galician problem in the nineteenth century requires a brief discussion of the stages in the development of the province. Galician history, like that of the Habsburg Monarchy, is divided with the crucial date 1848. The period before 1848 was marked by absolutism. With the exception of the decade between 1849 and 1859, the postrevolutionary era was a time of constitutionalism—a period which culminated in the attainment of autonomy for Galicia within the empire.

Austrian rule in Galicia after the partitions showed somewhat conflicting purposes. Vienna felt insecure about the conquest and exploited the province; at the same time, the government also adopted measures to integrate Galicia into the structure of the monarchy.

The instability of the era of revolutionary and Napoleonic wars did not permit Vienna to assume that Galicia would remain forever an Austrian province. Indeed, in 1809 a large part of the territory annexed in the Third Partition passed to the Duchy of Warsaw, and one district went to Russia. The feeling of insecurity made Vienna try to squeeze the province, treating it as a reservoir of manpower for the Austrian army. During this period the administration of Galicia was worse, economic exploitation greater, and the occupation regime harsher than in the other parts of the former Polish state.⁷

These policies were superimposed upon Josephinian measures which were calculated to integrate Galicia into the Habsburg realm. The system the Austrians introduced into Galicia amounted to a complete change of the existing conditions. Before 1772 Galicia had no central authority or bureaucracy and had experienced only feeble control by the Polish executive. After the partition it became a single

⁷ Nearly 100,000 recruits were drafted in an area that had a population of only 3,500,000. Abusive taxation and the excessive prices charged by the salt and tobacco monopolies created widespread discontent which led to the introduction of martial law in 1812.

province governed by an alien bureaucracy bent on germanization and on applying the precepts of Enlightened Despotism. Estates (*Stände*) similar to those of the rest of the empire, and equally as insignificant, replaced the active local dietines (*sejmiki*). The two dominant forces, the Church and the nobility, saw their power curtailed.⁸ Josephinian peasant reforms restricted serfdom by abolishing *Leibeigenschaft* and introducing *gemässigte Untertänigkeit*. For the peasantry this proved a mixed blessing. It brought simultaneously higher taxes and long years of military service;⁹ but it also established a tradition of the good emperor's concern for the peasants. This tradition, cultivated by the Austrian administration, contributed to widening the gulf between manor and village. To make matters worse, the new Austrian system made landowners responsible for administering the unpopular police and judiciary measures through the so-called "*mandatariuszs*"—men who were paid by the landowners and confirmed in their positions by the Austrian district official. Although the *mandatariuszs* were dependent on both the state and the landowner, it was the landowner whom the peasant identified with the actions taken by the *mandatariuszs*.¹⁰

Paradoxes of the early Austrian rule were also visible in economics and education. Economic exploitation of the province was at first accompanied by attempts to raise industrial output, and both the

⁸ Interference in church affairs at times went to ridiculous extremes, as, for instance, when the governor decreed that the words "Queen of the Polish Crown pray for us" in the litany be replaced with "Queen of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria pray for us." Cited in Marian Tyrowicz (ed.), *Galicia od pierwszego rozbioru do wiosny ludów 1772–1849: wybór tekstów źródłowych* (Cracow, 1956), p. xviii.

⁹ This is admitted both by traditional Polish historians and the new Marxist historians. See Tokarz, *Galicia w początkach ery józefińskiej w świetle ankiety urzędowej z roku 1783*, pp. 191 and 240–241; Michał Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, 3 vols. (4th ed., Warsaw, 1927–1931), Vol. III, pp. 10–11; Tyrowicz, *Galicia od pierwszego rozbioru do wiosny ludów 1772–1849*, pp. xv–xvii; and Polska Akademia Nauk, *Historia Polski*, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1958), Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 62–64. A very detailed treatment of the peasant question is in Roman Rozdolski, *Stosunki poddańcze w dawnej Galicji*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1962).

¹⁰ Older Polish historians such as Walerian Kalinka condemn this system as a deliberate Austrian attempt to destroy the position of the nobles vis-à-vis the peasants and thus to strike a blow against the only patriotic Polish group in the country. Recent historians do not go that far, but Tyrowicz admits that the above Austrian policies deepened the antagonism between the peasants and the landowners.

government and individuals invested capital in the province. These endeavors ceased, mainly for political reasons, and Galicia, cut off from its Polish hinterland, stagnated. Austrian rule caused no immediate economic collapse. Josephinian educational policies are, indeed, more open to criticism. Forcible germanization of schools led to a quick decline of education on all levels, due to lack of teachers and linguistic problems.¹¹

Polish reactions to the Austrian regime varied. Consistent opposition was first found among the smaller gentry, the nascent intelligentsia, and former Polish officers. The upper nobility combined a quest for Austrian titles and distinctions with attempt to get Habsburg support for the Polish cause. In 1790 this group put forward a project of a constitution (the so-called "Charta Leopoldina"), and three years later it tried to induce Vienna to cease its struggle against revolutionary France, turn against Russia, and re-create a Polish state under the Habsburgs. These and similar attempts during the Kościuszko insurrection saw the birth of a Polish orientation toward Austria which was destined to reappear repeatedly in the nineteenth century. An anti-Austrian policy, connected with hopes placed on France, appeared with the Dąbrowski legions and reached its high point in 1809.

The Congress of Vienna recognized the international nature of the Polish question, and this prompted the Austrians to make modest gestures toward the Poles in Galicia. The estates, based on four classes (*curiae*), were reestablished and Vienna granted limited cultural concessions to the Poles. In the political and economic fields, however, stagnation prevailed. Metternich saw the Poles as a symbol of revolution; in his view, the economic plight of the nobles and of the province could only strengthen Galicia's dependence on Vienna.¹²

The 1830 revolution in Warsaw revived Polish patriotic spirit. As in 1794, Galicia was the auxiliary base of insurrection. Even though Metternich wished for a speedy collapse of the revolution, there were

¹¹ See particularly Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, Vol. III, p. 4.

¹² The chancellor declared, "Der Polonismus ist nur eine Formel, ein Wortlaut, hinter dem die Revolution in ihrer krassesten Form steht, er ist die Revolution selbst." As cited in Viktor Bibl. *Österreich 1806–1938*, 2 vols. (Zürich, 1939), Vol. II, p. 62. A good illustration of the way Austria treated Galicia is provided by the fact that in 1817 only one-sixth of the income derived from Galicia was spent on the province itself. *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura*, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1927–1932), Vol. III, p. 141.

hesitations in Vienna over the policy to follow: strict neutrality, indirect support, or even intervention.¹³ The impact of the uprising was twofold. On the one hand, it contributed to the growth of radical conspiracies in Galicia; on the other, it gave fresh impetus to endeavors to advance Galicia economically through legal means. The agrarian question occupied a central place in both approaches.

The Austrian police broke the Galician conspiracies, which advocated, through radical social slogans, an insurrectionary national program, and they imprisoned the leaders in the fortresses of Kufstein and Spielberg. Appeals to the peasantry proved insufficient to penetrate the wall of suspicion which separated the peasant from the noble agitator. Moderate conservatives raised the peasant question in the Estates, but they had to move slowly, not only because of the opposition of the die-hard gentry, but also because the Austrian administration favored the existing agrarian system which, together with all other features of Galician public life, safeguarded against Polish national activity. The initiative of the estates met with obstruction, and even such innocuous measures as the creation of credit societies and of the Agricultural Society were delayed until the 1840s.

The argument of the moderate conservatives that a satisfactory peasant reform would deprive the administration of a political weapon and at the same time would kill the radical agitation in the villages also had an economic explanation. In the evolving agrarian system of Galicia, serfdom (*Robot*) appeared more and more to be a drag on progress. In 1845 the Galician Estates finally decided to attack the heart of the peasant question, namely, serfdom itself, but, as events of the next year were to show, their decision was too late.

The conflict between a national uprising and the *jacquerie* in Galicia in 1846 represented a turning point in Polish-Austrian relations. A radical and national revolution which proclaimed the abolition of serfdom collapsed before a united Austrian and peasant front. Spurred by the administration, the peasants turned against the revolutionaries and then proceeded to massacre the gentry. Eventually Austrian troops had to deal with the peasants to restore order in the province.

The Galician *jacquerie* initiated a long-lasting controversy about

¹³ On both Austrian attitudes and the Polish efforts, see Józef Dutkiewicz, *Austria wobec powstania listopadowego* (Cracow, 1933); Bibl, *Osterreich 1806–1938*, Vol. I, p. 344; Stefan Kieniewicz, *Konspiracje galicyjskie 1831–1845* (Warsaw, 1950), pp. 34 and 44; and Józef Feldman, *Sprawa polska w r. 1848* (Cracow, 1933), p. 245.

the true nature of the event, which exercised a profound impact on subsequent Polish-Austrian relations. Contemporaries, and most Polish historians up to World War II, saw in the peasant uprising the climax of Austria's perfidious policy of fomenting hatred between manor and village. The Austrian administration, they said, had other means of subduing the revolution, but it deliberately chose to unchain a fratricidal massacre. Evidence for this interpretation is massive.¹⁴ Postwar Polish Marxist historians, while not denying the Austrian machinations, have emphasized the class character of the uprising and regard the *jacquerie* as an almost spontaneous popular reaction to noble exploitation and oppression. They deny that the peasants had pecuniary motives for their depredations; nor are they willing to admit fully the immaturity of the peasants, who referred to the revolutionaries as "Poles" and to themselves as "*Mazurs*" or even as "imperial men."¹⁵

Metternich's assertion that the Polish nobles brought the peasant rising upon themselves has been almost the standard explanation of subsequent Austrian historians. Some of these historians have also stressed the loyalty of the peasants to the Austrians.¹⁶ Others have

¹⁴ In support of the above assertions, it must be admitted that the Austrians made no preventive arrests even though they were forewarned that a revolution was on the point of breaking out. Furthermore, statements to the effect that the authorities feared no revolution because they had means at their disposal that might result in a brief period of bloodshed but would ensure tranquillity for years were freely made at the governor's office. The *Kreishauptmann* of Tarnów, Josef Breinl, and Colonel Ludwig von Benedek made payments to the peasants who were bringing dead or arrested revolutionaries to them. See especially Bronisław Łoziński, *Szkice z historii Galicji w XIX w.* (L'viv, 1913); and Stanisław Schnür-Peplowski, *Krwawa karta* (L'viv, 1896). Also see the brief treatments in Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, Vol. III, pp. 171–172; and Marian Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowej 1795–1921* (London, 1961), pp. 285–287.

¹⁵ The most outstanding works of the postwar Marxist school are Stefan Kieniewicz, *Ruch chłopski w Galicji w 1846 roku* (Wrocław, 1951); and Czesław Wycech, *Powstanie chłopskie w roku 1846* (Warsaw, 1956). See also the collection of documents in Józef Sieradzki and Czesław Wycech, eds., *Rok 1846 w Galicji: materiały źródłowe* (Warsaw, 1958).

¹⁶ See Bibl, *Österreich 1806–1938*, Vol. II, p. 68, who mistakenly also asserts that the peasants who revolted were Ruthenians; Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Polnische Revolutionen: Erinnerungen aus Galizien* (Prague, 1863); and Johann Loserth, "Zur vormärzlichen Polenpolitik Österreichs," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXII, 11 (May

blamed local officials.¹⁷ Hardly any have attempted the question of ultimate Austrian responsibility, which is the crux of the matter. Surely the government in Vienna had condoned the regime in Galicia, and, what is more important, it had interfered with attempted reform. Nor was the local administration acting on its own in fanning up the antagonism between manor and village.¹⁸

The consequences of 1846 were both immediate and long-lasting. There was first a reaction against Austria which in isolated cases even produced appeals for Polish cooperation with Russia.¹⁹ Polish orientation toward Austria received a heavy blow. The *jacquerie* dug a chasm between the nobility and the Austrian administration in Galicia, and Polish demands for self-government and the polonization of the province became the *sine qua non* of future coexistence. Nobles also saw clearly for the first time that the peasantry had fallen under the sway of the government and could always be used to curb Polish national aspirations—a realization largely explaining the caution with which the upper classes later moved in politics. Fear of a new revolt tended to paralyze Galicia in 1848. The failure of a noble-led national insurrection lowered Polish prestige in the eyes of the Ruthenians—a factor which partially accounts for Ruthenian policies in 1848–1849.

On the Austrian side there was a feeling of satisfaction²⁰ mingled

1903), pp. 249–287. Hantsch barely mentions the peasant uprising (see his *Geschichte Österreichs*, Vol. II, p. 335), and there is little evidence of new research or interest among Austrian historians in the events of 1846.

¹⁷ For instance, see Moritz von Sala, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes vom Jahre 1846* (Vienna, 1867). Heinrich Friedjung, while insisting that the *jacquerie* was a spontaneous movement, mentions Benedek's order that five gulden be given as a reward for a captive revolutionary. See *Benedek's nachgelassene Papiere* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 15.

¹⁸ Austrian responsibility is stressed by the hardly pro-Polish Friedrich Wilhelm von Oertzen, *Alles oder Nichts: Polens Freiheitskampf in 125 Jahren* (Breslau, 1934), p. 128. See also Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire, 1848–1918: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), Vol. I, pp. 228–230. While Kann denies that the Austrian government had any *divide et impera* designs, he admits that the authorities used the peasant outbreak as a warning to the Poles.

¹⁹ As, for instance, Aleksander Wielopolski's famous open letter to Metternich, which had clear pan-Slavic overtones.

²⁰ The governor of Galicia referred to the events of 1846 as “gratifying,” while Archduke Louis talked about the “good fortune” of the Austrians.

with fear of peasant unrest—a double-edged weapon at best. The *jacquerie* echoed throughout the monarchy, raising peasant hopes and frightening landowning classes. Rioting took place in 1847 in Moravia, Croatia, and some German lands. The Galician *jacquerie* made a solution of the peasant question imperative. In the words of Anton Springer, “Seit dem galizischen Aufstande wollte die gerühmte Ruhe und der beneidete Frieden nicht wieder in Österreich einkehren.”²¹

The part of the Poles in the Revolution of 1848 was more important and complex than is usually presented in Western historiography. They were not only active in Galicia, but they played an important part in the Vienna Parliament (later moved to Kroměříž), cooperated briefly with the Czechs at the Slav Congress in Prague, were involved in Italian developments, and participated in the Hungarian Revolution. In all of these one could discern the international character of the Polish issue, which transcended the borders of the monarchy.²²

On the whole, the 1848 movement in Galicia followed developments in the empire and did not seek to impose a solution on Vienna. The conservative émigrés recommended that Galicia, together with Prussian Poland, await the outbreak of an Austrian war against Russia, which seemed imminent, and then unite with the Congress kingdom. Radicals preached insurrection and seizure of power, but they also viewed the province's role from an all-Polish angle. Galician leaders with memories of 1846 moved cautiously and allowed the energetic and imaginative governor Franz Stadion to checkmate them in the two areas in which they were vulnerable: the peasant

²¹ See his *Geschichte Österreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1809* 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1863–1865), Vol. II, p. 135.

²² Apart from works cited so far, the following are of particular value for the 1848 period: Stanisław Smolka, ed., *Dziennik Franciszka Smolki 1848–1849 w listach do żony* (Warsaw, 1913); Florian Ziemiałkowski, *Pamiętniki*, 3 pts. (Cracow, 1904); Leon Sapieha, *Wspomnienia z lat 1803 do 1863* (L'viv, 1912); Natalia Gąsiorowska, ed., *W stulecie wiosny ludów 1848–1948*, 5 vols. (Warsaw, 1948–1953), Vol. I; Marcelli Handelsman, *Adam Czartoryski*, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1948–1950), Vol. II, pt. 3; Marian Kukiel, *Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770–1861* (Princeton, N.J., 1955); Peter Burian, *Die Nationalitäten in “Cisleithanien” und das Wahlrecht der Märzrevolution 1848–49. Zur Problematik des Parlamentarismus im alten Österreich* (Graz, 1962); Václav Žáček, *Čechové a Poláci roku 1848* (Prague, 1947–48); Stefan Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha 1828–1903* (L'viv, 1939); and Stefan Kieniewicz, *Rok 1848 w Polsce: wybór źródeł* (Wrocław, 1948).

question and the Ruthenian issue. When the Poles began to take steps to abolish serfdom, Stadion quickly proclaimed the emancipation of the peasantry in Galicia several months before the imperial decree was issued applicable to the entire monarchy. In the case of the Ruthenians, Stadion cleverly exploited the traditional antagonism of the Uniate clergy toward Latin-Rite Catholics and encouraged the creation of a Ruthenian National Council to rival the Polish National Council. He provoked a petition to the emperor for a division of Galicia into Polish and Ruthenian parts. He thus imposed an immediate check on the Polish National Council, which had sought to speak on behalf of the entire province.²³

The Poles expressed their annoyance and asserted then and later that Stadion "invented" the Ruthenian question. This was as inexact a thesis as that the Austrians had created the tense peasant situation. The Poles had neglected the Ruthenian masses, had viewed the Uniate Church as subservient to Vienna, and had noticed only the leading group, which was largely of the species *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus*. Belated concessions failed to gain the support of the Ruthenians for a united front. Stadion's moves sharpened the antagonism between the Poles and the Ruthenians. By cooperating with the conservative clerical Ruthenian element, the Austrians steered the masses in an antirevolutionary direction.

Fearful of the peasants and of the Ruthenians, the Galician leaders pursued no determined course. With the collapse of the October revolution in Vienna the road was opened to reaction in Galicia. L'viv was bombarded in November—Cracow having been subdued earlier—and the army reasserted its control over the province.

In the early stages of the revolution Polish action in Vienna took the form of a special address taken to the emperor in April 1848, when revolutionary enthusiasm was at its peak. The *Wiener Zeitung* declared that "a free Austria will bring freedom to Poland, and,

²³ Stadion reported to Vienna on May 3, 1848, that he was using the Ruthenians "zur Paralisierung der polnischen Bestrebungen für die Zwecke der Regierung." As cited in Burian, *Die Nationalitäten in "Cisleithanien,"* p. 105. Springer observed that the "österreichische Patriotismus der Ruthenen beruhte vorzugsweise auf dem Gegensatz derselben zur polnischen Bevölkerung und besass für die Regierung nur in sofern Werth, als er die Ruhe in Galizien sicherte." In his *Geschichte Österreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1890*, Vol. II, p. 6.

strengthened by union with Poland and by the general friendship of Europe, it will not hesitate to struggle against Russia for such a great aim."²⁴ Polish delegates thus felt justified in ascribing to the emperor the aim "to nullify the agreements regarding the partitions of Poland,"²⁵ to give Galicia self-government, and to inaugurate democratic reforms in the province. It was clear that the delegates saw in these assertions a step toward the future separation of Galicia and its unification with the other parts of Poland.

Polish hopes lacked solid foundation, since the government was not seriously prepared to grant Galicia a status that would enable it to secede. Russia had made no secret of its determination to intervene if a nucleus for a united Poland were to appear as a result of policy followed by the Habsburg Monarchy, and this too had to be taken into consideration. Polish hopes that the Parliament in Vienna might assist their cause also proved futile, although a leading politician from Galicia, Smolka, became president of Parliament and helped keep it together. Smolka advocated democratic federalism in Austria, which was to facilitate, though not resolve, the future evolution of Galicia. With Polish interests in mind, he abstained from taking sides in the October revolution in the Habsburg capital. Only Polish émigrés fought and died on the barricades in Vienna. The Galicians remained neutral.

The international character of the Polish question, which had influenced the stand of the deputies in Vienna, came out even more forcibly at the Slav Congress at Prague. It showed itself in the efforts of the émigrés to organize a Polish legion in Italy to fight Austria and to detach the South Slavs from the side of reaction. In both cases the Poles obtained nothing. In the last stages of the revolution the Poles placed their hopes in Hungary. Their participation in the Hungarian Revolution reinforced the ties between the two nations but produced no political results. Buda feared to side too openly with the Poles, and plans were made for a Hungarian-supported insurrection in Galicia only when the Hungarian position became desperate. The Polish factor was invoked as one of the reasons for Russian intervention in Hungary. As on previous occasions, the unity of the

²⁴ As cited in Bolesław Limanowski, *Historia demokracji polskiej w epoce porozbiorowej*, 3 pts. (2nd ed., Warsaw, n.d.), pt. 3, p. 244.

²⁵ As quoted in Burian, *Die Nationalitäten in "Cisleithanien,"* p. 102 n. See also Ziemiałkowski, *Pamiętniki*, p. 2, pp. 45–46.

partitioning powers proved stronger than the Poles had thought and hoped.

The 1848 Revolution was a dividing point in Austrian history; after that signal year the empire could never be the same. Nevertheless, the decade of the Alexander von Bach regime which followed represented a temporary return to absolutism. This transitory period of reaction corresponded in Austro-Polish relations to the governorship of Agenor Gołuchowski in Galicia. Called a "black-yellow" by Polish opponents, Gołuchowski tried to obtain gradual concessions as a reward for ultraloyalist policies, but the heritage of 1848–1849 made this a hard task. The existence of two conflicting decrees on the abolition of serfdom (one for Galicia, another for the empire) led to confusion, especially in regard to the compensation to be paid to the landowners and the question of manorial woods and pastures. The former issue was only partly resolved; Galicia was to pay compensation and simultaneously to receive loans from Vienna. The question of woods and pastures, an irritant in peasant-landowner relations, remained unsettled. In both cases the central government retained powerful means of pressuring the Polish gentry by threatening to discontinue loans and by favoring the peasantry. Gołuchowski's policy of cooperation coincided with the interests of the upper classes, but it would be an oversimplification to explain that policy purely in terms of vested social interests²⁶—as the Polish Marxist historians now do.

The antagonism between the Ruthenians and the Poles provided the Austrian government with another means of control. The possibility of the division of the province into two parts was real, and it hung as a Damoclean sword over the heads of the Poles. Because of the low stage of development of the Ukrainian literary language, Austrian support of the Ruthenian cultural program meant continued germanization of eastern Galicia schools.

During the postrevolutionary decade, Bach's absolutist, clerical, and police regime weighed heavily on Galicia. The response of the Polish leading classes—held in check by the threat of the division of the province and the enmity of the peasantry—was one of meek submission and hope that loyalist policies might eventually improve things.

²⁶ See especially Polska Akademia Nauk, *Historia Polski*, Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 381–382.

After the defeats sustained by Austria in 1859 the period of constitutional experiments in the monarchy began. It naturally gave rise to new expectations in Galicia. Gołuchowski became a minister in the cabinet. He helped to produce the famous October Diploma, which promoted a conservative federalism. The theory that the monarchy and the crown lands coexisted and that the latter had enjoyed separate historical identities was pure fiction in the case of Galicia, but its acceptance could strengthen the latter's position in the empire. The Poles hesitated, trying to decide whether to present their case in federalist terms or simply to demand autonomy. They defined their views in an address taken to Vienna in December 1860. Emphasizing the historic rights of the Polish nationality, the document underlined the principle of the indivisibility of the province and demanded a representative Diet (Sejm).

The February Patent, which curtailed the prerogatives of the crown lands and strengthened the central Reichsrat, came as a blow to the Poles. Together with the Czechs and the South Slavs, they responded by forming an opposition and then withdrawing from the Reichsrat.²⁷ The activity of the new Galician Diet, in which the government-sponsored peasant deputies gained nearly half the seats, was equally disappointing. Vienna did not trust that fairly docile body and dissolved it in 1863, the year of the Polish uprising. The first attempt at a Galician settlement with Vienna ended in failure. Failure was temporary, however. The forces of nationalism and constitutionalism which made such a dramatic appearance in 1848 could not be ignored indefinitely. The Bach regime had contained them; the October Diploma and February Patent tried to circumscribe them; in the mid-sixties Vienna was forced to face up to them.

The Galician Diet met again in 1865. During that same year Gołuchowski became viceroy.²⁸ The Polish question in Austria again appeared on the political agenda. It is a widely held view that the

²⁷ The most recent detailed treatment of the Polish role in the Reichsrat is given in Jerzy Zdrada, "Udział koła polskiego w pracach ustawodawczych pierwszej austriackiej Rady Państwa: 1861–1862," *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne*, V, 1–2 (Cracow, 1962), pp. 49–78.

²⁸ Around that time the old title "governor" (*Gouverneur*) was replaced by that of *Statthalter* (*Naměstnik* in Polish), which might be translated as viceroy. See Konstanty Grzybowski, *Galicja 1848–1914: historia ustroju politycznego na tle historii ustroju Austrii* (Warsaw, 1959), p. 65.

Austrians bought Polish acceptance of dualism at the time of the *Ausgleich* at the price of a merely technical amalgamation in Galicia.²⁹ This is an oversimplification of the highly complex motives behind the “deal” with the Habsburgs. The collapse of the 1863 uprising in Russian Poland came as a shock to the Galician Poles and produced much soul-searching. The result was a new Galician conservatism, which was inspired by a strongly critical reinterpretation of Polish history by the so-called “Cracow school.” According to this interpretation, Poland had been partitioned because of the irresponsibility and the anarchy of the Poles themselves. Independence could be regained only through practical efforts and calculations. Furthermore, as one conservative leader put it, although independence was the most perfect form of national existence, it was not the only one. When uprisings endangered the survival of the nation, they should be condemned. While the recovery of independence might remain the ultimate goal, policies which ensure their national existence were the only realistic immediate aims to pursue.³⁰

The conservatives also pointed out that Vienna could always interfere effectively with the Polish national program in Galicia by using the peasants and the Ruthenians. The German liberals could not be counted on, since they supported a centralist platform. Only complete loyalty to the throne—the conservatives always drew a distinction between the Habsburgs and the Austrians—could procure self-government and preserve Galicia’s Polish character. Alliance with the Habsburgs also seemed to be the only sensible policy from an all-Polish point of view, for a clash between the monarchy and Russia was inevitable, and an Austrian attachment could help the cause of Poland.

The Galician democrats advocated more radical social programs and a federalist political organization. They were too weak, however, to compete successfully with the conservatives. Even their most outstanding leaders—Smolka, Florian Ziemiałkowski, and Mikołaj Zyblikiewicz—were driven to compromise. Moreover, the Ruthenian question—the stronghold of the democrats was L’viv—often brought the parties together.

²⁹ Kann, *The Habsburg Empire*, p. 122. See also Hantsch, *Geschichte Österreichs*, Vol. II, p. 410.

³⁰ See Stanisław Koźmian, *Rzecz o roku 1863*, 3 vols. (Cracow, 1894–1895), Vol. III, p. 292. On Austria and the uprising of 1863, see Henryk Wereszycki, *Austria a powstanie styczniowe* (L’viv, 1930).

The years immediately preceding and following the *Ausgleich* impelled the conservatives and the democrats to a dramatic confrontation. At first the conservatives attempted to obtain minor administrative concessions for Galicia and demanded them after the ministry of Count Richard Belcredi announced a return to the federalist ideals of the October Diploma. After the disaster at Sadowa, the Galician Diet submitted, on December 10, 1866, a famous address which became the platform of the conservatives. According to the address the Poles had no doubt that the monarchy would flourish by promoting provincial self-government and by becoming a shield of Western civilization. The authors invoked the Jagellonian tradition and, weighing each word, asserted that the Poles, "without fear of denying their own national idea, and with faith in the mission of Austria," now stood by "Your Imperial Majesty" and wished to do so in the future. Radicals of the next generation condemned the address as servile loyalism. The authors conceived it as an offer of loyal cooperation in exchange for respect of Polish rights in Galicia and championship of the Polish cause against Russia.³¹

Vienna did not respond to the Polish overtures and went on to negotiate the compromise with Hungary. The Galician Diet stood at the crossroads: should it defy the government, together with other nationalities which opposed the *Ausgleich*, or should it support the government and strive for local autonomy? The democrats clamored for the first solution; the conservatives supported the second. Fears lest Galician opposition result in the dissolution of the Diet and bring Austria closer to Russia on the Polish issue were mingled with distrust of their potential ally, the Czechs, and sympathy for the Hungarians. The democrats split. The slogan of local autonomy triumphed over the federalist approach. After an empty gesture of

³¹ This is the interpretation given in Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, Vol. III, p. 249; Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha*, p. 190; Henryk Wereszycki, *Historia polityczna Polski w dobie powstaniowej*, pp. 378–379. Postwar Polish historians have generally failed to point this out. For a radical criticism of the address, see Ignacy Daszyński, *Pamiętniki*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1925–26), Vol. I, p. 17; Wilhelm Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji 1846–1906*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1907), Vol. I, pp. 62–63. For a conservative analysis by Stanisław Tarnowski, see Michał Bobrzyński, Władysław L. Jaworski, and Józef Milewski, *Z dziejów odrodzenia politycznego Galicji 1858–1873* (Warsaw, 1905), pp. 250–301.

protest the Diet agreed to send delegates to the Reichsrat to approve the new Austrian constitution of December 1867.

Still, there was no agreement among the Poles on the nature of the autonomy which they should demand. Smolka and his followers were intent on attaining a status for Galicia similar to that of Hungary, and under conservative pressure they modified their demands. The Diet passed the so-called "Galician Resolution" of 1868. This resolution requested, among other things, legislative power for the Diet, limited participation in the Reichsrat, the creation of a separate Galician supreme court, and responsibility of the viceroy to the Diet. To the conservatives these demands appeared unrealistic. They were clearly unacceptable to Vienna. During the next four years the Galician Resolution was at the center of Polish political issues in the monarchy. Efforts were made by Polish deputies to have it discussed by the Reichsrat. The ministries of Counts Karl Hohenwart and Alfred Potocki tried to find a mutually satisfactory compromise. At one point Polish delegates went to the extreme of boycotting the central Parliament. All their efforts were in vain. The bargaining position of the Poles proved weak, especially after 1870, when the Polish question largely disappeared from the agenda of European diplomacy. In 1873 Vienna devised a new method of election to the Reichsrat which undermined the Diets. The argument of the conservatives that practical concessions mattered more than unrealistic demands for constitutional separatism (*selbständige Stellung*) carried the day. Through the granting of piecemeal concessions by Vienna, an autonomous regime was becoming established in Galicia.

In 1867 a school board was established which allowed the Poles to end germanization in Galicia and to organize education in accord with national ideas. In the early 1870s the universities at Cracow and L'viv were polonized, and Vienna sanctioned the creation of an Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Akademia Umiejętności*). The decree of 1869 made Polish the *Landessprache*—with some concessions to the Ruthenians. It meant that the administration would pass to the Poles. Viceroys of Galicia would thenceforth be Polish. In 1871 the practice was inaugurated of appointing a minister without portfolio, who was invariably a Pole, to the Austrian cabinet to handle all matters dealing with Galicia. In accord with the 1861 provincial constitution, the Diet (one should use the word *Sejm* from now on) was concerned with *Landeskultur*—an ill-defined term which in time had a very broad interpretation. After the Austro-Hungarian

Compromise matters not expressly reserved for the Reichsrat became the domain of the Sejm. That the latter had no machinery and had to rely on an administration responsible to the viceroy and to Vienna put limits on its authority. Still, in the 1870s the Poles governed Galicia, within the framework of the existing system of the monarchy. The province became a center of Polish culture that greatly influenced general cultural developments in other parts of partitioned Poland.

The policy of the Polish parliamentary club in Vienna, in which the democrats reconciled their differences with the conservatives in the name of national solidarity, was loyalism to the Habsburgs. It is not an overstatement to say that without the club's support successive Austrian cabinets would have been unable to continue in power. The conservatives could point proudly to the privileged position of the Poles in the monarchy and to the prestige they enjoyed.³²

What was the general situation of Galicia during the era of local autonomy? The conservative record was not all positive, and the Galician Sejm stood out as a symbol of inequality.³³ Experiences of the gentry with the peasants contributed to a feeling that the latter were political minors. Unlike the upper classes in Russian and German Poland, who tried to enlighten the peasants and make them join a common Polish front against the oppressors, the Galician gentry controlled the administration and had no need of the peasantry. The Polish ruling classes asserted their sway over the Ruthenians and pointed out to Vienna that sponsorship of the Uniate hierarchy had not only produced internal friction but had failed to prevent the latter from becoming susceptible to Pan-Slavist propaganda from St. Petersburg. The Poles now had an opportunity for some accommodation with the nascent Ukrainian (as opposed to the Old Ruthenian) movement, which was more radical socially and which based its political program on the assertion of an all-Ukrainian nationality.³⁴ This opportunity was wasted, however, despite the good intentions of

³² Indeed, Springer says that the Poles "allein waren von der Abneigung, welche Deutsche gegen das Slawenthum fühlten, ausgeschlossen." In his *Geschichte Österreichs*, Vol. II, p. 332.

³³ For a good analysis of the social composition of the Sejm, see Bohdan Winiarski, *Ustrój polityczny ziem polskich w XIX w* (Poznań, 1923), p. 332.

³⁴ The movement derived its inspiration from the national poet Taras Shevchenko and followed the leadership of such radicals as Mykhailo Drahomanov. Its press organ *Dilo* was founded in 1880.

some individual farsighted Poles and such Ukrainians as Ivan Franko or Iuliian Lavriivs'kyi, who at one time agreed on the indivisibility of Galicia in exchange for recognition of the equal rights of both nationalities. Unfortunately, the political dependence of Cracow conservatives on their eastern Galician counterparts, who refused to see a separate Ukrainian nationality and who objected for social reasons to the radicalism of the young movement, undid all chances for a Polish-Ukrainian settlement. Bitterness grew. In response to the Polish game of playing off the Ukrainians against the Old Ruthenians and vice versa, the Ukrainians publicized their sufferings under the Poles. Grievances were mingled with unfounded accusations.³⁵

The acuteness of the peasant and Ukrainian issues was closely connected to the deplorable state of economic and social affairs in Galicia. In the 1880s Galicia was still a predominantly agrarian province characterized by antiquated farming methods, lack of capital, and rural overpopulation. Even with an increase of Austrian interest in the Galician economy (largely for strategic reasons—railroad building, for instance) and with the growth of an oil industry, the situation was nearly catastrophic. Even though the province comprised nearly one-fifth of the population and area of Austria, by 1900 it had only nine percent of its industries, which employed only 100,000 workers. In a well-known book entitled *Misery of Galicia*, Stanisław Szczepanowski has shown that the working capacity of a Galician was one-fourth that of an average European and his food consumption one-half. The conditions for the lower strata of the population were even worse. It was clear that a continuance of the existing system would provoke the growth of popular movements with radical programs.

The radicalism and nationalism prevalent in Austria in the last decades of the century manifested themselves in Galicia in a challenge to the long ascendancy of the Cracow conservatives. The conservatives' program, inspired by patriotic considerations, had degenerated into unconditional loyalism and defense of the status quo. The group could never free itself from a narrow vision of the "nation" which excluded the overwhelming majority of the people. As their opponents

³⁵ Without going into an analysis of the Ukrainian grievances, one must agree with Hans Kohn that in "Galicia the position of the Ukrainians was incomparably better than the situation of the Ukrainians and Slovaks in neighboring Hungary." See his article on "The Viability of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Slavic Review*, XXII, 1 (Seattle, 1963), p. 39.

asserted, the conservatives mistook control over Galicia for Polish patriotism and elevated loyalty to the Habsburgs to sacred dogma. The challenge to the conservatives came from the new peasant and socialist parties and from the nationalists (National Democrats). The first two groups insisted on democratization in the name of class interests; the National Democrats infused Galician politics with a strong nationalist spirit which deepened Polish-Ukrainian animosity and led to anti-Semitism.³⁶ Both the National Democrats and the Socialists stressed the all-Polish character of their parties, in contrast to the "Galician" narrowness of the conservatives.

The conservatives maintained their power largely through crooked elections and administrative pressure. The viceroy, Kazimierz Badeni, acquired a reputation for governing with "an iron hand." He tried to carry on this tradition when he became premier of Austria in 1895. The efforts of the "last saviour of the monarchy," as A.J.P. Taylor calls him,³⁷ to quiet the increasing discontent resulted, in 1896, in the addition of a new category of deputies to the Reichsrat: the fifth *curia*. The new deputies, directly elected, were a palliative. The fifteen deputies thus added to the Galician delegation represented more electors than all the other fifty-three deputies from the province—a fact which only accentuated the unrepresentative character of the Parliament. The traditional solidarity of the Polish club came to an end when the new socialist and peasant deputies refused to join. The fifth *curia* brought into sharp relief the reactionary character of the Galician Sejm, which possessed no members elected on the basis of universal suffrage. It is no wonder that feelings in Galicia ran high. Political dissatisfaction, coupled with economic grievances, produced peasant strikes in the eastern part of the country. Polish-Ukrainian antagonism reached new dimensions and influenced a Ukrainian student to assassinate the viceroy, Andrzej Potocki, in 1908.

The introduction of universal suffrage in Cisleithania in 1907 signified the last attempt to save the monarchy by granting political rights to the masses. The Poles agreed to this democratic reform only on condition that their predominance in Galicia would be safeguarded.

³⁶ For these movements, see especially the already cited memoirs of Daszyński; the works of Wilhelm Feldman; Wincenty Witos, *Moje wspomnienia*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1964–1965), Vol. I; Stanisław Głąbiński, *Wspomnienia polityczne* (Pelplin, 1939); and Stanisław Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej* (London, 1964).

³⁷ In his *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1815–1918* (2nd rev. ed., London, 1960), p. 180.

A redrafting of electoral districts and a two-mandate system in the eastern part of the country reduced the number of Ukrainian deputies. The law of 1907 further sharpened the discrepancy between the Reichsrat, the members of which were to be elected by universal manhood suffrage, and the provincial Sejm, based on *curiae*. It is paradoxical that the central Parliament reflected the social and political composition of the province more accurately than did Galicia's own representative body. A delay of electoral reform in Galicia until 1914 was the result not so much of opposition by the local conservatives, whose political days were numbered, as of Vienna's determination not to sanction a departure from the traditional system.³⁸ A revised constitution was adopted and, together with a new electoral law, went far toward satisfying demands for democratization. The constitution was also approved by the Ukrainian deputies. But it never went into effect. World War I opened the gates to a flood which engulfed the monarchy, severed the ties between Austria and Galicia, and reunited Galicia with a reborn Polish state.

How did the inclusion of Polish lands in the monarchy affect Austria, and what was the result of this association for the Poles? During the first part of the nineteenth century Galicia, a province of an absolutist empire, influenced Austrian policy indirectly. Vienna had almost unlimited power. During the second half of the century Galicia participated in Austria's evolution from absolutism to constitutionalism, from centralism to provincial autonomy, and from policies of germanization to the recognition of other nationalities. During this period the Poles and the Austrians influenced each other. On the whole, the Polish contribution to this evolution was positive.

Pressures in Galicia in 1848 necessitated the abolition of serfdom in the province and then throughout the empire. The chief Polish spokesman in the central Parliament, Smolka, stood for constitutionalism and federalism. Invoking the principle of national rights, the Poles tried to mediate between the Hungarians and the Slavs and between the Hungarians and Vienna. Although all their activities were limited by domestic considerations—fear of jeopardizing Galician autonomy

³⁸ The Austrians assumed this attitude because they were determined not to weaken the centralizing effect of the more representative Reichsrat. See Grzybowski, *Galicja 1848–1914*, p. 97; and Winiarski, *Ustrój polityczny ziem polskich w XIX* 2, p. 221.

—the Poles were often on the side of the progressive forces in the monarchy.

During the era of constitutional experiments—and it was no coincidence that Gołuchowski was one of the authors of the October Diploma—Polish voices were raised against the police regime and in favor of freedom of the press, civic rights, and equality for the Jews. As one recent historian has remarked, “without Polish support, constitutional government in Austria would have been impracticable.”³⁹ Yet, Polish espousal of progressive causes was limited by preoccupation with the national character of Galicia and by fear of compromising the ultimate goal of the rebirth of Poland. Moreover, the leading representatives of the Poles were conservatives, usually of gentry background, who felt little sympathy for radicalism or genuine democracy. The democratic, and later socialist or peasant, parties could find no real allies on the Austrian side. Because the Socialists and the National Democrats emphasized their all-Polish character, their conflict with Austrian socialism or democracy was certain. The loyalty of the conservatives to the Habsburgs could be reconciled with Polish patriotism; the nationalism of the leftist Poles and leftist Germans could not. Thus the conservatives, partly by conviction and partly by circumstances, emerged as champions of the status quo. The Poles became the “strongest pillar of the Austrian governmental system,” notes an authority on the monarchy.⁴⁰ A.J.P. Taylor remarks in his sweeping manner that Polish aristocrats “remained to the end the most stalwart and reliable supporters of the Habsburgs. They had only one defect: they were not enough to rule and finance the entire empire.”⁴¹ While not exactly a progressive force in the monarchy, they were a factor of integration.

The Polish question in Austria was no mere domestic issue but part of the international Polish problem. As stressed in the preceding pages, Polish orientation toward Austria did not emerge in the course of World War I, as is usually stated. It went back to the last years of the eighteenth century. The Poles hoped Vienna would understand that a pro-Austrian Poland would be much more important to the Habsburgs than continued Austrian control over Galicia. Even such

³⁹ Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Break-up of the Habsburg Empire 1914–1918* (London, 1961), p. 250.

⁴⁰ Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, Vol. I, p. 231.

⁴¹ See his *The Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 99.

an ultra-loyalist as Gołuchowski told the emperor in 1868 that it was his dream to see the day when Francis Joseph would assume the crown of a united Poland.⁴² Yet, in the game of international politics Austria could never resolve itself to play the Polish trump consistently. The Poles were disappointed in their expectations that the "Austrian mission" meant that the empire was a western bulwark against Russia, as it had once been against the Turks. The monarchical solidarity of the three partitioning courts proved stronger than other calculations, and the Austrian government feared to link its fate with the Poles, the very incarnation of revolution. Espousal of the Polish cause might have been a real solution when Austria was strong enough to defy Berlin or St. Petersburg. The rejection of this alternative did not save the empire from Sadowa or prevent a showdown with Russia in the less favorable circumstances of 1914. As liberal Viennese newspapers commented in 1848, the Polish cause was a great aim worthy of much risk. The monarchy refused to take that risk.

Let us now turn to the question of how the monarchy affected the Poles and Galicia. On the whole, during the first half of the nineteenth century the negative aspects of Austrian rule in Galicia outweighed the positive ones. The Poles were not to blame for this state of affairs. Brief attempts at industrialization alternated with economic exploitation. The centralizing policies of Joseph II, combined with forcible germanization, had led to inefficient alien administration, a decline in education, and the corruption of the upper nobility and the Church. Even the peasant decrees, theoretically an important step forward, produced some bad consequences. For nearly half a century thereafter Galicia stagnated—a telling contrast to the situation in other parts of partitioned Poland. What was more significant and more damaging to the Poles, the Austrians had increased dissension between landlord and peasant in order to further their policy of *divide et impera*.

This situation changed radically in the second half of the nineteenth century. By emancipating the peasantry, Austria advanced the status of the largest group in Galicia. Decrees on freedom of association made possible the rise of the Socialist party. Gradual concessions to the Galician Poles allowed them to run the province almost by themselves, and from that time on they had to share the responsibility for the achievements and failures of the Austrian regime.

⁴² See Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha*, p. 197.

In many respects the Poles fared well. Their national growth, seriously menaced in Russian and German Poland, by comparison proceeded almost unhindered in Galicia. Vienna respected their cultural heritage and contributed to a certain atmosphere of liberalism, which resulted perhaps more from the easygoing character of the Austrians than from real conviction. The Poles had a chance to develop native administrative cadres, which proved to be of importance in the reborn Polish state, and to acquire parliamentary experience denied them in other parts of partitioned Poland. Yet there were also important drawbacks to the Austrian legacy in Galicia which the Poles did not succeed in overcoming. Economic questions in the province, both agrarian and industrial, were not resolved. In many ways Galicia remained an underprivileged and neglected province of the monarchy. The Austrian policy of playing the Ukrainians against the Poles and vice versa contributed to the mounting hatred which erupted in bloodshed in 1918.

While the Poles became a junior partner in the empire, the miserable state of the Galician economy seriously affected their position. Since political representation in the Reichsrat was calculated on the basis of population *and* the financial contribution of the province, the Poles had to pay politically for their poverty. Because they contributed only one-fourth of the direct taxes paid by the Germans, the Poles had a proportionately smaller delegation in Vienna.⁴³ Nor did they appear as equals of the Germans in the central bureaucracy.⁴⁴

A policy of "muddling through" characterized the Viennese approach to the Polish question in its international aspect. Fully aware that the Poles in Austria had no alternative to cooperation with the monarchy—a genuine German or Russian orientation was hardly possible—the Habsburgs kept the Poles in line by the method of the carrot and stick. Concessions to Galicia were not irrevocable, and such issues as the Ukrainian or the economic always bore possibilities for maneuver. This explains why Austria never felt compelled to

⁴³ According to Kann, in 1907 one Polish deputy represented 52,000 electors while a German represented only 40,000. See his *The Multinational Empire*, Vol. II, p. 223. Winiarski gives the figures as 69,000 and 27,000, respectively, but he probably refers to an unspecified earlier period. See his *Ustrój polityczny ziem polskich w XIX w.*, p. 219. See also Kann, *The Habsburg Empire*, p. 98; and Hugo Hantsch, *Die Nationalitätenfrage im alten Österreich* (Vienna, 1953), pp. 30–34.

⁴⁴ See the figures in Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, Vol. II, p. 313.

produce a comprehensive scheme for Galician autonomy or to effectuate sweeping economic reforms. While the Habsburgs wooed the Poles and showered favors on the elite, they never committed themselves to consistent championship of the Polish cause abroad. Make-shift arrangements, so typical of the last decades of the old monarchy, prevailed to the very end.

*Jewish Assimilation in L'viv: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman**

Ezra Mendelsohn

THE LARGEST METROPOLIS in Galicia was known to its Austrian rulers as Lemberg. The Poles, who dominated the city after 1867, referred to it as Lwów, while the Ukrainian minority called it L'viv.¹ German, Polish, and Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants constituted the officially recognized national groups, but there also existed a large Jewish element, which in 1900 made up approximately 30 percent of the population.² Appearing in Austrian and Polish statistics only as adherents of the Mosaic faith, the Jews differed from their neighbors

* Chapter Four is reprinted from *Slavic Review* XXVIII, 4 (December, 1969), pp. 577–590.

I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City, where some of the research for this article was carried out. I would also like to thank Herbert Leventer of Brooklyn College for several helpful suggestions.

¹ The city will be referred to here as L'viv, following the Ukrainian form.

² According to the census of 1900, as reported in D. K. Ostaszewski-Barański, ed., *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, Vol. VIII, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1901), p. 19, Roman Catholics constituted 52.5 percent of the population, Greek Catholics 16.5 percent, and Jews 29 percent. By language 76.86 percent were Polish-speaking, 9.65 percent Ukrainian-speaking, and 13 percent German-speaking. The great majority of those who wrote "German" on the census reports were, however, Jews. See Stanisław Pazyra, "Ludność Lwowa w pierwszej ćwierci XX wieku," in *Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone Prof. Dr. Franciszkowi Bujakowi* (L'viv, 1931), p. 430; Sepp Müller, *Von der Ansiedlung bis zur Umsiedlung: Das Deutschtum Galiziens, insbesondere Lembergs, 1772–1940* (Marburg/Lahn, 1961), p. 77. In 1910 only 2.3 percent of the city's population listed German as their language, the result of a campaign (disallowed by the authorities) urging Jews to "write in" Yiddish. See *Lwów w cyfrach*, Vol. VI (L'viv, 1911), p.4.

in far more than religion. Though formally emancipated in 1868, Galician Jewry resembled in all other respects that of Russia. The combination of a very large Jewish minority and a very backward social and economic structure, in Galicia as in the Pale of Settlement, placed great obstacles in the path of cultural assimilation. Not recognized by the authorities, Yiddish was nonetheless L'viv's second major language.

During the course of the nineteenth century a secularized Jewish intelligentsia emerged in L'viv, as it did all over Eastern Europe. While the Yiddish-speaking, Orthodox majority maintained its traditional way of life, a growing number of modern-minded Jews sought to enter the secular, non-Jewish world. This effort, difficult under any conditions, was made more complicated by the cultural diversity of the city. Those who departed from tradition were obliged to choose between contending cultural influences and to select a particular orientation. Indeed, the history of the L'viv Jewish intelligentsia was characterized by shifting cultural orientations—which also implied political attitudes—in response to changing historical circumstances.

The first orientation to take hold was of the pro-German variety. It was German Jewry which first proclaimed, under the banner of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah*) movement, the necessity to modernize Jewish life by learning from the gentiles. Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), the greatest figure of the Enlightenment, translated the Pentateuch into German, providing a basic text for those Jews interested in acquiring secular learning. From Germany the movement penetrated Eastern Europe, where Jews came to identify secular culture with the German tongue and where modern Jews were commonly called “*Daytshen*.” The Galician Enlighteners (*Maskilim*) of the early nineteenth century, while differing in certain respects with their German mentors, shared with them a reverence for German culture. And, in their struggle against the traditionalists within the Jewish community, who bitterly opposed their program, it was inevitable that they should look to Vienna for aid. The Habsburgs, for their part, saw the Jews as potentially useful in their campaign to germanize Galicia, and naturally supported the germanizing tendencies of the Enlighteners. Thus was formed, much to the dislike of both the Poles and the Orthodox Jews, an alliance between the Enlightenment and the dynasty.³

³ On the German orientation of the Galician Enlightenment see the remarks of Refael Mahler, *Ha-hasidut ve-ha-haskala* (Merhavia, 1961), pp. 55–56. Joseph

Originally a tiny group of persecuted reformers, those favoring modernization, grew stronger as the century progressed. The spiritual children of the L'viv Enlightenment—a professional and business elite—waged a vigorous struggle for the amelioration of Jewish life based on the German orientation. In 1846 they achieved a signal victory with the consecration of the “Deutsch Jüdisches Bethaus,” a reformed synagogue which came to be known as the “Temple.” It was presided over by a German-educated rabbi, who preached in German and who also established a modern German-Jewish school.⁴ Some twenty years later the intellectual elite of the Temple established the society Shomer Yisrael (Guardian of Israel), which propagated the pro-German ideas of the Enlightenment and emphasized the loyalty of its members to the empire.⁵ Procentralist and, at first, unfriendly to Polish nationalism, the society proudly proclaimed: “We are Austrians.” As late as 1873 a delegation from the Shomer informed the kaiser that its members were “Austrian patriots” who owed their “freedom and equality” to the benevolent Habsburgs.⁶ Despite the furious opposition of the traditionalists the society steadily gained influence, placing its members in key positions in the L'viv City Council and in the governing body of the Jewish community.⁷

Perl, one of the most influential of the Enlighteners, opened a German-Jewish school in Ternopil' in 1813. On the relationship between the Hapsburgs and the Enlightenment see Mahler, *Divre yeme Yisrael*, Vol. I, pt. 4 (Merhavia, 1956), p. 69 ff.; Majer Balaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Galicyi i w Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej, 1772–1868* (L'viv, 1914), chaps 2–6; N. M. Gelber, “Toldot yehude Lvov,” in *Entsiklopedia shel galuyot*, Vol. IV (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, 1956), pp. 185 ff.

⁴ Majer Balaban, *Historia lwowskiej synagogi postępowej* (L'viv, 1937). So great was the hostility of the Orthodox toward the Temple that its first rabbi, Abraham Kohn, was murdered by fanatical enemies of reform in 1848.

⁵ There is some disagreement as to when the Shomer was founded. N. M. Gelber, *Toldot ha-tnu'a ha-tsiyonit be-Galitsia*, Vol. I (Jerusalem, 1958), p. 68, gives the date as either 1868 or 1869. The first issue of the society's journal, *Der Israelit*, appeared in 1869 in German with Hebrew letters, in the style of the German Enlightenment see Mahler, *Divre eme Yisrael*, Vol. I, pt. 4 (Merhavia, 1956), p. 69 ff.; membership of some four hundred, including the outstanding intellectual, business, and political figures of L'viv Jewry. See *Der Israelit*, no. 25 (December 12, 1873).

⁶ *Der Israelit*, no. 5 (February 28, 1873); no. 25 (December 12, 1873).

⁷ For example, at least one-third of the delegates and alternates representing the Jewish community in the L'viv City Council in 1866 later affiliated with the Shomer. See the list in *Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu 1870–1895* (L'viv, 1896), pp. 42–43.

The German cultural orientation, rooted in the Enlightenment and in the Hapsburg alliance, remained a potent force within the Jewish community until the end of the empire. Many Jewish parents, for example, continued to send their children to German rather than Polish high schools, and many graduates continued to be attracted to German universities.⁸ However, in response to the growing Polish self-consciousness in Galicia a new orientation arose which denounced the alliance with Vienna, glorified the culture of Mickiewicz over that of Mendelssohn, and articulated a program based on Jewish-Polish cooperation. This attitude had been expressed long before by the Jewish legion which fought with Kościuszko in Warsaw, and was wholeheartedly embraced by the rabbi of Cracow in 1848.⁹ L'viv, multinational and germanized, and thus to be contrasted with Warsaw and Cracow, was not so quick to adopt the new teaching; the "Spring of Nations" in that city found only a few Jews who could communicate

which I have compared with data in various issues of *Der Israelit*. In 1879 members of the society were elected to important positions in the Jewish community. See Gelber, "Toldot yehude Lvov," p. 317; "Zikhronotav shel Mordekhai Zev Braude," in *Zikaron Mordekhai Zev Braude* (Jerusalem, 1959), pp. 53 ff. The Orthodox founded their own organization, Mahazike ha-dat (Upholders of the Faith), in opposition to the Shomer.

⁸ In 1896 Jews constituted 18.3 percent of all *Gymnasium* students in L'viv, but 50 percent of the student body in the only high school which retained German as its language of instruction. See *Miasto*, p. 638 and Müller, p. 121. In 1914–15 more than one-third of the students at the privately run Deutsch Evang. Schule und Gymnasium Lemberg were Jews; see Müller, p. 102. For examples of Jews who went to German high schools in order to prepare for German universities see Mordekhai Aharonpreis, *Ben mizrah le-maarav* (Tel-Aviv, 1953), pp. 27 ff. It is interesting to note that the Ukrainian *Gymnasium* in L'viv had no Jewish students at all—the "Ukrainian orientation" never interested the Jews of Galicia, who regarded Ukrainian as a "peasant language." The Ukrainian national movement, however, did have an impact on Jewish intellectuals, some of whom were moved by its example to advocate equal national rights for Jews as well (see note 17).

⁹ Jewish participation in the Kościuszko revolt is the subject of Emanuel Ringelblum, *Żydzi w powstaniu Kościuszkowskim* (Warsaw, n.d.). For a survey of Jewish participation in the struggle for Polish independence see Janus Urbach, *Udział Żydów w walce o niepodległość Polski* (Łódź, 1938). On the activities of Rabbi Ber Meisels of Cracow, champion of the pro-Polish orientation in western Galicia, see E. Kupfer, *Ber Mayzels, zayn onteyl in di kampf far der frayheyt fun poylishn folk un der glaykh-barekhtigung fun yidn* (Warsaw, 1952).

with their Polish neighbors.¹⁰ It was only in the 1860s that L'viv's first "Polish-Jewish patriot," Filip Zucker, became active in the Polish student association at the still germanized university.¹¹ In 1863 Maurycy Rappoport, the leading intellectual figure within L'viv's Jewish elite and one of the founders of the Temple, wrote a German poem expressing delight that "Ich bin ein Pole."¹² And in 1870 Bernard Goldman, a Jewish veteran of the 1863 revolt in Russian Poland, settled in L'viv and began to promote the pro-Polish line.¹³

Ultimately, acceptance of the new orientation by the L'viv Jewish elite was assured by the polonization of the city, which occurred rapidly after the *Ausgleich* of 1867. Vienna's approval of home rule for Galicia's Polish majority led to the decline of German culture in the province; it also rendered untenable the old alliance between progressive Jewry and the Habsburgs. The Jewish elite, in order to maintain its position of power, was obliged to seek accommodation with the new regime.¹⁴ This did not come easily to Shomer Yisrael, which in the early 1870s was involved in a campaign against the

¹⁰ Among them were Marcus Dubs (born 1805), who taught himself Polish as well as German; Oswald Hönigsmann (born 1824), the only L'viv Jew (according to *Der Israelit*) to know Polish perfectly in 1848; and Dr. Moyzesz Beiser, who was a member of the Polish national Rada in 1848 and was the first Jew of the city to attain the status of "honorary citizen." On Dubs and Hönigsmann see *Der Israelit*, no. 23 (November 19, 1874); no. 17 (October 8, 1880). On Beiser see *ibid.*, no. 18 (October 22, 1880); *Miasto*, p. 208. For remarks on the late appearance of pro-Polish sentiments in L'viv see Yehoshuah Thon, "Demuiyot mi-Lvov," *Pirke Galitsia* (Tel-Aviv, 1957), pp. 343 ff.

¹¹ On Zucker, one of the heroes of the assimilationist generation of the 1880s, see the eulogy by the rabbi of the Temple in the proassimilationist Warsaw journal *Izraelita*, XXII, 4 (January 16, 1887), pp. 30–31. Said the rabbi, who by this time was something of a Polonophile himself, "He was a patriot when the rest of the Jews were submerged in darkness, germanized, or apathetic."

¹² Maurycy Rappoport, *Bajazzo, Ein Gedicht* (Leipzig, 1863), as quoted in Balaban, *Dzieje*, pp. 197–199. Rappoport, a doctor as well as a poet, ends his poem on the pessimistic (but prophetic) note that "Ein Jude und ein Pole sein, dass ist des Unglücks Doppelkrantz."

¹³ In 1877 Goldman, along with Zucker, founded the first L'viv society for Jewish-Polish cooperation. According to the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, XLIII, 7 (February 11, 1879), p. 103, the society lasted for only six months. See also *ibid.*, no. 19 (May 7, 1878), p. 295.

¹⁴ This was in marked contrast to the situation in the adjacent province of Bukovina, where no single nationality dominated and where, for that reason, German retained its

polonization of the school system.¹⁵ By 1879, however, members of the society who were elected to the Reichstag agreed to join the "Polish club" in Vienna. Six years later the society's president, in an address to its membership, announced the organization's conversion to the Polish orientation, and urged Galician Jews to become "Poles of the Mosaic persuasion."¹⁶ There was little vocal opposition.¹⁷

If Shomer Yisrael became Polonophile out of political necessity, a new generation of intellectuals supported the Polish cause out of conviction. Those Jews born in the 1860s were much more likely to attend general schools than were their fathers or grandfathers; more important, the schools that they attended in the 1880s were largely Polish.¹⁸ Jewish *Gymnasium* and university students acquired from

privileged status. The German orientation of Bukovina Jewry was never challenged. See Karl Gottfried Hügelmann, ed., *Das Nationalitätenrecht des alten Österreich* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 724 ff.; Salomon Kassner, *Die Juden in der Bukovina* (Vienna and Berlin, 1917). Also important was the fact that Polish culture was able to attract Jewish interest, while the cultures of the Ukrainians and Romanians were not; similarly, the Jews of Prague retained their pro-German orientation long after the city had lost its German character, owing in large measure to the late revival of Czech culture.

¹⁵ See *Der Israelit*, no. 1 (January 12, 1872). The article praises German as a "world language" which no educated man should be without, and which is especially vital for Galician Jewry because of its connection with the Enlightenment and its proximity to Yiddish.

¹⁶ See the speech by Emil Byk as published in *Der Israelit*, no. 3 (February 6, 1885). In 1899 Byk, then president of the Jewish community, declared "Polonia judaeorum paradus," expressing the familiar assimilationist theme that the Jews should be grateful to Poland for having opened her doors to them during the persecutions of the Middle Ages. See Wilhelm Feldmann, *Stronictwa i programy polityczne w Galicyi, 1846–1906*, Vol. II (Cracow, 1907), p. 295. On the agreement to join the Polish club see Gelber, "Toldot yehude Lvov," pp. 317–18.

¹⁷ According to the account in *Der Israelit*, no. 3 (February 6, 1885), only Reuvan Bierer objected, insisting that the Jews were a nation like the Ukrainians. Bierer was to become one of the founders of L'viv Zionism.

¹⁸ In 1869 only 8.2 percent of all Galician *Gymnasium* students were Jews; see the figures in Filip Friedman, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848–1868)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), p. 33. By 1896, as we have seen, 18.3 percent of all L'viv *Gymnasium* students were Jews. Of these, 189 attended the German *Gymnasium* (which also taught Polish, of course) and 340 attended Polish schools. In 1901–1902, 21.9 percent of all students at the University of L'viv, which was by then almost completely polonized, were Jews, as were 14.3 percent of the students at the L'viv Technical School. See *Die Juden in Österreich* (Berlin, 1908), p. 104.

their teachers and classmates a passion for Polish culture and an identity with Polish nationalism. Quite naturally, many of them repudiated the cultural and political views of the generations which had built the Temple and founded Shomer Yisrael. These "men of the eighties" made their political debut by organizing, in 1882, a society for the promotion of Jewish-Polish assimilation. Known as the Covenant of Brothers (*Przymierze braci*, in Hebrew *Agudat ahim*), the society carried on the Enlightenment tradition by working for the amelioration of Galician Jewish life. It insisted, however, that Galician Jews adopt a positive attitude toward the Polish cause and demanded that they become active members of the Polish nation.¹⁹ In their task the members expected to receive the enthusiastic support of Polish public opinion, for it was obvious that the Poles had everything to gain by winning the allegiance of the large and strategically important Jewish minority.²⁰

Among the Jewish-Polish assimilationists of the 1880s were several interesting figures, such as Alfred Nossig, who became a celebrated author, sculptor, and publicist, and Hermann Diamand, a future leader of Galician socialism.²¹ But perhaps the most remarkable was

¹⁹ The statutes of the society, formally approved in 1882, are published in "Lwówianin" (Alfred Nossig?), "Ruch postępowy między izraelitami w Galicyi," *Izraelita*, XVII, 37 (September 10, 1882), pp. 299–300. "The aim of society," we read, "is to propagate the spirit of citizenship among the Jews of Galicia" by demonstrating the "inevitability" of assimilation, by holding lectures, by establishing schools and libraries, and so forth. The society's Polish organ, *Ojczyzna* (Fatherland), first appeared in 1880, and a Hebrew journal was also published. The membership included representatives of the academic youth, "oldsters" such as Goldman and Zucker, and Polish liberals. It is noteworthy that one of the founders of the Covenant, Nathan Loewenstein, was the son of the rabbi at the pro-German Temple. And even that institution was eventually obliged to hire a Polish-speaking preacher in response to the decline of German in the city.

²⁰ The Jews were particularly important to the Poles in eastern Galicia, where the Ukrainians formed the majority of the population. The possibility of a Jewish-Ukrainian alliance at the polls could not be taken lightly by Polish nationalists. Indeed, one of the major points in the Galician Zionist program was the denunciation of those Jewish representatives who adhered to the Polish club in Vienna; in 1907 the Zionists created a Jewish club in the Reichstag, having been elected with the help of the Ukrainians (see note 54).

²¹ Diamand (1860–1931) was active in the work of the Vienna-based *Izraelitische Allianz*, which promoted (among other things) reform in Jewish education. After a brief period as president of Zion, the first Zionist society in L'viv, he became a leader

Wilhelm Feldman, who was to become a famous literary critic and political radical. In sharp contrast to the founders of the Covenant, who were born into the L'viv elite and attended the city's *Gymnasia*, Feldman (1868–1919) was born into an Orthodox home in Zbarazh, a little town near the Russian border. He spent his formative years in this completely traditional Jewish environment. While still a very young man, and under circumstances which remain unknown, he broke from this milieu and journeyed to the enlightened city of L'viv. Arriving there in 1884, two years after the founding of the Covenant, he immediately launched his career as author, critic, publicist, and social activist.²²

In L'viv, Feldman proclaimed his allegiance both to Polish nationalism and to socialism, associating the Polish cause with the quest for social justice.²³ At the same time he identified with the Jewish

of the Polish Social Democratic party in Galicia. On his involvement in Jewish affairs in L'viv see *Izraelita*, XXI, 20 (May 9, 1886), pp. 160–161.

²² For biographical material on Feldman see Filip Eisenberg, "Wilhelm Feldman, szkic biograficzny," in *Pamięci Wilhelma Feldmana* (Cracow, 1922), pp. 7–33; J. Grabiec, "Wilhelm Feldman, jako publicysta i działacz społeczny," *ibid.*, pp. 60–104. According to both Grabiec and Jan Rawicz, "Z profilu," *ibid.*, pp. 143–153, Feldman was already a Polish nationalist before his departure from Zbarazh, having delivered a pro-Polish speech in the town's synagogue. There is some confusion as to the exact date of this arrival in L'viv; since his correspondence in the *Izraelita* begins in 1884, it seems clear that this is the correct year, Eisenberg (who has Feldman arrive in 1886) notwithstanding. As a literary critic Feldman was associated with the "Young Poland" school. For evaluations see A. Brückner, "Historyk literatury," *ibid.*, pp. 34–54; Ign. Chrzanowski, *Studia i szkice*, Vol. II (Cracow, 1939), pp. 339–361. As a political activist he became, after a brief socialist period, a leading figure on the Galician nonsocialist left as editor of *Krytyka* in Cracow. Students of Polish history know him as the author of *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicyi* and *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porozbiorowym*, 3 vols. (Cracow and Warsaw, 1914–1920). A complete bibliography is available in *Pamięci*, pp. 203–204.

²³ He found both these ideals embodied in Mieczysław Darowski, a veteran of the nationalist movement who befriended him in L'viv. In Feldman's own words: "Thirty years ago, as a young boy arriving in L'viv, I met the venerable Mieczysław Darowski, a Pole of the old style, radiating Polish graciousness and freedom; his hand, which had once held the sword of war, and had pressed the palms of Mickiewicz and Słowacki, blessed the head of the autodidact emerging into the Polish world from the ghetto. . . ," as quoted in Eisenberg from *Dzieje polskiej myśli*, Vol. II, pp. 132–133. Darowski was active in the Covenant of Brothers; see *Izraelita*, XXIV, no. 12 (March 10, 1889), pp. 93–94.

Enlightenment tradition, and threw himself into the struggle to uplift the Jewish masses.²⁴ To this end he joined the Covenant of Brothers, which established schools and libraries in an effort to draw Jews closer to Polish culture. In 1891 he became secretary of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which promoted the modernization of Galician Jewish life by establishing a network of schools throughout the province.²⁵ It was, however, with his pen that Feldman made his mark, emerging as the untiring champion of assimilation and the uncompromising enemy of life in the Jewish ghetto.

Like the Enlighteners of old, Feldman set out to ridicule those aspects of Jewish life which contradicted the modern spirit of progress—the wonderworking “Rebbe” of the Hasidic sect, the *kheyder* (elementary religious school) with its ignorant teachers and terrorized pupils, and Yiddish, that “barbaric” language “which must disappear as a consequence of the disappearance of the reasons for its existence.”²⁶ These were obvious targets. But in his fictional work, which drew heavily on his own experience, Feldman probed more deeply into Galician Jewish life; his plays and stories, more interesting as propaganda than as literature, remain impressive for their powerful condemnation of life in the Jewish town.

Traditional Jewish life, as described in Feldman’s work, warps and

²⁴ See, for example, his warm tribute to the martyred Rabbi Kohn of the Temple in *Izraelita*, XXIII, 40 (October 7, 1888), pp. 344–45, despite the fact that Kohn was outspokenly pro-German.

²⁵ On the practical activities of the Covenant see *Izraelita*, XIX, 7 (February 3, 1884), pp. 52–53; XX, 11 (March 1, 1885), p. 84; XXI, 31 (July 25, 1886), pp. 249–251. For the aims of the fund see *Statuten der Baron Hirsch Stiftung zur Beförderung des Volksschulesunterrichtes in Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien, mit dem Grossherzogthume Krakau und im Herzogthume Bukowina* (Vienna, 1891).

²⁶ For Feldman’s views on the *kheyder*, shared by most progressive Jews of the time, see *Izraelita*, XX, 4 (January 11, 1885), pp. 29–30; see also his article “Kwestja chederów w Galicyi,” *ibid.*, XXII, 4 (January 16, 1887), pp. 35–37. His views on Yiddish, also quite typical of the Enlightened Jew, were summarized in his brochure *O żargonie żydowskim* (L’viv, 1891), which was not available to me; I quote from Grabiec, “Wilhelm Feldman,” p. 74. The Polish assimilationists disliked Yiddish not only because it was a debased “jargon” but also because it was dangerously close to German. Jacob Bross, “The Beginnings of the Jewish Labor Movement in Galicia,” *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Structure*, V (New York, 1950), p. 67, quotes Feldman as follows: “There is no room in the sphere of civilization for this jargon. . . . It is ultimately a tool for germanization.”

disfigures human beings, banishes the noble sentiments of love and kindness, and fosters a world of superstition and fantasy. The chief victims are the most helpless—children and young women. “I was never a child,” complains the protagonist of *Żydziak* (The Jewish Youth), “I didn’t know what freedom was.”²⁷ Little Joel, dragged mercilessly to the *kheyder* by his pious father, who wishes to make of him “a good Jew,” is ruined by the experience. On his deathbed he can only stutter: “Mama, mama, I don’t want . . . I’m afraid, afraid, afraid. . . .”²⁸ If young boys are wrecked by the *kheyder*, which either destroys them or converts them into “good Jews,” young girls are ruined by forced marriages, arranged in the name of Orthodoxy. For refusing such a match Perl is cursed by her prospective father-in-law as a “Godless,” “wicked soul,” a “shameful German.”²⁹ Once married, they are stifled by the ghetto environment and ignored by their pious husbands, who believe that love is a “German” notion fit only for the “panie” (lords).³⁰ Their agony is summed up by Karla, heroine of *Piękna Żydowka* (The Beautiful Jewess): “Why must I stand aside, like an alien being, who has no right to enjoyment . . . ha, I am a Jewess, a Jewess! . . . this name already indicates that all shun and despise me . . . that I am excluded from that paradise of the spirit in which all other beings reside . . .”³¹

To live in the ghetto is to live in a place of gloom and death, populated by the fanatics, the apathetic, and the half-educated; by such people as Szarlota, who speaks Polish-German-Yiddish and longs for “*cibilizacja*,” “*teatry*,” and “*ba-let*”; by Mendelee, who informs his wife that “poverty is stronger than all of us, stronger even

²⁷ The play was not available to me; I quote from Eisenberg, p. 9. For summaries of this obviously autobiographical work see *Izraelita*, XXIV, 2 (March 10, 1889), pp. 95–96; *Przyszłość*, no. 1 (October 5, 1892), pp. 2–5.

²⁸ “Cuda i dziwy, obrazek skreślony z natury,” in *Jak w życiu, obrazki* (Zolochiv, 1890), p. 166. In Feldman’s story “Dwie storony medalu,” published in *Izraelita*, XXIV, 11 (March 3, 1889), pp. 84–86, continued in no. 12 (March 10, 1889), pp. 92–95, the overriding concern of the young mother is to protect her child from the *kheyder*. On her deathbed she makes her husband promise never to send him there.

²⁹ *Cudotworca* (Warsaw and L’viv, 1901), p. 22.

³⁰ This is the theme of “Dwie storony medalu.” See also *Das Gottesgericht, Drama aus dem galizisch-jüdischen Leben*, translated from the Polish by Samuel Meisels (Vienna, 1902), p. 18.

³¹ *Die schöne Jüdin*, translated from the Polish by Sylvester Wisnerowicz (Amsterdam, 1892), p. 14.

than the whole community . . . it is as old as the Jewish people."³² It is a world dominated by the attitudes of such people as Dwora, who proudly tells her son: "In our family no one was ever an artisan! All sat at the right hand of the Tsadik [the holy man of the Hasidim]."³³ From this world escape is the only answer, and Feldman's heroes are those who defy the dictates of their elders and flee to that "paradise of the spirit" which is identified with the Polish world. Escape is not easy; the protagonist of *Żydziak* loses his way among the gentiles, and Klara, who escapes via conversion, discovers that the simple renunciation of her heritage is no passport to happiness.³⁴ But success is possible. Perl, emancipating herself from the spirit of the ghetto, informs the elders of the synagogue that "your world is the world of darkness, the world of falsehood, the world of misfortune"; together with her husband she determines "to work, struggle, and suffer" for a society in which all men will be free.³⁵ The same glorious affirmation is made by Klara, who after a series of misadventures finds a suitable mate and dedicates herself "to life, and to work."³⁶ Thus the young revolt, and the society of the ghetto produces in its noble children the seeds of its own destruction.

One need not be a psychologist to understand that Feldman is portraying in his fiction his own struggle and his own revolt against the "fathers" in the name of the "sons." If his work reflects this generational gap in the sharpest possible fashion, it is doubtless because he, unlike his colleagues, grew up in a provincial town rather than in a capital. And it is perhaps owing to the intensity of his own struggle that Feldman is unwilling to discover in traditional Jewish life any of the endearing qualities that other writers find in it.³⁷ On

³² *Cudotworca*, pp. 58–59; *Das Gottesgericht*, p. 6. Feldman's story "W mrokach," published in *Izraelita*, XXXI, 25 (June 14, 1896), p. 210, attempts to evoke the misery of the little Galician Jewish town.

³³ *Cudotworca*, p. 8.

³⁴ In the first case the protagonist decides to emigrate, while Klara, converted by an unscrupulous Ukrainian priest who fills her head with anti-Semitic nonsense, learns that anti-Semitism is as evil as the ghetto whence she fled.

³⁵ *Cudotworca*, pp. 91, 121.

³⁶ *Die schöne Judin*, p. 251.

³⁷ It is interesting to compare Feldman's stories with those of Karl Emil Franzos (born 1848) who grew up in eastern Galicia and whose stories are also based on Galician Jewish life; see, for example, *The Jews of Barnow* (London and Edinburgh, 1882), which presents a far more sympathetic portrayal of Jewish life in the Galician small town.

the contrary, he remained throughout his career an enemy of those who romanticized the ghetto and glossed over its "grayness, bitterness, and hopelessness," a man with "hard words of truth for the Jews," who counted on the young generation to abolish the old ways forever.³⁸

Did Feldman hope, then, for the disappearance of the Jewish people? Perhaps, though he was always careful to point out that the Jewish question could not be solved overnight.³⁹ He was nonetheless persuaded that Jewish history had come to an end, that it had "played itself out."⁴⁰ Once a noble race of heroes, which had challenged the might of Rome, the Jews had degenerated into a people of tradesmen and "pale, bookish skulls," a group of "fanatics" who believed only in "religious-mystical dogmatism," a "half-Asiatic" mass.⁴¹ The modern Jew should be aware of his glorious past, and he should know that the Jews have contributed great men to world culture.⁴² Moreover, he should avoid the pitfalls of self-hatred.⁴³ But he should also

³⁸ The first quotation is from Feldman's article on the Jewish artist Samuel Hirszenberg, who is praised for depicting the ghetto as it really is; see *Krytyka*, X, pt. 2 (Cracow, 1908), pp. 307–308. The second quotation is from his "Sprawa żydowska w Polsce," *ibid.*, XV, pt. 4 (1913), p. 201. See also *Die schöne Jüdin*, pp. 188–190, in which a wise father rebukes his son for wishing to return to the "good old days."

³⁹ "Sprawa żydowska," p. 223.

⁴⁰ As one of the characters in *Die schöne Jüdin*, p. 220, declares: "Sie [the Jews] haben ihre Rolle als Religion und Volk ausgespielt—und jetzt haben sie keinen Grund, dass ist kein Recht und Zweck zur Existenz als ein selbständiges Reich." The same point was made by the Hebrew organ of the Covenant, *Ha-Mazkir ahava le-erets moladto* (*The Herald of Love for the Fatherland*), V, 8 (April 15, 1885), p. 30. The journal was careful to point out that assimilation did not imply apostasy, and Feldman never advocated mass baptism.

⁴¹ "Utopia," in *Na posterunku, szkice publicystyczne* (Cracow, 1903), pp. 152–153; *Asymilatorzy, syoniści i Polacy* (L'viv, 1894), p. 13. Feldman's remarks on the decline of the Jewish people are not unlike the Zionists' "negation of the exile," though the latter drew very different conclusions.

⁴² In *Die schöne Jüdin*, p. 165, the same wise father comments: "Die Geschichte der Juden ist gross, glänzend, herrlich. . . ." And in *Asymilatorzy* (p. 58) Feldman points out that the Jews have produced such great men as Moses, Hillel, Christ, Spinoza, Lassalle, Heine, and Joselowicz (leader of the Jewish legion which fought with Kościuszko).

⁴³ Feldman never denied his Jewish origins, though he was accused by the Zionists of having declared himself "without faith" ("beżwyznaniowy") when involved in the 1891 socialist trial in Cracow. For his denial of this charge see *Przyszłość*, no. 9 (February 5,

realize that the modern phenomena of Emancipation and Enlightenment have doomed Jewish separatism once and for all, and that assimilation into the majority culture represents the only positive solution to the Jewish problem. In Galicia, as elsewhere, assimilation will come about quite naturally as the result of improving economic and social conditions, which will break down the "Chinese wall" between Jew and gentile, just as it will integrate the backward peasant into modern society. Thus the natural death of Jewish history is accompanied by the "living process" of assimilation. "Assimilation," we are informed, "is more than a program; it is a process that occurs with historical inevitability," "independent of individual wills." The ghetto, then, is no more a permanent institution than the primitive peasant village; both are destroyed by modern civilization.⁴⁴

Feldman was therefore as certain of assimilation as were the Marxists of the proletarian revolution. But the youthful idealists of the Covenant, who had to deal with the reality of Galician life, were quickly disillusioned. Operating on a modest budget, they found it impossible to prevail against "the miserable environment in which we live," to do something about the "ignorance and economic collapse" of Galician Jewry.⁴⁵ The assimilationist elite, no less isolated from the masses than were the early Enlighteners, were not ideologically equipped to bridge the gap between themselves and the "people." Characteristically, the Covenant issued a journal in Polish and Hebrew, but not in Yiddish. Feldman himself, despite his contempt for the Jewish "jargon," later criticized his colleagues for refusing

1893), p. 94. For further comments on Feldman's relationship to his Jewishness see Leo Finkelshayn, "Vilhelm Feldman, der gikh-fargesener kritiker fun der poylisher literatur," *Literarishe bleter*, no. 66 (August 7, 1925), pp. 4–6; Rawicz, pp. 143–144.

⁴⁴ "Asymilacya," *Krytyka*, XI, pt. 1 (Cracow, 1910), p. 175; *Asymilatorzy*, p. 58; *Stronniczwa*, Vol. II, p. 292. Economic progress may well lead to assimilation, as Feldman believed, but it also led to Zionism, which in L'viv was the creation of Jewish students, as was the Covenant.

⁴⁵ The quotations are from Feldman's comments in *Izraelita*, XIX, 36 (August 31, 1884), p. 288; XX, 2 (December 28, 1885), p. 12. In 1885 the Covenant's budget was 2,800 zloty yearly; in 1889, despite a subsidy from the City Council, the society was running a considerable deficit. See *ibid.*, XX, 11 (March 1, 1885), p. 84; XXIV, 20 (May 12, 1889), p. 162. The desperate poverty of Galician Jewry is the subject of Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, VII (New York, 1952), pp. 255–267.

to speak the language of the vast majority of Galician Jewry.⁴⁶

Even more disturbing than this isolation was the indisputable fact that Galician anti-Semitism was on the rise. Nothing was so calculated to destroy the confidence of the "men of the eighties" as the chauvinistic Polish attitude toward non-Poles, which was exacerbated in L'viv by the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. The attitude of the L'viv City Council was traditionally anti-Jewish; it had been unhappy with Emancipation, and had sought to limit the number of Jewish representatives. Even those Polish liberals who had fought for Emancipation, like Franciszek Smolka, had assumed that the grateful Jews would instantly turn into Polish nationalists. Their failure to do so embittered Polish public opinion, which in turn blamed the assimilationists for Jewish intransigence.⁴⁷ As early as 1883, only a year after its founding, the Covenant denounced society for making its task so difficult: ". . . when public opinion asks us: for what reason are the Jews of the land still not assimilated, we reply, who is guilty? Those who know how to accuse, but who do not wish to work for improvement, who rebuke weakness, but who possess no cure? We answer: 'Ipsi fecistis!'"⁴⁸ In 1887 the society noted that anti-Semitism was present "in all walks of life."⁴⁹ Feldman and his co-workers, despite their obvious distaste for the role, were constantly obliged to defend the Jews from the accusations of the "mistrustful Poles," to combat the view that the Jews were either pro-German or pro-Ukrainian, to dispute the notion that the Semitic race wished to dominate the world,

⁴⁶ See his remarks in "Z obozów żydowskich," *Krytyka*, XVI, pt. 3 (Cracow, 1914), p. 136. The pattern displayed here—of an intellectual who, despite his contempt for Yiddish, sanctions its use in the attempt to reach the masses—was repeated many times in Eastern Europe. Thus some leaders of the Jewish Labor Bund in Russia turned to Yiddish only as a means to implement their agitation program.

⁴⁷ For the position of the City Council, see *Miasto*, pp. 32 ff.; a speech by Smolka in the Sejm in 1868, illustrating the above point, is reproduced in Balaban, *Dzieje*, p. 208. For an example of what the assimilationists had to contend with see François Bujak, *La Question juive en Pologne* (Paris, 1919), p. 21; Bujak, professor at the University of Cracow and an expert on Galicia, writes: "Contrairement à ce qui passe dans l'Europe occidentale, il ne peut pas être question en Pologne d'une assimilation culturelle, même superficielle, des masses juives par la population locale." See also his *Galicja*, Vol. I (L'viv and Warsaw, 1908), pp. 99 ff., in which he is extremely critical of the assimilationists.

⁴⁸ *Izraelita*, XVIII, 20 (May 13, 1883), p. 167.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XXII, 17 (April 24, 1887), p. 135.

and to denounce such tactics as the boycott of Jewish-owned shops.⁵⁰

An evil in its own right, the impact of anti-Semitism on the L'viv elite was, from Feldman's standpoint, even more disastrous. For the refusal of Polish society to cooperate with the assimilationists caused many of them to "desert" to the camp of Jewish nationalism. To be sure, the rise of Zionism in L'viv could not be regarded, as Feldman chose to regard it, solely as the result of anti-Semitism, as the "child of pogroms."⁵¹ But the hostility of the Polish majority certainly contributed to the growing appeal of this new orientation, which glorified Jewish culture and championed an independent, Jewish political line as against the old German or the new Polish connection. Most prominent among the Covenant members to advance the new cause was Alfred Nossig, the talented first editor of *Ojczyzna*, who had previously regarded the Zionists as harmful "fanatics." His conversion, in 1886, was regarded by the nationalists as a major coup.⁵² Nossig was joined by a steady stream of Jewish students from the *Gymnasia* and the university, who went over to the Zionists in protest against the Polish students' anti-Semitism.⁵³

⁵⁰ In *Izraelita*, XXIX, 4 (January 13, 1889), pp. 29–30, Feldman blames anti-Semitic journalists and discrimination against Jewish professionals for the failure of assimilation to proceed at a normal pace. Almost all of Feldman's reports from L'viv in the *Izraelita* touch upon the problem of anti-Semitism; in this respect he differs little from the contributors to the old *Der Israelit* and the Zionist *Przyszłość*.

⁵¹ "Asymilacya," p. 176. Feldman persisted in attributing Zionism's success to outside influences, citing in particular the Russian pogroms of 1881–82. On the rise of Zionism in Galicia see Gelber, *Toldot ha-tnuva*, vol. 1. The Zion society was founded in 1888, but there was pro-Zionist activity in the city well before that time.

⁵² An unfavorable article on Zionism, signed "Lwówianin" and most probably written by Nossig, appears in *Izraelita*, XIX, 3 (January 6, 1884), pp. 21–22. For his conversion to the nationalist position see his article "Z 'rzuta oka na dzieje Judaizmu," *ibid.*, XXI, 41 (October 1, 1886), pp. 331–32, continued in XXI, 42 (October 17, 1886), pp. 341–42. On the impact of his departure from the assimilationist camp see "Zikhrnotav shel Mordekhai Zev Braude," pp. 97–98. For Feldman's views see his "Alfreda Nossiga 'poezje': szkic literacki," *Izraelita*, XXII, 47 (November 27, 1887), pp. 383–383. Another prominent defector to the nationalist side was Tobiasz Askenzi, also among the founders of the Covenant. Other Covenant activists joined the socialist movement, and still others (much to Feldman's disgust) withdrew from public life. On the former see Bross, p. 68.

⁵³ See *Przyszłość*, no. 6 (December 20, 1892), pp. 55–56; "Zikhrnotav shel Mordekhai Zev Braude," pp. 80 ff., 101 ff. Braude describes the tension within the

For Feldman the rise of Zionism was a tragedy. The very existence of modern Jewish nationalism, of course, indicated a considerable degree of assimilation on the part of its founders—the Zionist students of L'viv knew Polish, and even published their major organ in that language. Zionism in Eastern Europe followed cultural assimilation, rather than emanating directly from the ghetto. But this was small comfort, for the new movement would delay the inevitable triumph of assimilation by diverting the golden youth from its appointed task. While approving of those points in the Zionist platform which emphasized the necessity of uplifting the Jewish masses, Feldman was convinced that the Zionists desired to preserve, or even to reconstruct, the hated ghetto from which he had made his heroic escape. And if he sympathized with the naïve idealists drawn to the cause of Jewish nationalism, he had nothing but contempt for the Zionists' "fairy tale" solution to the Jewish question, which entailed mass emigration to Palestine. He therefore branded the Zionists as separatists and "pan-Judaists," breeding on the ignorance of the masses by appealing to their fanatical instincts.⁵⁴

And yet, the Zionist "fairy tale" proved more attractive than the sober propaganda of the Covenant. By 1886, the year of Nossig's departure, that society's activities had come to a standstill. A year later, in a desperate effort to avoid total collapse, its leaders initiated a new approach. Rather than curry favor with a people which, they said, did not want them, they determined to seek a *modus vivendi* with the gentile world based on Jewish equality with Poles and Ukrainians.⁵⁵ This concession to the outraged sensibilities of the membership was ultimately unavailing. In 1892 the society disbanded: "Weary

young Zionist movement between these new converts, who joined in response to anti-Semitism and knew little about Judaism, and those whose Jewish consciousness had much deeper roots. Nossig's first speech in the Zion society was coolly received by the latter because it dealt with Moses in a "gentile manner."

⁵⁴ See "Utopia," pp. 153 ff.; "Asymilacya"; *Asymilatorzy*; *Stronnictwa*, p. 307; "Sprawa żydowska." Like many opponents of Zionism, Feldman equated the nationalist creed with anti-Semitism. As a Polish nationalist, moreover, he feared that the Zionists would harm the Polish cause by uniting with the Ukrainians. An electoral agreement between the two Galician minorities was concluded in 1907 (see Gelber, *Toldot ha-tnua*, Vol. II, pp. 531 ff.), but a stable alliance between Jews and Ukrainians never materialized.

⁵⁵ *Izraelita*, XXII, 17 (April 24, 1887), pp. 135–136. On the situation in 1886 see *ibid.*, XXI, 40 (September 26, 1886), pp. 321–323.

and fatigued, we yield. We relied upon the support of Polish society, upon cooperation for mutual advantage. We have been disappointed."⁵⁶ In the same year the Zionists, strengthened by recruits from the "diplomaed youth," triumphantly issued the first number of their journal *Przyszłość* (The Future). They were soon to become the most dynamic element in Galician Jewish politics.

Feldman, meanwhile, severed his formal ties with Jewish organizations, eventually establishing himself in Cracow as editor of *Krytyka*. His subsequent career, though brilliant, was full of tragedy. A Jew who continued to speak out in favor of assimilation, he was warned by the Zionists to "keep away from Jewish affairs" and dismissed as a man who "devotes all his time to a foreign cause . . ."⁵⁷ A literary critic who chose as his subject the sensitive field of contemporary Polish letters, he was accused by his many enemies of not understanding gentile literature.⁵⁸ A fervent Polish nationalist who spent the war years in Berlin working for the Polish cause, he was scorned by his supposed allies.⁵⁹ Although Feldman converted to Catholicism on his deathbed, we may assume that, had he lived, his enemies would have continued to see in him the dangerous Semite.

By the year of Feldman's death, 1919, the ideals which had motivated the "men of the eighties" to establish the Covenant of Brothers were long forgotten. While there were still assimilationists, the assimilationist movement was dead. The "Jewish orientation," far more attractive from a psychological standpoint than Feldman's views, and appealing to university students and Yeshivah boys alike, had conquered the young Jewish activists of L'viv.

⁵⁶ As quoted in Grabiec, "Wilhelm Feldman," pp. 71–72.

⁵⁷ *Przyszłość*, no. 9 (February 5, 1893), p. 94; Tsvi Shpitser, "Vilhelm Feldman," *Yidisher folkskalender* (L'viv, 1909/10), p. 192.

⁵⁸ See Shpitser, pp. 189–193, and Chrzanowski. The article on Feldman in the *Encyklopedia powszechna Ultima Thule*, Vol. III (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 525–526, notes that Feldman was unable to understand Catholic writers. See also Finkelshtayn, pp. 4–6.

⁵⁹ See, for example, the comments on Feldman's last years by A. Choloniewski, *Pamięci*, pp. 55–59. The encyclopedia article referred to above accuses Feldman of having "blindly" followed the German line during World War I.

CHAPTER FIVE

*Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1866) and the Ukrainian National Identity**

Peter Brock

AT THE BEGINNING of the nineteenth century, the Ukrainians in eastern Galicia appeared to be doomed to extinction as a separate ethnic group. They possessed only a vague sense of their own national identity; they felt little kinship with those speaking the same language in Bukovina and northern Hungary, and still less with those in the Russian Empire. Indeed a common name to cover all these groups scarcely existed. Whereas those who lived under Habsburg rule were called Ruthenians, their brethren in Russia were usually known as Little Russians. The term “Ukrainian” was used rarely and only in reference to the inhabitants of the eastern territories. Yet ambiguity in regard to nomenclature constituted the least of the difficulties which confronted those few who began to take steps, after the Napoleonic Wars were over to reverse their people’s seemingly inevitable fate.¹

* Chapter Five is reprinted from *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XIV, 2 (1972), pp. 153–190.

I would like to express my thanks to Professor George Luckyj, of the University of Toronto, and Professor Ivan Rudnytsky, of the University of Alberta, for reading my typescript, and to the Canada Council and the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (University of Toronto) for financial assistance to do research on Vahylevych in Eastern Europe.

¹ The most detailed study of the Galician Ukrainian awakening is by H.I. Herbil's'kyi, *Rozvytok prohresyvnnykh idei v Halychyni v pershii polovyni XIX st. (do 1848 r.)* (L'viv, 1964). Herbil's'kyi also published an earlier and shorter version, *Peredova suspil'na dumka v Halychyni (30—i—seredyna 40-x rokiv XIX stolittia)* (L'viv, 1959). The Soviet historian is especially useful when discussing the work of the “progressive” awakeners; the others receive rather short shrift. See also the work of an earlier writer, Ivan Zanevych [Ostap Terlets'kyi], “Literaturni stremlinia halyts'kykh rusyniv vid

In the first place the Ukrainians of Galicia possessed neither a landed gentry of their own nor a lay intelligentsia nor a commercial middle class. Thus they were bereft of those elements which under existing conditions could alone have given leadership: the upper strata of society were drawn from Poles or polonized Ukrainians. The clergy of the Uniate Church formed the only literate group to retain their mother tongue, apart from a handful of lawyers and school-teachers of clerical origin. The Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia continued to be a clerical intelligentsia until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. The country folk of course continued to speak their native dialects, but few among them were literate, and normally peasants exercised no influence whatsoever on public life. Moreover, with their whole existence centered narrowly on the village community they lacked all sense of a shared cultural heritage.²

The Uniate Church, which had come into existence in 1596, long remained a kind of stepchild within the Catholic Church: its hierarchy never gained equality with bishops of the Roman communion. The lower clergy possessed little education and differed only slightly from their peasant parishioners in social status and way of life. This situation changed for the better after the Habsburgs took over Galicia in 1772, for first Maria Theresa and then her son, Joseph II, in addition to taking steps to improve the lot of the peasantry, established training schools for the Uniate clergy. But a new danger arose as a result of the reforms of these "enlightened" rulers. It now seemed as if the parish clergy might eventually be denationalized; increased educational qualifications made them more susceptible to outside cultural pressure, whether German or Polish. The hierarchy, whose members were ordinarily drawn from the ranks of the gentry of Ukrainian descent, were already more than half polonized; the same process might now be observed in regard to the parish clergy.

A second obstacle faced by the early Galician Ukrainian awakeners lay in the absence of any effective vehicle for literary expression. In the national awakenings of all the peoples of Eastern Europe we find

1772 do 1872," *Zhytie i slovo* (L'viv, 1894–95), of which pt. 6 in Vol. II (1894), pp. 428–451, covers roughly the same ground as Herbil's'kyi.

² Cf. Havrylo Rusin [Iakiv Holovats'kyi], "Zustände der Russinen in Galizien," *Jahrbücher für slavische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft*, IV, 9–10 (Leipzig, 1846), p. 361: "Unter allen slawischen Völkern ist der russinische oder kleinrussische Stamm am tiefsten gesunken." See also p. 363.

that the question of language and orthography occupied a central position. Their leaders were usually either philologists or historians—often both. But their writings on philology and history, however learned, were seldom works of pure scholarship: more often they were designed as nationalist manifestos in which the authors sought to display the ancient glory of their people or its separate cultural identity.

In Galicia the Uniate Church used Church Slavonic in its liturgy. The hierarchy stubbornly opposed introduction of the vernacular language into the schools or for literary purposes, fearing this might undermine its authority among the people. Instead, it supported a curious linguistic hotchpotch known as *iazychiie*, a compound of Church Slavonic and Ukrainian with some admixture of Polish and Russian. It was entirely artificial. Moreover, it was written not in *hrazhdanka* but in the Old Slavonic alphabet. *Iazychiie* was the language of instruction at the Studium Ruthenum, the school established at L'viv University by Joseph II in 1787, which had played an important role in Galician Ukrainian cultural life until its dissolution in 1809. True, at the primary level the folk language in 1818 replaced *iazychiie* (which had been introduced into the village schools set up by the first Habsburg rulers of the province), but it was rigidly excluded from secondary and higher education right up to 1848. On these levels Polish, the language of polite society, vied with German, the favorite of Austrian officialdom, for government support.

Clearly neither Church Slavonic nor *iazychiie* were suitable media for developing a flourishing literary culture for the inhabitants of eastern Galicia. But what was to take their place? To this question no unanimous answer was given. There were pessimists who urged the adoption of Polish for anything above the level of folk literature. The vernacular, they considered, would never become capable of expressing the higher thoughts of mankind and was in fact nothing more than a dialect of Polish. (The historian, Denys Zubryts'kyi, was perhaps the only Galician Ukrainian before 1848 to advocate the adoption of Russian—and he did so only in private.) There were others who believed in the people's cultural separateness from the Poles but maintained at the same time that they also formed a separate cultural entity from the Ukrainians living in the Russian Empire. However, members of this group, for example, Metropolitan Mykhailo Levyts'kyi, usually advocated the retention of *iazychiie* as the language of secular literature. Eventually, most influential in shaping the national

identity of the Galician Ukrainians were those who recognized both the independent cultural status and the linguistic unity of the whole area later to be known as the Ukraine, and who sought to adopt—and adapt—the vernacular for the creation of a national literature.

It was one thing, however, to achieve a position of cultural Ukrainianism in theory; it was much harder to work out in practice the implications of this position. Experience proved how difficult it was to break free from using *iazychiie*. The grammarian Ivan Mohyl'nyts'kyi tried to do so in the 1820s—without too much success. Iosyf Levyts'kyi, in his *Grammatik der ruthenischen oder kleinrussischen Sprache in Galizien* published in Przemyśl in 1834, did scarcely any better, and he was later to oppose all attempts to employ the vernacular in *belles-lettres* or scholarship.

In Galicia the first real breakthrough came only in the 1830s, as a result of the efforts of three young seminarists: Markiian Shashkevych, Iakiv Holovats'kyi, and Ivan Vahylevych.³ Their program was exclusively cultural. It called for recognition of the cultural unity of all the Ukrainian lands and of the folk language as the basis of a new national literature, and it asserted the separate identity of this language and literature within the Slavonic family. It stressed the historical link between the present and the glorious past as exemplified in Kievan Rus' and the Cossacks, and it pointed to the peasantry as the most valuable element in the contemporary national community. The three condemned wholeheartedly the use of *iazychiie* or of the Latin alphabet for their language. The Cyrillic alphabet in its *hrazhdanka* form and a phonetic orthography based on the vernacular were among the most striking innovations that they introduced.

This program, of course, resulted from various exterior influences in addition to the work of earlier Galician Ukrainian awakeners, in particular from the romantic nationalism of the Ukrainians in the Russian Empire⁴ and of the Poles.⁵ The cultural revival among the

³ The literature on them is extensive. See M.P. Humeniuk and I.I. Kravchenko, eds., *M. Shashkevych, I. Vahylevych, I. Holovats'kyi: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (L'viv, 1962).

⁴ See Mykhailo Vozniak, "Epizody kul'turnykh znosyn halyts'koï i rosiis'koï Ukraïny v 1—shii pol. XIX v.," *Zapysky istorychnoi i fil'ol'ohichnoi sektiï Ukraïns'koho naukovooho tovarystva v Kyievi*, XIII (Kiev, 1914); Ivan Pil'huk, "Literaturni zv'iazki skhidnoi i zakhidnoi Ukraïny v pershii polovyni XIX st.," *Radians'ka literatura*, no. 11 (Kiev, 1939), pp. 157–162. Vozniak deals with Vahylevych's connections with Ukrainians in Russia on pp. 76–80, 90, 91, 98, 99, 132–135.

⁵ See Marcelli Handelsman, *Ukraïnska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed*

Ukrainians in Russia, who were threatened like their Galician brethren with denationalization (assimilation in this area being either to Russian or in Right-Bank Ukraine sometimes to Polish nationality), had started around the turn of the eighteenth century. The publication in 1798 in the Ukrainian language of Ivan Kotliarevs'kyi's parody of Vergil's *Aeneid* is usually taken to mark the beginning of a cultural renaissance, which continued to expand during the succeeding decades. The labors of ethnographers who gathered the folksongs of the southern provinces of the Russian Empire acted as a model for Galician Ukrainian awakeners in the 1830s (M.O. Maksymovych's collection published in 1827 being perhaps the most important). These men were often Little Russian regionalists rather than Ukrainian nationalists, even in a nonpolitical sense, but their work had a profound impact on Shashkevych, Holovats'kyi, and Vahylevych.

Of equal significance in their development was the influence exerted from the Polish side (and to a lesser degree from the side of the Czechs and South Slavs). Since the beginning of the century the Poles, having lost their independence, dreamed of eventually regaining it. Thus there grew up a tradition of insurrectionary nationalism that sought to restore the Polish state through armed action. At the same time, under the influence of German romantics like Herder, another variety of Polish nationalism emerged that was concerned not with politics and the state but with the life of the people, the *Volk*. The true strength of a nation, its supporters argued, lay in the peasantry, who formed overwhelmingly the largest section of the population and, therefore, could claim a major role in any democratically organized community. Moreover, peasants kept alive national customs and traditions and, above all, the national language at a time when the upper strata of society had begun to abandon them as a result of influences from without. Typical of this way of thinking was the ethnographer Adam Czarnocki, best known under his pseudonym Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski, who was active as a collector of folklore during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Chodakowski recognized the Ukrainians and their language as a separate unit within the Slav

wojną krymską (Vol. III. of *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej*) (Warsaw, 1937), pp. 60–72; also Mykhailo Demkovych—Dobrians'kyi, *Ukrains'ko-pol's'ki stoslunki u XIX storichchi* (Munich, 1969), pp. 9–25, a much less reliable and objective study.

whole (he was not concerned, however, with their political fate).⁶

In addition to the interest shown by Polish folklorists in Ukrainian culture, there existed contemporaneously a Ukrainian School in Polish literature: its Ukrainianism was the Polish equivalent of the Little Russian regionalism in Russian literature. Although some members of the school wrote in Ukrainian, they were all devoted Polish nationalists, just as the Little Russian regionalists were mostly loyal adherents of the Russian state. Yet the Ukrainian School's concern for Ukrainian history and culture could not fail to have an effect on the emergent nationalism of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia, while the populism of the Polish folklorists added a new dimension to the rather stuffy academic studies pursued by the first generation of Galician Ukrainian awakeners. At the same time, however, the danger of complete assimilation into Polish culture was thereby increased.⁷

The program of cultural Ukrainianism enunciated by Shashkevych, Holovats'kyi, and Vahylevych in the 1830s brought to a climax the initial stage in the national awakening of the Galician Ukrainians. Shashkevych was to die unexpectedly early in the next decade, while Holovats'kyi and Vahylevych set out on divergent paths, which would lead in Holovats'kyi's case to the exchange of Ukrainian identity for Russian nationality and in Vahylevych's case to close identification with the cause of Polish political nationalism.

The prematurely deceased Shashkevych has remained a revered figure, respected equally in the Soviet Union and in Ukrainian communities abroad. Holovats'kyi, due perhaps to the continued existence into this century of a Russophile trend in Galician Ukrainian life, has evoked interest and even admiration for his contribution to the cultural life of his people. But Vahylevych was almost forgotten even before he died. Since then, only his association with these two friends of his youth has saved him from total oblivion. Generally condemned as one who betrayed Ukrainianism and went over to the Poles, he has suffered neglect at the hands of historians.⁸ To examine whether this

⁶ For Chodakowski's influence on Vahylevych, see Herbil'skyi, *Rozvytok*, p. 116.

⁷ Zanevych, "Literaturni stremlinia," Vol. II (1894), pp. 433–435.

⁸ There is no biography of Vahylevych. V.R. Vavryk, *Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' Ivana Nikolaevicha Dalibora Vagilevicha* (L'viv, 1934), which was originally published in *Nauchno-literatskii sbornik Galitsko-Russkoi matitsy*, VIII (L'viv, 1934), pp. 65–92, is mainly bibliographical in content. (N.B. I give the titles of works by Russophile

verdict is just and to discover how far, if at all, it needs to be revised is the purpose of this study.

Ivan Vahylevych was born on 2 September 1811, the son of a parish priest of the Uniate Church. He first attended school in the neighboring town of Buchach and then went on to the *Gymnasium* in Stanyslaviv. In both institutions the language of instruction was German. Some of the scholarly interests which Vahylevych displayed in his adult life had already appeared before he left school in 1829. In the 1830s these interests were to center on folklore and "antiquities," in the 1840s on philology and grammar with a brief excursion into political journalism in 1848, and in the 1850s and the 1860s, up to his death in 1866, on historical research. In the formation of his nationalist ideology the 1830s and 1840s were the decisive decades: on these we shall have to concentrate here.

Vahylevych first met Shashkevych in 1829,⁹ when both were first-year students in the faculty of philosophy of the University of L'viv. The third and youngest member of the Triad, Iakiv Holovats'kyi, entered the university two years later. Soon after the three young men became acquainted, they formed a literary circle with the aim of cultivating the "Ruthenian" vernacular, and several more students subsequently joined them in their enterprise.¹⁰ Shashkevych was the

Ukrainians in Russian transliteration, P.B.) The shortcomings of this brief study were sharply criticized by J. Janczak in a review in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XLIX, 3 (L'viv, 1935), pp. 445–447. See also Vavryk, *Ruska Troitsia* (L'viv, 1933), pp. 10–17; while attempting to rehabilitate Vahylevych, Vavryk unfortunately tries at the same time to make a Russophile out of him (for example, on pp. 17, 37). Humeniuk's and Kravchenko's bibliography cited above in footnote 3 deals with Vahylevych on pages 83–98. A selected list of works by and about Vahylevych is given in *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, ed. O. I. Bilets'kyi et al., Vol. II (Kiev, 1963), pp. 85–90. For details concerning thirteen letters written to Vahylevych between 1836 and 1845, which were destroyed in 1939, see *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej: zbiory Biblioteki Rapperswilskiej*, ed. Adam Lewak, Vol. I (Warsaw, 1929), p. 97.

⁹ Vahylevych to Pogodin, July 9, 1843, "Pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu iz slavianskikh zemel' (1835–1861)," ed. Nil Popov, pt. 3, *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, CXII, 1 (Moscow, 1880), p. 643.

¹⁰ The main source for this is an autobiographical fragment in Russian by Holovats'kyi entitled "Perezhitoe i perestradannoe," which was originally published in installments

leader, most resolute in pursuing their ideas. "Everywhere," Holovats'kyi relates, "whether at home or in the lecture hall or on walks, we three talked unceasingly, discussed, argued, read, criticized, and reasoned about literature, nationality, history, politics, etc. And almost all the time we talked in Ruthenian so that our colleagues called us in fun the 'Ruthenian Triad'." Every new member of the circle was required to swear a solemn oath that he would place his life "at the service of the people and of the revival of letters among the Ruthenian people." Each of them adopted a Slavonic pseudonym to seal their pledge: Vahylevych, for instance, became Dalibor. A scrapbook was begun, to which members contributed their own verses and other pieces—all written down in the folk language. However, attempts to publish the volume, to which the Triad gave the significant title *Zoria* (Star), failed, as a result of opposition from the Uniate Church authorities who objected to employing the vernacular for literary purposes in place of the version of Church Slavonic in official use at that time. They were also alarmed by the fact that the Triad proposed to print their work in an orthography based on the one devised by the Russian Ukrainian scholar Maksymovych. (The suggestion to do so had been Holovats'kyi's; Vahylevych had wanted them to adopt Vuk Karadžić's Serbian alphabet).¹¹

The enthusiasm of the Triad, however, was not extinguished by the cold hand of the censor nor by the attention the police now began to show in their activities. They went on debating the methods by which their people could be enlightened "through the folk language." "True," Holovats'kyi admits, "we did not have an exact concept and a well-defined program: . . . Yet the movement was strong among the young generation."¹² Their Ukrainian nationalism remained purely cultural for many years to come. Indeed, around this time

in the Russophile *Literaturnii sbornik izdavaemii Galitsko-Russkoiu matitseiu* (L'viv, 1885–86). I have used the recent edition in *Pys'mennyky zakhidnoi Ukraïny 30-50-kh rokiv XIX st.*, ed. I.I. Pil'nuk and M.H. Chornopis'kyi (Kiev, 1965). Though this edition is slightly abridged, the sections relating to Vahylevych are reprinted in full and given in chronological sequence, which was not done in the original edition. Holovats'kyi's account, which was written in his old age and after he had long given his allegiance to the Russophile camp, must be used with caution: it is not always accurate concerning opinions ascribed to himself and his acquaintances in earlier decades.

¹¹ Holovats'kyi, "Perezhitoe i perestradannoe," pp. 230–233.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

contact with a budding Polish ethnographer, Żegota Pauli, brought the Triad circle into touch with the Polish conspiratorial movement.¹³

After 1831, "L'viv seethed with [Polish] emigrants and refugees from the insurrection": some of them were students at the university.¹⁴ The Polish nationalists espoused political democracy and regarded with favor the spread of education among the peasant masses. Some young members of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia threw themselves with enthusiasm into conspiratorial work. The fact that they had been brought up within the orbit of Polish culture helped them to assimilate politically with the Polish democrats. Both desired the political and social emancipation of the common people, whether these spoke a Polish or a Ukrainian dialect. To populism and democracy was added a third element in their common ideology: the struggle to restore the independence of Poland, with its boundaries as they had existed before the first partition of 1772. True, the Polonophile Galician Ukrainian democrats advocated the creation within a revived commonwealth of an autonomous Ruthenia alongside the historic units of Poland and Lithuania.¹⁵ At first, however, they failed to find support for trialism among the Polish conspiratorial nationalists. Some of the Ukrainians, whose own nationalism had been strengthened by the example of the Poles, withdrew from the movement after demanding that the word "Ruthenian" be included in the name of the underground Association of the Polish People (*Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego*), which had come into existence in February 1835. This came as an unpleasant shock to the Poles. But others chose to ignore frequent Polish coldness to even the cultural aspirations of the Ukrainian-speaking population of eastern Galicia,¹⁶ and remained content with the fact that a measure of autonomy for Ruthenia was actually

¹³ See Stefan Kieniewicz, *Konspiracje galicyjskie (1831–1845)* (Warsaw, 1950), esp. pp. 103–104, 127. See also Herbil's'kyi, "Do pyttannia pro zv"iazky ukrains'kykh i pol's'kykh prohresyvykh diiachiv u Halychyni v pershii polovyni XIX st.," *Visnyk L'vivs'koho ordena Lenina derzhavnoho universytetu im. Iv. Franka/seriia istorychna*, no. 1 (L'viv, 1962), pp. 87–99.

¹⁴ Holovats'kyi, "Perezhitoe i perestradannoe," p. 233.

¹⁵ Iulian Okhrymowych, *Rozvytok ukrains'koï natsional'nopolitychnoi dumky (vid pochatku XIX stolittia do Mykhaila Drahomanova)* (New York, 1965), pp. 31, 32. Earlier editions of this work were published in 1918 (Kiev) and 1922 (L'viv).

¹⁶ Moritz Freiherr von Sala, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes vom Jahre 1846* (Vienna, 1867), p. 101.

written into the Association's program. Ruthenian-born Kasper Ciglewicz composed inflammatory leaflets in the vernacular, which he then distributed among the Ukrainian-speaking peasantry of eastern Galicia. He and his like often suffered arrest and long years of imprisonment along with their Polish associates.

The Triad, however, kept aloof from such activities.¹⁷ By temperament none of the three was a conspirator, still less a revolutionary. They believed sincerely in political democracy; they advocated the cultural enlightenment of the still unemancipated peasantry. They had come to some extent under the spell of their more fiery acquaintances who sought political and social change by conspiratorial action. And like all educated Galician Ukrainians, they were outwardly Polish in language and culture. Nevertheless, the path which the Triad trod was different: they sought a quiet revolution, a gradual improvement in the lot of the peasantry, a slow spread of education downwards. Moreover, despite their sympathy for the social aims of the Polish nationalists, they diverged increasingly from them on the question of national identity. They had declared themselves to be Ukrainian cultural nationalists: they did not abandon their hopes of reviving the former cultural greatness of their people.

The anthology whose publication the censor had banned in 1834 represented the Triad's first step toward realizing their aims, for it included not only original compositions in the vernacular (including some by Vahylevych) but Ukrainian folk songs and folk tales which they now began to collect in earnest. In this task they had received immense inspiration the previous year from a Polish writer's publication of a bulky collection of Galician folk songs: many Ukrainian songs were included, along with Polish.¹⁸ True, the compiler, Waclaw Zaleski, used the Latin alphabet for transcribing Ukrainian; in addition, he regarded the folk literature of the Galician Ukrainians as simply a branch of Polish literature.¹⁹ Both these positions the Triad

¹⁷ Statements to the contrary seem improbable, as for example when P.K. Volyn's'kyi "Literaturno-teoretychni vystupy v zakhidnykh zemliakh Ukrainy v 1830-kh rokakh," *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, no. 1 (Kiev, 1957), p. 114, claims Shashkevych's and Vahylevych's membership in the Association of the Polish People.

¹⁸ Waclaw z Oleska [Zaleski], *Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego* (L'viv, 1833).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xliii: "The Ruthenian historical songs extol events from Polish history. . . . The exclusion of the Ruthenians from our [Polish] literature seems to me . . . to be extremely harmful. The Slovaks, the Slavs [in parts] of Silesia, and the Moravians have

had already rejected. What rejoiced their hearts was the fact that a cultivated Pole, a member of the culturally dominant nationality, had expressed the view—and in print—that the long despised Ukrainian peasantry were the creators of artistic works of great value. “We were proud,” writes Holovats’kyi, “that a Pole placed Ruthenian songs in many respects higher as regards poetic creativity than Polish ones.” They had hoped, though, to be able in their anthology to correct Zaleski’s erroneous viewpoint by using the Cyrillic alphabet and thus stressing the essential distinction between Polish and Ukrainian.²⁰

Pride in the national past, desire to recover the nation’s cultural heritage and to prove that its potentiality for development was equal to that of the most civilized peoples of Europe: these were the motives which from the beginning underlay the efforts of the Ruthenian Triad. It was necessary, they soon realized, to make direct contact with the village. They became increasingly convinced that they knew the vernacular only very imperfectly, despite their lengthy debates on philological questions. The language and culture of the people could be studied only in the village from the lips of its peasant inhabitants. The first to make such a “journey to the people” was Holovats’kyi. The object of his excursion, which he carried out in 1833, was purely scientific. He returned with a rich new crop of folk songs collected during his travels. “Only Vahylevych,” Holovats’kyi relates, “was dissatisfied that I had not awakened the people to self-awareness.” However, when a little later Vahylevych attempted to do this himself, his venture ended in a fiasco. He was arrested as an agitator by the police, who handed him over to his father after warning the latter to take care that in future his son did not attempt to stir up trouble among the villagers.²¹

Yet, despite his lack of success at the outset, Vahylevych was the one who was destined, after he had resumed his excursions into the countryside, to make a most sensational “discovery.” Holovats’kyi

all fused with the Czechs. With whom should the Ruthenians fuse? Or ought we to wish that the Ruthenians should have their own literature? What would have happened with German literature if the separate German tribes had striven to have their own literature? Whoever fails to understand me in this matter, him I cannot help, for I am unable to explain myself more clearly.”

²⁰ Holovats’kyi, “Perezhitoe i perestradannoe,” p. 23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 250.

rightly calls his friend "a great fantast," "an ardent enthusiast."²² He was consumed at this time by a desire to show the ancientness of the Slavonic "race" to which he and his fellow countrymen belonged. And in the winter of 1835–36, travelling through the eastern foothills of the Carpathian mountains, he found—or thought he found—what he was seeking: irrefutable evidence of the antiquity of Slavonic writing in the form of old Slavonic runes engraved on stone such as had been revealed by contemporary scholars to exist in the Scandinavian area. Overjoyed at unearthing these monuments of ancient Slavonic culture, Vahylevych hastened to convey the news to his friends. To Count Jan Feliks Tarnowski, a munificent patron of learning and the arts and himself an amateur historian, he wrote: "I . . . have uncovered things as important for all Slavdom as they are creditable to Ruthenia and Poland." These runes, he went on, "show that the Slavs were Bactro-Indians²³ . . . that they brought the arts fully developed, with learning, handicrafts, customs, and manners, from the East, from their original homeland. And from them, too, in various ways love of the arts and of crafts spread throughout all Europe. True, a long time must elapse before we decipher these inscriptions, but now it is no longer a dream that the Slavs had their own indigenous writing, that their culture was not injected by Phoenician-Greek traders." He believed that many more of these Slavonic runes must lie scattered over the Carpathians, and he intended to spend every vacation scouring the mountains "right into Bukovina": "health, life, everything will I sacrifice to investigating the antiquities of our great ancestors," until the inscriptions finally revealed their secrets.²⁴

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 258.

²³ Later Vahylevych changed his views concerning the origin of the Slavs, tracing their descent instead from the "Thraco-Illyrians." (See his article on this subject in *Biblioteka Warszawska*, IV [Warsaw, 1852], pp. 528–550.) The group of Galician mountaineers known as the Hutsuls he derived from the Turkic nomads. (See his article "Huculové, obyvatelé východního pohorí Karpatského," *Časopis Českého Museum*, XIII, 1 [Prague, 1839], pp. 55, 68.) And a neighboring group, the Boikos, he described as of Celtic descent: "Under the name Boii there flourished in antiquity a great people of Celtic stock, excelling in valor and renown." (See his article, "Bojkowé, lid ruskosłowanský v Haličjch," *Časopis Českého Museum*, XV [1841], p. 32.)

²⁴ Vahylevych to Tarnowski, April 6, 1836, Archiwum Państwowe (Cracow), Oddziały na Wawelu, Archiwum Dzikowskie Tarnowskich 309.

Unfortunately for Vahylevych, what appeared to him as an epoch-making discovery which would put the Slavonic peoples on an equality with the most ancient nations of northwestern Europe proved an illusion; he was eventually forced to admit his error. Even his closest friends like Shashkevych and Holovats'kyi had greeted the news of his discovery with scepticism, regarding it as further evidence of his overheated imagination: Shashkevych dubbed the runes "Vahylevych's phantasmagoria."²⁵

In his letter to Count Tarnowski, Vahylevych had stated his intention to continue his quest for "the songs, stories, and tales" of the Galician Ukrainian people. Here indeed he was on safer ground. For him, as for so many of the other national awakeners in east central Europe, folk literature possessed an almost mystic significance. The people had preserved the ancient, the classical language intact, unspoilt. As he put it in his letter to Tarnowski: "on the lips of the people there resound the forms of the language similar in shape and structure to those found in the most ancient written records of Rus' (*w najdawniejszych pomnikach ruskich*)."

Vahylevych's "discovery" of the runes so elated him that, although still a student and with his talents known only to a small circle of friends at a provincial university, he decided to enter into correspondence with two of the leading figures in the literary and learned world of Eastern Europe: first with the Russian Slavophile publicist, M.P. Pogodin, and then (at Pogodin's suggestion) with the great "Czechoslovak" scholar, P.J. Šafařík. Like so many other Slav intellectuals of his day, Vahylevych throughout his life remained a firm believer in "Slav reciprocity," in the idea of a free cultural interchange between all the Slav peoples. He supported the currently popular idea of a common Slav language. And he delighted now in the thought that, by means of his correspondence with Pogodin, Šafařík and others, he could escape from the dull provincial atmosphere of L'viv and soar into a loftier world.

In his first letter to Pogodin early in March 1836,²⁶ he praised the

²⁵ Holovats'kyi, "Perezhitoe i perestradannoe," pp. 260, 261.

²⁶ The letter was originally published in *Moskovskii nabliudatel'*, VII (Moscow, 1836), pp. 288–299 and reprinted in I. S. Svetsits'kyi, ed., *Materialy po istorii Karpatskoi Rusi: snoshenii Karpatskoi Rusi s Rossiei v I-uiu pol XIX v.* (L'viv, 1905), pp. 145–152. It is not included in Popov's edition of the letters sent to Pogodin from Slavs abroad. See also Holovats'kyi, "K istorii galitsko-russkoi pis'mennosti (Neskol'ko

"Ruthenians" for the purity of their language, their unspoilt character, and their preservation of the ancient ways. Only of the Slovaks, he thought, might the same be said.²⁷ In his correspondence with Slav scholars and writers in Russia and the Czech lands, Vahylevych rarely raised the national issue directly: his letters were concerned mainly with the minutiae of historical, philological, and ethnographic research. However, occasionally (usually in brief asides) he touched on problems of national identity, and these remarks provide virtually the only key we possess concerning his views on the subject at this time.

First, we find the populist note clearly enunciated. "With us," he told Šafařík,²⁸ "letters cannot be anything else but folk," for "with us (unlike, for instance, in Poland) there is no other language besides the peasant or, one may say, besides the true folk language." Second came the urgent need to establish a uniform system of orthography for a language that had not been written for many centuries, at least in its proper form. Vahylevych had to admit that each writer who attempted to compose his works in the vernacular used whatever orthography caught his fancy without any attempt to coordinate his efforts with those of other Ukrainian authors. (The same defect was indeed true of himself in this period: the editor of Šafařík's correspondence has even expressed doubts concerning the intelligibility of some passages in Vahylevych's letters.²⁹) Therefore, Vahylevych concluded, the problem of orthography was "the chief subject" facing "our emergent literary efforts."

Thirdly, Vahylevych had by this time reached a fairly well-defined position concerning the place within the Slavonic linguistic family of Ukrainian—or "South Ruthenian," that is, the tongue of south Rus', to use the term he (and some other scholars) liked best but failed to make permanent. He described it in a letter to Pogodin as a dialect but he applied the same word to Great Russian, too.³⁰ At other times he called both of them languages. Whether Vahylevych regarded the individual Slavonic tongues as merely dialects of a common Slavonic

zamechanii na pis'mo I. Vagilevicha k M. P. Pogodinu)," *Kievskaja starina*, VI (Kiev, 1883), pp. 645–663.

²⁷ Svetsitskii, "Materialy," p. 10.

²⁸ Vahylevych to Šafařík, April 2, 1837, *Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafařika*, ed. V. A. Frantsev [Francev], 2 vols. (Prague, 1927–28), Vol. II, p. 937.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Frantsev's introduction, Vol. I, p. lxxxv.

³⁰ Vahylevych to Pogodin, October 22, 1836, "Pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu. . .," p. 626.

language, an opinion commonly held by philologists of that period,³¹ or whether he classed each as an independent language—and he took both views, as we have seen—the implication is the same. Ukrainian had acquired separate status in his mind; it was different not only from Polish but from Great Russian as well. Sometimes he spelled out his position clearly, as in a letter to Maksymovych, dated March 19, 1837, where he contrasted “the dialects of the South Ruthenian language” with Great Russian, the language of “north Rus’.”³² True, in his eyes the Great Russians as well as the Ukrainians were both “sons of holy Rus’,”³³ but this phrase did not mean that Vahylevych considered Ukrainian merely as a variant of a single Russian language.³⁴

The Triad became widely known in the world of Slavonic scholarship only in 1837 when they published a slim volume of folk songs and folklike songs which they entitled the *Rusalka dnistrovaia* (Nymph of the Dniester).³⁵ “Modern Ukrainian literature began in Galicia with the publication of the *Rusalka*.”³⁶ To authentic pieces gathered from all sections of the Ukrainian lands, the Triad added poems of their own composition. Vahylevych’s share in the enterprise included an introduction. Ukrainian territory he defined as “the fertile lands reaching from the other side of the Beskyd mountains up to and beyond the river Don.”³⁷ He pointed out the central position which “the Ruthenian people (*narid ruskyi*)” occupy among the Slavs, their

³¹ I have cited a number of examples of this usage in my essay, “Florian Cenóva and the Kashub Question,” reprinted in my *Nationalism and Populism in Partitioned Poland: Selected Essays* (London, 1973), pp. 172–173.

³² “Pis'ma Ivana Vagilevicha k M. A. Maksimovichu,” V. Danilov, ed., *Russkii filologicheskii vestnik*, LXVIII, 4 (Warsaw, 1912), p. 412. See also Vahylevych to Šafařík, February 19, 1839, *Korespondence*, Vol. II, p. 940.

³³ Vahylevych to Pogodin, December 25, 1836, “Pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu,” p. 627.

³⁴ But Russian and Russophile Ukrainian writers have sometimes interpreted Vahylevych’s words in this sense. For an example of this, see Svetsitskii, “Obzor snoshenii Karpatskoi Rusi s Rossiei v I-iui polovinu XIX v.,” in *Izvestia otdeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi akademii nauk*, new series, XI, 3 (St. Petersburg, 1906; photographic reprint, Graz, 1965), p. 350.

³⁵ I have used the fourth edition published in Philadelphia in 1961. This consists of a photocopy of the original edition, published in Buda in 1837.

³⁶ Ivan L. Rudnytsky, “The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule,” *Austrian History Yearbook*, III, pt. 2 (Houston, Texas, 1967), p. 397.

³⁷ Herbil’s'kyi, *Rozvytok*, pp. 151–152, points out that here Vahylevych was pushing the Ukraine too far to the east, for by thus including the Kuban area, he was

glorious past when their Grand Dukes ruled Kiev, and the faithful handing down of this splendid cultural heritage by the common people from one generation to the next through the medium of "their tales, songs, rites, and ballads." He mentioned the role played by the valiant Cossacks as transmitters of the national tradition; on the other hand, he stressed that his people, like other Slavs, were essentially peace-loving folk (a frequently found theme in the writings of other Slavonic awakeners).³⁸

Shashkevych was speaking on behalf of the two other members of the Triad when he described their aims in publishing the volume as follows:

I made a trial at [using] the Ruthenian tongue, which is my mother tongue and differs considerably from the ecclesiastical language and from Great Russian (Muscovite). I hoped to lay the foundation stone for its more extensive cultivation and thus to help the sorry plight of Ruthenian literature. In putting together the various pieces my chief object was to further the cultivation of the Ruthenian tongue and to contribute, in so far as my puny strength allowed, to its literature. Since I was convinced of the considerable difference between this tongue and the ecclesiastical and Russian (Muscovite) languages, I sought it in the mouth of the folk and, as opportunity offered, I gathered folk songs and folk tales as Waclaw [Zaleski] has done, in order to learn more effectively from them the structure of the Ruthenian language.³⁹

Sensing the hostility to their venture of the influential Uniate hierarchy, the Triad had their book printed in Buda. However, as soon as copies reached L'viv they were confiscated by the censor—not because of the contents, which were indeed harmless enough, but because of the linguistic innovations the editors had introduced. The colloquial speech of the songs and poems, in place of the official *iazy-chiie*, and the modern Cyrillic alphabet and reformed orthography, in place of the Church Slavonic usage, appeared to the clerical authorities

including territory in which Ukrainians have always been a decided minority. Vahylevych's view was in fact adopted from Šafařík.

³⁸ *Rusalka dnistrovaia*, pp. ix–xii, xiv, xviii.

³⁹ "Materialy do istorii literatury," *Zoria*, IX, 1 (L'viv, 1888), p. 12. This article reprints the German-language minutes of an examination of Shashkevych, Vahylevych, and Holovats'kyi, which was held by the authorities of the Uniate seminary in L'viv on June 13–17, 1837, in connection with their publication of *Rusalka dnistrovaia*.

as a potential menace.⁴⁰ And after getting the volume suppressed, they then proceeded to take steps against its editors. The Triad remained under a cloud for many years thereafter.

No wonder, then, that in the following year we find Vahylevych complaining of "our half-dead life" in eastern Galicia, of the obscurantist atmosphere reminiscent of the Middle Ages. "Here no one cares about the enlightenment of the people." Despite all his discouragements, however, he continued to believe "in a future awakening."⁴¹ He even entertained hopes of appointment to the newly created chair of "Ruthenian" at the Uniate seminary in Przemyśl. If he got the job, he told Pogodin, "I would spread South Ruthenian literature in the education of our youth in Ruthenian, in a national spirit (*natsional'no*)."⁴² His application, understandably, was unsuccessful.

In 1839, after a decade of intermittent study, Vahylevych finally graduated. His last two years at university had been spent at the Uniate theological seminary. He was now qualified to receive holy orders and a living (in existing circumstances it was difficult for him to envision any other but a clerical career); yet the Church delayed for seven years before giving permission to ordain him. The seminary authorities complained that Vahylevych, due to his interest in folklore and the vernacular language, was weak in theology and that in addition he had failed to master either Church song or Church Slavonic.⁴³ There is also some doubt whether, after finishing university, Vahylevych was himself anxious to embark immediately on a clerical career.⁴⁴ Yet when Holovats'kyi wrote of his friend as an innocent martyr whose only offense was his devotion to the literature of his native land,⁴⁵ he was, despite some exaggeration, telling the truth.

⁴⁰ Volodymyr Hnatiuk, *Natsional'ne vidrodzhenne avstro-uhors'kykh ukrainsiv (1772–1880 rr.)* (Vienna, 1916), p. 31.

⁴¹ Vahylevych to Maksymovych, October 29, 1838, "Pis'ma Vagilevicha k Maksimovichu," p. 413.

⁴² Vahylevych to Pogodin, January 13, 1839, "Pis'ma k. M. P. Pogodinu," p. 637.

⁴³ Report dated October 27, 1841, in Kyrylo Studyn's'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia v chasakh Markiiana Shashkevycha (1829–1843)* (L'viv, 1916), p. 293.

⁴⁴ Šafařík to Pogodin, July 22, 1839, *Korespondence*, Vol. II, p. 589: "Vahylevych has completed his course in theology, left the seminary, and should now marry and become a deacon or a parson. But I hear that he has no inclination for this and would like to travel in the world."

⁴⁵ Rusin, "Zustände der Rusinen," p. 372.

Vahylevych, along with Shashkevych and Holovats'kyi, was made to pay a heavy penalty for refusing to submit to ecclesiastical authority.

With the completion of his formal education the first phase in Vahylevych's career ended, too. The next stage, lasting until the eve of the Revolution of 1848, proved the most significant in shaping his nationalist ideology. Although still concerned with ethnography and archaeology, he now devoted most of his time to philological problems. However, before turning to examine his writings in this area in order to discover what light they can throw on his idea of Ukrainian nationality, we must consider another, related, question: his attitude to Polish nationhood.

Holovats'kyi in his later years assiduously spread the story that in the early 1840s his old colleague Vahylevych had fallen victim to a Polish aristocratic intrigue, as a result of which he abandoned the cultural nationalism which the Triad had espoused in the previous decade and became a Polonophile and political renegade. It was Vahylevych's "self-deception and naïve trust" in Polish honor,⁴⁶ as well as his resentment at the unfair treatment meted out to him by the Uniate Church hierarchy, which blinded him to the true intentions of his new Polish acquaintances. Instead, he, the son of a poor parish priest, was flattered by the attentions of high society in the Galician capital, and thus he readily nibbled at the bait offered him by his pretended friends in the form of beautiful and nobly born Polish women. His head completely turned, Vahylevych came under the spell of Polish *szlachta* nationalism and was lost to the cause of his own people.⁴⁷

Ivan Franko has shown, on the basis of documentary evidence,⁴⁸ that this account stems mainly from local gossip and scandal, spiced

⁴⁶ Holovats'kyi, "Sud'ba odnogo galitsko-russkago uchenago (k biografii Ivana Nikolaevicha Vagilevicha)," *Kievskaiia starina*, VI (Kiev, 1883), p. 453.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 459–464.

⁴⁸ Ivan Franko, "Do biohrafiï Ivana Vahylevycha," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, LXXIX, 5 (L'viv, 1907), pp. 97–141. Cf. [F. I. Svystun'], "Liubovnoe prikliuchenie Ivana Vagilevicha," *Vestnik Narodnogo Doma*, XXIV (II), 1 (L'viv, January 1906), p. 12: "There is no doubt that Vahylevych fell victim of an intrigue, whose aim . . . was to lure him away from a career in the Church and from his concern with Galician-Ruthenian letters and draw him instead into the field of Polish learning and literature." Franko's article was in part an answer to Svystun's regurgitation of Holovats'kyi's story.

by "Holovats'kyi's hatred of the Poles," which from 1848 on became increasingly virulent. True, in this period Vahylevych did indulge in amorous affairs that might well be regarded as unseemly in an ordinand. But his lady friends were not of the Polish nobility. The circle led by Count Józef Dunin-Borkowski (the main villain in the Holovats'kyi version), to which Vahylevych now gravitated, far from being composed of reactionary Polish chauvinists was made up, to quote Franko again, "of people, mostly young, concerned to spread democratic opinions, ideas of the brotherhood of peoples and of the levelling down of social inequalities."⁴⁹ Moreover, Vahylevych by this time was no country bumpkin, as Holovats'kyi implies, but a talented young scholar and writer who was already making a name for himself outside the provincial borders, a man who, for all his lowly origins, would not feel out of place in such society.

Nevertheless, beginning in the early 1840s Vahylevych's readiness to collaborate closely with Polish liberals and democrats gave rise to accusations of selling out to the Poles, of *zliashchennia*. How little truth they contained will be seen from what follows.

In this very same period Vahylevych had begun work on two major projects, each expressing his continuing attachment to Ukrainian national culture: first a treatise on the "South Ruthenian" language⁵⁰ and then, emerging from it, a "Little Russian" grammar.⁵¹ He composed both works in Polish; this was understandable in view of the dominant position Polish then held in the cultural life of eastern Galicia. (Vahylevych's motives in using Polish to discuss the Ukrainian language were similar to Josef Dobrovský's when around the turn of

⁴⁹ Franko, "Do biohrafii . . . Vahylevycha," pp. 98, 121.

⁵⁰ "Rozprawy o języku południoworuskim." This work was never printed, indeed never completed, though portions of it were included in the grammar Vahylevych published in 1845. The original manuscript is to be found in Leningrad: Otdel rukopisy, Biblioteka AN SSSR, Rukopisy I. Vagilevicha, Sobranie A. S. Petrushevicha, 20v. Extracts have been printed by Paulin Świącicki in "Rekopisma pozostałe po s.p. J. Wagilewiczu." pt. 1, *Sioło: Pismo Zbiorowe Poświęcone Rzeczom Ludowym Ukraińsko-Ruskim*, no. 3 (L'viv, 1867), pp. 162–164, and by Vozniak first in his "Studii nad halyts'ko-ukraïns'kymy hramatykamy XIX v.," pt. 10, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, XCIII, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1910), and then more extensively in his book *U stolittia "Zori" Markiiiana Shashkevycha (1834–1934): novi rozshuky pro diial'nist' ioho hurtka*, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1936).

⁵¹ *Gramatyka języka małopruskiego w Galicji ułożona przez Jana Wagilewicza* (L'viv, 1845).

the eighteenth century he used German for his works on the Czech language.) These writings contain a number of statements of significance for Vahylevych's nationalist ideology.⁵²

At the outset of the unpublished treatise he explained, more fully than at any earlier date, the reasons for his using an unfamiliar term to define his native tongue. "I have called the language South Ruthenian," he wrote, "instead of the more usual Little Russian (*maloruski*) or Ruthenian (*ruski*) . . . in order to avoid all misunderstanding; for the adjective Little Russian is too narrow, proper only to [Russian] Ukraine," whereas "Ruthenian" alone, although it might be convenient to employ the word by itself in Latin or German, appeared to him to be inappropriate in a Slavonic tongue.⁵³ His temporary reversion in his published grammar of 1845 to the term "Little Russian" appears to have been dictated by practical considerations—its greater familiarity to his readers who might be put off, needlessly, by the less familiar usage.

In the earlier of the two works Vahylevych stressed the importance of their language in preserving the Ukrainians' national identity and the dangers that menaced this identity if the language were to disappear.

On the one hand indifference, and on the other a wrong way of thinking, threatens them with loss of their language and, as a result, of their individuality as a nation. Today, there is no South Ruthenian upper class; it belongs either to the Polish or to the [Great] Russian nation. The middle class, not having a language or literature of its own, either considers the Old Bulgarian of the church books (horribly mangled) as pure Ruthenian and scornfully dubs the language of the people a language made from dung, or uses a hotchpotch of Polish, Russian, German and other tongues. And even the people, possessing no

⁵² Holovats'kyi ("Sud'ba . . .," p. 464) claims that during the early 1840s Vahylevych, under the influence of his Polish aristocratic acquaintances, neglected serious study for the frivolous life of the salon, and he remarks sarcastically that only with the death in 1843 of Vahylevych's patron, Count Dunin-Borkowski, did he recall that he was a Ukrainian and set to work again on a national theme. Not only does a glance at the list of Vahylevych's publications for these years disprove this assertion, but the opening sentence of Vahylevych's preface to his grammar of 1845 ("In 1841 at the request of friends I began work on my treatise on the Little Russian language . . .") is in sharp contradiction to it as well.

⁵³ Printed in Vozniak, *U stolittia*, p. 260.

education whatsoever, begin to a greater or less degree to be ashamed of their language, and they interlard it with Polish, Russian, and even German words.⁵⁴

In both works Vahylevych stated clearly his belief in the separate identity of the Ukrainian (that is, *południoworuski* or *matoruski*) language. "The Little Russian language is a separate, yet intermediate, Slavonic language. [It] is a living language; therefore, it must either move forward or go backward . . . The colloquial speech has more local characteristics than the language found in songs and tales which is in a sense common," that is, to all districts. He divided the language into three main dialects: the Kievan, the Galician, and the Carpathian (spoken in northern Hungary as well as in those mountains' northern foothills). He rejected the theory that the language as used in the Habsburg Empire formed a separate tongue from that spoken in Russia as curtly as he did the idea of Ukrainian being merely "a provincialism" of Polish or Russian. He did acknowledge, though, that the most easterly and the most westerly Ukrainian dialects occupied a transitional position in regard respectively to Great Russian or Belorussian and to Polish.⁵⁵

In the Ukrainian awakening, as in the national awakenings of other Slavonic peoples such as the Serbs and Croats or the Lusatian Sorbs, the question of orthography played an important role. Orthography and alphabet helped to define national identity, once literacy was attained. Vahylevych, as we might expect, devoted much attention to this problem. At first he had favored the use of an orthography reflecting as closely as possible the speech of the common people, and he severely criticized earlier grammarians like Iosyf Levyts'kyi for employing what he described as the *sermo cultior*, that is, an artificial style of writing. "Our language should be seen from a different viewpoint," he wrote;⁵⁶ it required close adherence to the vernacular. But his own attempts in this direction were fumbling; further study showed that the matter was more complicated than it had seemed to him at first sight. When in the early 1840s he came to compose his own grammar, for which he took the Russian grammar of N.I. Grech (1828) as his model, he largely abandoned the phonetic for an

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 260–61.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 290; *Gramatyka* . . . *Wagilewicz*, pp. i, ii.

⁵⁶ Vahylevych to Šafařík, October 3, 1836, *Korespondence*, Vol. II, p. 932.

etymological approach based on the historical development of the language. "My orthography," he wrote in the preface to his grammar, "is the same as that used by writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Thus it differed somewhat from "the colloquial pronunciation." He hoped, however, to demonstrate by this the unbroken connection existing between the literature of earlier centuries and the spoken language of today—and to purge Ukrainian of the foreign accretions which threatened its purity. "In former times it was Ruthenian [that is, Ukrainian] that was written and not Polish Ruthenian, as certain scholars have imagined."⁵⁷ The etymological approach, however, proved in fact to be a dead end, and not a new beginning, as Vahylevych had expected.⁵⁸

In this period Vahylevych not only discussed philology and orthography; he outlined, if still somewhat mistily, his idea of nationality, too. In his unpublished treatise, in a section which he entitled "South Rus'," he said:

In my opinion a nation is a people which, having entered upon political life, has acquired a specific character or, as one might say, a distinctive type—and most important here is language. . . . That there should be dialects in the language of a nation is inevitable: this is explained by the position of neighboring mountains, valleys etc., but chiefly by proximity to other nations. But differences between dialects should not be great and, what is most important, they should not be basic ones. Also, every dialect must have its point of focus, its center where it is spoken best. . . . That every nation should have a political life—or have had, even if only short-lived—goes without saying, since

⁵⁷ See, for example, Vahylevych to Maksymovych, January 18, 1842, "Pis'ma Vagilevicha k Maksimovichu," p. 416; Vahylevych to O. M. Bodians'kyi, July 3, 1844, "Lysty Halychan do Bodians'koho," ed. Fedir Savchenko, *Ukraina*, no. 36 (Kiev, September 1936), p. 87; *Gramatyka . . . Wagilewicz*, p. xxii.

⁵⁸ Cf. Vozniak, "Studii," p. 119, for criticism of Vahylevych for not taking the folk language as the basis of his grammar. Even more severe—but exaggerated—criticism along these lines is to be found in an earlier (Polish) writer, Paulin Świącicki ("Z powodu broszury 'Słowa' W adin czas naucziťsa malorusinu pa wielikarusski," *Siolo*, no. 3 [L'viv, 1867], pp. 124–125). The anonymous pamphlet referred to by Świącicki was issued as a supplement to the Russophile newspaper *Słowo*, no. 80 (L'viv), under the title *V odin' chas nauczit'sia malorusinu po velikorusski*: it attempts to use—or rather misuse—Vahylevych's writings in order to prove that "Little Russian" is merely a dialect of a single Russian language (see pp. 3, 6–14). For a detailed discussion of Vahylevych as a grammarian, see Vozniak, "Studii," pp. 90–120, 125–131.

political life is the external form of internal being. The South Ruthenians are a nation because they possess a distinctive type of nationality, that is, an individuality revealed in specific customs and manners. In addition they speak one language. That they had a political existence is well known. Kiev was the capital of the Ruthenian state (*państwo ruskie*) almost from the very beginning. And even when north Rus' became independent with its capital in Vladimir and then in Moscow, Kiev always remained the primary capital: its grand dukes were fathers of the house of Rurik, and the chief spiritual authority of all Rus'—the metropolitan—had his seat in Kiev until the Tatars conquered and destroyed it in 1240. . . . The South Ruthenian nation with its variegated life developed a great social dynamic (*ruch*) and it even transmitted this to its brother Ruthenians [that is, the Great Russians] and to the Poles as a result of being incorporated into their states. Whether such incorporation was a friendly or a hostile act, it contributed significantly to the growth of these states' political existence (*do uosobienia tychże pod względem politycznego istnienia*). . . Now, on the one hand the Carpathian mountains and on the other the marshes of the Dnieper became the cradle of reviving life. And this life had to be consistent with the spirit and needs of the time. Therefore, in the Carpathian mountains brigandage developed out of the nucleus of political life, while in the Dnieper marshes from brigandage the political life of the mother Sich arose, great, magnificent and wild, until it fused in one political body with Russia.⁵⁹

In another passage Vahylevych wrote of "the partition of south Rus' between Poland and Russia,"⁶⁰ a concept that later in the nineteenth century would be stressed by Mykhailo Drahomanov.

Many of the views which Vahylevych was expressing on the subject of language and nationality could scarcely have pleased his ecclesiastical superiors, still less Austrian officialdom. The Uniate consistory tried in vain to prevent his publishing anything at home or abroad without their permission by threatening to bar further progress in his clerical career until he gave them the assurances they required. They were especially apprehensive of his contacts with literati in Russia. Fortunately, his more controversial opinions remained in manuscript.

At last the Church relented. In 1846 Vahylevych was ordained a priest and assigned to a country parish. (The previous year he had married the daughter of a Uniate priest.) Even though he now felt life

⁵⁹ Printed in Vozniak, *U stolittia*, pp. 262, 263.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

in L'viv to be rather provincial and its intellectual atmosphere increasingly oppressive (the metropolitan seemed to wish "priests to be simpletons," he complained to the Polish historian, W.A. Maciejowski), his parish must have seemed to him indeed a rural backwater. He found even greater difficulty there in obtaining the books he needed for his research than in L'viv. And while he got very little stimulation from the conversation of his parishioners, his pastoral duties occupied so much of his time that he had little left for his scholarly work. He was far from giving up hope of making a career in the world of learning. "I flatter myself," he told Maciejowski, "that in regard to ethnology, philology, and perhaps history, too, I would be able to say something new and unusual."⁶¹ His major publication so far, the Little Russian grammar, had been well received by scholars, including the great Šafařík.⁶² Nevertheless, appeals to acquaintances like Pogodin and Maciejowski to find him a teaching post in the Russian Empire brought no result. To his fellow Ukrainian, Senator A.I. Storozhenko, who occupied an influential position in the administration of the Russian-occupied Kingdom of Poland and might be useful (so Vahylevych hoped) in getting him appointed to a chair of Slavonic languages at Kiev or perhaps at Kharkiv, he confided somewhat ingratiatingly: "I, too, have a [warm] feeling for the fatherland, Rus', I, too, am a [Little] Russian, only not a citizen of Russia."⁶³ But Storozhenko was also unable to help.

⁶¹ Vahylevych to Waclaw Aleksander Maciejowski, August 18, 1847, Ossoliniana 1814–1879: Listy i akta oryginalne. Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (Wrocław), MS. 5819/III. See also Holovats'kyi, "Sud'ba," p. 464, for Vahylevych's impatience with life in a country parish.

⁶² Šafařík to Bodians'kyi, December 26, 1845, *Korespondence*, Vol. I, p. 97: "The work is quite good, only terribly badly . . . printed."

⁶³ Vahylevych to Storozhenko, July 13, 1847, *Kievskaja starina*, LX, 1, pt. 2 (Kiev, 1898), p. 8. The text of the letter is edited by V. P. Naumenko. The passage I have translated is printed as follows: "i u menia iest' chustvie za otchiznuiu Rus'iu, i ia russkii tol'ko ne grazhdanin'." Apart from the fact that the orthography has almost certainly been tampered with here (did Vahylevych actually write in Russian, a language which he never mastered properly?), this passage illustrates the difficulty of transmitting accurately in translation Vahylevych's meaning when he uses the words *Rus'* (Polish: *Ruś*) and *ruskyi* (Polish: *ruski*) to denote both what in a more restricted sense we refer to today as Ukraine and Ukrainian and the broader meaning of the whole East Slav group, that is, Great Russians and Belorussians as well as Ukrainians. It is true that this vagueness on Vahylevych's part reflects not merely the difficulties in

Therefore, when revolution came to central Europe in the spring of 1848, Vahylevych, we may assume, found the opportunity to leave his country seclusion most welcome. With his departure in the early summer of that year for L'viv, where he had been offered the post of editor of a political journal, he entered upon a new period in his life, one that would prove the most controversial of all. So keen had he been to leave that he did not wait for permission from his superiors to do so—perhaps not unwisely, since he had no guarantee that this would be granted—and anyhow events were moving swiftly in the provincial capital as elsewhere in Europe.

In eastern Galicia⁶⁴, two major political camps appeared within a matter of weeks after the outbreak of revolution in Vienna in the middle of March. The division ran along national lines. Naturally, the first to crystallize was the Polish camp, for the Poles possessed far greater political experience than the Ukrainians, and they were already organized into parties in emigration. Moreover, at home the Polish gentry, together with their social prestige, had long enjoyed a privileged, if subordinate role in the political life of the province. The National Council (*Rada Narodowa*), which was set up in L'viv on April 14th and which soon extended to the whole province, represented a coalition of Polish conservatives and liberals with some support, too, from more radical elements connected with the émigré Democratic Society. The Council was to strive to fulfill the functions of a representative as well as of an executive body: its effectiveness was thereby lessened, however, for it rapidly became the plaything of conflicting interests.

that period of terminological precision but his awareness of a close affinity between the three East Slav peoples. Yet this does not alter the fact that he did make a clear distinction between each of them and between each of their languages (sometimes he actually uses the term "Great Russian"). Therefore, in my text I have attempted to impart to the reader what I consider was Vahylevych's true intent when writing the terms *Rus'* and *ruskyi*, even if this has led occasionally to lack of uniformity in the rendering. Usually, I think it has been easy to determine what he meant; sometimes, however, as in the present case, an element of ambiguity remains.

⁶⁴ There is a competent study in English of this area during 1848 by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *The Spring of a Nation: The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia in 1848* (Philadelphia, 1967). A briefer survey, also from the Ukrainian nationalist viewpoint, is Stepan Baran, *Vesna narodiv v avstrouhors'kii Ukraïni* (Munich, 1948); a much more thorough work has been published in Russian by a Marxist historian, E. M. Kosachevskaiia, *Vostochnaia Galitsiia nakanune i v period revoliutsii 1848 r.* (L'viv, 1965).

Its rival, the Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada), did not come into being until May 2nd, for during the first few weeks both nationalities had appeared to present, under Polish leadership, a united front against Habsburg autocracy and in favor of the extension of constitutional liberties. The main plank of the Supreme Ruthenian Council's platform was the administrative division of Galicia into two separate parts, Polish and Ukrainian, a demand which met with fierce opposition from the overwhelming majority of the Polish National Council's members. But the Galician Ukrainians regarded this measure as the only way to guarantee the development of their language and the protection of their cultural rights against polonization. The Supreme Ruthenian Council was dominated at the top by the Uniate Church hierarchy led by Bishop Hryhorii Iakhymovych; it saw its main ally in its struggle against the Poles in the Austrian bureaucracy. Whereas the L'viv headquarters of the National Council was more democratically minded than its provincial sections which were controlled by Polish landowners, the provincial sections of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, where country clergy of peasant background predominated, were more liberal than its L'viv branch which was under the direct sway of the reactionary consistory of St. George's Cathedral and a handful of city lawyers. We should note, too, that the slogan of complete independence or even of a united, autonomous Ukraine was not put forward at this date by any influential person in the Ukrainian camp.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ To my knowledge the only person in 1848 to advocate publicly—somewhat tentatively—the idea of a future united and independent Ukraine (*Rus'*) was the Reverend Vasyl' Podolyns'kyi (Basyli Podoliński), a liberally-minded country clergyman. He did this in a small pamphlet printed in Polish *Słowo przestrogi* (Sanok, 1848). It is probable that the pamphlet was never in fact put into circulation due to the fears of the author's ecclesiastical superiors that the work would alarm the Austrian administration: what may be a unique copy is to be found in the Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in L'viv (L'vivska derzhavna naukova biblioteka). See especially pp. 17, 20–22, for Podolyns'kyi's views on the national question. (He did not exclude the possibility of an independent Ukraine entering into a federation with the other Slav nations along the lines proposed two years earlier by the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.) They have been discussed in Vasyl' Shchurat, *Na dosvitku novoi doby: statyi i zamitky do istorii vidrozhennia hal. Ukraïny* (L'viv, 1919), pp. 134–178, from a nationalist viewpoint and in F. I. Steblyi, "'Slovo perestorohi' V. Podolyns'koho," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, X, 12 (Kiev, December 1966), pp. 44–51, from a Marxist viewpoint. Both authors assess Podolyns'kyi positively. Recently Volodymyr Borys (Włodzi-

Under pressure from rising Ukrainian opposition the National Council, which at first had been unwilling even to mention the existence of the "Ruthenians" in its pronouncements, came out on May 7th in favor of cultural equality between Poles and Ukrainians, claiming at the same time that it represented the cause of both nationalities (*narodowości*).⁶⁶ But even this belated concession did not signify that the Poles were ready to admit their neighbors' right to a separate political identity. The most radical attitude to this question was to be found among Polish leftwing democrats, some of whom, like the "red" count, Leon Rzewuski,⁶⁷ or the returned émigré Jan Kanty Podolecki,⁶⁸ sympathized with socialist ideals. With the possible exception of Rzewuski and his circle, however, the Polish democrats found it hard to contemplate breaking the centuries-long political tie between Poles and Ukrainians. Their ultimate aim was to create "a democratic Lithuanian-Ruthenian-Polish Commonwealth, one and undivided, under the name of Poland."⁶⁹ Not a single language or a common origin, they believed, but a shared political tradition, was the matrix from which a nation eventually sprang; the existence of a properly conceived "social idea" (to use Podolecki's phrase) was, in their view, a further and most effective factor in forging the links of nationhood.

Early in May leading members of the National Council became seriously alarmed by their almost complete failure to stem the rapid waning of support among the Ukrainian-speaking intelligentsia, and they set about devising ways and means of presenting their case more effectively to this section of the community. They feared the impending alliance between the Ukrainian camp and the Austrian bureaucracy, and they hoped to prevent it by providing some focal point for

mierz Borys), ("Zgoda polsko-ukraińska w 1848 r.," *Przegląd Historyczny*, LXII, 4 [Warsaw, 1971]) has published an unsigned manuscript dated 1848, in which the anonymous author—clearly a Galician Ukrainian—calls for "a future free Ruthenia" (p. 723).

⁶⁶ Citation in Bolesław Limanowski, *Historia demokracji polskiej w epoce porozbiorowej*, Vol. II (1901) (3rd ed., Warsaw, 1946), pp. 196, 197.

⁶⁷ See my article, "The Contribution of Leon Rzewuski to the Socialist Movement in 1848," *Annali dell' Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, III (Milan, 1960), pp. 562–581.

⁶⁸ See his selected writings edited by Andrzej Grodek, *Wybór pism z lat 1846–1851* (Warsaw, 1955).

⁶⁹ *Dziennik Stanisławowski: Pismo Poświęcone Rodzimyemu Demokratycznemu Zasadom*, no. 1 (Stanyslaviv, September 2, 1848), p. 1.

those elements among the Ukrainians which opposed the *ancien régime* and supported constitutional development. Thus the Ruthenian Assembly (Ruskyi Sobor) came into existence to answer this need.⁷⁰

On May 11th members of the Assembly issued an address to the Emperor advocating Polish-Ukrainian collaboration in defense of "political liberties" and of the rights of nationality, and opposing what they regarded as the servility of the Uniate cathedral clique.⁷¹ A more detailed program followed on June 8th, signed by the sixty-four founding members of the Assembly.⁷² "Brother Ruthenians (*Rusyny*)," it began, "today the Ruthenian nationality is awakening, for God's spirit having descended on earth is making the nations and the peoples equal to each other." And it went on to demand protection of the Ukrainians' language and culture, including the right to higher as well as lower education in their own tongue and its use in administration. It called for the advancement of their national literature and for the preservation of "constitutional freedoms." At the same time political, as distinct from cultural, unity with the Polish nation was

⁷⁰ The exact date of its foundation is unknown. The only study devoted exclusively to the Ruthenian Assembly is in Russian: N. M. Pashaeva, "Otrazhenie natsional'nykh i sotsial'nykh protivorechii v Vostochnoi Galichine v 1848 g. v listovkakh Russkogo Sobora," in *Slavianskoe vozrozhdenie*, ed. S. A. Nikitin et al. (Moscow, 1966), pp. 48–62. Pashaeva's work is especially useful since she uses a number of hitherto unknown and scarcely accessible publications issued by the Assembly. See also I. P. Filevich, *Iz istorii Karpatskoi Rusi: ocherki galitskorusskoi zhizni s 1772 r. (1848–1866)* (Warsaw, 1907), pp. 74–82. Filevich was a Russophile Ukrainian: he calls the Assembly "a dirty affair (*temnoe delo*)" (p. 75). Ukrainian nationalist writers have taken a roughly similar view. Soviet historians have tended to be slightly more favorable: the Assembly was objectively counterrevolutionary and mistaken in its estimate of the needs of the time, yet there were democratic elements in its composition. See, for example, I. S. Miller in *Revoliutsii 1848–1849*, ed. F. V. Potemkin and A. I. Molok, 2 vols., Vol. I (Moscow, 1952), p. 408, and in *Istoriia Pol'shi*, Vol. II, ed. I. S. Miller and I. A. Khrenov (Moscow, 1955), p. 70; H. I. Herbil'skyi in *Istoriia L'vova: korotkyi narys*, ed. I. K. Lazarenko et al. (L'viv, 1956), pp. 71–74. Only Polish nationalist historians (for example, Limanowski, *Historia demokracji polskiej*, Vol. II, pp. 194–197) have assessed the Assembly positively and as a genuinely Ukrainian organization.

⁷¹ *Rada Narodowa*, no. 25 (May 22), p. 96; No. 26 (May 24), p. 100; *Widowza Ruskoho Soboru*, a leaflet issued on June 8, 1848. It is probable that the group did not formally adopt the name "Ruthenian Assembly" until around the end of May or the beginning of June.

⁷² *Widowza Ruskoho Soboru*.

posited as a *sine qua non* of healthy national development. The address promised, too, that the Assembly, though it opposed any attempt by the clergy to control political life (this was a hit at its rival, the Supreme Ruthenian Council), would strive to better the lot of the Uniate clergy. Finally, it appealed for the support of all "Ruthenians" of goodwill.

In fact, membership of the Ruthenian Assembly does not seem to have expanded greatly beyond the original sixty-four. Ostensibly, persons of Ukrainian origin alone might be accepted as members (although they might be of Roman as well as of Greek Catholic faith).⁷³ In reality, only a minority were genuine Ukrainans, the rest belonging to the category of persons aptly designated as *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*. We may distinguish three separate, if overlapping, groups within the membership: (1) polonized aristocrats and landed gentry of moderately liberal opinion like Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki; (2) polonized intelligentsia with a radical political past, several of whom like Kasper Cięglewicz or Julian Horoszkiewicz had served long terms of imprisonment for their part in the Polish conspiratorial movement of the pre-March era; and (3) Ukrainian intelligentsia with strongly held democratic views which had led them to react sharply against the clerical, conservative leadership of the Supreme Ruthenian Council (in fact, very few Uniate priests sympathized with the Ruthenian Assembly).⁷⁴

In view of the weakness of the genuinely Ukrainian element within the Ruthenian Assembly, its leaders began to look around for some reinforcement from this quarter. It was natural that the name of Vahylevych should come up. He was respected in the nationally inclined section of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia as one of the Ruthenian Triad; moreover, he was a clergyman of the Uniate Church. To Polish liberals and democrats he was also a well-known and well-liked figure: he had many friends among the Polish intelligentsia of

⁷³ "Ustaw Soboru ruskoho," Section 3a, *Dnewnyk Ruskij*, No. 1 (L'viv, August 30, 1848).

⁷⁴ Cf. Piotr Stebelski, "Lwów w 1848 roku: na podstawie aktów śledczych," pt. 2, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XXIII (L'viv, 1909), pp. 544, 545; Herbil's'kyi, *Istoriia L'vova*, p. 71; Pashaeva, *Slavianskoe vozrozhdenie*, p. 53. The two Soviet authors stress the decisive role in the Assembly of the first group—perhaps rightly, though they do not supply much concrete evidence for this thesis. Few, if any, artisans or peasants joined the organization.

the Galician capital, who respected his intelligence and erudition. And he was known as an opponent of the hierarchy of his church and of many of the ideas of the Supreme Ruthenian Council. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the early summer of that year the Assembly invited Vahylevych to exchange his rural obscurity for a position as editor of the paper which it was planning to bring out.

There were good reasons why Vahylevych might be expected to welcome the offer. On the one hand, he felt bitter at the way those who had fought against the Triad in their efforts on behalf of the vernacular now posed as the champions of "Ruthenian" nationalism, and he suspected their credentials as democrats and their claims to be acting on behalf of the people. Had these men ever raised their voice in protest against the social oppression of the serf peasantry or against political autocracy? On the other hand, he remembered that several of the leaders of the Assembly had suffered for their democratic beliefs at a time when the Uniate hierarchy was acting as the willing instrument of Metternich's administration. He knew some of these men personally. He remained a Ukrainian nationalist, and he desired ardently to further the development of its culture. But he did not wish to see its political future controlled by men like Bishop Iakhymovych. Since the possibility of complete independence was scarcely conceivable at that time, even as a vision of things to come, he preferred to have his people link their fate with the camp which in his view stood for political democracy.⁷⁵ If this might eventually mean close union with Poland, no matter—provided the Ukrainians' cultural rights were respected. And this had been conceded by the Ruthenian Assembly. "Its objectives (*tendencje*)," he wrote, "seemed to me to answer the needs of the time, since they aimed at the education of the people by legal means."⁷⁶

⁷⁵ In the works of most Ukrainian nationalist writers Vahylevych is described as a traitor to the cause because of his role in 1848 (for example, Kost Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukrainsiv 1848–1914*, [L'viv, 1926], p. 25). Soviet historians, however, have been kinder. Although they regard his viewpoint as mistaken, they point to his "progressive" convictions as a positive factor. See the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, Vol. I (Kiev, 1955), p. 214; Herbil's'kyi, *Istoriia L'vova*, p. 73; Volyn's'kyi, "Literaturno-teoretychni vystupy," p. 123.

⁷⁶ "Prychynok do biohrafii Ivana Vahylevycha," ed. Ivan Sozans'kyi, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, LXIX, 1 (L'viv, 1907), p. 170. The letter is in Polish. See also Franko, *Narys istorii ukrains'ko-rus'koi literatury do 1890 r.* (*Pysania*

After some hesitation Vahylevych decided to accept the offer made him and moved to L'viv. The first number of the *Dnewnyk Ruskij* (Ruthenian Daily) appeared under his editorship on August 30th. Despite its title it was in fact a weekly rather than a daily paper. Nine issues with four pages apiece had appeared when it ceased publication toward the end of October. We must turn now to examine what Vahylevych had to say in its columns on the national question.⁷⁷

His position is clear. First he posited the separate existence of the Ukrainian nation as a cultural entity, and then he argued the necessity of linking its political fate in some kind of federation with that of a free and democratic Poland. In the existing state of his nation's development the most important task appeared to him to be the development of its literature. This had a venerable past (Vahylevych accepted the continuity of modern literature with that of Kievan Rus'), but it had fallen on evil days. Yet without a literature of its own a nationality would remain bereft of the most essential characteristic of national identity. Therefore, as a first step toward the creation of a national literature he urged the importance of building up a vernacular school system in the Ukrainian districts of the Habsburg Empire; he did not

Ivana Franka, Vol. I) (L'viv, 1910), p. 127; Julian Horoszkiewicz, *Notatki z życia*, ed. Henryk Wereszycki (Wrocław and Cracow, 1957), pp. 290, 291. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to gain Holovats'kyi's support for the Ruthenian Assembly. See his "Perezhitoe i perestradannoe," p. 282.

⁷⁷ Ivan Em. Levyts'kyi, *Halysko-ruskaia bibliohrafiia XIX stolittia . . . (1801–1886)*, Vol. I, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1887), p. 34, a reliable work, attributes all five articles to Vahylevych. Only one of these, the paper's "Program," was signed. Other articles, too, probably came from his pen, and we may presume his general approval of the work of the remaining contributors. However, I have limited myself to the items attributed to Vahylevych by Levyts'kyi while discussing the former's views on nationality in 1848. The Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in L'viv possesses two files of the paper. Although neither of them is complete in itself, taken together they include virtually a full run: nos. 1–7, 9, in the Latin alphabet edition and nos. 1, 6–8, in the Cyrillic alphabet edition. (Since this chapter was completed, I have learnt of the existence of a complete file of the Latin alphabet edition in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.) Vahylevych's survey of Ukrainian literature published in *Dnewnyk Ruskij*, nos. 5, 6, and 9, under the title "Zamitki o ruskoj literaturi," was reprinted in a Cyrillic alphabet version in *Pysania Markiiana Shashkevycha, Ivana Vahylevycha i Iakova Holovats'koho* (I. Onyshkevycha Ruska Byblioteka, Vol. III) (L'viv, 1884), pp. 145–158. The work is of considerable interest to Ukrainian scholars because of Vahylevych's discussion of Shevchenko's poetry.

deal with the Russian-ruled areas which he had always considered as part of the national heritage, presumably because for the time being he saw no way of influencing their fate. He supported wholeheartedly the Ruthenian Assembly's call to introduce vernacular instruction even at the university level. Was he not himself one of that very small company of educated Galician Ukrainians who had "suffered penalties from a malevolent government and a still more malevolent hierarchy" for their efforts on behalf of the national language? Without education the Ukrainians would never become "a great nation": progress in developing their literature, indeed their whole culture, depended on the creation of a well-educated and enlightened community.

In respect to political development, however, Vahylevych adopted a pro-Polish line. While looking back to Kievan Rus' as the golden age of the Ukrainian nation's history, he still assessed the long period of Polish rule positively. It had brought the blessings of political liberty and constitutional government. Yet the Ukrainians were not merely receivers of benefits; they had given their blood to defend the cause of freedom, for the Cossacks had acted as protectors of Poland, indeed of all Europe, against the Tatars and Turks until they finally fell under the tsarist yoke. The Poles, too, had lost their independence. But in the new constitutional era which was opening for all Europe, "our position has changed, . . . we are free and equal before the law." In the past "Poles and Ruthenians" shared "a common fate . . . for 500 years," so that now "there is no family, Ruthenian or Polish, in which there are not both Polish and Ruthenian members." In the future, therefore, both nationalities must continue to work together on a footing of equality for "our common fatherland."

Vahylevych gave strong support to the Ruthenian Assembly's opposition to partitioning Galicia along national lines into two separate administrative units. At the Slav Congress in Prague early in June, the Assembly's representatives in the Ukrainian subsection had been outvoted on this issue by those of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, in whose program the partition of Galicia occupied a central place. But it continued to agitate against the proposal, petitioning the Vienna Parliament in the matter in August. Commenting on the petition, Vahylevych argued *inter alia* that such a measure would prove disastrous to the Ukrainian-speaking minority left under Polish administration in western Galicia (for it would be impossible to draw an exact line dividing Poles from Ukrainians): these people would inevitably fall victim to polonization. Always fearful of the threat presented by

German rule he suspected, too, that partition of the province would weaken the ability of its Ukrainian population to resist ultimate germanization. *Inter duos litigantes, tertius gaudet*, he warned in conclusion.⁷⁸

An alliance between Ukrainian nationalists ready to enter into a federal union with Poland and Polish nationalists prepared to give democratic rights and cultural equality to the Ukraine would mean not only the defeat of efforts to germanize; it would bring liberation from tsarist Russia, too. As an anonymous contributor to Vahylevych's paper wrote: "This undertaking will carry within it the germ of tsardom's downfall, for Belorussia and Great Russia will follow the example of Little Russia and Poland and likewise demand political liberty."⁷⁹

The defeat of liberalism and nationalism and the reestablishment of political reaction, which ensued toward the end of 1848 and early in 1849, shattered the hopes of Vahylevych and his friends in the Ruthenian Assembly. Not only had they failed to win much support among Ukrainians, but they had failed in presenting a united front even among themselves. Ciegiewicz, for example, who had been a moving spirit in setting up the Assembly and who had been one of its delegates at the Slav Congress, resigned after his return from Prague. His resignation from the Assembly resulted from his opposition to the demand included in its program of June 8th to establish instruction in Ukrainian on all levels, including secondary school and university (a policy which, as we have seen, Vahylevych strongly supported). Ciegiewicz, like many Polish democrats, was extremely sceptical concerning the suitability of Ukrainian (*ruszczyzna*) in its then stage of development as a vehicle of higher culture, and he advocated the use of Polish above the level of the elementary school for an indefinite period. It might be a century, he thought, before Ukrainian achieved the status of a literary language. At the moment, despite claims to the contrary, it remained in his view a mere dialect (*powiatowszczyzna*), incapable of expressing the needs of an educated community. Moreover, the most effective link binding Poles, Ukrainians, and Lituans into one political nation would be lost without the adoption of Polish as the language of cultural interchange.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Dnennyk Ruskij*, nos. 1, 3, 5 and 9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 9: "F.H.," "Słowo w Rusy i jej polityczeskom stanowyszczy."

⁸⁰ Kasper Ciegiewicz, *Rzecz czerwono-ruska 1848 roku* (L'viv, [July or August]

The Ruthenian Assembly seems to have fallen apart even before General Hammerstein's bombardment of L'viv at the beginning of November led to the suppression of the Polish nationalist organizations and a gradual retreat from constitutionalism. (The turn for the Supreme Ruthenian Council to be eliminated came only three years later.) Within the Assembly friction had grown between the Ukrainian cultural nationalists and those members who were reluctant to pay more than lip-service to a separate Ukrainian cultural identity. On October 6th the latter group pushed through a resolution calling on the Assembly to merge with the Polish National Council. The decision was then carried into effect, despite opposition from the genuine Ukrainians among its members who felt this measure as a betrayal of their trust.⁸¹

The final phase in Vahylevych's career, which lasted from the end of 1848 until his death nearly eighteen years later, was perhaps the saddest of all. The story of his life during this period forms a catalogue of misfortunes. Rejected as a rebel by the hierarchy of his Church and spurned as a national renegade by many of those with whom he had shared the ideals of his youth, Vahylevych could not assimilate into the Polish community, except in externals.

After his editorial work had folded up with the demise of the *Ruthenian Daily*, he found a return to his clerical duties barred by the requirement of the L'viv consistory that he now undergo an indefinite period of retreat in a monastery as punishment for disobedience to his ecclesiastical superiors. This Vahylevych naturally refused to do: he felt no guilt at his recent conduct and the demand offended his sense of pride. Polish friends succeeded in persuading Prince Leon Sapieha, who had worked closely with the Ruthenian Assembly in

1848), pp. 1-7. Cf. *Dnewnyk Ruskij*, No. 3. Ciegiewicz objected particularly to Ukrainian being classed as an independent language: he considered it to be essentially a dialect of Polish. On the other hand, we find another member of the Ruthenian Assembly, the lawyer, Dr. Kyrylo Vinkovs'kyi, stating during a discussion of this issue: "Even if the Ruthenian tongue were a Polish dialect (which, however, I deny), one would need to recognize that a nation of 14 millions speaks this dialect constantly and wants to speak and write it. In such case a dialect. . . becomes an autonomous language, as has happened with the Scandinavian languages."

⁸¹ *Kwestya ruska* (L'viv, 1871), p. 44. The exact date of dissolution of the Ruthenian Assembly does not appear to have been established. Pashaeva, *Slavianskoe vozrozhdenie*, p. 62, places it sometime in October without giving the source of her information.

1848, to grant Vahylevych a small monthly allowance to cover the expenses of himself and his family. This, however, was withdrawn shortly afterwards when Vahylevych renounced his clerical orders and joined the Lutheran Church, for Prince Sapieha was shocked by his giving up his allegiance to Rome. In fact, Vahylevych's action was more an act of protest against the wrongs done him by his Church superiors than of devotion to Protestantism. (Although he was to die unreconciled to his ancestral faith, he had earlier petitioned successive metropolitans—unsuccessfully—for reinstatement in the Uniate priesthood.⁸²) In 1851 his recent conversion to Protestantism was to cause him to lose, within the space of nine months, the post that had eventually been found for him in the library of the Ossolineum Institute in L'viv;⁸³ for when Count Maurycy Dzieduszycki, who disliked heretics as much as Prince Sapieha, replaced the more tolerant Prince Jerzy Lubomirski as the Institute's chief trustee, he at once took steps to have Vahylevych dismissed. For the next decade Vahylevych eked out a meager existence by a series of hack jobs. He acted as a Ukrainian translator for the provincial administration; he wrote occasional articles for local Polish-language newspapers and worked with the press, too, as a proofreader; he was engaged for a time in compiling a new edition of Linde's classic Polish dictionary. His income remained only barely enough to keep his family from starvation, until in 1862 he gained appointment as city archivist, a post which he held until his death on May 10, 1866.⁸⁴

⁸² They have been printed by Sozans'kyi in *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, LXIX, 1 (L'viv, 1907), pp. 169–171.

⁸³ For the important role played by this institution in the Galician Ukrainian national awakening from its foundation in 1817 up to 1848, see the essay entitled "Ossolineum" in Shchurat, *Na dosvitku novoi doby*, pp. 56–61. Before 1848 the Galician Ukrainians possessed no cultural center of their own, apart, that is, from the Uniate Church; the nonpolitical, exclusively cultural interests of the Galician Ukrainian nationalists of that period made it easy for them to collaborate with Polish liberal nationalists like Vahylevych's friend, August Bielowski, who worked in the Ossolineum Institute.

⁸⁴ Horoszkiewicz, *Notatki z zycia*, pp. 291, 292; Władysław Zawadzki, *Literatura w Galicji (1772–1848)* (L'viv, 1878), pp. 127–130. See also the article on Vahylevych in Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedyja powszechna*, Vol. XXVI (Warsaw, 1867), pp. 301–304. Holovats'kyi, who had been estranged from Vahylevych for many years, visited his old friend on his death-bed and tried to persuade him to return to his old faith. He told him: "You lived . . . as a Ruthenian, you worked and struggled for Rus', then die as a Ruthenian." See his "Sud'ba," pp. 470, 471.

Apart from literary activities aimed simply at keeping the wolf from the door, Vahylevych during the last years of his life managed to complete a not unimpressive amount of historical research, though much of it has remained in manuscript. He seems to have devoted less time to the nationality question. After his break with the Uniate Church in 1848 he had lost all chance of receiving a subsidy from that quarter to help publish the pocket Ukrainian grammar which he had written in 1846 for use as a textbook in the elementary schools of eastern Galicia.⁸⁵ The return of autocracy led to his dismissal from the provincial board of education, to which he had been appointed during the brief period of constitutional rule; with this went all possibility of his exerting any influence on the development of education in the Ukrainian vernacular.

He continued to oppose the trend in Galician Ukrainian politico-cultural life which the Supreme Ruthenian Council had initiated in 1848. During the 1860s its supporters slowly gravitated from a pro-Habsburg stand toward a Russophile position. "People ignorant of the South Ruthenian language, and not knowing much either about anything else," was how he described the leaders of this trend.⁸⁶ He now moved mainly in Polish circles, yet he had lost none of his enthusiasm for his native language and its literature. We find him telling a friend, for instance, "No one can possibly doubt that the Little Russian language is ancient and that it has had important enough periods in its development."⁸⁷

Yet there is one piece of evidence that might seem to indicate that Vahylevych during this period revised his previous view that Ukrainian constituted an independent language. He wrote early in the 1850s:⁸⁸ "The Slavonic tongue (*mowa*) is divided into six languages:

⁸⁵ Vozniak, "Studii," XCIII, pt. 1 (1910), pp. 125–131; XCVIII, pt. 6 (1910), pp. 112–117. It seems that Vahylevych had originally planned to write his larger work as a school textbook (see *Korespondentsiia Iakova Holovats'koho v liakh 1835–49*, ed. K. Studyn's'kyi [L'viv, 1909], p. 92). The short grammar for schools which he published in 1846 was based on the same principles as his published grammar of 1845: in both cases his choice of a historical rather than a phonetic approach to orthography severely limited their usefulness.

⁸⁶ In a post-1848 footnote to the introduction to his manuscript "Rozprawy o języku południowo-ruskim," in Vozniak, *U stolittia*, p. 261.

⁸⁷ Vahylevych to Maciejowski, May 2, 1854, Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw), MS. 8850.

⁸⁸ In the introduction to a manuscript treatise completed in 1853 and entitled "Nieco

North Serb [that is, Lusatian Sorb], Czech, Polish, *ruski*, Illyrian and Bulgarian, with many dialects, variants, and subdialects, which like a series of links connect these languages to each other. . . . The second branch (*oddział*) of the *ruski* language is the Little-*ruski*, all the more important since it is an intermediate one." Does this passage indeed mean that Vahylevych now accepted the view of most contemporary Russian scholars, who considered Ukrainian to be merely a dialect of the Russian language? I think not. We must take into consideration the imprecise terminology which Vahylevych often used in common with many other, and sometimes better, philologists of his time. We must not forget either that the passage occurs in a manuscript: greater precision might have been arrived at if the author had had to revise it for publication. Thus although one is tempted to translate *ruski* (which I have left in this instance in the original) as "Russian," a better rendering would seem to be "East Slav." (One may note in passing that Vahylevych does not list either Slovak or Slovene as separate "languages" here or differentiate between Upper and Lower Lusatian.) In my view, while this passage does reflect Vahylevych's belief in the close affinity of Great Russian, Belorussian, and "South Ruthenian" (or "Little Russian"), it grants to each of them separate and equal status within the broader East Slav group: we should remember that Vahylevych had done this quite plainly in the pages of his *Dnewnyk Ruskij* (Ruthenian Daily) of 1848. Moreover, it seems unlikely that, just during the period when Vahylevych drew politically closest to the Polish camp, he should have arrived in the field of linguistics at a conclusion that was identical with that of the Russophiles.

A feeling of separate Ukrainian identity remained with Vahylevych till the end. He sympathized indeed with Polish aspirations to regain their statehood, though not necessarily by force of arms. And he hoped that the Ukrainians, not only those in Galicia but also those who were under Russian rule, would opt for membership in a reborn Poland, were this to become a reality. He never considered an independent Ukraine a practical proposition. (Who then did?) And he remained as implacably opposed as ever both to reliance on the Habsburgs and to any talk of fusing the Ukrainian identity with the Great Russian: he abhorred the idea of seeking protection either

o pierwiastkach staro-słowiańskiego języka," Pisma Jana Wagilewicza, II, ff. 75, 75v, Ossolineum Library (Wrocław), MS 2411/1. In the last sentence the word *południowo-* has been crossed out and *malo[ruski]* inserted in its place.

from the Austrian kaiser or the Russian tsar. But his advocacy of a political alliance with the Poles was not unconditional. They would have to prove their understanding of the Ukrainians' position by granting them not only equality as citizens of a democratic state but cultural autonomy, too, and the right to develop their language and literature quite freely. They would have to abandon altogether the idea of Ukrainian being merely a dialect of Polish and thereby incapable of higher expression.

Vahylevych chose the losing side. That must be admitted. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ukrainians of eastern Galicia were to reject decisively a program of Ukrainian cultural autonomy combined with political amalgamation with the Poles (indeed, 1848 had already shown the way the wind was blowing). Vahylevych held to this program, continuing to see the Ukrainians' future in a revived Polish commonwealth. In the 1830s this had been the creed of the Ruthenian Triad. But times had changed. And Vahylevych suffered the usual fate of those unwilling to change with the times. He was forgotten. But that is no good reason why he should not receive justice at the hands of posterity. He never became a renegade working against his own people. This often repeated opinion is grossly unfair. Vahylevych remained until his death what he had always been—a Ukrainian cultural nationalist bent on defending the independent status of his native language and literature and their right to develop alongside the other Slavonic tongues.

*The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1905–1907**

Leila P. Everett

AUSTRIAN GALICIA IN 1900 was one of the poorest and most backward regions of Europe, economically underdeveloped not only with regard to other provinces of the Austrian Empire, but even in relation to adjacent Russian Poland. It remained an agricultural land, almost untouched by industrial development and notable for the general misery of its population, which existed barely at subsistence level.¹

In addition to the severe economic problems plaguing the province, Galicia was torn by a series of national conflicts which involved the three major ethnic groups inhabiting the area—the Poles, Ukrainians and the Jews—comprising respectively, 46 percent, 41 percent and 11 percent of the total population.²

* The terms “Ukrainian” and “Ruthenian” are used interchangeably in this study. The name “Ukrainian” was universally applied after 1918, but in the official and political writings of this time “Ruthenian” (“Ruthenen”) is more common for Austria.

¹ R. Mahler, “The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States,” *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, VII (New York, 1952), pp. 256–257. The consumption of food staples in Galicia was half that of Western Europe, its per capita income one-tenth that of the rest of Austria, and 55,000 people died of starvation in Galicia annually.

² M. Grushevskii (Hrushevs’kyi), “Ukrintsy,” in A.I. Kastelianskii, ed., *Formy natsional'nago dvizheniia v sovremennykh gosudarstvakh* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 156; and R. Sembratowycz, “Die Sprache der Zahlen,” *Ruthenische Revue* (Vienna, 1904), No. 2. According to the official 1900 census this Austrian crown province had the following national linguistic groups: 3,074,449 Ukrainian; 3,988,702 Poles; 211,752 Germans; 9,800 other. The confessional statistics reveal that Galicia contained 3,352,000 Roman Catholics, 3,104,103 Greek Catholics and 811,371 Jews. The census did not recognize Jews as an official Austrian nationality, which could only be identified by

Even more significant for the understanding of Galician politics was the geographic distribution of these groups. The Ukrainian population was concentrated almost entirely in eastern Galicia (over 3 million) and the Poles in western Galicia. Furthermore and most importantly, eastern Galician towns reflected the economic divisions in this land and had a strong non-Ukrainian character. In 35 out of 50 districts in the east, for example, the Ukrainian population comprised 60 percent of the inhabitants (of these, in 18 districts more than 70 percent and in 7 even more than 80 percent), but were only thinly represented in cities with population over 12,000 (18–26 percent) as well as in smaller towns. Economically and demographically the Jewish population was compactly urban, while the Ukrainian population still lived in overwhelming numbers off agriculture in rural areas.³

Politically, such a distribution meant that large Jewish and Polish urban majorities in eastern Galicia would obtain widely different representation in the parliamentary body, depending on whether the electoral system favored urban or rural dwellers. National representation here would have been a problem under any system, even the fairest, but Galician election politics was very far from that.

Since 1867 Galicia had enjoyed a large degree of autonomy within Austria-Hungary. This meant in practice that the local administration was almost entirely in Polish hands. The Polish administration was dominated by the Polish landed aristocracy, whose conservative politics were designed to keep the status quo economically and to extend the Polish rule culturally and politically. With domination of all local institutions sanctioned by Vienna since 1867, the Conservative

"Umgangssprache." It did not recognize Yiddish or "Jargon" as an official "Umgangssprache." In Galicia the Jewish population was identified as either "German" or "Polish"—600,000 had been listed as "Poles," 150,000 as German-speaking and about 50,000 as Ruthenian-speaking. In addition, the official figures concealed a sizable group of Ukrainian Roman Catholics who were automatically recorded as "Poles" by Polish officials compiling the census.

³ Grushevskii, "Ukraintsi," pp. 154, 156, 162. See also M. Rosenfeld, *Die polnische Judenfrage* (Vienna, 1918), p. 109. In 80 towns in eastern Galicia with a population below 12,000, Jews were in the majority in 59 towns, Ukrainians in 24 towns. In 1910, 72.3 percent of all Poles, 90.2 percent of the Ukrainians and 10.7 percent of the Jews were employed in agriculture. In trade the national distribution was as follows: 53 percent Jews, 8.7 percent Germans, 2.3 percent Ukrainians, 6.2 percent Poles. In industry: 24.6 percent Jews, 22.7 percent Germans, 3.2 percent Ukrainians, 11.6 percent Poles.

party exerted a political monopoly in Galicia and formed a political faction, known as the "Polish club," in the Vienna Reichsrat.⁴

In addition to being a powerful group in Vienna, the Polish politicians controlled all the local institutions, such as the Galician Diet (Sejm), and the district concils which had charge of local schools and tax collection. Theoretically, local officials were elected from representatives of large landed estates and from villages. Where there were large Ukrainian majorities, they could have furnished half if not more of the officials on the district councils, but in actuality the councils were distinctively Polish.⁵ The Polish politicians were able to exert such control as a result of the structure of the Austrian election system, the role of the Jewish minority and the *de facto* power of the eastern conservative landlords who controlled vast tracts of land on which the peasants led a semifeudal existence.⁶

The Austrian electoral system, known as the curial system, was deliberately slanted in favor of established landed interests in all Austrian crown lands. It has often been pointed out that Austrian politics was conducted in a manner that favored the so-called "historical nations." In a state that contained many feudal crown lands in which the "historical" nationalities were identical in many cases to groups with landed or aristocratic interests, while the peasant class was represented by an entirely different nation, such a policy meant not only economic but national inequity. The Reform of 1873 provided the Austrian voters with elections to the Lower House, but divided them into four *curiae*: great landlords; chambers of commerce; urban *curia*; and rural *curia*. In 1896 a fifth universal *curia* was added. It was

⁴ W. Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicyi 1846-1906*, Vol. I (Cracow, 1907), pp. 97-242. A. Kos, "Die gegenwaertige politische Lage der galizischen Ruthenen," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 1 (1903), pp. 19, 21-22. Prior to the 1905 electoral reform, Galicia was represented in the Vienna Reichsrat by 78 deputies, of whom 64 were members of the Polish club, 8 of the Ruthenian club and 6 of the Polish opposition (4 P.P.S., 1 Social Democrat, and 1 Independent Socialist). In the local Sejm there were 161 members, of which 16 were Ruthenian. In addition, some Ruthenian delegates owed political allegiance to the Conservative party.

⁵ Grushevskii, "Ukrainci," pp. 165-166.

⁶ Mahler, "Economic Background," p. 256. About 40 percent of all the land in Galicia was held by owners who had more than 50 hectares, and 37 percent of this land was held by those who had more than 100 hectares. Contrasted with this, 71 percent of all the peasants in 1902 held less than 5 hectares and 44 percent less than 2.

intended to provide the lower classes with greater representation.⁷ The unequal suffrage rights produced by this system can be seen from the following calculations of curial representation averages of voters per deputy (in 1901) for all of Austria:⁸

1st curia —	64
2nd curia —	26
3rd curia —	4,193
4th curia —	12,290
5th curia —	69,503

In Galicia, however, it took, by some calculations, an average of 56,993 Polish votes to elect a deputy, while it took approximately 380,275 Ruthenian votes to do the same. The most reactionary members of the Polish club were seated from their eastern Galician estates with an extremely small number of votes. Members of the Abrahamowicz and Dzieduszycki families were elected with 20–30 votes in the landlord curia.⁹

As if the curial system was not weighted enough in favor of those endowed with wealth and power, the elections were direct everywhere except in the rural communes, where voters had to choose electors for every 500 inhabitants, who in turn elected the assigned number of delegates. This practice permitted the Polish authorities to exercise great control during elections and it explains to some extent why Ruthenian representation was so disproportionately small. Rural voters were kept away from the polls by force, election times were announced irregularly, often only to a small group of landlord-dependent voters, while the majority of eligible voters would be told that the election had already taken place when they showed up at the polls. If these measures proved insufficient, ballots would be yanked out of voters' hands, and voters would be driven home under threat of physical or economic reprisals, or their ballots would be secretly removed from the ballot box. Sometimes "dead souls" were substituted as legitimate voters. The Galician Sejm records are full of

⁷ W. Jenks, *The Austrian Electoral Reform of 1907* (New York, 1950), pp. 11–26. For the treatment of "historical" and "unhistorical" nations, see R. Kann, *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburgmonarchie*, 2 vols. (2nd rev. ed., Graz, 1964).

⁸ Jenks, *Austrian Electoral Reform*, p. 216, "Appendix," Table IV.

⁹ R. Sembratowycz, "Modernes Pharisaeertum," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 8 (1903), p. 179.

Ukrainian "interpellations" protesting these practices and detailing the rule of terror practiced by Polish officials in the countryside against any threat to the power of established politicians. However such complaints were in vain.¹⁰

The social, economic, and political conditions of the Ukrainian population under the Polish administration of Austrian Galicia bore some similarities to the plight of the Polish peasant masses of western Galicia. However, the policies of the Polish and Ukrainian Galician political oppositions differed because of national priorities and growing national strife between Ukrainians and Poles.

The main strategy of the Ukrainian parties was centralism and loyalty to the Austrian government. They attempted to convince the government not to support the Poles but to maintain neutrality in Galicia. The program of the two leading Ukrainian parties between 1900 and 1910 (National Democrats and Radicals) concentrated on demands for electoral reform (equal and direct elections both in Reichsrat and Sejm), respect for Ukrainian national rights (school, language and administrative rights) and ultimately Ukrainian national autonomy (some envisioned territorial autonomy in a Ukrainian province under Austria, a united eastern Galicia and Bukovina).¹¹

This policy directly conflicted with the policies of the Polish opposition parties (including the National Democrats and Christian Socialists), which called for even greater autonomy of Galicia vis-à-vis Austria and the substitution of elected Parliament delegates with appointed ones from the Sejm deputies. Internally, they called for the independent administration of Galicia and accountability to the Sejm only.¹²

In general the Ukrainian national movement, like all national movements in Austria, underwent a tremendous revival and upsurge in the 1890s. In addition to the political struggle, attempts were made to undercut Polish domination by means of credit unions, agrarian strikes, and intensified cultural activities designed to counteract the

¹⁰ Grushevskii, "Ukraiñtsi," pp. 165–166. See also *Die gegenwaertige Lage der Ruthenen in Galizien* (L'viv, 1892) for parliamentary complaints of Ruthenian delegates; and G. Kupczanko, *Die Schicksale der Ruthenen* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 137–140, 146–151 for the role of the Jews in this election fixing.

¹¹ K. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukraiñtsiv 1848–1914*, Vol. I, (L'viv, 1926–1927); see also the Ukrainian press: *Dilo* (L'viv) and *Ruthenische Revue*, 1903–1906 (renamed *Ukrainische Rundschau* in 1906).

¹² Grushevskii, "Ukraiñtsi," pp. 172–173.

official pressures of polonization in the schools. The political literature of this period demonstrates that the Ukrainians, despite a large peasant population living close to starvation, agitated for the exercise of language rights in the schools, rather than for desperately needed agrarian reforms.¹³

What was the role of the Jewish population in this struggle between the two nationalities? Of a Galician Jewish population of 800,000, about 600,000 were concentrated in eastern Galicia in compact Jewish areas. Most Jews lived in an almost entirely Jewish environment. Although there were isolated families living in villages among the peasantry, they kept in contact with the *shtetl* and occupied an economic and social position in the village which made certain that they would retain their separate identity. The vast majority of Galician Jews were Yiddish-speaking, unassimilated and to a large extent politically uninvolved. Economically they still performed the traditional role of the middle class in a backward agrarian economy. Some Jews were also employed in age-old administrative tasks, representing the interests of the Polish landlord vis-à-vis Ruthenian or Polish peasants.¹⁴

Granted full civil rights in 1867, the majority of the Jewish population in 1900 had barely begun to show significant occupational differentiation. Although Jews accounted for most of Galicia's trade, there was an excess of Jewish tradesmen engaged in petty trade, owning miniscule stock, and trying to live off a poor land. Another traditional occupation, tavern keeping, was also predominantly in Jewish hands, but could not provide a sufficient livelihood (despite the high incidence of alcoholism), because of excessive competition in this business. For those Jews who worked in industry, similar conditions of excessive

¹³ 180 credit unions and 300 cooperative village shops had been founded by 1903, with a membership of 15,000 growing annually by 10 percent. See J. Romanczuk, "Die kulturellen Bestrebungen der Ruthenen in Galizien," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 3 (1903), p. 68. See also, more generally, I.L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," *Austrian History Yearbook*, III, pt. 2 (Houston, Texas, 1967), pp. 394–429.

¹⁴ Jews accounted for: 87 percent of all those employed in trade, 32 percent of all those employed in industry, 43.5 percent of hired workers in trade. W. Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji 1900–1914* (Warsaw, 1958), Vol. I, p. 92. For a general description of Jewish life in Galicia, see P. Friedman, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung 1848* (Frankfurt a/M, 1929).

crowding and competition prevailed. The absence of significant industrial development and the discrimination against Jews in existing factories resulted in confining them to small artisans' shops, in independent enterprises. Jews accounted for 6,000 of the 9,000 workers who toiled in the oil fields of Boryslav, but in the last decade of the century many workers were systematically forced out as a result of anti-Semitic policies and the concentration of smaller enterprises under new management. Polish administrative policy kept Jewish professionals from gaining bureaucratic positions, which may account for the small size of the Galician Jewish intelligentsia. Anti-alcoholic campaigns and credit unions, the result of growing cooperative movements of Polish and Ukrainian peasants, were targeted against Jewish tradesmen and were successful in eliminating many rural entrepreneurs.¹⁵ Combined with a burgeoning birth rate, these economic developments caused the extreme impoverishment and starvation of the Galician Jewish masses and their wide-scale emigration.¹⁶

However, the Jews did not appear very proletarian or poor to their new competitors, who accompanied attempts to organize peasant self-help with anti-Semitic rhetoric and even violence, especially in western Galicia in 1898 under the influence of the Christian Socialist movement headed by Father Stanisław Stojałowski. The excesses against the Jews were the result of the anger of the peasants about their miserable lot. They tended to vent frustrations against the nearest representatives of the landlord, even if the representatives were as miserable as the peasants.¹⁷ Most Jews saw their only protection

¹⁵ Mahler, "Economic Background," pp. 257–264. Although estimates of the true occupational distribution among Jews vary, unofficial figures give the following: 150,000 tavern keepers, 100,000 in "undetermined trades," 400,000 in "trade," 10,000 professionals. As cited by Ernst Breiter, "Jeber die Judenfrage in Galizien," *Die Welt*, no. 9 (Vienna, 1903), pp. 6–8.

¹⁶ Mahler, "Economic Background"; A. Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements in Recent Generations," *The Jews of Austria*, ed. J. Fraenkel (London, 1967), pp. 286–289, notes that of 281,150 Austrian Jewish emigrants in 1881–1910, almost 85 percent were Galician. See also M. Henisch, "Galician Jews in Vienna," *The Jews of Austria*, pp. 361–373. For a firsthand account of miserable living conditions among Jewish workers, see S.R. Landau, *Unter juedischen Proletariern* (Vienna, 1898).

¹⁷ Feldman, *Stronnictwa*, Vol. II, pp. 235–264. The attacks by organized mobs of peasants on Jewish stores, inns and living quarters in central and western Galicia were put down by troops and the imposition of martial law, but only after the peasants had begun to plunder the estates of nobles and homes of Christian townspeople. Mahler, "Economic Background," p. 264.

against peasant anger in the age-old alliance with the Polish authorities and feared the anger of the Polish officials if they were to go against them. They also feared that the protection of the troops might be withdrawn, particularly after 1881, when Russian pogroms brought swarms of refugees across the border. According to later Zionist analysis of the situation, the Jews formed the backbone of the Polish domination in the land. The majority of Jews, the Zionists wrote, believed that they owed their existence, both physical and economic to the charity of the Polish authorities in Galicia.¹⁸

While there was a great cultural, economic and even linguistic gap between the Jewish leadership who considered themselves to be *gente Judaeus, natione Polonus* and the masses, unassimilated and Orthodox, the former controlled official community organization (the *kahal*) and therefore a significant share of the Jewish vote in Sejm or Reichsrat elections. As community leaders they continued to furnish important political support to the Polish bloc, themselves convinced that they were representing the best Jewish interest. As "Poles of Mosaic confession" they were enthusiastic adherents of such projects as the erection of monuments to the poet Mickiewicz and other Polish national celebrations.¹⁹

Although early assimilation took a Polish orientation in Cracow, at first a German orientation dominated in L'viv. Here assimilationists, grouped around Dr. Emil Byk in the association "Shomer Israel," published a German periodical called "Der Israelit."²⁰ In the 1873 elections, they took the initiative to form an electoral alliance with the Ruthenians, resulting in the election of German, centralist Jewish deputies from three Galician districts — Brody, Kolomyia and

¹⁸ See note 44 below.

¹⁹ The pro-Polish assimilationist movement was highlighted by the activities of the *Agudas Akhim* association, founded in 1885 by L'viv and Cracow intellectuals. They sought to provide their patriotism by participating in such celebrations as the hundredth anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791 and the funeral of the poet Adam Mickiewicz. The Jewish group carried a wreath with a quotation from Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*: "The honest Jews loved Poland as much as the Pole." J. Bross, "The Jewish Labor Movement in Galicia," *YIVO Annual*, V (1950), p. 66. See also W. Feldman, *Stronniczwa*, Vol. II, pp. 295–299, citing the speech by Emil Byk in 1899. Byk stated that *Polonia judaeorum paradisus* and that Palestine was only a religious and historical memory, while Poland was the true homeland for Polish Jews.

²⁰ E. Mendelsohn, "Jewish Assimilation of Lvov: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman," *Slavic Review*, XXVIII, 4 (Madison, Wis., 1969), pp. 577–590.

Drohobych. These deputies did not join the Polish club in the Reichsrat, but entered the liberal faction.²¹

After 1879, when the Poles were given a free hand in Galicia by Vienna, it was no longer possible to be elected in Galicia without the approval of the Polish authorities. In the 1879 elections all five Jewish deputies from Galicia had to obligate themselves to join the Polish club. One of these, Simon Schreiber, rabbi in Cracow and the leader of the ultra-Orthodox *Makhzike-hadat*, who was elected deputy from Kolomyia sat in the Reichsrat in the Polish club without any participation, since he did not know any Polish. Rabbi Simon Schreiber (Sofer) sat in the Reichsrat from 1879 to 1885 without uttering a single word; his election with the support of the *rebbe* of Belz, a famous Hassidic dynasty, typified another source of Jewish support for the Polish club, that of the religious forces bent on preserving traditional Jewish life.²² Rabbi Schreiber was succeeded in the Kolomyia seat by Joseph Bloch, who had become somewhat of a hero after publicly discrediting the anti-Semite Rohling and his book *Der Talmudjude* in Vienna. He also joined the Polish club, but continued to speak out against anti-Semitism. His independent stand on Jewish issues earned him the disapproval of the Polish club. In 1887 Bloch lost the elections in Brody because of the terror tactics of the Polish district police chief, who would not let his supporters come to the polls. The Polish political clique supported a more pliant candidate, Emil Byk, who had turned from German assimilationism to a strong pro-Polish stand. Already in 1891 Bloch, though reelected to the Reichsrat, was forced to resign under pressure from the club. The lessons of Galician politics were clear: only the "Hausjuden der Schlachta," as the Zionists called them, would be elected.²³

The earliest strong support for Zionist ideas in Austrian Galicia in the 1880s came from the well-educated, especially the academic youth in L'viv.²⁴ Eastern Galicia was the first stronghold of Zionist

²¹ S.R. Landau, *Sturm und Drang im Zionismus* (Vienna, 1937), p. 8. For the Ukrainian point of view of this alliance, see K. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, Vol. I, pp. 135–136. Apparently the alliance was greeted in the Ukrainian community with scorn, as it was considered humiliating and beneath one's dignity to ally with Jews.

²² Landau, *Sturm*, p. 9. See also L. Dawidowicz, *The Golden Tradition: Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe* (Boston, 1967), p. 70.

²³ Landau, *Sturm*, pp. 9, 32, 259.

²⁴ The first group met in 1899, and "Przyszłość" was founded in July 1892 by A.

organizations, which predated those in Cracow by some fifteen years. By 1904, Galicia was organized into three district committees—L'viv, Cracow, and Stanyslaviv—with many member organizations both in the major and minor towns. Most of the effort, partially directed from Vienna, aimed at the cultural regeneration and reeducation of Jews, to raise their sense of self-worth and promote a sense of national identity. The main efforts of the clubs in Galicia were directed at these tasks, and they conducted festivities and educational talks in “Toynbee Halls” and other clubs, held in Polish, with some groups for members of the lower classes, in “Jargon” (Yiddish). The district committee elected one delegate per 200 *shekel* payers to the Zionist congress and, in addition, it participated in the *Landskommittee* of Austria, which included member groups of the other crown lands as well. Galicia was a special case in the Austrian Zionist movement because it required propaganda materials in languages other than German.²⁵

Galicia had the largest Austrian Jewish group; it was most akin to the Prussian Jewry since it was territorially compact and had a stronger sense of Jewishness than the Jews of other Austrian areas. But Galicia also had a strong assimilated group enjoying the support of the political system.²⁶ In the period directly preceding 1905, the Zionists in Galicia were engaged in a struggle against the assimilated leaders of the Jewish communities in order to gain a foothold in the *kahals* through the *kahal* elections which were also organized on the curial system. This struggle reflects what was happening elsewhere in Austria, especially in Vienna. It is accurate to say that almost to the end of 1905 the entire energies of the Austrian Zionists were taken up on the local level with educational activities and, politically, with attempts to run in the *kahal* elections and win significant percentages of the vote. Another major issue, particularly in Vienna, among the

Salz, A. Stand, and A. Korkis. E. Mendelsohn, “From Assimilation to Zionism in Lvov: The Case of Alfred Nossig,” *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XLIX (London, 1971), pp. 521–534.

²⁵ N.M. Gelber, *Toldot hatenna hatsiyonith be-Galitsiah* (Jerusalem, 1958), Vol. I; Landau, *Sturm und Drang*. See also *Die Welt* (Vienna).

²⁶ While assimilation as a movement of intellectuals was over by 1892, it continued to maintain its popularity among the wealthier elements of Jewish society. Feldman, *Stronnicwa*, Vol. II, pp. 266–314.

Zionist youth, was the drive for recognition of Jewish nationality at the University of Vienna.²⁷

Despite opportunities in the existing Austrian political system and strong agitation for political reform by socialists and various national groups, such as the Ruthenians and Czechs, the Zionists did not wish to be politically active in Austrian politics. Politically they sought the fulfillment of their ideas in a territorial (whether in Palestine or in Uganda) solution which would recreate a Jewish state. Until that time every Zionist presumably had his Parliament with equal, direct and democratic suffrage in the form of the Zionist Congress. Thus for example, a resolution of the L'viv district committee is typical, in that it objects to Galician corrupt politics, hopes for greater political maturity among Jews and proclaims neutrality in the Polish-Ruthenian struggle.²⁸

Zionists were strongly critical of assimilationist liberal politics practiced by the Jewish establishment in Vienna, which gave its vote to German liberals for many years only to be deprived of representation by growing German nationalism and anti-Semitism. The Zionist press attacked assimilationists for their service in the interest of other nationalities rather than their own, but the Austrian *Landskomitee* repeatedly resolved that Zionism was not to involve itself in Austrian politics, and that every Zionist was free to belong to any Austrian party provided its goals did not violate the tenets of Zionism.²⁹ At this time, the object was primarily to convert non-Zionist Jews rather than to participate in external politics or in demands for national

²⁷ In 1904 the Zionists were able to obtain one-third of the vote in the L'viv *kahal* election. *Die Welt*, no. 22 (1904), p. 12. See also *Die Welt*, nos. 17, 18, 28 (1906) and *Wschód*, no. 42 (1905). Open confrontations occurred between the Zionists and the assimilationists in the struggle for the *kahal*, symptomatic of the deep divisions within Jewish society. For instance, at a commemoration at the L'viv Temple of the 1830 Polish Warsaw uprising on November 29, 1905, prayers were begun by assimilationists, who, without hats, were singing "Boże coś Polskę . . ." but were disrupted by the Zionists singing in Hebrew "od le owdo. . ." Another sore point was the teaching of Hebrew during religious instruction classes for Jews. Assimilated parents demanded that it be eliminated from the curriculum. *Die Welt*, no. 51 (1905), pp. 10–11. On the university registration issue, which became an outlet for Vienna Jewish nationalism, see *Die Welt*, no. 8 (1906), p. 18 and no. 19 (1907), pp. 10–11, reporting the petition to the Austrian Ministry of Education.

²⁸ *Die Welt*, no. 48 (1903), p. 10.

²⁹ *Die Welt*, no. 26 (1905), p. 15.

autonomy. Halfway between a political party and a way of life, Austrian Zionism was still involved in trying to convince the Viennese Jews of what to the anti-Semites and to the Russian Jews was self-evident—the existence of a Jewish nation. Galicia followed the leadership in abstaining from political involvement. At the Third Conference of Austrian Zionists, the Galician delegation stated that an alliance with Ruthenians against the Poles would result in economic reprisals against Jews which would destroy them. They cautioned against agitation against Sunday laws, although these were doing great harm to Jews in Galicia.³⁰

Under the impact of growing national antagonisms and movements in the Austrian Empire, almost all Austrian parties in one way or another adopted a national plank, and even the Jewish socialists had become affected by the national trend. In 1904 the Jewish socialists petitioned to separate from Polish Social Democracy and form a separate national organization. This request was supported by the Ruthenian Social Democrats who had already received, in accordance with the Brno program, independent status from the Polish Social Democratic party in 1898. But the Jewish request was denied on territorial grounds and as a result the Jews broke off and on May 1, 1905 formed the Jewish Social-Democratic party to promote Social Democracy to the Galician Jewish masses.³¹

Despite the growing popularity of national autonomy in the Austrian Empire and its adoption in various forms by national groups as well as by the Social Democrats, the Zionists, and even the Labor Zionists (Poale Zion) who were much more active on this issue, did not get involved in agitation for national autonomy until very late. The Poale-Zion, growing rapidly, by 1905 had groups in Vienna, Cracow, L'viv, Chernivtsi and many smaller towns. These groups were still deeply involved in theoretical and organizational debates, trying to clarify their position vis-à-vis both Zionism and socialism. While more concerned with social and economic conditions than other Zionist organizations, they were involved only in organizing strikes among Jewish workers and in strengthening their internal organization.³²

³⁰ *Die Welt*, no. 27 (1903), p. 9.

³¹ The issue of a separate Jewish party was raised first in 1902. J. Bross, "Jewish Labor Movement," pp. 82–83. For more on the attitude of socialists on this question, see below, note 37.

³² The Poale-Zion of Austria were organized by 1904. District organizations were

Campaigning against the leaders of the Jewish community in L'viv, local Zionists showed much more national and social consciousness than was evidenced by the main office in Vienna. They pointed out that the support of the Poles enriched a few Jews at the expense of many whose condition was increasingly deteriorating. Although some of the more farsighted noted that the whole community leadership was supported by the corrupt Galician political system and that, if the Zionists wanted to dislodge the leaders, they would have to tackle Galician politics, the solution to social injustice remained "conquer the *kahal*." As late as October 1905, while Czech, Ruthenian and other national parties as well as the entire Social Democracy camp were agitating for electoral reforms with special provisions for national rights, the Zionists of Austria had no political program except "Baseler Wahlrecht."³³

All this changed radically within a month. The impetus for change was provided by news that the Austrian government was contemplating a major electoral reform and by the opening of a debate in the Reichsrat on the way the reform, intended to broaden suffrage, was to be implemented.³⁴ As a result, the Zionists, like the national parties representing other nationalities, for the *first* time began to advocate a national mandate for Jews (that is, a fixed number of deputies to be elected). In addition they demanded the recognition of Jews as an official Austrian nationality. In Galicia Poale-Zion,

established in Brody, Rzeszów, Berezhany, Zhovkva, Stanyslaviv, Przemyśl and youth groups in Brody, L'viv, Tarnów, Vienna, and Brno. At the fifth meeting of the Poale-Zion of Austria in Cracow, on June 17 and 18, 1905, the party's relationship to Zionism and socialism was debated. While the group considered both of equal priority, it considered itself a separate party within Zionism, because of its need to represent a special class. The party also reported great growth—to 20 organizations and 2,000 members—and the successful distribution of their paper in Yiddish, *Der Yudisher Arbeter. Die Welt*, no. 26 (1905), pp. 14–16. See also D. Pasmanik, *Di theorie un praktike funim poaley tsionismus* (Cracow, 1906) for the movement's ideology. The Galician Poale-Zion movement was not connected to the Russian, Borochoy, Poale-Zion. The latter, more Marxist-oriented, considered the Galicians not a proletarian party and hence not true Poale-Zion. The petit-bourgeois label was the result of the Galicians' willingness to work within Zionism and the nature of their members, mostly white-collar workers. G. Duker, "Introduction," in B. Borochoy, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle* (New York, 1937), pp. 44–45.

³³ *Wschód*, no. 42 (1905).

³⁴ Jenks, *Austrian Electoral Reform*, on the deliberations of the Austrian government.

apparently influenced by the example of the Russian *Bund*, which in 1904 had already called for the recognition of Yiddish as an official language, came out with a similar declaration. They declared themselves for equal, direct suffrage and national Jewish autonomy at mass rallies in Vienna and Galicia.³⁵

When debates on the subject opened in the Austrian Reichsrat, most Jews were surprised to find that the first speaker to declare himself in favor of national Jewish autonomy in the debates was a non-Jew, the leader of the Ruthenian Club in the Reichsrat and of the Ukrainian National Democratic party, Dr. Iulian Romanchuk. In the debate only two speakers spoke out for the Jewish national movement, calling for a national Jewish *curia* and for equal rights for Jews as a nationality. In addition to Romanchuk, the only other deputy in support of this idea was the Jewish nationalist representative Benno Straucher from Chernivtsi (Bukovina).³⁶

In general, the opposition to the idea was strong in Parliament and it drew on support from Social Democrats such as Ignacy Daszyński, who did not think the party's national autonomy program could apply to Jews who were merely members of a religious group.³⁷ Objections also came from assimilated Jews and from deputies of parties needing the Jewish vote to support a precarious majority in their area, such as, for example, the Germans in the Czech lands and the Polish club in Galicia.³⁸ Characteristically, the first Jew to speak out against a national mandate and the recognition of Jewish nationality was Dr. Emil Byk, a longtime member of the Polish club and nicknamed by the Zionists the Poles' *Hausjude*. He denied the existence of a Jewish nation, stressing the absence of a common territory and language.³⁹

³⁵ *Die Welt*, no. 48 (1905), p. 14; no. 47, p. 13. The Bund and the "Russian brothers" were held up as an example in the struggle for Jewish national autonomy.

³⁶ Romanchuk's speech was printed on the front page of *Dilo*, no. 263 (1905). Straucher spoke three days later, *Dilo*, no. 266 (1905). For Zionist coverage, see *Die Welt*, no. 49 (1905), p. 8.

³⁷ *Die Welt*, no. 49 (1905), p. 9. The same attitude was held by Viktor Adler, leader of the Austrian socialists. See *Die Welt*, no. 51 (1905), p. 11. On Polish socialism and the question of Jewish nationality, see Feldman, *Stronnictwa*, Vol. II, pp. 132–144. See also Bross, "Jewish Labor Movement," particularly on the assimilationist attitudes of Herman Diamand, the Galician Social Democrat leader active among Jewish workers.

³⁸ For national attitudes in the debate, see Jenks, *Austrian Electoral Reform*.

³⁹ "Judenkurie und Judenwuerde," *Die Welt*, no. 51 (1905), pp. 3–4. *Ślowo*

What were other Jewish responses to the suggestions made by the Ruthenian deputy? Romanchuk received many telegraph messages from local Zionist groups asking for his future support of the nationality issue. The Jewish daily *Togblat* publicly expressed its thanks and sympathy. Romanchuk, in turn, made suggestions on how Jews themselves could begin to stand up for their rights. He advised that action be taken in the form of petitions to ministries, introduction of petitions in Parliament through deputies, a task he offered to undertake, and the setting up of mass meetings which would rally for the issue. As a result, the *Togblat* appealed to Jews to begin action to free themselves from the dominance of the Polish club and create a Jewish club in the Reichsrat.⁴⁰ In Vienna, some Zionists began to speak out for this issue. Nathan Birnbaum, at a talk on national autonomy, a subject to which he had contributed much in a theoretical context, thanked the Ruthenians for recognizing Jews as a people in "a modern, non-anti-Semitic way."⁴¹ In Vienna, a new Zionist organization was set up to agitate for Jewish minority rights with Dr. I. Schalil in charge. He saw a lesson about the lack of Jewish national consciousness in the fact that it had taken a non-Jew to call for national Jewish autonomy in the Reichsrat.⁴²

Despite these positive reactions among some activists, there was a general mood of caution, especially with regard to the situation in Galicia. It was understood that the Ruthenians were in effect suggesting an alliance that would benefit both themselves and the Jews. They were suggesting the adoption of tactics they had themselves used for years without much success against the Polish regime. In addition,

Polskie, the Polish National Democratic paper, published a letter by leading members of the L'viv Jewish community who expressed their objections to the nationality campaign and their Polish patriotism. In *Dilo*, no. 267 (1905), p. 3. Apparently, despite the growing anti-Semitic orientation of Polish National Democracy, assimilationist Jews were still able to cooperate with this party.

⁴⁰ *Wschód*, no. 49 (1905), p. 9; *Die Welt*, no. 50 (1905), p. 6-7; *Dilo*, nos. 259, 261, 266 (1905). (The *Togblat* was not available to me.)

⁴¹ *Die Welt*, no. 52 (1905), pp. 7-8; *Dilo*, no. 19 (January 24, February 6, 1906). See also Mathias Acher (N. Birnbaum), "Die juedisch-nationale Bewegung," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 15 (1905). For more on Birnbaum as a leading advocate of national autonomy, see S.A. Birnbaum, "Nathan Birnbaum and National Autonomy," *The Jews of Austria*, ed. J. Fraenkel, pp. 131-146.

⁴² *Die Welt*, no. 50 (1905), p. 10.

the Zionists were not too well informed about the Ruthenian organizations and relied on the Polish press for their information. Despite a fleeting alliance in 1873 between Ruthenians and Jewish German-oriented assimilationists who had attempted to get elected without Polish support, contacts between the two nationalities were not extensive. For Jews, the memory of the Cossack wars and the eighteenth-century Haidamak risings was still quite fresh.⁴³ While agitating against the Polish rule in Galicia, the Zionist press in L'viv had little sympathy for the other victims of the regime—the Ruthenians. As recently as January 1905, for example, the press in L'viv had followed a celebrated trial of a Ruthenian socialist, K. Tryl'ovs'kyi who had organized the *sich* groups in villages, as an example of the antipathy borne by Ruthenians against Jews. *Wschód*, the Polish-language Zionist paper, wrote that the amateur firefighters in the *sich* organizations pursued anti-Semitic policies. The arguments of the Ukrainians that Tryl'ovs'kyi had attended a socialist anti-Kishinev rally organized by Jewish socialists prior to his arrest and that the Jews should not rely on misleading Polish information, went unheard. As far as the Jews could see, they were living on a volcano in Galicia—the Ruthenian in the east was against *liakh i zhyd* (the Pole and the Jew) and the Mazur (Polish peasant) in the west was against *pan i Żyd* (the lord and the Jew). *Wschód* concluded that this was a situation between hammer and anvil, from which there was no escape.⁴⁴

Throughout the 1905–1907 election campaign, even after relations with Ruthenians became warmer, the Zionists were afraid of antagonizing the Poles. In their public election statements, the Zionists kept issuing avowals of friendship to the Polish people, especially its democratic elements, and of their neutrality toward both Ruthenians and Poles.⁴⁵ The Zionists realized that in the main their appeal was to

⁴³ Arguments were voiced against trusting Romanchuk, since he was a member of a people who had murdered Jews and followed Khmel'nyts'kyi. *Wschód*, no. 52 (1905), p. 9.

⁴⁴ *Wschód*, no. 4 (1905), p. 3, and the editorial against Polish anti-Semitic attacks in *Słowo Polskie*, in *Wschód*, no. 36 (1905), p. 1. For the Ukrainian version of the Tryl'ovs'kyi trial, see B. Jaworskyj, "Ein politischer Prozess," *Ruthenische Revue*, nos. 23 and 24 (1905), pp. 528–537; and K. Obuch, "Politische Prozesse gegen die Ruthenen in Galizien," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 1 (1905), pp. 7–8.

⁴⁵ As late as March 1907, the Galician Zionist executive held that the Jews must not endanger their existence by offending the holiest feelings of the Polish nation by favoring the Ruthenian cause. To prevent anti-Semitic excesses, Jewish-Polish solidarity must

Jews who had gone through the process of assimilation first before turning to Zionism. Adolf Stand, a delegate from L'viv, campaigned in Polish, the Zionist papers were published in Polish, and a major affinity for Polish culture had become part of the total background and life style of the Jewish intelligentsia.⁴⁶ As a result they could not become openly as anti-Polish as the Ruthenian nationalist movement was. However, they assailed lack of representation of Jewish interests by Jewish Sejm deputies, the continuation of discrimination against Jews in school admissions, in hiring practices in the bureaucracy, and in the Polish conservative anti-Semitic press. All these inequities were pointed out without reference to discrimination against other nationalities, notably the Ruthenians, although such arguments might have strengthened their case.⁴⁷

Under the impact of the Ukrainian actions vis-à-vis the Jews, some attitudes began to change in late 1905 and through the next year. After Romanchuk's speech in the Reichsrat, some cooperative action did emerge. Ukrainian speakers began appearing at Jewish election meetings and Jews at Ukrainian meetings. These guest speakers were praised in the Zionist press.⁴⁸ The same propaganda was at work among Ukrainians, who were holding hundreds of meetings in villages calling for universal suffrage and on occasion for Jewish national autonomy. At some of these councils Jewish speakers appeared, according to reports in *Dilo*, the Ukrainian daily. *Dilo* praised Jewish speakers profusely.⁴⁹ However, Jewish mass meetings did not call for recognition of Ruthenian rights, but for rights of all underprivileged men, whether Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish.⁵⁰

Another interesting effect of the Ukrainian stand, which illustrates well the lack of development of the Jewish movement, was the use of Ruthenians as an example of positive nationalist action in Zionist propaganda. Zionists now pointed out that the Ruthenians had hopes of having their national rights honored only because they had their deputies in the Reichsrat—the Jews should follow the example and

remain a dictum of necessity. *Die Welt*, no. 10 (1907), p. 8. See also *Wschód*, no. 37 (1906), nos. 4, 14, 23, 24, 28, 29 (1907).

⁴⁶ Mendelsohn, "From Assimilation to Zionism."

⁴⁷ *Wschód*, no. 37 (1905), pp. 1–3, 7; no. 40, p. 1; no. 42, p. 6; no. 43, p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Wschód*, no. 2 (1906); see also *Die Welt*, no. 23 (1906), pp. 12–13.

⁴⁹ *Dilo*, nos. 272–274, 276, 279, 280, 283 (1905), no. 25 (1906).

⁵⁰ *Wschód*, nos. 10, 24, 23 (1907).

gain national representation in Vienna.⁵¹ The Ruthenians appeared as models for behavior in the Galician Sejm as well. With this example in mind, the Jewish public was castigated for not formulating a policy that would treat the Jewish question as a political one.⁵² Other signs of growing sympathies appeared later, as Jewish national student organizations expressed their sympathies for the struggle of Ruthenian students for their national rights.⁵³

What were the attitudes of Ukrainians to Jews and how did Roman-chuk's speech affect Ukrainian-Jewish relations? Were the Ukrainians sincere? Like the views of the Jews, their attitudes were ambivalent. It was a testimonial to the unity and strength of the nationalist movement that they had been able to organize major agrarian strikes and cooperatives meant to by-pass Jewish middlemen without anti-Jewish excesses. In the election campaign, they were able to get numerous village councils to vote unanimously for Jewish national autonomy—another feat that testifies to discipline. The Ukrainian press actively discouraged pogroms and pointed out that outbreaks against Jews would be used by the Polish regime as an excuse to order repressions against Ukrainians. They denied any reports of anti-Jewish disorders in eastern Galicia as Polish propaganda.⁵⁴ At the same time, those publications that were intended for the villager (such as *Ekonomist*) discussed the cause of peasant bankruptcy as the unavailability of cheap credit and pointed out that loan sharks and usurers were almost predominantly Jewish.⁵⁵ The press also carried stories that featured unethical Jewish capitalists, oppressors who in their greed drove Ukrainian peasants at the Boryslav oil fields literally to death.⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Wschód*, no. 51 (1905).

⁵² *Wschód*, no. 42 (1905).

⁵³ *Die Welt*, no. 9 (1907), pp. 18–19.

⁵⁴ *Dilo*, no. 8 (January 24, 1906). Another argument advanced by the Ukrainians was that the Polish *szlachta* was not merely content to use the Jews as scapegoats for rural poverty, but actually sent out agitators to instigate anti-Jewish excesses. However, while such agitation had succeeded in western Galicia among the Polish population, in eastern Galicia the Ukrainian nationalist press exposed the plot and presumably stopped it. B. Jaworskyj, "Die Virtuosen des Macchiavellismus," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 10 (1904), pp. 223–224.

⁵⁵ *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 8 (1904), p. 190. (Press survey of the *Ekonomist*.)

⁵⁶ Stefan Pjatka, "Die Rot'sche Schlacht," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 17 (1904), pp. 501–506. The story bore similarity to Franko's *Boa Constrictor*. Both Ukrainian writers made it seem as if the Jews were primarily all exploiters and the peasants their

Nevertheless, other voices in the press insisted that the Polish *szlachta* was to blame for all these problems even if it hid behind the backs of Jews hated by it and used them as scapegoats. An article in *Ruthenische Revue* insisted that a few corrupt Jewish individuals created hatred against all Jews.⁵⁷

Ivan Franko, the leader of the Radical party, which was formed to help the lot of the peasant through populist and socialist tenets, was also the author of stories about Jews that depicted both the corrupt capitalist and the oppressed poor Jew. Despite sympathetic treatment of the poor Jew in these stories, the Ukrainian socialists identified the Jew with industry and capitalism, with a way of life which was threatening to dispossess the Ukrainian peasantry entirely. The Jew was seen as even encroaching upon what little land the peasant had left and buying more and more land.⁵⁸ These were new threats which came from the small industrial developments in Galicia, such as the oil fields where some Jews were managers and foremen, and from new laws permitting Jews to acquire land.⁵⁹ In addition, the Jew was also a traditional enemy in his capacity as the landlord's agent. In modern times, this function was sometimes reflected in politics when Jews functioned as helpers to the Polish police in preventing Ruthenian peasants from voting and in ensuring a full turnout of the Jews who were committed to vote for the Poles. Such helpers were called "election hyenas" by the Ukrainians.⁶⁰ In their attempt to improve

victims. In actuality Jewish workers in the oil wells they described comprised two-thirds of the laborers.

⁵⁷ W. Horoschowski, "Boryslaw," *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 17 (1904), pp. 495–498.

⁵⁸ I. Franko, *Boa Constrictor* (Winnipeg, 1956) and *Boryslav smiet'sia* (Winnipeg, 1956). See also P. Kudriavtsev, "Ievreistvo, ievreï ta ievreis'ka sprava v tvorax Ivan Franko," *Zbirnyk prats' ievreis'koi istorychno-arkheohrafichnoi komisii*, Vol. II (Kiev, 1929), pp. 1–81; I.L. Rudnytsky, "Mykhailo Drahomanov and the Problem of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XI, 2 (Ottawa, 1969), pp. 182–198.

⁵⁹ There were 562 Jewish landowners in 1900, who owned 10.3 percent of Galician land. W. Najdus, *Szkice*, Vol. I, p. 94, fn. 1. Recent increases in Jewish landownership were used by Polish National Democracy as a propaganda device to turn peasant resentment from landlord to Jews. Najdus, p. 103, fn. 3.

⁶⁰ Kupczanko, *Die Schicksale*, pp. 40–43, 148–148 claims that in addition to getting the peasants drunk so that they were unable to vote, Jewish agents beat up those who dared speak out against the system. He views these activities as an extension of the historic oppression of the Ruthenians by the Poles and Jews, when, as the agents of the

the peasants' lot, the Ukrainian Radicals and National Democrats undertook an extensive campaign against alcoholism in the countryside, and the Jews became obvious targets as inn-keepers.⁶¹

In the period under discussion, the Radicals and National Democrats merged, after the Radicals lost the more leftist wing. This united national front retained the same issues and concerns about the peasants' lot and threw its energies in the struggle against the Poles on the political arena. The prospects of an electoral alliance against the Poles had toned down anti-Jewish propaganda in the Ukrainian press. The action taken in support of Jewish national autonomy was clearly motivated and justified to the masses by self-interest. But one had to point out that in the light of the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the times, such as that heard from Polish parties, the Christian Socialists and National Democrats, the statement by Wilhelm Feldman that "the Ruthenians like all National Democrats are anti-Semitic," cannot hold.⁶² Rather the Ukrainians were still in the camp of romantic nationalism which, unlike the later varieties of racist nationalism, still believed in nationhood as a cure-all for many ills. In that sense they believed more strongly in Zionism than the Jews and saw the Jewish problem and its solution through the national idea. They thought of the Jews as more unified and nationally conscious than Jews really were, and they were committed to believe that by the very logic of the Galician national situation.⁶³ That is why the Ukrainian press discussed the Galician problems continuously in terms of statistics and never tired of pointing out that without the Jews, Ukrainians and Poles were equal in numbers. Self-interest again, but they believed that if all acted in self-interest, no nation would oppress another. The

landlord, the Jews controlled access to the churches and church bells, and collected a tax on these as well as even the baking of Easter cakes.

⁶¹ J. Romanchuk, "Tovarystvo 'Prosvita' v pershykh chasakh svoho rozvytku," *Narodnii iliustr. kalendar tov. 'Prosvita'* (L'viv, 1927), pp. 31–44; M. Tvorydlo, "Ekonmichna diial'nist' 'Prosvity'," *Iuvyleinyi kalendar tov. 'Prosvita'* (L'viv, 1928), pp. 106–130. According to K. Levyckyj, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, Vol. I, p. 136, the anti-alcoholism campaign as an anti-Jewish campaign was a significant factor in strengthening Polish-Jewish ties.

⁶² Feldman, *Stronnictwa*, Vol. II, p. 354.

⁶³ The Ukrainians insisted that only the Zionists could pull the Jewish masses out of ignorance and Polish domination, and that only the Zionists could be representatives of Jewry. Jews who considered themselves "Polish patriots" were no longer representing the Jews. *Dilo*, no. 269 (1905).

Ukrainians also frequently discussed discrimination against Jews in schools and other institutions and always insisted that they were not Poles but were another nationality that was being "polonized" against its will.⁶⁴ After the election reform was decided upon, the Ukrainian press gave broader coverage to Romanchuk's speech than the Jewish press did and it explained to its readership the basic tenets of the Zionist movement and why it was important to Ruthenians.⁶⁵ From press coverage one might conclude that the Ukrainian reader was better acquainted with the Jewish problem than the Jewish reader with the Ruthenian one.

The Ukrainian press was very eager to get things under way in the election campaign and *Dilo* even campaigned against assimilationists in the Jewish community and worried about the slow speed with which the Jews were organizing.⁶⁶ Indeed, they were right to be concerned about the new allies, for the Zionists did not organize a real campaign even after coming out for national autonomy and *Gegenwartsarbeit*. While the Ukrainians were holding huge well-organized meetings even before the Gautsch administration began discussing electoral reforms, the Zionists did not organize until the last few months before the elections of 1907.

Characteristically, the political struggle in Galicia that developed did not unite minority forces against the established majority rule, but rather divided the Jewish community internally. Already in early spring of 1906, the assimilationists led by Dr. Byk had organized opposition to the proposed national mandate. They called a conference of representatives of the Jewish community, consisting of current Jewish Reichsrat and Sejm representatives as well as delegates of the *kahals* from the larger Jewish communities in Galicia.

The conference, purporting to speak in the name of the Jewish people, declared itself against national autonomy and in favor of Jewish election districts. Apparently the Jewish "establishment" had utilized public agitation for national autonomy to exact more Jewish Reichsrat seats from the Polish club in return for collaboration. The Zionists interpreted the open advocacy of Jewish interests by

⁶⁴ "Etyka pol'skoï demokratsii," *Dilo*, no. 288 (1905); "Vyborcha reforma a zhydy," *Dilo*, no. 262 (1905); "Zhydivs'ka kuryia," *Dilo*, no. 285 (1905); *Ruthenische Revue*, no. 13 (1903), p. 319; no. 12 (1903), p. 296; no. 21 (1904), p. 589.

⁶⁵ "Zionism," *Dilo*, no. 172 (1905).

⁶⁶ *Dilo*, no. 266 (1905).

assimilationists as a great sign of success. Nevertheless, they did not fail to point out that the new advocates of the Jewish vote were pledged to sit in the Polish club and defend non-Jewish interests.⁶⁷

As the struggle within the Jewish community intensified, the Zionists began to publish articles in which they identified Dr. Emil Byk and his followers as respectively, *Moszko* and *Mojżeszowci*, referring to their self-identification as "Poles of the Mosaic confession."⁶⁸ The press condemned the leaders of the Galician community for their role in causing the poverty of the masses of Jews, for acquiescing in the restrictions placed on Jews by the Polish administration, and for their undemocratic rule of the *kahals*. Scores of telegrams were sent by Zionist organizations protesting Byk's speech in the Reichsrat opposing a national Jewish mandate. He, in turn, denounced these protests as "illegal inner political activities" and urged the Polish authorities to go after the Zionist clubs. The police closed many Zionist organizations in Galicia, especially the very active Poale-Zion, confiscated their records and political literature, and prohibited the use of Yiddish and Hebrew in Stanyslaviv and Zolochiv.⁶⁹

Soon the Poale-Zion clubs reopened under new names. A protest was lodged against the police actions in the Vienna Reichsrat, objecting to violations of the language provisions of Article 19 of the Austrian constitution. The protest was supported by sixteen signatories, members of the Parliament, of which only one was a Jew (Straucher). The other supporters were members of the "Young Czech" and Ruthenian parliamentary clubs, who also were very active in support of the national autonomy question.⁷⁰

In addition to the assimilationist wing, which did not hesitate to call on the Polish police in struggling against ideological opponents, the proponents of a national Jewish vote faced internal opposition from Zionists who did not wish to get involved in Austrian politics. Voices were raised within the Zionist camp to say that local politics would

⁶⁷ *Die Welt*, no. 52 (1905), pp. 5–7.

⁶⁸ J. Uprimny, "Mauschel am Kriegspfade," *Die Welt*, no. 52 (1905); also *Die Welt*, no. 8 (1906), and *Wschód*, no. 14 (1907), pp. 1–2.

⁶⁹ *Die Welt*, no. 8 (1906), p. 10; *Wschód*, nos. 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12 (1906).

⁷⁰ For a list of parliamentary deputies who were signatories to the protest, see *Die Welt*, no. 8 (1906), p. 10. The Poale-Zion emerged stronger as a result of the confrontation and its paper, *Der yudishe arbeter* became a weekly instead of a bimonthly. *Die Welt*, no. 40 (1906), pp. 8–9.

compromise Zionism as a world movement. As a result the Zionist leadership decided not to involve itself directly, but to form the Jewish National party which would run national candidates. This decision was made only in July 1906. Even then some Zionists continued to argue that the campaign was anti-Zionist in character and opposed to the fundamental principle of Zionism, namely the solution of the Jewish problem in Palestine. Instead this was an attempt to solve the issue in the Diaspora on the basis of equal and direct suffrage. There were grave doubts voiced about the feasibility of struggling politically as a small and weak minority rather than allying with the powerful. There were also fears of Polish reprisals and of being caught between two harsh masters, the Poles and the Ukrainians.⁷¹ The Polish press had already attempted to fight the new spirit of Jewish independence by capitalizing on these fears. They had tried to spread rumors of impending pogroms by Ukrainian peasants against Jews but the Zionists had not believed them.⁷²

In the Zionist camp, the Poale-Zion were most actively committed to work for a national Jewish vote in the upcoming elections. Their paper, *Der yudische arbeter*, attacked Social Democracy for "polonizing" tactics. Why assume that (Kolomyia) Jews are "Poles"—why not "Ruthenians?" The moral was, according to the article, that they were neither, but Jews. At the same time the Poale-Zion group was more aware than other factions of the need for outside support to

⁷¹ See the discussions for and against local political activity at a conference commemorating the 25th anniversary of Austrian Zionism in Cracow. The Galician and Bukovina leaders (Thon, Straucher) were for involvement in local politics, but the Vienna delegate (Margulies) against it. The Jewish National party was founded July 2nd, with headquarters in Vienna. *Die Welt*, no. 28 (1906), pp. 8–10. A campaign office was opened in L'viv in February 1907 for all of Galicia, but the first election committee meeting of the party only took place at the end of March 1907. *Die Welt*, no. 7 (1907), p. 7 and no. 12 (1907), pp. 18–19. As late as April 12, 1908, *Die Welt* published a letter by Leopold Kahn, objecting to present Zionist involvements in Austrian politics and in Galicia. *Die Welt*, no. 15 (1907), p. 15 indicates that the debate was still alive.

⁷² *Dilo*, nos. 5, 8, 20 (1906). As it turned out, Jewish fears of Polish reprisals were not unjustified. During the elections in May 1907, Jewish stores and workshops were "inspected" by the police in Kolomyia on the eve of the voting. The proprietors were threatened with permit problems unless they voted the right way. There were also threats of repeating the Kishinev pogroms in Galicia. *Wschód*, no. 26 (1907). See also below, note 90.

make this election a success. The Poale-Zion declared that they did not wish to be used to oppress other weak nations such as Ruthenians and desired neither to be enslaved by masters nor to tyrannize those less fortunate.⁷³

The Poale-Zion also faced opposition on the national issue from the Jewish Socialist party (Z.P.S.) a Jewish socialist splinter group. Speakers from the Polish Socialist party (P.P.S.) and the Z.P.S. debated with the nationalists and attempted to disrupt their public meetings during the campaign.⁷⁴

In October 1906 the agitation for reform took another direction as the Austrian government decided not to grant any of the national reforms advocated for Jews. The decision was made in part because of the lack of support for the idea of Jews as a nationality among German-speaking Jews and because the Jews formed one of the pillars of centralism and monarchical support in an empire which was disintegrating under the impact of national interests. The government had, however, adopted a new election law that essentially promised universal manhood suffrage for the first time in Austria.⁷⁵

The provisions of the new election law, potentially democratic, were undermined from the beginning by the politicking of the Polish faction in the Reichsrat, where it was able to capitalize greatly on its position as a stalwart supporter of the monarchy. Unlike other Austrian provinces, Galicia was given a modified electoral reform that included an appended "proportional representation" clause. The clause provided that minorities in rural areas (where they were mostly Polish) but not those in the cities (where the minority population was Ruthenian) would get representation by means of a fixed percentage of the votes (25 percent), regardless of their actual numerical strength. Since eastern Galicia did contain a significant Polish minority population living among the Ruthenian majority, this

⁷³ *Die Welt*, no. 28 (1905), p. 10; no 11 (1907), p. 13.

⁷⁴ *Wschód*, no. 3 (1906); Zionists debated P.P.S. speakers, while Poale-Zion debated Z.P.S. in public, *Wschód*, no. 5 (1906). P.P.S. objected to Jewish "separatism" during the campaign, *Wschód*, no. 2 (1906). As a result of this the Ukrainians attacked the Social Democrats as polonizers and hidden national chauvinists. See M. Lozynskyj, "Die juedische Frage in Galizien und die oesterreichische Sozialdemokratie," *Ukrainische Rundschau*, no. 6 (1906), pp. 208–214.

⁷⁵ Jenks, *Austrian Electoral Reform*.

clause was obviously handtailored to preserve the Polish hegemony in the province.⁷⁶

As a result of these restrictions after the reform, the Ruthenian parties did not expect more than 27 mandates (they had previously had a potential of 22, but only 10 actual mandates), while the Poles could expect 61 (previously 56), depending on how the Jewish vote went. With 16 districts in the west and 19 in the east, a political observer estimated that it now took 73,000 votes to elect a deputy in the west, but still 113,000 votes to do the same in eastern Galicia.⁷⁷ As a result the Ruthenians once more could not expect to overcome the Polish dominance of Galician politics, but they were interested in diminishing that influence as much as possible. According to the Ukrainian side, an agreement was reached between the Zionists and the Ukrainians, specifying voting tactics intended to cut into the Polish vote. The two groups agreed to urge their constituencies to vote in the following manner:

1. In districts where populations were ethnically mixed, the Ruthenians were to vote for the Jewish nationalist candidate in final run-offs (the elections were two-tiered) between a Polish and a Zionist candidate.

2. In predominantly Ruthenian districts the Jewish nationalist candidates were entered to attract Jewish votes away from the Polish opposition so that in the second voting the same voters could support the Ruthenian candidate who, with their help, had entered the second round.

The agreement was broadly reported in the Ukrainian press and especially in *Dilo*.⁷⁸ There was, however, little mention of the agreement in the Jewish publications advocating a national vote, which printed disavowals of any agreement. After the elections were over,

⁷⁶ The Ukrainians asked for "proportional" minority representation also, arguing that the Jews in small towns were Ukrainian speaking and that there were significant Ukrainian minorities in East Galician cities. *Dilo*, no. 2 (1906). See also Jenks, *Austrian Electoral Reform*, pp. 118–119.

⁷⁷ B. Jaworskyj, "Die Wahlreform in Galizien," *Ukrainische Rundschau*, no. 2 (1906), pp. 42–43. Cf. Jenks, p. 118, who cites the Ruthene deputy Wassilko (Vasyl'ko) who gave the number as 65,000 Polish to 114,000 Ruthenian votes per deputy.

⁷⁸ Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, Vol. I, p. 430. E. Dubanowicz, *Stanowisko ludności żydowskiej w Galicyi, wobec wyborów do parlamentu wiedeńskiego w r. 1907* (L'viv, 1907), p. 17.

the Zionists again addressed themselves to the subject and insisted there had been no alliance with the Ruthenians, calling it instead a series of local compacts. Evidently they felt that such an election agreement, though understandable for its expediency, would compromise support for them by the majority of the Jewish voters.⁷⁹

The Zionists saw the election campaign largely as an educational measure, and hoped that it would involve broad masses of Jews whose political views remained unknown.⁸⁰ As the campaign progressed there were positive indications that the issues were reaching wide strata of the Jewish masses. Daily meetings were held at many locations in small and large towns all over Galicia, attended by crowds from 400 to 2,000 people.⁸¹ Toward the end of April 1907 (the elections were to take place in May) requests for more candidates were sent to the Zionist weekly *Wschód*. As a result of local demands, five more candidates were entered in the last weeks.⁸² An important indication of the growing support for the nationalist position was that Zionist candidates were asked by some communities to speak in synagogues. Thus in Buchach they were asked to speak in the synagogue of the most Orthodox and conservative-minded Jews who attended a large rally in support of the election of a Jewish mandate.⁸³

When on May 20th the first elections took place, the Zionists had entered 20 candidates, but in the predominantly Jewish districts they were opposed by Social Democrats (some of them Jewish), and by Jewish assimilationists pledged to the Polish club. While one mandate was won by the Zionists at the first ballot, the remaining had to be elected with the help of Social Democrat and Ukrainian votes. All underdog parties in Galicia—Zionists, Social Democrats, and Ruthenians—had made an agreement shortly before the elections to form a voting block and to support the strongest candidates of the block against the Polish club candidate. Thus Adolf Stand was elected as a

⁷⁹ *Wschód*, no. 38 (1907). See also above, note 45. In keeping with their policy of neutrality, the Zionists also fended off rumors that they had joined the Polish club, after being offered 4–5 mandates. *Die Welt*, no. 1 (1907), p. 19; no. 4 (1907), p. 20.

⁸⁰ *Die Welt*, no. 4 (1907), p. 5.

⁸¹ *Die Welt*, no. 2 (1906), p. 11; no. 23 (1906), pp. 12–13; *Wschód*, nos. 22, 23, 24 (1907). An exception was a rally in Drohobych, attended by 5,000 people, at which both Ukrainian and Jewish speakers appeared. *Wschód*, no. 29 (1907).

⁸² *Wschód*, nos. 24, 26, 27 (1907).

⁸³ *Wschód*, no. 22 (1907).

Zionist candidate from Ternopil' with the aid of socialists, while in the third district in L'viv the Social Democrat Diamand was elected due to the Zionist vote, thereby defeating Horowitz, the president of the Chamber of Commerce and a candidate of the Polish club.⁸⁴

The Ukrainians followed the pleas of the leaders and cast their votes for Jews where their candidates had no hope of winning. Thus they voted for Braude (Stanyslaviv), Mahler (Terebovlia), Birnbaum (Buchach) and Gabel (Buchach—rural). Yet the nationalist candidates, Markus Braude and Nathan Birnbaum, lost, because of open election violations. Birnbaum told of Ruthenians being evicted from the polls because they wished to vote for him, and 156 voters were disqualified because they had voted for Marcus Braude—not Markus Braude, as he spelled his name.⁸⁵

The final tally showed that minority politics was viable and even, by the moderate standards of the Zionists of the time, successful. Enough deputies were elected by the Jewish National party to permit them, for the first time, to form a Jewish Club in the Vienna Reichsrat which consisted of three deputies from Galicia and one from Bukovina. However, in addition to the three Zionists, Jewish representatives elected included: two Social Democrats (Lieberman and Diamand, from Przemyśl' and L'viv respectively), a Jewish member of the Polish National Democrat party (Gold from Zolochiv), two Jews pledged to the Polish club (Lowenstein from Drohobych and Kolischer from Kolomyia) and one Jewish Democrat (Gross from Cracow).⁸⁶ The Zionists were very pleased with the results of this election, because for the first time large masses of Jews had participated and had given a significant share of their votes to the Zionist candidates. These masses had not been active in the Zionist movement and their sympathies were only now being discerned. In Galicia the Jewish mass vote became a political reality; a total of 62,609 votes had been cast for Jews—24,274 for Zionists, 1869 for independents, 17,581 for Socialists and 18,885 for the Polish Jewish Organization (*Polska Organizacja Żydowska*). Voter participation had risen from 33 percent in the 1897 elections to 85 percent in 1907.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Die Welt*, no. 21 (1907), pp. 5, 19; *Wschód*, no. 32 (1907).

⁸⁵ *Die Welt*, no. 21 (1907), p. 5; no. 23 (1907), p. 36.

⁸⁶ *Die Welt*, no. 22 (1907), p. 9.

⁸⁷ E. Dubanowicz, *Stanowisko*, p. 35. The Jewish National party received 32,362 votes on first ballot. *Die Welt*, no. 23 (1907), p. 36. According to Jenks, *Austrian*

These elections were to some extent a capsule preview of interwar Polish politics, of the positive as well as negative benefits of minority alliances. Mutual distrust and antipathy among the masses led to almost immediate recriminations on both sides after the election. The Ukrainian parties were able to elect 20 deputies from Galicia (5 more were pledged to the Old Ruthenian faction), but they could not expect to solve the nationality problem with their small faction in the Reichsrat.⁸⁸ Although the Jews had voted for Ukrainian candidates, as urged by the Zionist leadership, their vote was not large enough to affect the Ruthenian vote positively and to increase the number of mandates. In areas of small Jewish settlement, where there were no Jewish candidates, the Jewish voters refrained from voting altogether. In one district modern politics and age-old barriers clashed head on: the Ruthenian candidate was a priest, as many of the intellectual and political Ukrainian leaders in Galicia tended to be. The Jews, despite encouragements from the Zionists, refused to vote for a priest, and later the Zionists complained about Ruthenian insensitivity to Jewish feelings in running such a candidate in a mixed district. The problem, of course, stemmed from the nature of the educated Ruthenian class, which was largely clerical, and the weakness of a Ruthenian middle class which might have furnished appropriate political cadres. It was due to these factors rather than to deliberate choice that such candidates were run in the elections. On the Ruthenian side, voters were wooed away by Polish socialists who were able to reach the peasant across national barriers with a mutual antipathy to the Jews.⁸⁹ Characteristically, when some anti-Jewish violence broke out at the elections, fostered by the infuriated Polish establishment, the

Electoral Reform, p. 198 the election has to be viewed as only a modest Zionist achievement. The most successful Polish candidates were elected in urban areas, because of Jewish votes (7 deputies). In a dozen urban districts, Jews were in the majority, but voted for Polish nationalists in preference to Jewish nationalists.

⁸⁸ E. Dubanowicz, *Stanowisko*, p. 35.

⁸⁹ A. Roth, "Prasa krajowa o Żydach na tle wyborów," *Wschód*, no. 38 (1907), pp. 5–6. In this article, written in response to *Dilo* accusations that the Ternopil' Jews did not vote for Ukrainian candidates, the Zionists replied that several Ukrainian candidates had been elected with the help of Jewish votes, particularly Romanchuk, Levyts'kyi, and Starukh. They complained from their side of the ignorance of the Ruthenian "serf" who preferred to vote for Polish socialists rather than for Jews. See also, on this issue, *Wschód*, nos. 26, 33 (1907).

Ruthenians who came to the assistance of their allies were all academics and city intelligentsia.⁹⁰ The gulf between the national Ruthenian political leadership and the masses was nowhere more apparent than in the Jewish question.

The elections of 1907 brought into sharp focus many elements of national politics which have usually been associated with developments after World War I in Poland. The reform, intended to alleviate national strife, actually intensified it. It marked the ascendancy of mass parties with strong nationalist platforms, the replenishment of the eroding Polish Conservatives with the Polish National Democratic party, and the rise of a strong socialist Jewish vote. The establishment of universal male suffrage and of democratic political forms brought about the sharpening of conflicts and frustrations despite large gains made on the political arena by national minorities. At the same time, the new political forms and the ideology of the national autonomy movement provided solutions to national frustrations which were partially implemented in electoral alliances and in the establishment of national Jewish autonomy in the Ukrainian Republic after the Russian Revolution. For the Jews this was the beginning of Zionist electoral politics and of a Jewish bloc vote which would become a force in negotiations. Both the Jews and the Ukrainians had become a much more significant political force after these elections, but despite the need for a minority bloc, the alliance was too fragile to succeed.

⁹⁰ According to Zionist reports, in Monastyr'sk, the Polish authorities offered the peasants food and drink as a reward for beating up Jews. Despite this, masses of Jews and Ukrainians voted for the Jewish nationalist candidate, Gabel. After the election, bands of drunken peasants beat up some Jews. When military protection was requested, it arrived very late. However, a group of 50 Jewish and Ukrainian academics went to Monastyr'sk to organize self-defense for the Jews. *Wschód*, no. 33 (1907).

⁹¹ B. Jaworskyj, "Die Wahlreform in Galizien," *Ukrainische Rundschau*, no. 2 (1906), p. 44.

⁹² The Ruthenian-Jewish alliance was extremely short-lived. Adolf Stand, one of the leaders of the Galician Zionists, announced the policy for the Jewish club after the elections as one of neutrality toward Ruthenians and Poles. *Die Welt*, no. 25 (1907), p. 18. The Jewish club itself proved very temporary, disappearing in the next election as national politics failed to maintain electoral successes.

*Voluntary Artisan Associations and the Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia (The 1870s)**

John-Paul Himka

FOR THE UKRAINIANS of Galicia, the decisive stage of national development that transforms a people from an ethnically differentiated folk into a conscious nation occurred in the latter nineteenth century, roughly from the 1860s until the turn of the century. In this period, the Ukrainian national movement grew from the affair of a small group of intellectuals into an institutionalized mass movement, with its own periodicals and organizations and with large-scale peasant participation. Although this period of institutional development was crucial in the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation, little attention has been paid to it in Ukrainian historical literature.¹ The present study intends to help overcome this deficiency by examining a single species of institution, the voluntary artisan association, and its role in the Ukrainian national movement in the 1870s.

Artisan participation in a national movement's institutional development is a problem of some consequence. A Czech scholar, Miroslav Hroch, has studied the process of institutional development in a variety of national movements. Using subscription and membership lists of national periodicals and organizations, Hroch analyzed and compared the social composition of national movements among

* I am grateful to the International Research and Exchange Board and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for financing the research on which this study is based.

¹ A notable exception is the outstanding, but largely forgotten, history of reading clubs written by Mykhailo Pavlyk in the mid-1880s. M. Pavlyk, "Pro rus'ko-ukraïns'ki narodni chytal'ni," in his *Tvory* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 416–549.

many of the small nations of Europe. On the basis of this wide-ranging comparison, he concluded that the participation of merchants and artisans in national institutions appears to determine the over-all viability of a national movement. He pointed out that merchants and artisans were notably absent in the national institutions of peoples who never quite crossed the threshold into nationhood (Bretons, Sorbs, and Kashubians) or took a long time to do so (Belorussians and the Welsh). Hroch calls merchants and craftsmen "the most important bearers of the nationalism of a fully developed nation . . . and a potential source for its ruling class."²

To what degree artisan and merchant participation determines the long-range viability of a national movement is a question that goes beyond the limits of this particular study. However, this study does suggest that the presence or absence of an urban constituency, of which, in preindustrial society, artisans would be a major component, could affect the strength, pace of development, and ideology of a particular national movement.

The article has three parts. The first provides a general background for the rest of the study. The second focuses on one artisan association, in L'viv, and attempts to make explicit some unstated assumptions about why it emerged and why it collapsed. The third compares the development of the association in L'viv with that of its counterparts in small towns; the comparison yields some inferences about the difference between a national movement recruiting its mass constituency in the city and one recruiting its constituency in the countryside.

Defining an artisan can be troublesome because one can approach the definition from so many angles. In the descriptive approach one could list all professions included in the term: furriers and farriers, cobblers and coopers, braziers, glaziers and the like. Or one could define the artisan according to his method of production, referring to the absence of both machinery and division of labor. Then again, one might define the artisan in terms of the size of his workshop, establishing ten workers, for instance, as the upper limit which, when

² Miroslav Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen* (Prague, 1968), p. 125.

exceeded, marks the transition from artisanal production to manufacture. Then again, one might say that the distinguishing characteristic of the artisan is production on order, in contrast to production for an impersonal market. Although all these definitions are useful, for our specific purposes an artisan can best be defined as the practitioner of a trade regulated or formerly regulated by a guild.

Guilds existed in Galicia until 1860, when they were abolished throughout the Habsburg realm.³ Perhaps the abolition of guilds had lesser repercussions in industrialized Bohemia and Vienna than it did in the industrially undeveloped crownland of Galicia. For in Galicia, the artisan's workshop, not the factory, dominated local industry. This is borne out by the Austrian census of 1869, which recorded only 1.7 workers for every "industrial" employer in Galicia.⁴ Although artisans monopolized Galician production, they by no means monopolized the Galician market, which from 1860 on became increasingly dominated by Viennese and Bohemian factory imports.⁵ The abolition of the guilds had left artisanal production, and therefore Galician "industry" as a whole, completely disorganized in the face of factory competition. The need for organization was sorely felt, not only by the artisans themselves, but also by patriotic intellectuals worried about the rapid degeneration of native industry.⁶

³ "Kaiserliches Patent vom 20. December 1859 . . . Gewerbe-Ordnung," *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaisertum Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1859), pp. 619–644.

⁴ All statistics from the 1869 census are taken from *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Galizien nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869* (Vienna, 1871). Statistics concerning occupation were also published in *Bevölkerung und Viehstand der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder . . . Nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869*, pt. 2: *Bevölkerung nach dem Berufe und der Beschäftigung* (Vienna, 1871). The Galician statistics for 1869 are also reproduced, with commentary, in Władysław Rapacki, *Ludność Galicji* (L'viv, 1874).

⁵ The completion of the Cracow–L'viv railway, which followed the liquidation of the guilds by one year, was probably more responsible for flooding the Galician market with foreign goods than was the abolition of the guilds. Many artisans, however, perceived the influx of factory wares to be a direct result of the guilds' dissolution. Thus the craftsmen of Rzeszów presented to the Galician Diet a petition which called for the restoration of the guilds in order to protect local industry. The whole problem of the Austrian reforms of the 1860s and their effect on the Galician artisans deserves a separate study.

⁶ *O potrzebie stowarzyszeń przemysłowych czyli rzemieślniczych* (L'viv, 1864). Alfred Szczepański, *Cechy i stowarzyszenia* (Cracow, 1867). Tadeusz Romanowicz, *O stowa-*

In place of guilds, in which artisans' membership had been compulsory, voluntary associations for artisans now appeared in Galicia. Such voluntary artisan associations proliferated especially after the emperor promulgated a liberal law on associations and a democratic constitution in 1867. In the 1860s and early 1870s, some fifteen voluntary artisan associations were active in L'viv alone, while most smaller towns, from Cracow to Hlyniany, boasted at least one voluntary association for artisans. The new associations differed from the guilds not only in that membership was voluntary, but in that they tended to unite artisans of all trades. There were, to be sure, some associations formed for specific trades, but most of the new associations organized artisans around some other common denominator, such as level of advancement (master or journeyman), sex, religion, or nationality.⁷

Most of the artisan associations had a Polish character, but a few were Jewish and six were Ukrainian. The first specifically Ukrainian artisan association was Pobratym (Blood Brother), founded in L'viv in 1872. Pobratym was the model for the other Ukrainian artisan associations that emerged in Galicia in the 1870s: Pomich (Aid), established in Pidhaitsi in 1873; Nadiia (Hope)—Zbarazh, 1874; Poruka (Surety)—Pomoriany, 1875; Tovarystvo mishchans'ke (Society of Burghers)—Skalat, 1875; and Ruskii tsvit (Ruthenian Bloom)—Hlyniany, 1875.⁸ The Ukrainian artisan associations did not last long, a problem to which we shall return. Pobratym dissolved voluntarily in 1875, and by 1878 none of the other Ukrainian artisan associations were in existence.⁹

rzyszeniach (L'viv, 1867). Tadeusz Skalkowski, *Warsztaty i fabryki a postęp przemysłowy* (L'viv, 1869). A.D., "Dopysy: zi L'vova," *Osnova*, nos. 30 and 38 (L'viv, 1872).

⁷ On Polish artisan associations in Galicia, see Emil Haecker, "Początki ruchu robotniczego w Galicji," *Niepodległość*, VII (Warsaw, January–June 1933), pp. 14–28, and Walentyna Najdus, "Klasowe związki zawodowe w Galicji," *Przegląd Historyczny*, LI, 1 (Warsaw, 1960), pp. 123–131.

⁸ Pavlyk, "Pro rus'ko-ukraïns'ki narodni chytal'ni," p. 516. The association in Hlyniany was mentioned as currently in the process of formation by [Volodymyr Navrots'kyi], "Pis'mo iz Galitsii," *Kievskii telegraf*, no. 29 (Kiev, March 7, 1875), p. 1.

⁹ There was, however, a revival of artisan associations in the mid-1880s. Zoria (Star) was founded in L'viv in 1884, Pomich was restored in Pidhaitsi in 1884, and a branch of Zoria was established in Stryi in 1888. Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukraïntsiiv 1848–1914*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1926–1927), vol. 1, 223–225. Stepan Shakh, *L'viv — misto moiei molodosti*, pts. 1–2 (Munich, 1955), p. 181. *Bar'kiv-*

The Ukrainian associations had goals and statutes similar to those of other voluntary artisan associations in Galicia. The statutes of Pobratym, which were typical, declared its purpose to be "the education and material assistance of its members." The statutes outlined four ways Pobratym served this purpose: (1) by establishing a library for members' use, (2) by arranging lectures and evening entertainment, (3) by finding employment for unemployed members, and (4) by providing loans and subsidies for members.¹⁰ Thus, the artisan association tried to meet the real needs of its members. Loans were important for acquiring raw materials and for establishing independent workshops, and the artisan association would provide cheaper credit than the local usurer. As an employment bureau, the association could provide a valuable service, especially now that the guilds had been dissolved. Then, too, the association's premises functioned as a club house for artisans, where they could gather, as in Pobratym, to read popular newspapers or to play billiards.¹¹

To make loans, to rent premises, to subscribe to newspapers, to set up a billiard table—all this cost more money than the artisans had. The Galician artisan of the 1860s and 1870s was impoverished and the dues he could contribute to an association were pittance.¹² The budget of Pobratym for 1872 demonstrates just how little the dues of artisan members contributed to the financial growth of the association.

shchyna, no. 13 (L'viv, 1884), p. 78, and no. 22, p. 129; no. 8 (1886), p. 45. *Praca*, no. 3 (L'viv, 1885), p. 12; no. 2 (1888), p. 8. Iwan Franko, "Echa rusińskie," *Kraj*, no. 15 (St. Petersburg, April 8 (20), 1888), p. 7.

¹⁰ *Ustav remisnychoho tovarystva Pobratym* (L'viv, 1872). The Governor's Office confirmed Pobratym's statutes on July 22, 1872.

The statutes of Pomich in Pidhaitsi copy those of Pobratym almost word for word: "O remesl'nychom tovarystvi 'Pomich' v Podhaitsiakh," *Russkaia rada*, no. 17 (L'viv, September 1 (13), 1873), pp. 133–135. As will be shown below, Pomich's statutes later underwent a telling evolution.

Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, Vol. I, pp. 222–223, quotes from a revised version of Pobratym's statutes (unavailable to me) printed in 1874 in both Polish and Ukrainian.

¹¹ Pobratym's billiard table is mentioned in *Pravda*, no. 1 (L'viv, 1874), pp. 47–48.

¹² For sample budgets of Galician artisans, see Andrii Kos [N.S.], "Zhyt'e, dokhody i bazhan'a komarn'ans'kykh tkachiv," *Dzvin* (L'viv, 1878), pp. 269–271, and I[osyp] D[anyliuk], "Zaribky i bazhan'a l'vivs'koho zestera," *Molot* (L'viv, 1878), p. 145. See also Stanisław Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w latach 1701–1914* (L'viv, 1934), pp. 144–145.

Out of Pobratym's total cash income in 1872 (482 gulden, 83 kreuzers), the artisans' entrance fees and dues amounted to only a little over 3 percent (15 g., 60 kr.).¹³ Not the artisan, but someone else was paying for the voluntary artisan association.

Donations from non-artisans constituted the major source of revenue for the voluntary artisan association. In fact, almost all the associations, Pobratym among them, established a special category of membership for non-artisan donors. These honorary members, in contrast to the artisan members, could not borrow from the association's treasury. They could, however, hold office in the association, and in actual practice non-artisan honorary members dominated the presidency of most Galician artisan associations, including Pobratym. Honorary members, then, as the financial backers and chief officers of the artisan associations, were in an excellent position to influence the artisans of Galicia.

What did these honorary members have to gain by their participation? The best way to answer that question is to look briefly at the role artisans played in the Polish national movement in Galicia. Throughout the 1860s, but particularly in 1868 and 1869, artisans had figured prominently in demonstrations in L'viv, Galicia's capital. These demonstrations aimed at stiffening the Diet's resistance to Austrian centralism and at winning for the Poles a measure of sovereignty in an autonomous Galicia. Although the overwhelming majority of artisans could not even vote (they did not have the requisite property to qualify for the franchise), they became politically important because of their ability to exert pressure through demonstrations in the capital city. In fact, through such means the artisans of L'viv had much to do with the eventual establishment of Galicia as a factually autonomous crownland dominated by the Polish nobility.¹⁴

The voluntary artisan association facilitated the artisan's participation in politics. About one thousand of L'viv's artisans belonged to the Polish artisan association *Gwiazda* (Star). Non-artisan Polish autonomists had founded *Gwiazda* in 1868; they subsidized the association's treasury and controlled its administration. *Gwiazda*'s statutes, like those of other artisan associations, stressed entertainment, education and mutual aid; the statutes made no mention of any

¹³ *Pravda*, no. 2 (1873), p. 96.

¹⁴ Kazimierz Wyka, *Teka Stańczyka na tle historii Galicji w latach 1849–1869* (Wrocław, 1951).

political goal. Nonetheless, Gwiazda's political aim was clearly understood: whenever the Polish autonomists so required, one thousand artisans would march in the streets of L'viv.¹⁵ Members of Gwiazda were in the forefront of the demonstrations of 1868 and 1869.

This, then, is at least one reason why non-artisan patriots might readily finance voluntary artisan associations: the artisan associations could be politically effective instruments of the national movement, especially as components of the urban crowd.

In considering the emergence of Pobratym in 1872 and its collapse only three years later, it might be useful to keep in mind Ostap Terlets'kyi's criticism of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. Writing in 1874, Terlets'kyi took to task the leaders of the national movement for too strong an addiction to poetry. He said that their poetic fancy constantly tempted them to try solving all problems with a single bold stroke. The single bold stroke would inevitably fail, and the disenchanted national leaders would retreat from the need for painstaking, prosaic work by withdrawing into apathy and inactivity.¹⁶

The establishment of Pobratym in L'viv in 1872 may have been conceived as precisely such a bold stroke, a panacea for the troubles of the Ukrainian national movement. After all, the Ukrainians had just suffered a severe setback in the accession to power of the Polish nobility, and they had just witnessed the political effectiveness of the urban crowd during the demonstrations of 1868 and 1869. It is quite likely that the leaders of the Ukrainian movement felt that Pobratym would be another Gwiazda, an effective political instrument of the national cause. Confirming this notion is Pobratym's establishment as a deliberate rival to the Polish association Gwiazda.¹⁷

Pobratym was, at first, the darling child of the Ukrainian national movement in L'viv. Characteristically, the initiative to create a specifically Ukrainian artisan association did not spring from the L'viv artisans themselves. Rather, it was a local *Gymnasium* teacher,

¹⁵ John-Paul Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism: Austria, 1867–1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 15–21, 48–55, 61.

¹⁶ Ostap Terlets'kyi, "Halyts'ko-ruskyi narid i halyts'ko-ruski narodovtsi," *Pravda*, no. 18 (1874), pp. 749–752.

¹⁷ *Spravozenie z dilanii "Prosvity" vid . . . 1868 roku, do nainoviishoho chasu* (L'viv, 1874), pp. 13–14.

Markyl' Zhelekhivs'kyi, who first came forward with the project. Other patriotic intellectuals readily supported him and so, too, did major institutions of the national movement in L'viv. Especially the educational society Prosvita, to which Zhelekhivs'kyi belonged, pledged "everywhere to maintain and nurture the Ruthenian [Ukrainian] spirit among artisans, namely, by means of popular lectures."¹⁸ Prosvita donated 100 gulden to Pobratym, and another Ukrainian institution, the Stavropigial Institute, donated 75 g. These same two institutions, as well as the Halytsko-ruskaia Matytsa and the editorial board of the journal *Pravda*, donated books to the fledgling Ukrainian artisan association.¹⁹ Individual priests, lawyers, members of the bureaucracy, educators and students also made contributions to Pobratym and thereby became eligible for honorary membership.²⁰ *Pravda* consistently publicized these donations to Pobratym in order to encourage contributions to the association that "aims at awakening patriotism in the most important part of the nation, our city-dwellers."²¹ "The Ruthenian public," affirmed *Pravda* in 1873, "should pay more attention to these pioneers of Ruthenianism in our class of craftsmen burghers."²²

This initial enthusiasm for Pobratym must be seen in the context of what the leadership of the Ukrainian national movement expected of the artisan association. The founders of Pobratym had estimated that *half* of Gwiazda's membership was ethnically Ukrainian and they hoped that these ethnic Ukrainians would abandon the Polish association for Pobratym.²³ Gwiazda's membership in the years 1872–1875

¹⁸ *Spravozenie z dilanii "Prosvity,"* pp. 13–14.

¹⁹ *Spravozenie z dilanii "Prosvity,"* pp. 13–14. *Pravda*, no. 2 (1873), p. 96.

²⁰ Lists of donors appeared in *Pravda*, nos. 2, 3, 7, 9 (1872); nos. 2, 8, 18 (1873); nos. 8, 9 (1874); and in *Osnova*, no. 31 (May 3, 1872), p. 4.

²¹ *Pravda*, no. 5 (1872), p. 254.

²² *Pravda*, no. 5 (1873), p. 206.

²³ M. Dragomanov, "Literaturnoe dvizhenie v Galitsii," in *Politiesheskiiia sochineniia*, ed. by I.M. Grevs and B.A. Kistiakovskii (Moscow, 1908), p. 347. Dragomanov was well informed about the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. He followed its progress in the press and in the letters he received from Galician intellectuals. One of his closest associates in Galicia at this time was Mykhailo Dymet, the president of Pobratym. M.P. Dragomanov, *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1970), Vol. II, pp. 167, 170, 285–286; see also Vol. II, pp. 192–193 for Dragomanov's accidental visit to Pobratym's premises.

Although Gwiazda was a primarily Polish organization, and patriotically Polish at

(the years of the Pobratym's existence) grew from 945 to 1,350.²⁴ Thus, if Pobratym had really attracted half of Gwiazda's membership, this would have been a sizable gain for the Ukrainian national movement at the expense of the rival Polish movement. The founding of Pobratym did raise the dander of Polish nationalists, who comforted themselves that Gwiazda had "nothing to lose if a few filthy elements depart."²⁵

If, however, as we are arguing, the leaders of the Ukrainian movement felt that Pobratym would be another Gwiazda, they were altogether mistaken. Pobratym attracted nothing like the hundreds of artisans expected. Only 20 artisans, mainly former members of Gwiazda, joined Pobratym when it was founded in 1872. In 1873, Pobratym had 74 members, and in 1874—70 members.²⁶ The failure to recruit a sizable membership represented the failure of the bold stroke, and it produced the characteristic reaction of apathy and inactivity. The Ukrainian national movement lost interest in the artisan association and Pobratym dissolved voluntarily in 1875, only three years after its enthusiastic founding.²⁷

The founders of Pobratym had greatly overestimated the strength of the Ukrainian element in L'viv's artisan population. Ukrainians were, in fact, a small minority. For one thing, in the days of the Polish

that, Ukrainians had been included in its ranks from the start. Indeed, judging by his name (Dymytr Stokaluk), a Ukrainian delivered the opening address in 1868 at the meeting that decided to establish Gwiazda. Gwiazda's choir was bilingual, performing songs in Ukrainian as well as Polish. *Gazeta Narodowa*, supp. (L'viv, March 8, 1868), p. 2. *Dziennik Polski*, no. 70 (L'viv, March 27, 1874), p. 2.

²⁴ *Sprawozdanie z czynności wydziałów Stowarzyszenia . . . "Gwiazda" w ciągu roku 1872* (L'viv, 1873). *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, Vol. III (L'viv, 1877), pp. 71 and 73.

²⁵ "Działalność p. Ławrowskiego," *Dziennik Polski*, no. 136 (May 19, 1872), p. 1. Cf. *Osnova*, no. 38 (May 28, 1872), p. 2; also Dragomanov, "Literaturnoe dvizhenie," p. 347.

²⁶ "Novynky," *Osnova*, no. 29 (April 23, 1872), p. 4. The figure 74 is given without any date by Ie. A. Iatskevych, *Stanovyshche robinychoho klasu Halychyny v period kapitalizmu (1848–1900)*: (Narys) (Kiev, 1958), p. 74. The figure from 1874 is from *Wiadomości statystyczne*, Vol. II (1876), pp. 60–61.

²⁷ *Wiadomości statystyczne*, Vol. III (1877), pp. 66, 69. Dragomanov complained that the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement "allowed Pobratym to go to sleep forever." M. P. Dragomanov, "Tretii lyst Ukraïntsia do redaktsii 'Druha,'" in *Literaturno-publistychni pratsi*, Vol. I, p. 426.

Commonwealth, especially from the Counter-Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, Ukrainians were often prohibited from practicing crafts. Many guilds, such as the boilermakers', watchmakers', butchers', brewers' and goldsmiths' guilds, included an article in their statutes barring entrance to Ukrainian Orthodox Christians.²⁸ Later, simply living in the largely non-Ukrainian city led to the denationalization of Ukrainian artisans. As the Reverend Ivan Naumovych wrote in 1874: "When we look at our cities nowadays, we should not be surprised that a multitude of our Ruthenian burghers have become Polish in them; what should surprise us is that in our cities, not only in the small towns but in the bigger cities, descendants of our old Ruthenian burgher families still remain."²⁹

Statistics confirm the polonizing influence of the city. In 1890, for example, Ukrainians made up 42 to 43 percent of Galicia's total population, regardless whether religion or language served as the criterion of ethnic identification. In L'viv, however, 17 percent of the population was Greek Catholic—that is, of Ukrainian ethnic origin—but only 7 percent used Ukrainian as its language of intercourse (*Umgangssprache*).³⁰ Thus, over half of L'viv's ethnic Ukrainians were linguistically polonized.

Unfortunately, statistics correlating nationality with occupation in L'viv do not exist for the 1870s. We do have statistics for later periods, however. In 1900, barely 5 percent of L'viv's "industrial" (artisanal) population declared Ukrainian as its language of intercourse,³¹ and of L'viv's total population of nearly 160,000, only 807 were Ukrainian-speaking artisans. We can imagine how few Ukrainian-speaking artisans there were in the 1870s, when L'viv was a much

²⁸ O.O. Nesterenko, *Rozvytok promyslovosti na Ukraïni*, vol. 1, *Remeslo i manufaktura* (Kiev, 1959), p. 88. Ia.P. Kis', *Promyslovist' L'vova u periodi feodalizmu (XIII–XIX st.)* (L'viv, 1968), pp. 119, 122, 127, 137, 140, 146, 211–216.

²⁹ [Ivan Naumovych], "Russkii mishchane," *Nauka*, no. 12 (Kolomyia, 1874), pp. 553–555.

³⁰ "Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 . . .," *Oesterreichische Statistik*, Vol. XXXII, pt. 1: "Die summarischen Ergebnisse der Volkszählung," pp. 106, 124, 163, 171.

³¹ All statistics for 1900 are taken from Józef Buzek, *Stosunki zawodowe i socyalne ludności w Galicyi według wyznania i narodowości, na podstawie spisu ludności z 31. grudnia 1900 r.*, *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych*, Vol. XX, no. 2 (L'viv, 1905).

smaller city (87,109 in 1869) and when its Ukrainian ethnic element was also proportionately smaller (14 percent Greek Catholic in 1869).

In this context, Pobratym's ability to attract over seventy members was not such a bad showing. This becomes more evident when we compare Pobratym with the voluntary artisan associations of other nationalities in L'viv. In the early 1870s, each of L'viv's major nationalities—the Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians—had its own artisan association. In 1874, Gwiazda, the Polish association, had 1,250 members; Jad Charuzim [Hand of Labor], the Jewish association, had 300 members; and Pobratym, the Ukrainian association, had 70 members.³² Together the three associations had a total membership of 1,620, of which the Polish association accounted for 77 percent; the Jewish, 19 percent; and the Ukrainian, 4 percent. Of L'viv's total industrial population (1900), the Poles made up 65 percent; the Jews, 35 percent; and the Ukrainians (by language), 5 percent. As these statistics indicate, Pobratym was reasonably successful in attracting the Ukrainian-speaking artisans of L'viv. The real problem was that there were just too few Ukrainian artisans to sustain the association. Here we can note that L'viv's still smaller minority of German artisans did not have a separate German artisan association.

The statistics cited above indicate why the Ukrainian national movement, unlike the Polish national movement, could not build a mass constituency among the artisans of L'viv, why Pobratym could never be the equivalent of Gwiazda, and why therefore, Pobratym failed. The collapse of Pobratym only demonstrated that the Ukrainian national movement, if it were to become a mass movement, had no choice but to recruit its adherents in the countryside, among the peasantry. This, of course, is precisely what occurred. L'viv remained the intellectual center of the national movement, but the strength of that movement was in its proliferating village institutions, reading clubs (*chytal'ni*), and cooperatives. Indeed, the characteristic feature of the Ukrainian national movement in late-nineteenth-century Galicia was its penetration into the village.

Granted that the Ukrainian movement had to have a rural rather than urban base, we might pose the question: what consequence did this have for the movement as a whole? What would be the difference between a national movement based in the city and one based in the countryside? Perhaps a partial answer to these questions can be

³² *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, Vol. II (1876), pp. 60–61.

obtained by comparing analogous national institutions as they developed in L'viv and as they developed in the surrounding countryside—that is, by comparing Pobratym in L'viv with similar Ukrainian artisan associations in the provincial hamlets.

In looking at Pobratym's small town counterparts, we find additional confirmation of two arguments already advanced: namely, (1) that the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement hoped to make of Pobratym what Polish autonomists had made of *Gwiazda*—the nucleus of a mass constituency in the capital city, L'viv, with its implicit political potential; (2) that for the Ukrainian movement, however, the only place to recruit a mass constituency was not the city, but the countryside.

We may infer the importance the national movement placed on Pobratym as an institution in L'viv from the relative indifference it displayed toward the artisan associations elsewhere. As mentioned previously, the growth of Pobratym's treasury depended very much on voluntary gifts and the contributions of honorary members. In 1872, this source of revenue accounted for 92 percent of Pobratym's total cash income, and in 1873 for 56 percent (a great part of the remainder consisted of repaid loans, thus the recirculation of capital originally received as donations). But *Pomich*, the artisan association in Pidhaitsi, was nowhere near as favored with donations as its counterpart in L'viv. During the first year of *Pomich*'s existence (August 1873–August 1874), donations and the dues of honorary members amounted to only 36 percent of its cash income. By the same token, the dues of artisan members formed a larger percentage of total cash income in *Pomich* (56 percent) than in Pobratym (1872—3 percent, 1873—6 percent). Nor did *Pomich* benefit as much as Pobratym from book donations. *Pomich*'s single largest expense was the purchase of books and subscriptions to the periodical press (42 percent of its expenditures). Pobratym in L'viv had an income of 483 g. in 1872 and 667 g. in 1873; *Pomich* in Pidhaitsi had an income of only 192 g. in 1873–74.³³ Clearly, if the preference of donors is any indication, the national movement cared more about the artisan association in L'viv than about the one in Pidhaitsi. The Ukrainian

³³ *Pravda*, no. 2 (1873), p. 96, and no. 8, p. 316; no. 1 (1874), pp. 47–48, and no. 15, p. 646.

press did not even publish the budgets of the other Ukrainian artisan associations in the countryside.

Neglected as they were, the Ukrainian artisan associations in rural Galicia were relatively more successful than Pobratym in attracting members. Pomich in Pidhaitsi, for instance, had about 50 members in mid-1874 and Nadiia in Zbarazh had 51 members in that same year.³⁴ Considering that Pidhaitsi had a population of 4,579 in 1869 and Zbarazh a population of 7,115, the associations in these hamlets put Pobratym to shame: the L'viv association could attract only 70 members from a population of nearly 90,000. Even if we measure the drawing power of these artisan associations relative to the size of the ethnic Ukrainian (Greek Catholic) populations of their respective cities, we find that the rural associations significantly outshine the one in L'viv. Five of every hundred ethnic Ukrainians in Pidhaitsi belonged to Pomich and three of every hundred in Zbarazh belonged to Nadiia, but a mere six of every thousand ethnic Ukrainians in L'viv belonged to Pobratym. This contrast underscores the fact that the Ukrainian movement, as a mass movement, could only thrive in the countryside. Furthermore, outside of L'viv, no true city in Galicia, neither Ternopil' (pop. in 1869—20,087) nor Kolomyia (pop. 17,679), produced a single Ukrainian artisan association. The five Ukrainian artisan associations (excluding Pobratym) were all located in semi-agricultural towns with populations under 7,500.

At this point let us take up the question posed earlier, namely: what can a comparison between Pobratym and the associations in the countryside imply about the difference between an urban-based and rural-based national movement?

The first to compare the rural artisan associations with Pobratym was a Ukrainian socialist from the Russian Empire, Serhii Podolyns'kyi. When visiting Galicia in the 1870s, Podolyns'kyi made a point of calling on various artisan associations. His observations, therefore, stem partly from first-hand experience. In Pomich in Pidhaitsi, Podolyns'kyi was struck by "the overwhelming influence of the clergy." "Only in the L'viv society Pobratym," he reported, "do we fail to note the decisive influence of the clerical element."³⁵

³⁴ *Pravda*, no. 15 (1874), p. 647. S[ergei] P[odolinskii], (Serhii Podolyns'kyi) "Meshchansko-rabochiia tovarishchestva samopomoshchi v Galitsii," *Kievskii telegraf*, no. 53 (May 4, 1875), p. 1.

³⁵ Podolinskii, "Meshchansko-rabochiia tovarishchestva samopomoshchi v Galitsii."

A look at the administrations of the various artisan associations corroborates Podolyns'kyi's opinion. The honorary members who served in Pobratym's administration included educators, a government official and a merchant, but no priests.³⁶ Nadiia in Zbarazh, however, and Pomich in Pidhaitsi elected mainly priests as the honorary members in their administrations.³⁷

The clerical influence in the rural associations is also discernible in their codes of conduct. In L'viv, Pobratym could expell a member for something the statutes vaguely termed "roguish behavior." But in Pidhaitsi, members of Pomich had to abstain altogether from alcohol and observe the association's regulations concerning how long a wedding might last as well as what might be served and who should be invited to a christening. Nadiia in Zbarazh imposed fines on members for drinking alcoholic beverages during Lent.³⁸ These regulations are significant, in that they reflect a peculiarly clerical social program current in late-nineteenth century Galicia.

In the late 1860s, a Galician priest, Father Stepan Kachala, made an inquiry into the causes of the Ukrainian peasant's poverty and then formulated a social program that the Greek Catholic clergy as a whole soon adopted for its own. Father Kachala did not find the roots of the peasant's poverty where secular investigators have suggested these roots lay: in the inequitable terms of emancipation, in the transition to a money economy, and in the absence of factory industry to absorb the surplus labor in the countryside. Instead, Father Kachala found the peasant guilty of vices that led to his impoverishment: drunkenness, prodigality, and sloth. As antidotes to these vices, he

³⁶ Honorary members who served in Pobratym's administration included Dr. Korniylo Sushkevych, secretary to the imperial procuratorium of the treasury, Markyl' Zhelekhiv's'kyi, *Gymnasium* teacher in L'viv, and Oleksander Ohonov's'kyi, docent at L'viv University. In both 1873 and 1874, honorary member Mykhailo Dymet headed Pobratym. Dymet was a merchant by profession and a patriot of progressive inclinations. *Pravda*, no. 8 (1872), p. 405; no. 1 (1874), p. 47, and no. 15, p. 647. On Dymet, who played a role of some importance in the development of the Ukrainian national movement, see Pavlyk, "Pro rus'ko-ukraïns'ki narodni chytal'ni," pp. 476–477, and Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, Vol. I, pp. 100–101, 142.

³⁷ *Pravda*, no. 15 (1874), p. 647. Podolinskii, "Meshchansko-rabochiia tovarishchestva samopomoshchi v Galitsii."

³⁸ *Ustav . . . Pobratym*, p. 5. *Pravda*, no. 15 (1874), p. 646. *Russkaia rada*, no. 5, (1875), p. 40.

suggested, among other things, abstinence, thrift, and enterprise.³⁹ This interpretation of society in terms of virtue and vice distracted its adherents from the real problems of Galician society and economic life. It gave comfort to the wealthier strata of Ukrainian society, to which the Greek Catholic clergy belonged, since it blamed the poor themselves for their poverty; in fact, it made their poverty morally reprehensible. In spite of its reactionary character, this clerical, almost theological, view of society was extremely influential in Ukrainian Galicia. The rural artisan associations testify to this. Pomich's and Nadiia's rules on abstinence countered the vice of drunkenness. Pomich's regulations about marriages and baptisms countered the vice of prodigality, for priests felt that the festivities connected with such events were all too extravagant for the lower classes.

The difference, then, between an artisan association in the city, L'viv, and those in the countryside is that the former were secular institutions and the latter, clerical ones. The same held true, too, for the Polish artisan associations of Galicia; Gwiazda in L'viv was a secular, political organization, but its branches in the provinces were clerical.⁴⁰ While the capital city of L'viv had many non-priests to draw upon for financial support and leadership, the Galician hinterland had a dearth of secular intelligentsia. An analysis of the cumulative membership of the Ukrainian educational society Prosvita, 1868–1874, demonstrates this. Excluding peasants, the clergy made up 65 percent of all Prosvita's members in the countryside. Prosvita's secular intelligentsia, however, was overwhelmingly concentrated in the cities (80 percent).⁴¹ For the Ukrainians, then, priests constituted the only class in rural society with the financial and educational resources to give leadership to nationally-oriented institutions. Accordingly, if the Ukrainian national movement were to be rural-based, it

³⁹ [Stepan Kachala], *Shcho nas hubyt' a shcho nam pomochy mozhe* (L'viv, 1869). One of Kachala's objections to the growing influence of Drahomanov on Galician students was that "Drahomanov does not consider the poverty of the people to be the result of their sloth, spendthrift ways, and drunkenness." Letter of Kachala to the editorial board of *Druh*, August 7, 1876, in *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom, (1876–1895)*, ed. Mykhailo Pavlyk, 7 vols. [numbered 2–8] (Chernivtsi, 1910–1912), Vol. II, pp. 79–80.

⁴⁰ Emil Haecker, *Historja socjalizmu w Galicji i na Śląsku Cieszyńskim* (Cracow, 1933), p. 103.

would have to reckon with the indispensability of clerical influence.

Comparing the rural associations to Pobratym establishes three characteristics of the artisan associations in the countryside: (1) they were financially poorer than their counterpart in L'viv, (2) they were more successful in recruiting members, and (3) they were more clerical. In light of these characteristics we might speculate about why the rural artisan associations collapsed, as did Pobratym, after only a few years of existence. Pobratym, it has been argued, collapsed because it failed to attract a sizable membership. Obviously, the same cannot be argued for the rural associations, which were more successful in this regard. Instead, we might consider how poverty and priests could have set up a self-destructive mechanism within the rural associations: because the rural artisan associations were in need of financial support, they bent over backwards to accommodate themselves to the local clergy; but the conditions imposed by the clergy were such that the artisans abandoned the associations.

The sources, unfortunately, do not allow an unequivocal confirmation of this hypothesis, but there is evidence to suggest that it is sound. Pomich in Pidhaitsi, for example, had very little income by comparison with Pobratym in L'viv. In August 1874, therefore, Pomich took a number of steps to increase its revenue. The association raised entrance fees for artisan members fivefold, from 20 kronen to 1 gulden, and imposed a moral obligation on each member to recruit an additional member. Simultaneously, Pomich started a campaign to attract honorary members, that is, benefactors. It invited a dozen local priests to attend its general meeting, and changed its statutes so that potential contributors paid less to become honorary members—they now paid either 10 g. in the course of a single year or pledged to pay 2 g. annually (formerly it has been 20 g. and 5 g., respectively). "Thus entrance for honorary members was made easier and the decision was taken to dispatch invitations to priests outside of Pidhaitsi and to other intelligent people, inviting their gracious entrance into the association Pomich, through which the association—both materially and morally—has much to gain, and thereby, too, does the Ruthenian cause."⁴² Moreover, the association elected an honorary member, the Reverend Dmytro Huzar, to preside in place of the former president, an artisan.

These measures indicate how concerned Pomich was to attract

⁴² *Pravda*, no. 15 (1874), pp. 646–648.

honorary members, specifically priests, since in the countryside around Pidhaitsi, clergymen were the main potential source for honorary members. The desire to please and thus attract the clergy probably accounts for Pomich's stiff regulations, notably total abstinence and the rules concerning marriages and christenings. Nadiia in Zbarazh had imposed Lenten abstinence on its members, very likely for similar reasons.

The tendency of the Greek Catholic clergy to burden the national movement with oaths of abstinence had its negative effects. It is difficult to imagine why an artisan would continue to pay dues to Pomich if, on account of his "not totally amended behavior," he was denied the right to borrow from the association's treasury. Would he remain a member to hear more of the Reverend Huzar's speeches as president, "the contents, manner of delivery, tone and spectacle of which penetrate all to the depths of their souls"?⁴³ Perhaps not. Perhaps it is more probable that Pomich went the way of Nadiia, where quarrels between the artisans and the pastor of Zbarazh precipitated the association's collapse.⁴⁴ Such conflict between priests and artisans may have been inherent in the rural artisan associations, and this may explain why the associations did not remain in existence for more than a few years.⁴⁵

In sum, the Ukrainian national movement in the early 1870s attempted to build a mass constituency in L'viv. To this end, Ukrainian intellectuals founded the Ukrainian artisan association Pobratym, modeled on the Polish association, Gwiazda. Ukrainian artisans in the capital, however, were too few to make of Pobratym what its founders had hoped it would be. As a result, the association dissolved.

The failure of Pobratym meant that the Ukrainian national movement would have to recruit its mass constituency only outside the city, in the countryside. As the history of the rural artisan associations

⁴³ *Pravda*, no. 15 (1874), pp. 646–648.

⁴⁴ *Rusaskaia rada*, no. 5 (1876), p. 40.

⁴⁵ The history of the conflict between priests and peasants in village reading clubs supports the argument made here for priests and artisans. I have elaborated on the social program of the clergy and the peasant reaction to it in "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867–1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXI (Ottawa, 1979), pp. 1–14.

showed, this entailed the control of rural institutions by the Greek Catholic clergy. In a broader perspective, we can see that the control of these institutions would inevitably give the clergy exceptional influence and authority over the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. How it would use that influence may be gathered from the experience of the rural artisan associations, where priests used their authority to further a narrowly-conceived, clerical social program which seems only to have provoked the resentment of the artisans.

*Natalia Kobryns'ka: A Formulator of Feminism**

Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak

NATALIA OZARKEVYCH KOBRYNS'KA was the first outspoken theoretician of feminist thought among the Ukrainians. Her conception of the woman issue developed under the disparate influences of liberalism, socialism, and a first-hand knowledge of the backward economic situation in her native Galicia. Kobryns'ka juxtaposed radical theoretical analysis with a very pragmatic approach to the specific problems confronting Ukrainian women in Galicia. The delicate balancing of feminism and socialism made Kobryns'ka realize that although many economic and political changes predicated by socialism were necessary for ameliorating the condition of women, socialism in itself would provide no guarantees for women unless the women specifically ensured changes in their status. Kobryns'ka was one of the first women—perhaps the first one—to come to that realization.¹

* This is part of a history of the Ukrainian women's movement. Much of the research was done with the help of a Fulbright grant during the academic year 1976–1977. I would like to thank the staff of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, of the New York Public Library, of the University of Warsaw, of the Jagiellonian University and of the City Library of Przemyśl. My special thanks go to the director of the Wojewódzkie Archiwum in Przemyśl, Zdzisław Konieczny, and to Maria Osiadacz. I would like to acknowledge the help of Lubov Abramiuk Wolyneć in locating materials in the United States, and the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations for the initial support of this project. Regrettably, the volume *Natalia Kobryns'ka, Vybrani tvory* (Kiev, 1980), arrived too late to be used in this article.

¹ This point has not been raised in the few works on Kobryns'ka. An obituary notice on Engels, in *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III (L'viv, 1896), pp. 116–117, served as an introduction of some polemics on the woman issue and provides the most direct acknowledgement of Engels' influence. A convenient introduction to Kobryns'ka's assessment

Kobryns'ka was born on June 8, 1851, in Belelulia, a small Carpathian village, into a family of Ukrainian Catholic priests.² Both her parents, Ivan Ozarkevych and Teofiliia Okunevs'ka, came from a clerical lineage. Her father was a pastor in the area all his life. He was also active politically as an elected deputy to the Viennese assembly and had a reputation of being a good administrator, a forceful orator, and an untiring ethnographer. His interest in social and economic matters was evident in his drafting, in 1871, of the by-laws for the L'viv-based Institute for Widows and Orphans of the Clergy and, in 1890, by raising the issue of public high schools for women in the Viennese Reichsrat.

As the oldest child—she was followed by three brothers and a sister—Natalia Kobryns'ka had a very close relationship with her father, who supervised her education. She studied with her brothers, for the most part at home. She voraciously read whatever she could find, and during her adolescence went through a stage of religious exaltation. Religious fervor, tempered with self-improvement, was reinforced by her reading of the popular “how to be a good woman” books by the Polish author Clementine Hoffmanowa, who argued eloquently about the possibilities of fulfillment of the God-given place of women in society.³ A chance borrowing of Buckle's *History*

of the role of the women's movement in society is a brief speech she delivered in 1898 at a jubilee celebration of the rebirth of Ukrainian literature in Galicia; in *Dilo*, no. 238 (L'viv, 1898).

² There is some doubt as to the exact year of birth. Omelian Ohonovskii, *Istoriia literatury ruskoi*, Vol. III (L'viv, 1893), pp. 1265–1274, basing himself on an autobiographical sketch by Kobryns'ka, gives the date of birth as 1855. That date, according to O.N. Moroz, who edited Kobryns'ka, *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev, 1958) is also carved on her gravestone. An earlier edition of Kobryns'ka's works, *Vybrani opovidannia* (L'viv, 1954), dates her birth as 1851. Irena Knysh, *Smoloskyp v temriavi: Nataliia Kobryns'ka i ukrains'kyi zhinochyi rukh* (Winnipeg, 1957), p. 10, maintains that the error was made by Ohonovs'kyi. Both dates cause minor problems. If Kobryns'ka was born in 1855, then her parents, who had been married in 1848 had either been childless for seven years, or their previous children had died. The former is unusual, the latter possibility is not mentioned. On the other hand, if 1851 is the correct date of Kobryns'ka's birth then her marriage at the age of 20 in 1871 is a bit late for the times.

³ Tańska-Hoffmanowa was a prolific Polish author who lived between 1798 and 1845. She saw women as wives, daughters, and mothers, but argued that to be able to fulfill these roles they must be educated. She stressed the importance of history and literature, and opposed the popularity of flighty French fashions. Kobryns'ka accepted that argument and turned to a serious pursuit of learning.

of *Civilization*, probably in a German translation, started her on a reading program that led her through the classics of positivism to those of socialism and prompted her to formulate a totally different conception of the role of women.

Her brothers had meanwhile enrolled in the *Gymnasium*—a level of education not open at the time to women in the Austrian monarchy, except for the convent schools, which in Galicia were Polish and offered a very circumscribed program. Kobryns'ka continued her education informally at home, supplied by books, suggestions, and criticism by her younger brothers and her father.

Important in Kobryns'ka's development were the lively social encounters of the summer months at her parents' home. The area was an ideal vacationland, and the friendly atmosphere of the parsonage was available to extended family, to friends of her brothers, to older students making trips into the mountains to collect folksongs, and to seminarians in search of wives. These summers, when the house was teeming with young people and established personalities, with students home from the universities of Vienna and L'viv, brimming with new ideas and new books, served as a surrogate university for Kobryns'ka. She was able to meet her equals and to engage in debate and discussion.

The Ukrainians in Galicia in the late 1860s and early 1870s were undergoing a dramatic cultural process, which resulted in the successful development of new forms of organized social and national life and in a rapid secularization of the elite. The students, who until that time had aimed mainly at a clerical career, turned their attention to social sciences, law, and literature. The Austrian government, with its insistence that the priest be educated and able to perform administrative, educational, and even medical functions, fostered broader interests among the Ukrainian clergy. The Ukrainian students at the University in L'viv, observing the Poles' demand for instruction in Polish rather than in Latin or German, became increasingly interested in the state of Ukrainian culture and education.⁴

A consequence of the Austrian government's introduction of education in the villages was the appearance of peasant children at universities. These students provided a direct link with the people,

⁴ One of the reasons for the Poles' demands for instruction in Polish was that a number of courses at the university in L'viv had been taught in Ukrainian since 1848–1849. Fuller discussion in Stanisław Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego* (L'viv, 1894).

the heroes of popular Romantic literature. Reforms in the Russian Empire contributed to the quickening of social interests among the youth. The creation of the reading clubs and of the Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society in 1868 and the popularity of collecting ethnological material stimulated a new excitement among the students. In the summers, Natalia Kobryns'ka had a taste of this new life.

It was within this close and friendly group that she met Teofil' Kobryns'kyi, a sensitive and artistically gifted seminarian, whom she married at the end of the summer of 1871. His first present to her had been the collected works of Gogol and Turgenev. Intellectual growth was an integral aspect of this happy, almost ideal, marriage.

The Ozarkevych home was certainly exceptional in Galician Ukrainian society. Most clerical families were not as vibrant, not as open to new ideas, and certainly not as supportive to women as Kobryns'ka's. A childhood friend of Kobryns'ka's whose husband argued that for women writing and speaking in public was tantamount to exhibitionism and adultery, stressed the importance of Kobryns'kyi in the continued development of Natalia:

She grew up at the wane of the last century in a depressing, morally terrorized atmosphere, in the darkness of the setting horizon, surrounded by bowed foreheads of slaves. She was brought up according to the tenets of the old, patriarchal system, to be educated enough to marry well and to become a good chatelaine. And she would have been wasted in the mass of the then primitive womanfolk. . . had not fate given her a friend for life.⁵

Kobryns'kyi became a priest in a parish close to Natalia's childhood home. He organized a choir and a reading room for the villagers to help inculcate a sense of national consciousness among them.

His young wife, avidly reading the books he obtained for her—among them Büchner, Haeckel, Huxley, Renan, Chernyshevskii, Dobroliubov, Lasalle, Marx and Engels—underwent a dual crisis. She lost her religious faith and she decided that internationalism was the wave of the future. God and nation, those two pillars of her upbringing, had fallen down. We know very little about this intriguing development, particularly how Kobryns'kyi handled the crisis in his

⁵ *Pershomu bortsevi za prava zhinky* (L'viv, 1921), p. 9, in a brochure published by Soiuz Ukraïnok in honor of Kobryns'ka. The quotation is by Klymentyna Popovych-Boiars'ka.

then high-strung wife.⁶ We know they discussed her ideas, and we know she was impressed by Chernyshevskii's representation of the new ascetic revolutionary presented in *What is to be done* and by the implications for organized Christianity of Renan's *Life of Christ*. Perhaps Kobryns'kyi had undergone a similar crisis, since Kobryns'ka found in him a sympathetic listener and a willing partner in her search for truth.

Of monumental influence were the works of a contemporary Galician-Ukrainian writer, who was both a Ukrainian patriot and a professed socialist. Ivan Franko, the son of a Galician blacksmith, convinced Kobryns'ka that the people most in need of one's help were not the international proletariat, but the proletariat in one's immediate vicinity. Henceforth, for Kobryns'ka, the issues of nationalism and socialism were intertwined. Her closeness to the peasants, her realization of the importance of both land and cultural roots to the peasant as well as to the first-generation (usually seasonal) worker in the cities, made Kobryns'ka question not the validity but the relevance of internationalism for Galicia. The works of Mykhailo Drahomanov, a liberal emigré from the Russian Empire who was influential in Galicia, reinforced those views.

It was at this point that Kobryns'ka confronted the issue of woman on a scale that transcended the annoyances of privileged women in provincial Galicia—the inability to acquire a formal education, to travel alone, or even to attend concerts without an escort. The issue was one of the world changing, and the women being left behind. There were Polish works discussing the role of women, but these for the most part focused on the need to preserve the culture of Poland.⁷ Kobryns'kyi obtained a German translation of J. S. Mill's *On the Subjugation of Women*. The couple was so impressed by this work that they planned to translate it into Ukrainian.

It was at this point that Kobryns'ka became an ardent feminist. She decided not to have children so as to be able to dedicate herself to the cause of woman, the most downtrodden part of the proletariat.⁸ She

⁶ In Mykhailo Vozniak, "Shliakhom do pershoho vinka," in the literary supplement to *Novyi chas* (L'viv, 1937), from a letter of Kobryns'ka to Mykhailo Pavlyk, quoted in Knysh, *Smoloskyp*, p. 18.

⁷ The best introduction to the Polish women's movement is Dionizja Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, *Od prędkości do astronautyki* (Warsaw, 1963).

⁸ Ol'ha Oleksandra Duchymins'ka, "Moï spomyny pro Nataliiu Kobryns'ku," *Zhino-*

did not leave an intimate account on how she reached that decision, but her husband's intelligent support and encouragement must have been crucial.

Kobryns'ka was reticent about her religiosity, except to mention briefly that she had almost become a religious fanatic. We do not know how she weathered the religious crisis and remained Catholic. Religiosity and mysticism reemerged in Kobryns'ka's writing under the guise of searching for new non-realistic art forms during her old age.

The books Kobryns'kyi gave his wife were on the Vatican index of forbidden books, but he showed no signs of being in difficulties with his superiors. He also demonstrated a breadth of vision and tolerance that throws new light on the Uniate clergy and the conventional context of conservatism in which it is usually portrayed.

This almost idyllic marriage ended in tragedy after eleven years. On March 14, 1882, Kobryns'kyi died after a brief tubercular illness. Kobryns'ka was plunged into a self-centered despair, an apathy so pervasive that she even refused to read. To distract her, her father took her with him to Vienna. Compared to Galicia, Vienna glistened in its worldly splendor. In the preceeding five years, Ukrainian Galicia had been shocked by the trial of a group of young intellectuals accused of socialism and, by implication, atheism. Ivan Franko had been in the forefront in the trial of 1878, which barred him from pursuing an academic career and resulted in the break-up of his relationship with Ol'ha Roshkevych, a priest's daughter. In an attempt to prevent Ol'ha from running away with Franko and creating a scandal, her family prevailed upon her to marry Kobryns'ka's younger brother Volodymyr.

Closely implicated in the L'viv trial was Ostap Terlets'kyi, a university student in Vienna, and one of the moving forces behind the influential Ukrainian Student Society in Vienna, the Sich.⁹ This organization served as an important transmission belt of progressive

cha dolia, nos. 11–12 (Kolomyia, June 15–July 1, 1934), pp. 3–7. Despite a thirty-year difference in age, Duchymyns'ka became an intimate friend of Kobryns'ka in the last years of Kobryns'ka's life. Kobryns'ka confided to her both the decision not to have children and the constant remorse she felt at not having had them. It was a decision that Kobryns'ka regretted, especially in her old age.

⁹ The society was founded in 1868 and survived, in a different form, until the 1930s. Some of its archives still remain in Vienna. Terlets'kyi published under the pseudonym Ivan Zanevych.

ideas for the youth in Ukrainian Galicia. Located in Vienna, the organization was in direct contact with German thinkers and writings and could dispense with the intermediary of Polish writings, a literature suspect to many Ukrainians.

Kobryns'ka had been sympathetic to the socialists tried in L'viv. That earned her a reputation for eccentricity and made her suspect in the company of the clergy's wives. In Vienna, her youngest brother, a medical student, took her immediately to the meetings of the Sich. It was there that she met Terlets'kyi. Kobryns'ka opened up to him, sharing with him her social and political views. Terlets'kyi suggested to Kobryns'ka that she develop her views in short stories as a means of popularizing them.

It was in Vienna that Kobryns'ka wrote her first short story. In it she demonstrated a rare quality of reformers—presentation of an argument for change in the social position of women with an understanding of opposition to that change. Terlets'kyi read "Pani Shumyns'ka" (Madame Shumyns'ka), later called the "Dukh chasu" (Spirit of the Times), without disclosing its author at a meeting of the Sich at the end of 1883. It was an immediate success, and Kobryns'ka was elated. A few months later she wrote another short story "Zadlia kusnyka khliba" (For a Piece of Bread), which was also praised. The plots of both stories were simple, and their literary value not exceptional. Nevertheless, because the situations they described were so real, they became very popular with Ukrainian women.¹⁰

Kobryns'ka became an established writer. She found a convivial group of people who shared her views, encouraged her ambitions and respected her. Terlets'kyi, Franko, and Mykhailo Pavlyk, their close collaborator, the whole generation of the young patriotic socialists among the Ukrainians in Galicia, became her friends. Partly, they had been stimulated by the Dnieper Ukrainian political theorist

¹⁰ Madame Shumyns'ka, in the twilight of her days, muses about the new-fangled expectations of modern youth, their stress on love and independence, useless things which did not exist in her days. In "Zadlia kusnyka khliba," beautiful Halia, realizing that her inability to raise a dowry necessary to marry the man she loves (but who in turn cannot support her) dooms her to unhappiness, sees no way out of her position except marriage to a decent man whom she does not love. She muses that had she been able to work, to earn a living to support her man until he could become self-supporting, the deception in her life would not have been necessary. Halia goes through the decision coolly, rationally, almost without rancor.

Mykhailo Drahomanov. For Kobryns'ka, however, it was the women in Drahomanov's family, especially the writers Olena Pchilka and Lesia Ukraïnka who reinforced her confidence in her ability to write. As literary figures and as ethnologists, the women from eastern Ukraine served as role models for those from the western Ukrainian lands.

Kobryns'ka stayed within the milieu of the radicals, but she felt a particular sense of duty to women. She remained a feminist until her death, and resented the lack of interest in militant feminism among Ukrainian women. Her feminism did not mellow with age: when the writer Ol'ha Duchymyns'ka met her in the first years of the twentieth century, the passion of her feminist convictions glowed unabated. Duchymyns'ka was quite taken by it: "I had gone to a writer, but I came to a feminist."¹¹

The sphere of activity of Galician Ukrainian women was severely circumscribed. The peasant women could not yet think in terms of social activities outside the home. The middle-class women, with very limited educational opportunities, at best—and only in the larger towns—joined the Ladies Societies which beautified the churches and cared for the destitute.¹² In the villages, the wives of priests sometimes helped in organizing reading rooms for the peasants and taught reading. Young children from clerical families, including daughters, were often drafted for this activity, especially in the long summer evenings. Kobryns'ka singled out Evheniia Tanchakivs'ka, Anna Hamorak, Mykhailyna Roshkevych and Emilia and Natalia Okunevs'ka for this activity.¹³ Another activity of the women was the writing down of folk customs and folk songs.

The women's issue was first publicly raised among the Ukrainians in Galicia as a legitimate national concern at a student rally held in Kolomyia on August 7, 1884, in support of using Ukrainian as the language of instruction at the University of L'viv. Vasyl' Polians'kyi,

¹¹ "Moï spomyny pro Nataliiu Kobryns'ku," *Zhinocha dolia*, p. 4. Duchymyns'ka continued: "I must admit that I felt awkward, since I knew much less about the feminist movement than about literature, and at first I was embarrassed by it." As of this writing, Duchymyns'ka, born in 1883, is still alive in Drohobych, having survived a sentence in Siberia beginning in 1946.

¹² *Pershyi vinok* (L'viv, 1887), p. 102; by the end of the 1880s women ran vestment-making cooperatives in Sambir and Przemyśl.

¹³ *Pershyi vinok*, p. 100.

who had discussed the problems of women at great length with Kobryns'ka, spoke at the rally on the rights of women. The rally, the organization of the students, their cooperation with the politically progressive Ukrainians, convinced Kobryns'ka of the feasibility of organizing even a small segment of Ukrainian women. Just as a few students could provide a voice for the society, so a few women would have to start to speak up on behalf of their silent majority.

Kobryns'ka maintained that progressive ideas could not be effectively disseminated in Galicia without the active involvement of women. Hence, as a woman in a society in which the men enjoyed some political rights, Kobryns'ka considered it her duty to raise the consciousness of the women to an awareness of their opportunities as well as of their need to serve the people.

She saw the women's issue as basically one of economics. The contribution of the woman to the over-all economy and her own economic independence, argued Kobryns'ka in 1887, was not a desideratum but a necessity. Not only did the lower-class women always contribute to the family income, but the sheltered position of the middle-class woman was steadily threatened. Hardest hit were the single women, who had grown in numbers since the economic crisis reduced the number of marriages in the Austrian Empire.¹⁴ As a widow of a young priest, dependent upon her parents for additional support, she viewed women of her class, despite their social pretensions, as "the proletariat of Galicia."¹⁵ The secular women's organizations she maintained, could help women realize the interconnection between social, economic, and political issues. Repeatedly, she argued that the needs of women could be met only in a socially progressive state, and described the self-help organizations of women in Britain, the United States and Germany as examples of how women could help each other.

¹⁴ The situation became serious enough for the Austrian Reichsrat, in its deliberations on the need for the education of women in 1895, to quote the statistic that 11 percent of marriageable women in the empire were not married for lack of men. The economic condition of these women was critical. Fuller discussion in Bogusława Czajeczka, *Przygotowanie kobiet do pracy zawodowej na tle ruchu feministycznego w Galicji* (unpublished Ph.D. Diss., The Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland, 1977), p. 49. Kobryns'ka saw the growth of petty thievery and of prostitution as one aspect of the problem, see *Pershyi vinok*. For a discussion of the Austrian superfluous women in English, see Katherine Anthony, *Feminism in Germany* (New York, 1915).

¹⁵ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III, p. 142.

Kobryns'ka argued that feminist, social, political, and economic concerns were interrelated and interdependent.¹⁶ According to Kobryns'ka, only women's organizations could weld women into an effective public force. She strove to raise the consciousness of the women, to open up educational opportunities which would prepare them to lead economically and socially useful lives and to work for the right of women to vote. The last point meant working for universal suffrage, since the poorer males were excluded from suffrage in Austria until 1907.

She discussed these matters with people of her circle as well as with women whose interests took them outside their own families, such as the teacher Emiliia Nychai, the teacher and poet Uliana Kravchenko and Anna and Paraskeviia Pavlyk, who were among the activists propagandizing the peasants directly. They decided to organize a women's society. Since Kobryns'ka had closer ties with the smaller city of Stanyslaviv than with the provincial capital of L'viv, she chose the former town as the center of her activity. There may have been another reason for her choice. L'viv, being the seat of the metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholics of Galicia as well as the provincial capital, was more likely to have a conservative female population. It was, moreover, the headquarters of the radical movement which waged a polemical battle with the conservative clerical circles, whom Kobryns'ka did not want to antagonize.

Despite some opposition to the establishment of the women's society among the ladies in Stanyslaviv, ninety-five women became its founding members. Older women were joined by enthusiastic younger ones. Olena Simenovych-Kisilevs'ka, in her teens, was the youngest member.¹⁷

Franko was helpful in lending technical aid, in the form of advertisements and articles in *Dilo*, the major progressive Ukrainian newspaper in Galicia which was published in L'viv. He publicized the first organizational meeting of the women in Stanyslaviv which was held on October 7, 1884. The newspaper also published the proposed

¹⁶ For instance, see *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, p. 5; *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III, pp. 7, 17. Most convenient presentation in article "Zhinocha sprava v Halychyni," *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, (Styri, 1893), pp. 1-35.

¹⁷ See her "Yak to buvalo" in *Zhinocha dolia*, nos. 11-12 (June 15-July 1, 1934), pp. 12-13. A list of members of the society, formally called *Tovarystvo rus'kykh zhenshchyn*, copied from the original membership roll, can be found on pp. 12-13.

by-laws of the organization. The Austrian government, which in 1872 made primary education for girls mandatory, approved the statute and the proposed organization.

The opening meeting, December 8, 1884, was attended by scores of women and by representatives of the progressive intelligentsia. Franko published an extensive report of the proceedings, as well as Kobryns'ka's opening remarks.¹⁸ He used the opportunity to write a poem as a form of greeting to the society. In the poem, a genius—obviously a male—pushes the woman off the deified pedestal and in return endows her with a loving heart and a passionate mind, which makes her his equal.¹⁹ The poem proved to be a prophetic allegory of the subsequent relationship between the women and the progressive Ukrainian men.

The Stanyslaviv meeting marked the beginning of the organized Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia.²⁰ A major aim of the society was to provide women with advice on existing literature which would enable the "individual woman to free herself from the bustle and chaos created by opposing points of view," and, by creating an informed reading public, to encourage the writing of genuinely good literature.²¹ Kobryns'ka argued that literature, when properly conceived, was not only an effective instrument of social change but was also the best means of reaching the broadest segment of Galician Ukrainian women. She realized, to a greater degree than her male counterparts, the dependence of the educated upon the village clergy, their wives and children for transmission of ideas and the implementation of projects among the peasants. In the absence of formal schooling for women, literature was the best means for educating women, "of popularizing new ideas developed by humanity." Kobryns'ka stressed the political importance of literature for women:

Women, who are excluded from general public affairs, who do not enjoy any position in society which might have any influence upon overall events, (who) do not have any opportunity to express their views on the common needs of their life, should all the more look

¹⁸ Excerpts of her speech can also be found in Ohonovskii, *Istoriia literatury rus'koi*, Vol. III, pp. 1275–1276.

¹⁹ "Nove zerkalo," *Dilo* (December 13, 1884).

²⁰ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, p. 1; "Pro pervisnu tsil' Tovarystva rus'kykh zhynok v Stany-slavovi, zaviazanoho v 1884 r." *Pershyi vinok*, pp. 451–461.

²¹ *Pershyi vinok*, p. 458.

toward literature and find in it a reflection of these needs and demands.²²

Basically, she sought to reach women in the same fashion the Ukrainian populists in both empires were trying to reach the peasants—through literature. But while the populists wrote brochures which the illiterate or semiliterate peasants could understand, basing them on a style of the gospels and upon folk tales which were close to the peasant, Kobryns'ka was arguing for a more sophisticated approach. The populists, and the Galician radicals, wanted to radicalize the peasant, to prompt him to push for change, even for revolution. Kobryns'ka envisaged reforming society through a thorough change of perceptions and of modes of thinking. Political and economic change was not in itself adequate to affect the position of women, she maintained.

Although Kobryns'ka was a radical, she was willing to work patiently to create a climate of opinion which alone would be strong enough to change the patriarchal system. She thought she would be able to mediate between the outspoken radicals, such as Franko, whom she valued highly, and the women, who feared the radicals, especially after the socialist trials of the 1870s.

Kobryns'ka tried to alleviate women's fears of all modernity and to convince them that they had much to gain from changes in society. She wrote to Franko that "the Galician women support the contemporary literary trend and belong to the most radical party in the land."²³ But she realized how small the number of these conscious women was.

Kobryns'ka and her collaborators were trying to organize a women's society at a time when the political configurations of Ukrainians in Galicia were shifting. The popularity of the village Prosvita, initiated by the Reverend Stefan Kachala in 1868 and generally organized, run, and supported by the clergy, in reality created a secular means of making the peasants aware of the political, social and economic situation in Galicia. The activization of peasants formed a base for political parties. To the Russophile-conservative vs. Ukrainophile-liberal division was added the new radical-socialist configuration. The radicals,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 461.

²³ Quoted in the introduction to Natalia Kobryns'ka, *Vybrani tvory*, edited and introduced by O.N. Moroz.

throughout the 1880s searched for both organizational means and an ideology that would satisfy the national and social demands of the Ukrainians in Galicia. The influence of Drahomanov vied with that of the yet amorphous socialist ideology. Franko tried to cooperate with the Polish socialists, and even worked for their newspaper. The stress that the Polish socialists placed upon the reestablishment of a historical Polish state, which would include Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian territories finally made that cooperation impossible. In 1890 the Radical Ukrainian party, independent even in theory from socialist internationalism, was founded.

The Galician Ukrainian radicals resented Kobryns'ka's open adherence to a gradualist approach to social and political issues. They were the typical *poseurs* of the radical intelligentsia, more radical in rhetoric than in action. Their insistence upon class antagonisms, upon the unqualified support of solely the recognized oppressed classes and their gratuitous talk of free love, antagonized the moderates and was particularly shocking to women.

The women's issue for the socialists who were metamorphosing into the Radical party provided an additional opportunity to stress their adherence to true progress. More importantly, this was one issue where the socialists, who may have been guilt-stricken at failing to produce an effective internationalist socialist movement, could be as doctrinaire as they cared to be. This was certainly the case with Mykhailo Pavlyk, who insisted on developing ideas of free love on doctrinal grounds alone, regardless of what that did for support of the party, or his own liberty.

Kobryns'ka, running the Stanyslaviv Society from a nearby village where she lived, tried to get the women to publish a journal that would be edited by Franko. But the opposition to Franko, the convicted socialist, was so strong among the rank and file of the Stanyslaviv women, that Kobryns'ka had to abandon the idea of a periodical.

Instead, she suggested in 1885 a plan for publishing an almanac of women's literary works. The announcement for the publication, soliciting manuscripts and money, was published in *Dilo* in September 1885. The importance of the almanac for Kobryns'ka was threefold: it would be indicative of the literary activity she had in mind as being effective for women; it would foster self-confidence among women; and, through the participation of women writers from the Ukrainian territories within the Russian Empire, it would underscore the solidarity of Ukrainian women.

Kobryns'ka's plans were not fully supported within the Stanyslaviv Society. Although a committee, headed by Sofiia Buchyns'ka, worked successfully at fund raising, in 1886, someone suggested that the women's organization in Stanyslaviv, jointly with the Pedagogical Society, organize a school for women. Nychai, who had been a close supporter of Kobryns'ka, started at the same time, under the aegis of the society, to work for the establishment of a dormitory for needy women pupils. Kobryns'ka explained her apprehensions of these additional plans in a letter to the editor of *Dilo*, Ivan Belei:

You know the people with whom I have to work; outside of my own circle I do not have a single woman who could understand (the women's question). . . . Please hold off with the pedagogical projects for Stanyslaviv until after I successfully put together . . . the women's almanac.²⁴

The major threat to the almanac, ironically, came from the society itself. In 1885 the Vatican finally filled the Uniate episcopal see which had been created thirty-five years earlier in Stanyslaviv. The nomination of Iulian Pelesh, an energetic bishop with a scholarly reputation, marked an important victory for the Ukrainians.²⁵ The Bishop-nominee thus became a heroic figure for the Ukrainians, and various organizations in Stanyslaviv vied with each other in showering gifts upon him. No wonder, then, that the women, who had been used to church-related activities, wanted to buy the bishop a golden chalice. Kobryns'ka saw the pages of her almanac literally turning to gold. She tried to convince the ladies that the bishop would be more impressed by their support of cultural and literary activity; she begged them to adhere to the original goals of the society, as she had outlined them.

Meanwhile, in March 1886, Nychai became the chairperson of the society and again raised the banner of meeting the needs of the poor people. Within the context of the society that meant using the funds of the society to build a dormitory for elementary school pupils. Finally a compromise was reached, and some of the funds were used

²⁴ Quoted in Knysh, *Smoloskyp*, p. 79.

²⁵ The date 1880 for the appointment of Pelesh, given in Hryhor Luznytsky, *Ukrainian Church Between East and West: Outline of History of Ukrainian Church* [sic] (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 521, is wrong.

to help publish Omeliian Ohonovs'kyi's history of Ukrainian literature in Galicia, which could be used as a textbook.

Kobryns'ka was hurt, but continued her efforts at saving the almanac. Olena Pchilka came forth not only with offers of wholehearted support, but with a monetary subsidy. Some money collected by the society was also used for the almanac.

Pershyi vinok (The First Wreath), a title on which Pchilka insisted over Kobryns'ka's prosaic *Woman's Almanac*, appeared in 1887, the result of the cooperation of Kobryns'ka, the Galician women, the Ukrainian writers and the editorial assistance of Franko. It marked a further step in the organization of the forces of the Ukrainian women.²⁶ It had all the strengths and weaknesses of a collective work whose contributors came from different political and generational groups. Franko was credited with the actual technical editing of the work; the radical camp considered him the editor.²⁷ The collection was read, well received but not bought out. Almost ten years after it first appeared it was still possible to purchase copies.²⁸

The favorable criticism with which the *Pershyi vinok* was greeted and the consciousness of a job well done buoyed Kobryns'ka. That summer she spent in her native mountains, in the company of Sofiia Okunevs'ka, her niece, who had just graduated from high school and was setting out to study medicine in Switzerland. That autumn Kobryns'ka accompanied her, travelled in Europe and attended some courses in Zurich. She established contacts with women activists in Western Europe and in the Austrian Empire. Soon after returning to Galicia, she made a trip to the Russian Empire to learn of the work of Ukrainians there.

²⁶ Kravchenko's memoirs on her pedagogical activity, written for the volume, could not be included for considerations of space. Kobryns'ka assured her they would be used in the second volume, which she had every intention of publishing. There are many references to these plans. An interesting one is a letter of Lesia Ukraïnka to Pavlyk not to publish a story by Kobylans'ka in *Narod* because "we want it for *The Second Wreath*." *Olha Kobylans'ka v krytytsi ta spohadakh* (Kiev, 1963), p. 30.

²⁷ This is repeated by Soviet authors. N.O. Tomashuk, *Olha Kobylans'ka: zhyttia i tvorchist'* (Kiev, 1969), p. 18. This book is based upon archival material, including a number of letters by Kobryns'ka to Franko. In one of these letters, Kobryns'ka rejects a story sent by Kobylans'ka to *Pershyi vinok*, and Franko rejects another one. This would point to coeditorship at best; Tomashuk sees in Franko, however, "the actual editor of the almanac."

²⁸ Advertisements were run on the back covers of *Nasha dolia*.

Throughout her life Kobryns'ka complained that she did not have supporters. Yet by the end of the century, Ukrainian women were establishing various societies, participating in an organized fashion in demonstrations, sponsoring petitions, attending universities and publishing. Was Kobryns'ka petulant or self-centered? The answer is neither. It lay rather in the fact that Kobryns'ka insisted upon an explicit fusion of feminism and socialism. In the 1890s, when being attacked by the socialists for supporting the allegedly bourgeois goal of feminism, she was most vocal in arguing her genuine socialism. And she kept insisting on the need for the solidarity of all women, stressing the inevitable triumph of socialist ideas. This cost her the support of many women. While women were more than willing to organize day-care centers in the villages, few of them could accept Kobryns'ka's justification for her pet project—the bourgeois family was disintegrating under the inevitable economic developments and the day-care centers were the kernels of the new society, which would be based upon communal principles.²⁹

She expounded her views most cogently in the articles included in the three volumes of almanacs of Galician Ukrainian women's writings entitled *Nasha dolia* (Our Fate), edited and published by Kobryns'ka in 1893, 1895 and 1896 (the first one in Stryi, the latter two in L'viv). By clarifying her position, Kobryns'ka hoped to rally the women to unity under a feminist cause. She engaged in frank discussion of Galician politics and of Ukrainian political figures, which did little to further her popularity and which provoked criticism of her whole venture.

The situation was further complicated by personal relations. Kobryns'ka did not remarry, and kept people at a distance. She was generally addressed by the formal "madame," dressed in black and was a stately, imposing personage. Mykhailo Pavlyk, a peasant's son and proud of that socialist distinction, apparently fell in love with Kobryns'ka and wanted to free her from the drudgery of living in the village by offering his hand and his home. Kobryns'ka declined, and Pavlyk chose to interpret it not personally, but ideologically. He felt she had declined because he was a peasant's son and she came from the clergy—and thus that her socialist convictions were suspect. Rarely do we come across such frankness among socialist colleagues, and such lack of perception. Kobryns'ka accepted socialism for the scientific, political, and social doctrine she understood it to be; it was

²⁹ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, p. 18; Vol. III, pp. 7, 17.

not a way of life for her. Pavlyk was a passionate adherent of the theory; for him it was an identity symbol and a cause. That a woman should find him unattractive could only be due to his social upbringing and could not be a reflection upon his personality. Franko, tormented by his own unhappy personal experiences, which included rejection as a suitor by a priestly family, tried to mediate between the two, but without much success. The incident with Pavlyk had more than just personal implications for Kobryns'ka. Pavlyk's criticism—and he passed up no opportunity to criticize her and to goad others into criticizing her—made her stress the progressive elements of her views which she might otherwise not have done as strongly.³⁰

Kobryns'ka's argument with doctrinaire radicalism and socialism was two-fold. In the first place, within the Galician context, she argued the need to develop practical and effective modes of action, rather than to be content with adherence to ideology.³¹ Secondly, within the broader theoretical framework of socialism, she insisted that feminism, the legitimate striving of women for equality, should not be considered a bourgeois phenomenon.³² Agreeing with Klara Zetkin, for instance, on the interconnection between social needs and the position of women, she insisted that Zetkin was wrong in maintaining that among socialists and under socialism women would not have to struggle for their own rights. She argued that men would not automatically drop their tradition of male superiority simply because

³⁰ Two symptomatic patronizing passages will suffice: In reviewing the first volume of *Nasha dolia* in *Narod* (Kolomyia, February 1, 1894), Pavlyk wrote: "We raise these issues so that (Kobryns'ka) might once and for all admit the mistakes and getting rid of them, be better able to work for true progress amid our womanhood." In 1904, writing an introduction to his edition of a number of letters Drahomanov had written to Kobryns'ka, Pavlyk admonishes Kobryns'ka: "now that Kobryns'ka moved from Bolekhiv to L'viv she could have wholeheartedly dedicated herself toward raising the level of her unfortunate sisters." *Perepyska M. Drahomanova z N. Kobrynskoïu, 1893–1895* (L'viv, 1905), p. 15. Drahomanov himself was not very supportive of Kobryns'ka. Although acknowledging that the editorial board of *Narod* "got after you rather than seeing whether you are making any real progress in the cause" (letter of 3 I 1894 (22 XII 1893 OS.) *ibid.*, p. 18), he is sorry she had not translated Seignbos instead of writing the original works she had published. Certainly, a number of factual errors about the situation of the women in the Russian Empire did not endear the publication to Drahomanov.

³¹ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, pp. 10–14, 30–31.

³² *Nasha dolia*, Vol. II (L'viv, 1895), pp. 4–5.

the economic and social conditions had changed.³³ Kobryns'ka frequently pointed out that even the workers, unless specifically pressured by women, did not automatically work on behalf of women. For instance, in 1894 when the miners in Essen voted for an eight-hour day and at the same time opposed work for women, Kobryns'ka commented:

More realistic is the struggle of those women workers, who although they admit that the victory of the workers will also be their victory, do not forget to assert their rights and do not become dependent upon the good graces of men.³⁴

Progressive political parties, Kobryns'ka argued, were composed of males who would not automatically agree to modify the patriarchal family and admit women to real equality. They would have to be persuaded, in much the same fashion as the conservative *pater familias* had to be made to see the need for educating his daughters as well as his sons.

Kobryns'ka could not see the difference, upon which the socialists insisted, between the bourgeois and the working class women's movement. She saw the women's issue as a universal, not as a class phenomenon, the main characteristic of which was the struggle for equality. In "that great conglomerate, Austria" she likened the women's movement to the role the students had played initiating the revolutions of 1848.³⁵

But Kobryns'ka decried not only that women failed to perceive the communality of their own interests, but that male-dominated political parties consciously sowed discord among women. The right to vote and the right to work had no class barriers; the labor of the proletariat and the attempt of women to educate themselves for a profession reflected the same striving toward economic equality and the same need for productive labor. She considered the vote a legitimate political weapon, and maintained it be used as such by women of all classes to reduce the barriers among them and to better their lot.

Some of the women activists appear rather naive to us; they assure women-proletarians that the bourgeois right to vote will be of benefit only to the men; . . . while the proletarian men, when they acquire

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

³⁵ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. 1, p. 6.

the right to vote, won't forget about their helpers and will guarantee them their political rights.³⁶

Kobryns'ka was nevertheless most insistent that it was within the ranks of the progressive Social Democratic parties that women could best achieve their rights. She was especially adamant in her arguments with the Viennese women who supported the populist anti-Semitic Viennese mayor, Karl Lueger. Even within this context, however, she underlined her basic point:

It is a pity that the age-long slavery of women is etched as a scar in the concepts of men, so that women must struggle not only against the social order, which keeps them in slavery, but also with the prejudices (*poniattia*—loose translation) of men.³⁷

Kobryns'ka argued that the changed condition in the status of women would be inevitable because of the economic change in the country. Galicia was to be no exception to industrialization, increased employment of women outside the home, and urbanization.³⁸ No longer, as in the agricultural family, would the mother be able to juggle working in the home and the fields and caring for small children. Anyway, maintained Kobryns'ka, that juggling never really worked and at times resulted in tragedy for unattended children.

One of Kobryns'ka's favorite projects was the establishment of day-care centers in the villages. She saw the clerical and peasant women as being capable of organizing them, without government subsidies and, later, without assistance from the Polish Roman Catholic Sister Servants of the Mother of God. Kobryns'ka appended a statute for the day-care centers in the first volume of *Nasha dolia*.³⁹ She encouraged the Reverend Liubomyr Selians'kyi to write a transparently didactic story on the needs and the manner in which day-

³⁶ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. II, p. 16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁸ Kobryns'ka proved to be right. By 1900 12 percent of the working force in Galicia were women: Walentyna Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji*, Vol. I: *Galicja w latach 1900–1904* (Warsaw, 1958), p. 188. For a discussion of areas of eastern Galicia undergoing rapid economic change, see John-Paul Himka, *Polish and Ukrainian Socialism in Austria and in Galicia 1867–1890* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976), esp. p. 369.

³⁹ Pp. 94–100; see also Maria Nahirna, "Okhronky," *Nasha dolia*, Vol. II, pp. 51–54; as well as *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III, pp. 138–142.

care centers could be organized.⁴⁰ When the elementary school teachers broached the subject of day-care centers, which would be integrated into the school system, Kobryns'ka welcomed the idea but warned that the Polish educational authorities within the Austrian school system would use the opportunity to introduce Polish on the preschool level, thus undercutting the effectiveness of the program as far as the Ukrainian peasantry was concerned.⁴¹

While on the subject of the peasants, Kobryns'ka argued that their nutrition left much to be desired. Not only were their resources meager, but they did not use what they had effectively. When the women worked in the fields, the family went without hot food for days. Kobryns'ka proposed rationally prepared meals at a central kitchen in the village. That would ensure better nutrition for the family, an easier life for the overworked mother, and would signal the start of new forms of social organization.

Opposition to Kobryns'ka's ideas was voiced by the liberal-national camp, as much as by the conservatives and radicals. An article that is illustrative of a number of its kind entitled "Rodyna" (Family), in *Dilo* in August 1 and 28, 1891, accused the women of Kobryns'ka's ilk of destroying the family. If we keep in mind that the nuclear family, as contrasted with the more conventional extended one, which was typical in Galicia, was just in the process of formation, we can see that the reaction was similar to that in Western Europe in the first stages of industrialization. The Ukrainian situation was interesting in that the element of patriotism was brought into play openly. The family became the hearth of the nation, the woman the keeper of national identity, the transmitter of patriotism. Any attempt to wrest the woman from the home, including for education, was considered an attack on the nation.

To offset that contention, Kobryns'ka argued that educated women would be better mothers.⁴² At a rally of women, held in Stryi in May

⁴⁰ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III, pp. 67–87.

⁴¹ Ironically, the Ukrainian teachers' organization considered itself the author of the day-care scheme, dating it much later than Kobryns'ka's writing on the subject, Lev lasinchuk, *50 lit Ridnoi shkoly (1881–1931)* (L'viv, 1931) *passim*. I could locate only the heavily censored second edition after the first one was confiscated. Franko, too, was loathe to credit Kobryns'ka with originality, suggesting rather that she copied the idea of the day-care centers from the Czechs. She objected. *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III, p. 129.

⁴² *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, pp. 23–25; Vol. II, p. 1.

1890, which had been organized by Kobryns'ka, the women demanded higher and intermediate education and a women's periodical. In October of that year at a gathering of the radicals, Kobryns'ka specifically requested a column in the party organ, *Narod*. The matter was referred to Pavlyk. Pavlyk tried to organize a women's newspaper without Kobryns'ka and in opposition to Kobryns'ka's feminist plans. Both Pavlyk and Franko argued that an unpretentious non-feminist newspaper, aimed at the broad masses of women, would be more effective than the attempted sophistication of Kobryns'ka's writing. They could not get enough women interested in the venture. Olesia Bazhans'ka refused to serve as the editor, perhaps out of a sense of loyalty to Kobryns'ka.⁴³

Meanwhile, the radicals attacked Kobryns'ka for pampering the whims of ladies and not paying proper attention to the people. The liberal Ukrainians overlooked Ukrainian women and praised the Polish ones—as when Oleksander Barvins'kyi, the Galician Ukrainian deputy, opposed the petition of the Ukrainian women for higher education only to support a similar one by the Poles.⁴⁴ Professor Hryhor Tsehlyns'kyi accused Kobryns'ka of undermining religion, since she had failed to have a mass said to initiate the women's meeting in Stanyslaviv. Her subsequent favorable review of Zola's *Lourdes* did not endear her to the clerics either.⁴⁵ While *Pershyi vinok* had been greeted with encouraging words for women to continue their literary efforts, *Nasha dolia*, which sought to go beyond literature, drew fire from *Zoria*, *Narod* and *Zhyttia i slovo*, the leading Galician Ukrainian periodicals. The Ukrainian men were quick to praise the achievements of the Polish, Jewish, Russian women, even of Ukrainian women in the Russian Empire, but they denigrated the Galician Ukrainian women.⁴⁶

⁴³ Fuller discussion in Knysh, *Smoloskyp*, pp. 173–177 and *passim*. The matter dragged out for years. Kobryns'ka felt coverage of the Stryi rally was little and late.

⁴⁴ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. II, p. 9.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9 and 71–73.

⁴⁶ One of the earliest articles on the topic was Pavlo Hrab "Deshcho v spravi zhinochykh typiv," *Narod* (April 1–15, 1884), pp. 107–111. He stressed the similarity of Russian and Ukrainian women in the empire, their common ideological background, their heroic dedication, usually on behalf of some men, and expressed the hope that the Galician women would emulate their example. He was, however, very critical of the Polish women. For a later analysis, see "Emantsypatsiia nashoho zhino-

Kobryns'ka's rebuttals were viewed as those of a piqued woman. This hurt her even more than the criticism:

Why, if the polemics of men can be called the defense of truth, the heroic achievement in the field of civilization, cannot the polemics of women be of equal importance? Why is the answer of women to their male critics simply considered a quarrel, anger, attack, inability to differentiate individual matters from those of general significance?⁴⁷

She saw the attacks upon her as another example of ingrained male prejudice, symptomatic of the broader problems of civilization and of the women's movement as such:

Trivia ceases to be trivia when we take into consideration the blind faith of our women in male authority and the tragic economic dependence of women upon men. Certainly, anyone familiar with the situation of our women will recognize the full force of ill will of these seemingly casual words and comments.⁴⁸

Kobryns'ka avidly followed the women's movement outside Galicia and wrote informative articles about the activities of women in other countries. She was especially impressed by the American women and encouraged Ukrainian immigrant women in the United States to make full use of the opportunities the new country offered. She applauded the active manner in which the American women created opportunities for themselves.⁴⁹ Her publications included selections of poetry by Jewish women or on Jewish themes. Adelheid Popp, the editor of the Viennese *Arbeiterinnenzeitung*, and Anna Perl, a women's activist, contributed articles to *Nasha dolia*.⁵⁰

A major element in Kobryns'ka's world view was the stress upon the strong individual, the need for self-respect and self-sufficiency in women. "Weakness and despair," she wrote, "are the worst enemies of mankind, be they called pessimism or religion. . . or resignation."⁵¹

tstva" in the regular editorial column "Z zhytia i pys'menstva" in *Literaturno-Naukovyi vistnyk*, Vol. I (L'viv, 1898), p. 104.

⁴⁷ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. II, p. 98.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴⁹ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, pp. 79–80.

⁵⁰ *Nasha dolia*, Vol. III, pp. 63–67 and 17–30.

⁵¹ In a review of Nietzsche, in *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, p. 69. See also her "Nits'sheans'ki motyvy" in *Dilo* (June 20, 1907), pp. 1–2 and (June 21, 1907), pp. 1–2, as well as a

Two issues were particularly significant for women at the end of the nineteenth century. These were the right to public higher education and the right to vote. Kobryns'ka was closely involved in the initial stages of both causes. Since both could be achieved only on an all-empire level, they provided occasions for joint action by the various national groups of women in the Austrian Empire.

Due to the limited nature of educational opportunities available to the Ukrainian women, they were among the first in Austria to petition for the right of women to government funded schools. In April 1890, Kobryns'ka got together about forty Ukrainian women activists in Stryi where they held a public meeting and initiated a petition, supporting that of the Czech women, demanding educational opportunities for women. The text of the petition was sent to Polish and Ukrainian newspapers; the Polish ones did not publish it. The petition was signed by 226 Ukrainian women and the Reverend Ivan Ozarkevych presented it to the Reichsrat in May.⁵² On December 14, 1890, at a rally for universal suffrage held in L'viv, it was stressed that Czech, German, and Ruthenian women in the Austrian Empire had been the first to demand women's entrance into the universities.⁵³ At a women's rally held in L'viv on April 10, 1892, organized by the Polish women activists Felicja Nossig-Próchnikowa and Jadwiga Czajkowska, five Ukrainian women participated. Kobryns'ka delivered one of the major speeches. But common action faltered at the suggestion that the rally support a demand for a Ukrainian-language *Gymnasium* for women—a demand Polish women would not support. Kobryns'ka's wariness of cooperating with the Polish women was reinforced by this "hiding the Ruthenians behind the crinoline of the old Polish state," as well as by the opposition of the Polish Social-Democrats to a Polish women's organization.⁵⁴

Kobryns'ka cultivated contacts with other nationalities in the empire, especially with the Czechs. In 1891 she headed a group of

speech she delivered at the conference in honor of the rebirth of Ruthenian-Ukrainian literature held in L'viv in 1898, published in *Dilo*, no. 238 (1898).

⁵² Full text in Knysh, *Smoloskyp*, pp. 143–144.

⁵³ Kobryns'ka in *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, p. 8, was deeply hurt that the Polish and the Ukrainian press refused to acknowledge the initiative of Ukrainian women in Galicia in this endeavor.

⁵⁴ Kobryns'ka used *Rzeczpospolita*, *Nasha dolia*, Vol. I, p. 7.

Ukrainian women on an extended visit to the Czech part of the empire, where she met the leaders and the rank and file of the Czech women's movement. She was particularly impressed by Karolina Svetla, whose work she later had the young Olena Kysilevs'ka translate. She published Kysilevs'ka's translation as the first volume of a projected series for women.⁵⁵

By the first years of the 1890s, Kobryns'ka's pioneer work in the organization of Ukrainian women was done. She coaxed the Galician Ukrainian women into organizing their own societies and into attempts at publishing their newspapers. They became involved in some cooperative ventures with Polish women. More of them began attending schools, working professionally and becoming full participants in the social and economic processes in the land.

The Ukrainian women's movement, based upon some of Kobryns'ka's views, grew. Although Kobryns'ka was not very active in it, she was considered its founder, and after her death in January 1920 was duly honored as such. Kobryns'ka had predicted that after her death she would become an object of reverence. That realization only made her angry. She felt that the women with whom she had worked had not been sufficiently feminist and she did not want posthumous honors where she felt she had not received adequate support.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Kobryns'ka's account of the Czech trip "Spomyny z prohul'ky do Prahy." was published in *Zoria* (L'viv, 1891), pp. 438–39 and 455–56.

⁵⁶ Duchymins'ka in *Zhinocha dolia* (June 15, 1934), p. 7.

The Language Question as a Factor in the National Movement

Paul R. Magocsi

REFLECTING IN COMPARATIVE terms on the nature of nationalism, the well-known student of the subject, Hans Kohn, wrote: "In Western Europe, modern nationalism was the work of statesmen and political leaders . . . In Central and Eastern Europe it was the poet, the philologist, and the historian who created the nationalities."¹ Indeed, local nationalist leaders who represented stateless peoples were well aware of the importance of language for the movements they were propagating. Most had looked toward the German experience for ideological inspiration. Already in the late eighteenth century the historian-philosopher, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) posed the now oft-quoted rhetorical question: "Has a people anything dearer than the speech of its fathers? In its speech resides its whole thought domain, its tradition, history, religion, and basis of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive a people of its speech is to deprive it of its one eternal good."² Contemporary German writers like Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860), Friedrich Jahn (1778–1852), and the Grimm brothers, Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859), adhered to the precepts of Herder, and soon after national awakeners in the Slavic lands followed their lead. It is no coincidence that during the first half of the nineteenth century, national revivals in Eastern Europe were led by individuals who were linguists either by profession or by avocation—Dobrovský

¹ Cited in Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1976), front papers.

² *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* (1783), cited in Carlton J.H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, 1928), p. 3.

and Jungmann among the Czechs, Štúr among the Slovaks, Kopitar among the Slovenes. Karadžić among the Serbs, and Gaj among the Croats. Commenting on the language factor from the standpoint of the Habsburg ruling establishment, Minister of Education Count Leo Thun remarked: "The language of a people is itself the people, it is its ego and its essence; it is with most profound and holy interests integrally linked to [a people's] spiritual and moral development."³

This principle of Count Thun was known in Galicia, and Iakiv Holovats'kyi (1814–1888) used it as an introductory epigram in his 1849 pamphlet about the relation of eastern Galician dialects to other Ukrainian and East Slavic languages. At the same time, Holovats'kyi published a theoretical discussion on the role of language in Galician Ukrainian national life and argued: "The vernacular language, [which] is the word of God given to mankind for the expression and edification of the human spirit, best expresses the particular life of a people."⁴ These statements summed up the importance that Galician Ukrainian leaders placed on language as a factor in the national movement throughout the course of the nineteenth century.

Galicia was an ethnically mixed province of the Habsburg Empire. The dominant nationalities were the Poles and Ukrainians, followed by a considerable number of Jews. In 1854, Galicia had 4,555,477 inhabitants, 41 percent of whom were Poles, 50 percent Ukrainians, and the remainder mostly Jews. By 1911, the population of the region had almost doubled, to 7,980,477, with the Poles making up 48 percent of the population and the Ukrainians 40 percent. The Ukrainians, or *Ruthenen* (Ruthenians) as they were officially known, for the most part lived in the eastern half of Galicia.

In comparison to other Slavic nationalities in the empire, the Ukrainians were latecomers in the process of national consolidation. Although the Czechs, Serbs, Croats, and Slovaks had worked out most of the elements of a national ideology by the 1850s, this process among Galician Ukrainians was only just beginning. Until the 1890s, members of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia struggled with one another in an attempt to work out a common national identity. By the end of the nineteenth century, the two most influential factions

³ Cited as an introductory epigram in Iakov Holovatskyi, *Rozprava o iazytsi iuzhno-rouskômi y eho narichiiakh* (L'viv, 1849), p. 1.

⁴ Iakov Holovatskyi, *Try vstupytel'niy predopodavaniia o ruskôi slovesnosti* (L'viv, 1849), pp. 3–4.

were the Russophiles, who considered the Slavic population of eastern Galicia to be part of a unified eastern Slavic Rus' people, subsequently referred to as the one and undivided (*edinaia i nedelimaia*) Russian people; and the Ukrainophiles, who saw themselves as part of a distinct Ukrainian people, who lived not only in the southern part of the Russian Empire (Dnieper Ukraine), but also in the Austro-Hungarian territories of eastern Galicia, northern Bukovina, and northeastern Hungary. There were also some polonized Galician Ukrainians, who felt the fate of their people must remain closely linked to that of the Poles. However, by the second half of the nineteenth century, such Polonophiles remained decidedly in the minority.

The major factions were the Russophiles and Ukrainophiles, and although they made some attempts at reconciliation, they never reached an accord. Instead, they engaged in an ideological battle for the allegiance of the local population. By the 1890s, the Ukrainophiles had won, although the Russophiles continued to attract adherents, albeit at a diminishing level, down to and even after World War I. Among the ideological weapons brandished in the Russophile-Ukrainophile struggle, language played a significant role.

The language problem in Galicia was not very different from that faced by other national groups. Sociolinguists such as Joshua Fishman, Einar Haugen, and Robert Auty have found similar patterns in formulating a national language.⁵ Leaders may attempt one or a combination of several alternatives: the revival of a traditional language, usually one found in religious texts; the creation of a new standard based on one dialect or a fusion of closely related dialects; or the adoption of an already established language used by neighboring or related peoples. The intelligentsia in eastern Galicia tried singly and in combination each of these alternatives.

The literature covering the whole historical development of the language question in Galicia is limited to an introductory survey by

⁵ Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays* (Rowley, Mass., 1972), pp. 40ff.; Einar Haugen, *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 3–26; Robert Auty, "The Linguistic Revival Among the Slavs of the Austrian Empire, 1780–1850: The Role of Individuals in the Codification and Acceptance of New Literary Languages," *The Modern Language Review*, LIII, 3 (London, 1958), pp. 392–404.

Vasyl' Lev and several sections from histories of the Ukrainian literary language and press by Pavlo P. Pliushch and Mykhailo Zhovtobriukh.⁶ The vast majority of the literature concentrates on certain aspects of the problem or on specific periods. The early alphabet disputes of the 1830s have received detailed attention in the work of Ivan Franko, Osyp Makovei, Mykhailo Vozniak, and Vasyl' Shchurat;⁷ the post-revolutionary period of the 1850s has been analyzed by Kyrilo Studyns'kyi, Ostap Terlets'kyi, and Pylyp Svystun.⁸ The abortive attempts at alphabet reform undertaken by the Galician Polish governor in 1859 in particular have received much attention, as in the collection of materials and accounts by Ivan Franko, Ivan Filevich and Ilarion Svientsits'kyi.⁹ Finally, the problem of late nineteenth-century Galician

⁶ Vasyl' Lev, "Borot'ba za ukrains'ku literaturnu movu v Halychyni ta kharakter ii," *Zbirnyk na poshanu Ivana Mirchuka*, in *Naukovyi zbirnyk Ukraïns'koho naukovooho universytetu*, VIII (Munich–New York–Paris–Winnipeg, 1974), pp. 67–86; P.P. Pliushch, *Istoriia ukrains'koi literaturnoi movy* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 333–350; M.A. Zhovtobriukh, *Mova ukrains'koi presy (do seredyny dev'ianostykh rokiv XIX st.)* (Kiev, 1963), pp. 113ff., and his *Mova ukrains'koi periodychnoi presy (kinets' XIX-pochatok XX st.)* (Kiev, 1970), especially pp. 19–56. The language question, in particular from the standpoint of the alphabet, figures in a study by Kost' Kysilevs'kyi, "Istoriia ukrains'koho pravopysnoho pytannia: sprobha syntezy," *Zapysky Naukovoho tov. im. Shevchenka*, CLXV (New York and Paris, 1956), pp. 74–114.

⁷ Ivan Franko, "Azbuchna viina v Halychyni 1859 r.," *Zapysky Naukovoho tov. im. Shevchenka*, CXIV–CXVI (L'viv, 1913), pp. 81–116, 131–153, 87–125; Osyp Makovei, "Try halyts'ki hramatyky," *ibid.*, LI and LIV (L'viv, 1903), 96 p.; Mykhailo Vozniak, "Studii nad halyts'ko ukrains'kymy hramatykamy XIX v.," *ibid.*, LXXXIX–XCI (L'viv, 1909), pp. 111–143, 33–118, 126–150 and XCIII–XCV (1910), pp. 90–131, 107–161, 83–106 and XCVIII (1910), pp. 77–146; Mykhailo Vozniak, "Avtorstvo azbuchnoi statti z 1834 r.," *ibid.*, CXXXVI–CXXXVII (L'viv, 1925), pp. 107–118, and his "Apologiia kyrylytsi Denysa Zubryts'koho," *ibid.*, CL (L'viv, 1929), pp. 122–142; Vasyl' Shchurat, "Azbuchna statia Mykoly Kmytsykevycha z 1834 r.," *ibid.*, LXXXI (L'viv, 1908), pp. 134–144.

⁸ Ostap Terlets'kyi, *Halyts'ko-rus'ke pys'menstvo 1848–1865 rr.* (L'viv, 1903); Kyrilo Studyns'kyi, introduction to *Korespondentsia Iakova Holovats'koho v liut 1850–62*, in *Zbirnyk fil'ol'ogichnoi sektsyi Naukovoho tov. im. Shevchenka*, VIII–IX (L'viv, 1905), pp. i–clxi; F. Svystun, "Kril. o. Nikita Izhak iako tsenzor galitsko-russkikh izdaniï v 1852–1857 gg.," *Viestnik 'Narodnogo Doma'*, XXV (III), 5 and 6 (L'viv, 1907), pp. 70–76 and 90–94, and his "Materialy dlia istorii iazykovoi bor'by u russkikh galichan," *ibid.*, XXXI (IX), 3–4 (L'viv, 1913), pp. 67–80.

⁹ Ivan Franko, "Azbuchna viina," CXVI, pp. 87–125; and his compilation *Azbuchna viina v Halychyni 1859 r.: novi materiialy*. In *Ukraïns'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv*, Vol. VIII

Ukrainian-Dnieper Ukrainian relations concerning the formation of a Ukrainian literary standard has been treated in detail by George Shevelov.¹⁰

In their analyses of language and of nationalism in general in nineteenth-century eastern Galicia, most authors view the language question as a political phenomenon. Their descriptions inevitably sympathize with one of the main contending national factions—either the Ukrainophiles or the Russophiles. The Russophile interpretation is best represented by the work of Pylyp Svystun and Ivan Fylyevych. They viewed all attempts to employ local vernacular as an effort by the Austrian government, in cooperation with Ukrainian “separatists,” to undermine both politically and culturally the supposed unity and strength of Russian civilization. Non-Marxist Ukrainian authors such as Ostap Terlets'kyi, Ivan Franko, Osyp Makovei, Kyrilo Studyns'kyi, Mykhailo Vozniak, and Vasyl' Lev, view the gradual introduction of the vernacular, which resulted in the codification of a Ukrainian literary language, as a healthy replacement for the antiquated and artificial language (described pejoratively as the *iazychiie*) of the Russophiles. Such Marxist authors as Pavlo Pliushch and Mykhailo Zhovtobriukh basically adopt the Ukrainophile interpretation, although they are critical of bourgeois-national Ukrainian leaders in Galicia (which means practically everyone but Franko and Pavlyk) for their supposedly overriding concern with class interests and their all-too-often “demagogic” anti-Russian stance.

It could also be argued that the debates over the language question were but a symbolic reflection of deeper socioeconomic changes within Galician society. In March 1848, the Habsburg government liberated the serfs and, as a result, the peasant masses, which comprised ninety-five percent of Galician Ukrainian society, had for the first time to be considered a real force in political, economic, and cultural life. Some moved to towns and cities, and a Ukrainian middle class came into existence. Within three decades,

(L'viv, 1912); Ivan Filevich, *Iz istorii Karpatskoi Rusi: ocherki galitsko-russkoi zhizni s 1772 g. (1848–1866)* (Warsaw, 1907), esp. pp. 137–162; and Ilarion Svientsitskii, ed., *Materialy po istorii vrozozhdeniia Karpatskoi Rusi*, Vol. II, in *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-russkoi Matitsy*, VI, 3–4 (L'viv, 1909), pp. 21–38.

¹⁰ George Y. Shevelov, *Die ukrainische Schriftsprache 1798–1965* (Wiesbaden, 1966). See also Paul Wexler, *Purism and Language*, Indiana University Publications, Language Science Monographs, Vol. 11 (Bloomington, Indiana, 1974), pp. 39–109.

the intelligentsia, which had previously been composed almost exclusively of priests, soon found more lawyers, journalists, tradesmen, and other secular elements (many of whom were of peasant background) within its ranks. And, the Ukrainian peasantry, middle classes, and secular intelligentsia had needs that the old social and cultural framework could not fulfill.

One of these needs was language, that is, a language used not solely for religious purposes and other esoteric pursuits, but as a living means of communication in all sectors (educational, political, administrative, or commercial) of the rapidly modernizing Galician society. It is no mere coincidence, as we shall see below, that just one generation after the 1848 revolution, that is, during the 1870s, the first split occurred in Galician Ukrainian cultural life—and the issue that prompted the split was language.

Although politics played a role in the linguistic debates, an exclusively political analysis of the polemics about language tends to distort the elements involved. Viewing the issue as a simple dichotomy between Russophiles and Ukrainophiles does not reflect the reality of the situation. At least until 1870, the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia consisted only of Old Ruthenians (*starorusyny*), traditionalists whose national horizons did not extend beyond the borders of Austrian Galicia.¹¹ Earlier, a few Polonophiles may have favored the adoption of the Polish alphabet and perhaps political accommodation with the Poles, but they never supported linguistic or national assimilation.

Two groups evolved within the Old Ruthenians: first in the 1870s, the populists, later known as Ukrainophiles; then in the 1890s, the Russophiles. These chronological divisions were never very clear, and some individuals may have changed their orientation several times. And to be sure, there were still some Old Ruthenians left even after the younger Russophiles, and most especially the Ukrainophiles dominated the scene. Consequently, by the end of the nineteenth century, Galician Ukrainian society had intellectual leaders representing at least three national orientations: the ever-dwindling tradi-

¹¹ Generally, the traditionalist Old Ruthenians are lumped together with the Russophiles. The first author to criticize this incorrect view was Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Halyts'ko-rus'ke pys'mensvo* (L'viv, 1876), esp. pp. 14–33. See also the excellent appraisal of the Old Ruthenians in Mykola Andrusiak, *Narysy z istorii halyts'koho moskvofil'stva* (L'viv, 1935), esp. pp. 15–45.

tionalist Old Ruthenians and the younger, more modernist Ukrainophiles and Russophiles.

But what was originally at issue among the intelligentsia of eastern Galicia was not whether one was an Old Ruthenian, a Ukrainophile, a Russophile, or even a Polonophile, but whether or not one was a traditionalist or a modernizer. Adopting the framework established by modern sociolinguists, one can observe in eastern Galicia basically two factions: the traditionalists, who wanted to maintain the Slaveno-Rusyn book language, written in etymological script; and the modernizers, who saw in the vernacular (Galician Ukrainian) or in a foreign medium (Russian) a potential language that could effectively represent and strengthen the national movement. The underlying theme in the debates both between traditionalists and modernizers as well as among themselves was the question of dignity. That is, which linguistic form—a traditional language, some local vernacular, or even a neighboring literary language—had the dignity and respect necessary to represent the Slavic culture of eastern Galicia? In a real sense, the Old Ruthenians, the Ukrainophiles, the Russophiles, even the Polonophiles, were all loyal to their homeland and nationality. Each, however, had a different perception of which linguistic medium would be most appropriate for achieving respect both in their own eyes and in the eyes of others.

That the language question became an issue at all is integrally related to the policies of the Austrian government. During the reigns of Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and later her son Joseph II (1780–1790), the Habsburg administration expressed an interest in establishing a comprehensive educational system for all citizens of the empire. It felt that a properly educated populace would be the best guarantee for a strong and integrated society and state. The principles established in the late eighteenth century remained in force until the end of the empire; that is, schools at the primary level were to instruct their pupils in the local national tongue. As for the Slavic inhabitants of eastern Galicia, Austrian officials realized from the beginning that their language was not Polish, but rather Ruthenian (*ruthenisch*). However, they were not clear as to what *ruthenisch* actually meant. Similarly, the local intelligentsia was faced with the same problem when it was called upon to prepare textbooks, and teach in this *ruthenische Sprache*. Just what was this language? The answer to that question varied from one leader to another and from one generation to the next.

The language question in eastern Galicia can be approached from three aspects or stages: the war between the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets; the theories and programs of the traditionalists; and the theories and programs of the modernizers. The first extensive controversy revolved around the external form of the language, its alphabet. Like the Serbs and Croats, the Galician Ukrainians also had an alphabet war, although of lesser proportions. As Eastern Rite Christians, Galician Ukrainians had for centuries used the Old Slavonic alphabet (*kyrylytsia*) in their religious publications. Because religion and ethno-national identity were basically synonymous, the Old Slavonic alphabet became, in essence, an external symbol of Galician Ukrainian nationality.

The first threat to this symbol came during the first decades of the nineteenth century, when Austrian officials, fearful of tsarist Russia, became suspicious of what they suspected as linguistic and cultural similarities between its own Ruthenians (that is, Ukrainians) and the Russians. In 1816, the Galician provincial administration, supported by the local Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy, called for the introduction of Polish textbooks in Ruthenian schools, but this attempt was adamantly rejected by the Greek Catholic metropolitan in L'viv, Mykhailo Levyts'kyi (1774–1858), who at the same time argued that the local Ruthenian speech was a full-fledged language quite distinct from Russian.¹² During the 1820s and 1830s the metropolitan and writers like Ivan Mohyl'nyts'kyi (1811–1873) and Iosyf Levyts'kyi (1801–1860) argued in their grammars and essays that Ruthenian was not Russian but rather a separate language related to the speech spoken in both Galicia and in the southern part of Russia.¹³ Although such opinions were expressed from time to time in publications, the Galician intelligentsia did not have the organized strength to press the issue until 1848.

¹² The metropolitan's 1821 tract is reprinted in Filevich, *Iz istorii*, p. 24.

¹³ Ioann Mohyl'nytskii, "O języku ruskim," *Czasopism Naukowy Księgozbioru Publicznego im. Ossolińskich*, II (L'viv, 1829), republished in Russian translation: "O russkoi iazykie," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvieshcheniia*, no. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1838), pp. 17–43; [Iosyf Levyts'kyi], "Das Schicksal der gallizisch-russischen Sprache und Literatur," *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft*, II (Leipzig, 1844), pp. 183–185, 206–210.

For a detailed analysis of the grammars, see Vozniak, "Studii," LXXXIX, pp. 115–143 and XC, pp. 33–79, 92–109.

More representative of the time was Iosyf Lozyns'kyi (1807–1889). While defending the status of Ruthenian as a language, he proposed that its publication appear in Latin script.¹⁴ To illustrate his point, Lozyns'kyi published in 1835 an ethnographic study and in 1846 a Ruthenian grammar, both in a Polish-based Latin alphabet.¹⁵ At the same time, Ivan Vahylevych (1811–1866) published a Ruthenian grammar and pointed out the advantages for Galician Ukrainians if they were to use the Latin alphabet.¹⁶ Neither Lozyns'kyi nor Vahylevych were assimilationists, however; rather, by following the precepts of the influential Slovenian philologist, Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), they felt that Galician Ukrainian literature and culture could best enter the realm of western Slavic and general European culture if it employed a Latin alphabet. In a sense, Lozyns'kyi and Vahylevych were modernists, wanting to develop the Galician Ukrainian vernacular, albeit in Latin script, as a legitimate medium of written communication.

As might be expected, the efforts to employ the Latin alphabet were supported by several Polish writers like Wacław Zaleski, August Bielowski, and Anton Dąbcański.¹⁷ Unlike Lozyns'kyi and Vahylevych, however, these men considered Galician Ukrainian to be a dialect of Polish and felt that Ukrainians could only survive if they assimilated with the Poles. It was precisely the danger of national assimilation that in 1834 prompted Iosyf Levyts'kyi and a young seminary student, Markiiian Shashkevych (1811–1843) to refute the use by their countryman, Lozyns'kyi, of the Latin alphabet for Galician Ukrainian writings.¹⁸ Another attempt at using a Polish-

¹⁴ "O wprowadzeniu abecadła polskiego do piśmiennictwa ruskiego," *Rozmaitości*, no. 29 (L'viv, 1834).

¹⁵ *Ruskoje wesile* (Przemyśl, 1835) and *Gramatyka języka ruskiego (mało-ruskiego)* (Przemyśl, 1846). On Lozyns'kyi's grammar, see Vozniak, "Studii," XC, pp. 109–118 and XCI, pp. 126–14.

¹⁶ J. Wagilewicz, *Gramatyka języka maloruskiego w Galicyi* (L'viv, 1845). For an analysis of this grammar, see Vozniak, "Studii," XCII, pp. 90–120.

¹⁷ Zaleski published 574 Galician Ukrainian folk songs (using a Polish-based Latin alphabet) in his *Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego* (L'viv, 1833). See also Anton Dąbcański, *Die ruthenische Frage in Galizien* (L'viv, 1848), pp. 20–22, and the discussion in Franko, "Azbuchna viina," pp. 95–99.

¹⁸ J. Lewicki, "Odpowiedź na zdanie o zaprowadzenie abecadła polskiego do piśmiennictwa ruskiego," Supplement to *Rozmaitości*, no. 52 (L'viv, 1834); [M. Shashkevych], *Azbuka i abecadło* (Przemyśl, 1836). Cf. the text and discussion of an unpublished anti-

based Latin alphabet came during the revolutionary events of 1848, when the Polonophile Ruthenian Council (Ruskij Sobor), supporting the idea of political accommodation with the Poles, published nine issues of a newspaper, *Dnewnyk Ruskij*, edited by Ivan Vahylevych. But the more influential Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada) came out unequivocally against the Latin alphabet, and in the decade that followed the Cyrillic alphabet, both the traditional Old Slavonic (*kyrylytsia*) and more modern civil (*hrazhdanka*) scripts, was used in Galician Ukrainian publications.¹⁹

Unlike previous developments, the last stage in the alphabet war did not originate with the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia. Rather, in 1859 the Austrian Ministry of Religion and Education in Vienna, together with the support of the Polish governor of Galicia, Agenor Gołuchowski, requested the Czech linguist Josef Jireček (1825–1888) to study the problem of language among Galician Ukrainians. The result was a detailed report in which Jireček proposed introducing a Czech- (not Polish-) based Latin alphabet for Galician Ukrainians.²⁰ In May 1859 Gołuchowski called a meeting of Ukrainian leaders to have Jireček's proposal adopted. When the leaders resisted, the government was forced to end its interference in the Galician Ukrainian language question.²¹ Thus, beginning in the 1860s, it became

Polish alphabet tract written in 1834 and attributed variously to Mykola Kmytsykevych and Denys Zubryts'kyi: Shchurat, "Azbuchna statia"; Vozniak, "Avtorstvo azbuchnoi statii," and his "Apologiia kyrylytsi"; and the discussion by Makovei, "Try halyts'ki hramatyky," LI, pp. 31–44 and LIV, pp. 77–96; and Franko, "Azbuchna viina," CXIV, pp. 102–116.

¹⁹ Franko, "Azbuchna viina," CXV, pp. 131–153; Kysilevs'kyi, "Istoria," pp. 86–89; Mykhailo Vozniak, "Projekt pravopysy Ivana Zhukivs'koho na z'izdi 'rus'kykh uchenykh'," *Zapysky Naukovoho tov. im. Shevchenka*, LXXXII, 2 (L'viv, 1908), pp. 53–86.

²⁰ Joseph Jireček, *Ueber den Vorschlag das Ruthenische mit lateinischen Schriftzeichen zu schreiben* (Vienna, 1859). Jireček's proposal is analyzed in great detail by Franko, "Azbuchna viina," CXVI, pp. 87–96. See also Vasyli' Simovych, "Iosyf Jirechek i ukrains'ka mova," *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho vysokoho pedahohichnoho instytutu im. M. Drahomanova: naukovyj zbirnyk*, II (Prague, 1934).

²¹ The protocols of the four meetings in 1859 as well as related documents appear in *Die ruthenische Sprach- und Schriftfrage in Galizien* (L'viv, 1861). See also the contemporary pamphlets of Bohdan Didyts'kyi: *O nieudobnosti latynskoi azbuky v pys'mennosti ruskoi* (Vienna, 1859) and *Spor o ruskuiu azbukiu* (L'viv, 1859); the correspondence from 1859 reproduced in Franko, *Azbuchna viina . . . novi materialy*;

clear that Galician Ukrainian writings would appear only in the Cyrillic alphabet and for the most part in civil script.²²

Although the question of basic external form had been settled, the problem of content still remained. In short, what was the Ruthenian language? While attempting to answer that question, Galician Ukrainian theorists were largely influenced by the conflicting opinions of two influential Slavic scholars, the Czech leader and patron saint of Pan-Slavism, Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), and the Slovenian philologist, Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844). Dobrovský believed that there should be a difference between the book or written language and the spoken language of a people, while Kopitar argued that the written language should as closely as possible reflect the vernacular.²³

The traditionalists in eastern Galicia started from the premise that the language of old chronicles and religious texts ought to be the basis for an acceptable literary language. This so-called Slaveno-Rusyn book language took as its departure the Old Slavonic grammar of Meletii Smotryts'kyi (1578–1633), published in four editions between 1619 and 1721. By the early nineteenth century, the Galician variety of Slaveno-Rusyn had acquired a substantial number of dialectal influences. The important point, however, was that this language, in one form or another, appeared in old books, whether of a secular or religious nature. In short, it had a tradition, it had prestige!

Already in the 1820s, Ivan Mohyl'nyts'kyi composed a Slaveno-Rusyn grammar, never published, in which he argued that there

and the Polish view on this period by K. Ostaszewski-Barański, *Agenor Gołuchowski i Rusini w roku 1859* (L'viv, 1910).

²² Indeed, certain details regarding the alphabet still remained to be worked out. The Old Ruthenians and Russophiles preferred the etymological civil script, while the populist Ukrainophiles adopted a phonetic civil script. Moreover, until the 1890s, the Ukrainophiles first used an alphabet devised in the Dnieper Ukraine by Mykhailo Maksymovych, and then switched to the alphabet of the Galician linguist Ievhen Zhelekhiv's'kyi. Kysilev's'kyi, "Istoriia," pp. 91–96, 102–105.

²³ For the impact of these two Slavists on Galician Ukrainians, see Makovei, "Try halyts'ki hramatyky," LI, pp. 1–31 and LIV, pp. 59–76; Ivan Bryk, "Iosyf Dobrov's'kyi i ukraїnoznauvstvo," *Zapysky Naukovoho tov. im. Shevchenka*, CXLI–CXLIII (L'viv, 1925), 35 p.; Mykhailo Tershakovets', "Vidnosyny Vartolomeia Kopitara do halyts'ko-ukraїns'koho pys'menstva," *ibid.*, XCIV–XCV (L'viv, 1910), pp. 84–106 and 107–154; Kyrylo Studyn's'kyi, "Kopitar i Zubryts'kyi," *ibid.*, CXXV (L'viv, 1918), pp. 115–164; and Vasyl' Shchurat, "V. Kopitar i ep. lv. Snihurs'kyi," *ibid.*, CXXV (L'viv, 1918), pp. 165–200.

should be a special book language for the educated classes and a vernacular-oriented language for the people.²⁴ This two-language theory was maintained throughout the nineteenth century by a group of traditionalists, best represented by writers like Denys Zubryts'kyi (1777–1862), Ivan Hushalevych (1823–1903), Ivan Naumovych (1826–1891), Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1827–1908), and Antin Petrushevych (1821–1913). In subsequent historical writings, these men have been called Russophiles, or Muscophiles, implicitly suggesting that they identified themselves as Russians and wanted to introduce the Russian language for use in Galician publications. In a sense, this is true, but only if we understand what these writers meant when they used the term “Russian.” Their interpretation of language was perhaps most concisely summed up in a speech by Ivan Naumovych delivered before the Galician Diet in December 1866:

Our language has a thousand-year-old history. Some state that our language is Muscovite. We don't know the Muscovite language, just as we don't know the Muscovite people. That there are similarities between the languages of all Slavs and that our language is similar to the written language used in Moscow is not our fault . . . The Great Russian book language (*knizhnyi velikoruskii iazyk*) is basically Little Russian, created by Little Russians. By accepting the Great Russian book language, we are taking back only what is properly ours. The similarity of our language with that of all Rus' cannot be destroyed by anyone in the world, neither by laws, by diets, or by ministers.²⁵

The argument here is clear: all the eastern Slavs are closely related and should be culturally united by one written language. In the past, that language was ostensibly Church Slavonic; the modern version was now described as “Russian” or the so-called Slaveno-Rusyn developed by Ukrainian scholars who worked in Moscow during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With this in mind, Bohdan Didyts'kyi proposed that “Great” and “Little” Russians should have a common written language to be pronounced in different ways.²⁶ In the hands of the Galician traditionalists, this language was Slaveno-

²⁴ For a description of Mohylnyts'kyi's grammar, see Vozniak, “Studii,” LXXXIV, pp. 115–143, LXC, pp. 33–79.

²⁵ Cited in Filipp I. Svistun, *Prikarpatskaia Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* (1897; 2nd ed. Trumbull, Conn., 1970), pp. 267–268.

²⁶ B. Diditskii, *Svoezhyt'evyy zapysky*, Vol. I (L'viv, 1906), pp. 10–14, and 64–65.

Rusyn, with varying degrees of Great Russian borrowings and local dialectisms—an uncoded conglomerate referred to by its populist antagonists as the *iazychiie*. What did this language have to do with the Great Russian writings of Pushkin, Turgenev, and Tolstoy? Not much. As the contemporary Russian literary scholar Aleksandr Pypin commented: the Galicians write in a language similar to Lomonosov and Sumarokov, during the eighteenth century, when Great Russian had not yet fully liberated itself from the Old Slavonic tradition.²⁷

The traditionalists made use of their version of “Russian” in the newspaper *Slovo* (L’viv, 1861–1887) and in the official publications of the national organizations they controlled: the *Vremennyyk* (L’viv, 1864–1915) of the Stauropigial Institute; the *Naukovyi* (later *Lyteraturnyi*) *sbornyk* (L’viv, 1865–1873, 1885–1890, 1896–1897) of the Galician Rus’ Matytsa; and the *Vistnyk* (L’viv, 1882–1914) of the National Home. Whenever these and other publications proved unpopular, however, they switched to the two-language principle as in Naumovych’s *Nauka* (Kolomyia–L’viv–Vienna, 1871–1914), which used the vernacular for the masses as opposed to book “Russian” for the educated elite. The two-language principle had been outlined as early as 1849 at the inaugural session of the first Ruthenian cultural organization, the Galician-Ruthenian Cultural Society. Despite the fact that the majority present opted for using a vernacular-based language (*prosty iazyk*), the Old Ruthenian Antin Petrushevych pushed through a resolution embodying the following principle:

Everything intended for the general education of the people should be published and printed as much as is possible in that language which is living at the time in the mouths of the people; on the other hand, matters of more developed science, which are intended for circles of literate people, should be published in that written language, which has the beginnings of its development in the distant past, and which is erroneously called Great Russian (*chisto-rossiiskii*).²⁸

Thus, the Old Ruthenian traditionalists maintained the two-language principle in their writings. They were convinced that the respect and prestige needed for a national language could not be found in the

²⁷ A. Pypin, “Osobyi russkii iazyk,” *Viestnik Evropy*, XXIII, 11 (St. Petersburg, 1888), p. 357.

²⁸ Cited in Filevich, *Iz istorii*, p. 103.

local vernacular, but rather in an already established Slaveno-Rusyn book language, which they described as "Russian," but which in fact was an uncoded Galician recension of Church Slavonic. They allowed the use of the vernacular only when dealing with the unlettered masses, whom they hoped would eventually have enough education to employ only the Slaveno-Rusyn language when dealing with serious matters.

While the traditionalists followed the precepts of Dobrovský, the modernizers or, as they were known, the populist Ukrainophiles, heeded Kopitar's call to develop the local vernacular as a medium for written communication. Generally, this principle was acceptable to the Austrian government, and when Vienna finally realized that the people in question were in fact not Russian, in the sense of Great Russian, it lent its support to the populist Ukrainophile movement which it viewed as a stopgap to the threat of infiltration from the tsarist East.

A vernacular-based language began to appear in publications during the 1830s. The most important of these was the first book of secular literature, *Rusalka dnistrovaia*, published in 1837 by a group of writers, Markiiian Shashkevych, Iakiv Holovats'kyi, and Ivan Vahylevych, known as the Ruthenian Triad. *Rusalka dnistrovaia* was based on Galician Ukrainian dialects, but even more revolutionary was the fact that it was printed in a phonetic variety of the civil script. For this reason, it was refused for publication by the Galician censor, and had to be printed in Budapest. The use of vernacular and a phonetic alphabet, instead of the traditional Old Slavonic or etymological civil scripts, were to be the hallmarks of the populist Ukrainian movement.

The vernacular principle was given a further boost during the revolutionary period of 1848–1849. Both the Congress of Rusyn Scholars (Sobor Rus'kykh Uchenykh) and the political body, the Supreme Ruthenian Council, called for the introduction of "that language, which our people speak" (*toho iazyka, iakym nash narod hovoryt*).²⁹ Moreover, the Supreme Ruthenian Council made a clear distinction between Ruthenians and Russians, stating that the two and one half million Galician Ruthenians were part of the fifteen-million strong Ruthenian (that is, Ukrainian) nation that inhabits

²⁹ Cited in Lev, "Borot'ba," p. 73.

not only Galicia but southern Russia, Bukovina, and northeastern Hungary as well.

Despite such declarations, however, the leading newspaper of the time, *Zoria halytska* (L'viv, 1849–1857), as well as other publications were for the most part written in the traditional Slaveno-Rusyn book language, now supplemented with an increasing number of Great Russian borrowings.³⁰ It was not until the 1860s that, under the influence of the Ukrainian and Russian language journal *Osnova* (1861–1862) published in St. Petersburg, that the Galician populists began to publish several periodicals in the local vernacular: *Vechnytsi* (L'viv, 1862–1863), *Meta* (L'viv, 1863–1865), *Nyva* (L'viv, 1865), *Rusalka* (L'viv, 1866), and *Pravda* (L'viv, 1867–1896). Attempts to standardize this vernacular were first put forward in a grammar (1863) by Mykhailo Osadtsa (1836–1865) and in a German-Ruthenian dictionary (1867) by Omelian Partyts'kyi (1840–1895), then in grammars (1880, 1889) by Omelian Ohonovs'kyi (1833–1894) and more importantly in the two-volume Ruthenian-German dictionary (1886) by Ievhen Zhelekhivs'kyi (1844–1885).³¹ The latter work set a standard popularly known as the *Zhelekhivka*, which was to be approved by the Austrian government and employed in the four editions of the widely used grammar by Stepan Smal'-Stots'kyi (1859–1938) and Fedor Gartner (1843–1925).³² In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the circulation of these vernacular publications expanded, especially as a result of the widespread network of reading rooms and libraries of the popular-culture Prosvita Society (est. 1868) and the scholarly Shevchenko Scientific Society (est. 1873). The movement was so successful that in 1893 the Austrian school administration in both Galicia and Bukovina accepted the vernacular,

³⁰ During its first two years of existence, *Zoria halytska* appeared in the vernacular, but changed to the traditional Slaveno-Rusyn book language under the Old Ruthenian editors I. Hushalevych (1851–1853), B. Didyts'kyi (1853–1854), and S. Shekhovych (1854–1857). Studyns'kyi, *Korespondentsyia*, pp. xiv ff.

³¹ Mykhail Osadtsa, *Hramatyka ruskoho iazyka* (L'viv, 1862), 2nd ed. (1864), 3rd ed. (1876); Emil Partytskii, *Deutsch-Ruthenisches Handwörterbuch—Nimetsko-ruskyi slovar*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1867); Emil Ogonowski, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache* (L'viv, 1880); O. Ohonovskii, *Hramatyka rus'koho iazyka* (L'viv, 1889); Ievhenyi Zhelekhovskii, *Malorusko-nimetskyi slovar—Ruthenisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1886)—the second volume in collaboration with Sofronii Nedil'skii.

³² *Rus'ka hramatyka* (L'viv, 1893), 2nd ed. (1907), 3rd ed. (1914), 4th ed. (1925).

according to the model of Zhelekhivs'kyi for use in schools and for official purposes.

Finally, the Ukrainophiles had on their side the force of literary genius. The greatest author in late nineteenth-century Galicia, Ivan Franko (1856–1916), chose to write in a vernacular-based medium, and through his incredibly large corpus of prose, poetry, plays, translations, essays, social criticism, and historical works, he was able to show that the Ukrainian language was a viable instrument of expression for all aspects of intellectual endeavor. Thus, by the 1890s, it became evident that the Ukrainophile faction was going to win in the struggle for the allegiance of the population and that a vernacular-based Ukrainian language would become the predominant form of communication in the cultural life of eastern Galicia.

It was precisely the imminent success of the Ukrainophiles that led some traditionalist Old Ruthenians to protest against what they believed was the Austrian government's unwarranted support of the Ukrainian language in eastern Galicia.³³ Some members from the traditionalist camp—Pylyp Svystun (1884–1916), Osyp A. Markov (1849–1909), Osyp Monchalovs'kyi (1858–1906), Iuliiian Iavors'kyi (1873–1937), and Semen Bendasiuk (1877–1965)—felt that such protests to Vienna were useless and that a more dynamic approach to the language question should be adopted. These modernizers rejected the traditionalist Slaveno-Rusyn book language and preferred to adopt instead standard literary Great Russian. They put into practice their linguistic preferences by starting new organs like *Besieda* (L'viv, 1887–1897), *Galichanin* (L'viv, 1893–1913), *Golos naroda* (L'viv, 1909–1915), and *Prikarpataskaia Rus'* (L'viv, 1909–1915), or by russianizing the publications of the traditionalist Old Ruthenian national organizations.³⁴ These Russophiles (referred to pejoratively as Muscophiles by their Ukrainophile rivals) not only used the Great Russian language, they also rejected the idea of a Ukrainian nationality,

³³ *Vorstellung der Repräsentanten des ruthenischen Matica-Vereines gegen die, der ruthenischen Litteratur zugeordnete phonetische Orthographie an das Hohe K. K. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht* (L'viv, 1892).

³⁴ In 1901, the Russophiles revived the scholarly journal of the Galician Rus' Matytsa under a Russian title, *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik*, which appeared irregularly until 1934. In 1905, the Russophiles changed the format of the Stauropegial Institute's *Vremennik* and published it in standard Russian, and the following year did the same with the National Home's *Viestnik*.

felt themselves and all eastern Galicia's Slavs to be part of one Russian nationality, and hoped that some day they would become part of the Russian Empire. Despite their linguistically modern and aggressive approach, the Russophiles had arrived too late on the Galician cultural scene, and continued to be overshadowed by the Ukrainophile movement.

Yet even if the populist Ukrainophiles dominated the cultural scene in eastern Galicia at the beginning of the twentieth century, the language question had not really been settled. Although the general principle favoring the use of the vernacular was accepted, the problem then arose as to *which* vernacular would be recognized as authoritative. The Galician Ukrainophiles, who had for decades seen themselves as part of one people living not only in the Habsburg Empire but also along the lower Dnieper River, generally had only limited contact with their eastern brethren in the Russian Empire. After 1876, however, they had firsthand exposure to Dnieper Ukrainians.

As a result of tsarist Russia's increasingly intolerant attitude toward its national minorities, the Ukrainian language was generally outlawed in publications between 1876 and 1905–06. A number of leading Dnieper Ukrainian writers now turned to Galicia to publish their works. The Galicians both welcomed them and accepted their own new role as defenders of the Ukrainian language and nationality. There were obvious dialectal differences between Galicia and the Dnieper Ukraine, and these were reflected in publications from both areas. But the increased contact did not smooth out their differences, however, or merge the two versions of the language. Virtually the opposite occurred.

Both the Galicians and Dnieper Ukrainians continued to write in their own manner, and each group attacked the other in fierce polemics that began in 1891 with a scathing attack by the Dnieper Ukrainian Borys Hrinchenko (1863–1910) against the language used by the Galician writers Ivan Franko and Osy Makovei (1867–1925). Hrinchenko characterized the language of the Galicians as but another *iazychiie*, not much better than the traditionalist Galician Ruthenian variety.³⁵ Hrinchenko was later joined by Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi (1838–1918), Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi (Khvan'ko, 1871–1941), and Musii Kononenko (Shkolychenko, 1864–1922), who were

³⁵ V. Chaichenko [B. Hrinchenko], "Halyts'ki virshi," *Pravda*, III, 9 (L'viv, 1891), pp. 15–158.

pitted against the Galician defenders Ivan Franko, Illia Kokorudz (1857–1933), Ivan Verkhrats'kyi (Losun, 1846–1919), Oleksander Borkovs'kyi (1841–1921), and Osyp Makovei. The Dnieper Ukrainian writers felt that the Ukrainian language, which their own countrymen like Shevchenko, Kvitka, Hulak-Artemovs'kyi, Kulish, and Vovchok had created, was being woefully corrupted by such foreign influences as Polish and German borrowings and by the archaic dialectisms that appeared in Galician writings. On the other hand, the Galicians retorted that a viable literary medium must include all dialects and not just be limited to the narrow provincial region of the Psol and Sula rivers of the Poltava region.³⁶

By 1905–06, when publications in Ukrainian were again permitted in the Russian Empire and the focus of Ukrainian intellectual life shifted from L'viv to Kiev, extremists in both camps compromised, so that Hrinchenko's four-volume Ukrainian-Russian dictionary published between 1907 and 1909 reflected a broad dialectal base and included many Galicianisms.³⁷ But polemics, especially when they concern a medium as sacred as language, do not die easily. As late as 1911, Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi wrote: "In general one must say that the Galicians should not write any books, neither for the Ukrainian people, nor for children."³⁸

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the leading Galician Ukrainian writers began to accept the idea of a literary language based mainly on the Poltava region of the Dnieper Ukraine that also contained Galician elements, especially in its scientific and administrative vocabulary. As a result, Galician Ukrainians could now call as their own a standard language used by a population almost ten times larger than themselves. However, this gain in prestige was obtained, in part, at the expense of the vernacular principle that they had used so effectively in their fight against the local traditionalist Old Ruthenians and modernist Russophiles.

The language question in Galicia during the nineteenth century may be analyzed in three phases. First, the Alphabet War ended with

³⁶ Details of the Galician-Dnieper Ukrainian polemic are found in Shevelov, *Die ukrainische Schriftsprache*, pp. 37–77 and Wexler, *Purism and Language*, pp. 47–139.

³⁷ B.D. Hrinchenko, *Slovar' ukrains'koï movy*, 4 vols. (Kiev, 1907–1909).

³⁸ I. Nechui-Levyts'kyi, "Kryve dzerkalo ukrains'koï movy," in his *Novi povisti i opovidannia*, Vol. VIII (Kiev, 1912), p. 82.

the acceptance of the Cyrillic alphabet, either in its etymological or its phonetic form, for the writing system. The second phase was the movement of the traditionalist Old Ruthenians who favored what they considered a prestigious book language based on Slaveno-Rusyn with local dialectisms and some Great Russian borrowings. During the third phase, there were two groups of modernizers. The first group were the populist Ukrainophiles, who used the Galician Ukrainian vernacular in all its local variations. The second group were the Russophiles who adopted the standard Great Russian language that not only had a world-renowned literature but also had the dignity of being used by a powerful state. By the 1890s, however, society in eastern Galicia was rapidly rejecting both the Old Ruthenian and Russophile linguistic orientations. But before the language question was resolved in eastern Galicia, the Ukrainophiles were influenced by their brethren in the Dnieper Ukraine and eventually accepted a literary norm that was substantially different from their own local standard, although it had the prestige of being used by 32 million Ukrainians from the Carpathians to the Caucasus.

The Image of Austria in the Works of Ivan Franko

Leonid Rudnytzky

THE LIFESPAN OF Ivan Franko (1856–1916) falls into the reign of Emperor Francis Joseph (1848–1916) and thus into that period of Austrian history which Hermann Broch called “die fröhliche Apokalypse.” Yet in contrast to most Austrian writers of that time, Franko’s view of the empire was anything but “fröhlich.” As a Ukrainian intellectual, at first deeply committed to socialist causes and then to the Ukrainian national cause,¹ Franko tended to see the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in a more somber and negative light. To him, initially at least, Austria was the oppressor of the Ukrainian people who thwarted the legitimate aspiration of Ukrainians for a better life and for self-determination.

At the same time, however, Franko was partially a product of Austrian culture² and, as such, he frequently (and at times, perhaps, even subconsciously) emphasized the benefits that the Ukrainian inhabitants of Galicia derived from being a part of the empire. His poetry, his plays and his works of prose contain numerous direct references as well as allusions to the monarchy—most of them, of course, made *sub specie Galiciae*, that is, from the western Ukrainian point of view. It must be kept in mind, however, that in his poetic

¹ See my *Ivan Franko i nimets'ka literatura* (Munich, 1974), p. 202, and cf. Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle and London, 1974), p. 258.

² See Gunther Wytzens, “Iwan Franko als Student und Doktor der Wiener Universität,” in *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch*, III (Graz-Köln, 1960), and Marian Jakóbiec, “Iwan Franko i Vatroslav Jagić,” in *Slavia Orientalis*, III, 2–3 (Warsaw, 1959).

oeuvre Franko approached both social and political problems not with the detachment of a scholar, but with the passion of a poet and the zeal of a crusading journalist, deeply committed to a cause. Thus his statements on Austria made in the last two decades of the past century are, in some respects, hyperbolic. To be sure, Franko is not a slave of his own rhetoric, but in attempting to convey his message to fellow Ukrainians, he was often forced to subordinate esthetic norms to political realities. Thus his writings of that period are at times analogous to the campaign statements of a political candidate.

The purpose of this paper is to gather these scattered references to Austria made by Franko and to attempt to crystallize the image of Austria as found in his literary work. The setting of most of Franko's works under discussion is for the most part Galicia, from the 1840s to his own time. Yet inasmuch as Franko invariably sees Galicia as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, his depiction of the people of that region (and we might add here that Franko depicts not just the Ukrainians, but also the Poles, Jews, Germans, Hungarians and other nationalities) and his presentation of historical events that took place in the nineteenth century, also often provide us frequently with a view of the entire Habsburg realm. In most of his works Austria is the framework, the large world, of which the small world, Galicia, is but one constituent part. Thus by focusing on Galicia, he reveals much about Austria in general from the perspective of what one may be tempted to call an unwitting *Volksösterreicher*. The German dramatist Friedrich Hebbel, who was a North German by origin but a Viennese by choice, wrote the following couplet about Austria of the nineteenth century:

Dies Österreich ist eine kleine Welt,
In der die grosse ihre Probe hält.

This Austria is a small world,
In which the big one is being rehearsed.

For Franko, conversely, Galicia was the small world in which the large one, Austria held its rehearsals.

Among the numerous works of Ivan Franko that deal with Austria, two sonnets stand out. Both were written on October 4, 1889, and subsequently included in the collection *Z vershyn i nyzyn* (From Heights and Depths), which contains a wealth of references to

Austria—all negative. Both poems are addressed to Austria,³ and they provide us with what may be considered a programmatic statement of Franko's view of the empire at that time. This is how Franko addresses Austria:

Багно гнилее між країв Європи,
Покрите цвільлю, зеленню густою!
Розсаднице недумства і застою!
Росіє! де лиш ти поставиш стопи,

Повзе облуда, здирство, плач народу,
Цвіте бездушність, наче плісень з муру.
Ти тиснеш і кричиш: «Даю свободу!»
Дреш шкіру й мовиш: «Двигаю культуру».

Ти не січеш, не б'єш, в Сибір не шлеш,
Лиш, мов упир, із серця соки ссеш,
Багно твоє лиш серце й душу дусить.

Лиш гадь і слизь росте й міцніє в тобі,
Свобідний дух або тікати мусить,
Або живцем вмирає в твоїм гробі.⁴

O foul morass among the European nations
Covered with mold, green and dense!
Breeding ground for empty minds and stagnancy
Russia! wherever your footsteps fall,

Falsehood, exploitation, and people's tears abound,
Soullessness flowers, like mold on the wall.
You oppress and you proclaim: "I give freedom!"
You fleece [your people] and say: "I am the bearer of culture!"

You don't whip them, you don't beat them, and you don't banish them
to Siberia,
But like a vampire you suck the very juices from their hearts,
Your morass stifles mind and soul.

³ To avoid problems with the Austrian censor Franko addressed the first sonnet to Russia. The contents of both poems, however, make it quite clear that he had Austria in mind.

⁴ Ivan Franko, *Tvory* (New York, 1956–1962), Vol. XV, pt. 2, p. 44.

Only vipers and slimy creatures grow and prosper within you,
 A free spirit must either flee
 Or be buried alive in your grave.

This, to be sure, is the view of the young Franko, one who had been arrested several times by Austrian authorities for his involvement in the socialist movement. Later his view of Austria mellowed somewhat; nonetheless, all the elements mentioned in this sonnet reverberate in many of his works that deal with Galicia under the Habsburg Monarchy.

The second sonnet adds to this negative image of Austria by providing a political dimension to the previous one. In this sonnet, Austria is seen as a "prison of nations," held together by "a steel ring." Unable to escape, these nations turn on each other with hatred and rage, and their conflicts are seen as the source of power of the empire.⁵ Franko's concern is thus largely political and social, although at times he focuses on what he believes to be the symptoms of the cultural decline of Austria as well. In his long social novel, *Lel' i Polel'* (Lel' and Polel', 1889), for example, Franko the narrator breaks into the dialogue between two women who are attending a ball, to make the following observations on the music of Johann Strauss:

. . . from the gallery thundered one of the most uninhibited waltzes of the Viennese composer Strauss, and into the hall a whirlwind was unleashed, that chaos of whirling couples, that opulent vertigo known as the waltz. Only savages or apes could have conceived of such a dance; only from the cult of the body without spirit, without life, and without thought, could such music originate, a music so suited to this dance.⁶

Franko's sentiments voiced here are particularly astonishing if one considers that he was brought up with the *kolomyika*—that is, that Ukrainian folk dance not known for its restraint or inhibition. However, perhaps the folk origin of the latter made it non-decadent in his eyes. Be it as it may, however, such moments of *Kulturkritik* are rare in Franko's works.

⁵ See Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XV, pt. 2, pp. 44–45.

⁶ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XI, p. 108. For a similarly startling reaction to Strauss' music by the German Heinrich Laube (1806–1884) and for comments by other Austrian writers on the waltz, see William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind. An Intellectual and Social History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972), pp. 128–129.

Franko is primarily concerned with the political and social conditions that prevailed in Galicia during his time. To be sure, historical background, particularly the year 1848 and the events of that period play a very important role in his works. Franko considered the circumstances that prevailed in his time to be organically linked with those of the past, and this is again and again brought out in his work.⁷ His comments concerning the tragic heritage of the Galician peasant are a good example of this:

Йосифінський наказ панщизняний,
Прадідівський квит на тридцять буків,
Діда скарга за ґрунтець забраний,
Батьків акт ліцитаційний драний

Ось весь спадок, що лишивсь для внуків⁸

Emperor Joseph's serfdom decree,
An ancestral receipt for thirty lashes,
Grandfather's claim for confiscated land,
Father's tattered note of foreclosure.

That's all that's left for the grandchildren.

Franko's works are saturated by the treatment of the plight of the Ukrainian peasants under serfdom, by descriptions of the historical upheavals in Galicia before and during 1848, by references to Josephinism as well as to Emperor Ferdinand, who, as a rule, is seen as a positive figure by the Ukrainian peasants in Franko's novels. In the novel *Velykyi shum* (The Great Noise, 1907), for example, which is set in the 1850s, two peasants discuss the new financial obligations placed upon them by the government. Voicing their disenchantment with the Governor Count Agenor Gołuchowski, they remember fondly Emperor Ferdinand:

⁷ Franko's writings on agrarian and peasant problems of Galicia before 1848 include "Hrymalivs'kyi kliuch v r. 1800," "Hromads'ki shpykhliry i shpykhlirnyi fond u Halychyni 1784–1840 r.," and "Panshchyna ta ii skasuvannia v 1848 r. u Halychyni." See Ivan Franko, *Tvory v dvatsiaty tomakh* (Kiev, 1950–1956), Vol. XIX, pp. 335–382; 386–454; and 560–561 respectively. His views expressed in these and other essays on this topic correspond, *mutatis mutandis*, to the opinions voiced in his literary works.

⁸ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 115.

One can expect anything from him—the Count Goluchowski. He is a Polish lord, and he always extends a helping hand to the nobility.

Having placed the blame on the Polish governor, the peasants are told by the protagonist of the novel that he is not really at fault:

The governor could not have done this on his own. This order came from Vienna, from the emperor's chancery. Perhaps our governor did contribute to the fact that the emperor's word was reneged on, but that could not have happened without the consent of the emperor himself.

This clarification calls forth the following sentiment from the other peasant:

The old Emperor Ferdinand was good. He would have never consented to that. He would have kept his first promise. But this one [Francis Joseph] is young, and he yields to the lords.⁹

This brief conversation touches upon the most important single aspect of Franko's image of Austria, that is, the failure of the Austrian government to protect the Ukrainian peasant from the abuses and exploitation suffered at the hands of the Polish *szlachta*. Most of his criticism of the Austrian government concerns this point. He decries the exorbitant and unjust taxes imposed upon the populace; he exposes the brutality and ruthlessness of the police and the corruption of the political and the judicial systems in Galicia; and he analyzes (at times in a manner not unlike another Schnitzler) the negative effect of life in the Austrian army. In short, he exposes the dehumanizing consequences of a bureaucracy in which graft, bribery, corruption, and favoritism (*Protektion*) had become institutionalized, and constantly points to the plight of the Galician peasant, who had to bear the burden of these conditions.

First and foremost, however, Franko castigates his fellow Ukrainians for their overzealous loyalty to the crown and for their failure to protect the Ukrainian peasants from abuse. In his criticism of his countrymen, Franko focuses primarily on the so-called Old Ruthenian Movement and its leaders, Venedykt Ploshchans'kyi and Ivan Naumovych. In his long narrative poem entitled *Botokudy* (The Boto-kudy—"Good-for-Nothings", 1880), Franko satirizes à la Heinrich Heine the entire Old Ruthenian Movement by presenting its proponents

⁹ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XV, pt. 1, p. 134.

as anti-intellectual, selfish, egocentric, cowardly, career-minded individuals who cater to the slightest whims of the Austrian authorities. (The name "Botokudy" also refers to an extinct Brazilian Indian tribe.) While all around them peoples rise to struggle, Botokudy, that is, the Old Ruthenians, eat, sleep, praise God and the monarch, and poke fun at the rebels, constantly repeating the worn slogan "my loial'ni" (we are loyal). One example is the following stanza which expresses the credo of the Botokudy:

Ми лояльні! Ми за волю
Шабельками не махали,—
Що дали, ми брали смирно,
Ще й у ручку цілували.¹⁰

We are loyal! On behalf of freedom
We did not rattle our swords.
Whatever we were given, we humbly took,
And kissed the hand that gave it.

Similarly in his poem *Duma pro Maledykta Ploskoloba* (The Ballad about Maledict the Flathead)—a pun on the name Venedykt Ploshchans'kyi—written in 1878, Franko, in addition to the Old Ruthenians, also takes to task what he calls the *Rutentsi*—those Ukrainians who were neither in the Old Ruthenian nor the Ukrainian camp, but who were dedicated Austrian patriots, devoted exclusively to the emperor and the church. Also written in this vein is his *Duma pro Nauma Bezumovycha* (The Ballad about Naum Bezumovych, 1879)—again a pun on the name of Ivan Naumovych. The biting satire of this poem lies in the depiction of a scene in the Reichsrat, in which the Ukrainian delegates outdo themselves trying to prove their Austrian patriotism at the expense of their poor peasant constituency. The Austrian prime minister has just requested a tremendous sum of money and the Ukrainian delegates rush to cut off all debate and to comply with the minister's demands, so as not to leave any doubt about their Austrian patriotism:

Ми австрійські патріоти,—
Ми для Австрії готові
Не то гроші—кров віддати,
Якби Було треба крові.

¹⁰ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XV, pt. 1, p. 134.

Що ми скажем, люд те зробить,
Лиш як слід його стиснути.
Край великий,—сто мільйонів
Можна буде ще добути!

Ми, австрійські вірні діти,
Не покинем неньки свої,
Будем вірні їй до смерти,
Ні, до торби дідівської!

Хоче грошей пан міністер,
Як ми сміємо не дати?
За міністром голосуєм,
Бо ми руські депутати!¹¹

We are Austrian patriots—
For Austria we're ready to sacrifice
Not just money—but even blood,
If blood is needed.

Whatever we'll say, people will do it,
They just have to be squeezed properly.
The country is large—one hundred million
Can still be raised!

We, Austria's loyal children,
Shall not foresake our Mother,
We'll be loyal until death
Even beyond that, till destitution.

If the Lord Minister wants money,
How could we dare to refuse?
We are voting with the Minister,
Because we're Ruthenian delegates.

The same collection (*Z vershyn i nyzyn*) in which the above quoted poems are found, also includes a short poem which summarizes the evils of the post-1848 era, that is, Franko's own time:

¹¹ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XV, pt. 1, pp. 196–197.

...нові дні принесли нам
Доброчинні інституції;
Автономію, додатки,
Податкові екзекуції,
Банки, лихву, ліцитації,
Повінь, голод, горе всюди. . .
Але що нам тим журиться?
Русь тверда все перебуде.¹²

The new days have brought us
Benevolent institutions
Autonomy, extra taxes,
As well as Sheriff sales,
Banks, usury, foreclosures,
Flood, hunger, woe everywhere,
But why should we worry?
Rus' is tough, it will survive.

This type of ironic fatalism, underscored by the double meaning of the word *tverda* (in addition to tough, steadfast, a reference to the Old Ruthenians), culminates in the statement that even if there are no more Ukrainians, the Ukraine will continue to exist because it has survived so much that it will certainly survive itself.

The hardships experienced by the Galician peasants who tried to emigrate to the New World are often the subject of Franko's works. His collection *Mii Izmarahd* (My Emerald, 1898), for example, contains a cycle of poems entitled "Do Brazyl'ii" (To Brazil), in which the tragic plight of the emigrants is described most poignantly. One of the poems in this cycle is particularly pathetic in both tone and style, because it is written from the point of view of a semi-literate peasant woman. Here we find couplets like the following:

До Відня їхали спокійно вкупі;
У Відні нас три дні держали в цюпі.

To Vienna we travelled together peacefully;
In Vienna we were put in jail for three days.

After the Vienna experience, the peasants are sent by the authorities all over the empire. During their odyssey they are cheated out of

¹² Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XV, pt. 1, p. 213.

¹³ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 149.

their money and forced to suffer hunger and privation so that many of them die before the rest are finally able to leave for Brazil.

The inhuman and at times absurd Austrian tax laws that ruined the ignorant Ukrainian peasants often comprise the main motif in Franko's prose works. This is especially evident in his short stories written in the last two decades of the century. Among them are *Sam sobi vynyen* (His Own Fault, 1883), in which a peasant is driven to his death by a usurer, who manipulates the tax laws unscrupulously, and *Dobryi zarobok* (Good Earnings, 1881), which describes the pathetic case of a peasant who is taxed for brooms that he was supposed to have sold to an imperial dealer. Although the deal never materialized, the peasant is forced to pay the tax, and as he is unable to raise the funds, he eventually has to forfeit his land and his home. In *Domashnyi promysl* (Home Industry, 1887), Franko tells the story of a spoon maker who is forced to give up his trade, because he is unable to join a trade guild without ruining himself financially by paying dues and graft.

To get his point across Franko often made use of the fairy tale genre to avoid difficulties with the censors. Thus his *Kazka pro Dobrobyt* (A Fairy Tale about Dobrobyt, 1890, another play on words: *dobrobyt* means well-being; it is personalized in the story), tells the story of a Galician peasant who in the name of the Austrian *Vaterland* is legally robbed of everything and finally placed in jail for being uncooperative with the authorities. Similarly too, in his *Istoriia kozhukha* (The History of a Sheepskin Coat, 1892), a poor peasant is deprived of his only coat, because he is unable to pay the fine assessed on him for his failure to send his sick son to school. The most pungent satire in this cycle is the story *Svyns'ka konstytutsiia* (A Constitution for Pigs, 1896), which deals with the plight of those peasants who went to Vienna to lodge a complaint about the election practices of Count Badeni. Upon their return they are subjected to such legal persecution that they eventually realize that a pig has more rights under the constitution than they do.¹⁴ Such motifs abound in Franko's prose written in the late 1880s and the early 1890s. In most of these works he focuses on the tragic plight of the Galician peasant oppressed and exploited by the *szlachta*, who are able to flaunt the law, to rig elections¹⁵ and live a dissolute, carefree life, while the peasants toil in the sweat of their brow for their daily bread.

¹⁴ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. III, pp. 96–97.

¹⁵ See the short story *Hostryi-preostryi starosta*, Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. VIII, pp. 103–132.

Along with the taxation and exploitation of the peasants by the *szlachta*, the gendarme plays a prominent role in Franko's depiction of life under the Habsburg Monarchy. This representative of the imperial government is often found in Franko's works; an imperial policeman, for example, is the protagonist of Franko's most successful play *Ukradene shchastia* (Stolen Happiness, 1894), and various members of the law enforcement profession populate his short stories and novels. In the earlier works, the gendarme is seen as dehumanized as a result of his service. For the most part, the only thing that he understands is duty and he is totally incapable of genuine human feelings. The imperial *Dienst* (service) and the power that goes with it corrupt those who serve. Yet the ultimate tragedy, according to Franko, appears to lie in the fact that they either corrupt or destroy those who have the ability to make a positive contribution to life in Galicia. This is the case of the prison guard in the short novel *Pantalakha* (Pantalakha, 1888). He has served twenty-four years as a soldier and has thus become unfit for any other type of life. In the words of Franko, he is "a man thoroughly honest, in whom the service and military discipline were unable to deaden real human feelings."¹⁶ But such a man cannot survive in a system which is basically dehumanizing, and once he realizes the true nature of his condition, he becomes insane and dies, while those who are corrupt and dehumanized live on.

Among the most gripping scenes in Franko's prose are his descriptions of prison life based, for the most part, on his own experiences. Of particular importance here are two tales, *Na dni* (On the Bottom, 1880) and *Do svitla* (Toward Light, 1890). Both of these reveal the terrible conditions which prevailed in Galician prisons. Franko is careful, however, to make the point that the imperial law did grant some protection to the prisoner although local prison regulations (*Hausgesetz*), as a rule superseded it thereby placing the prisoner virtually at the mercy of his jailers. A striking example of such violations of individual rights is found, among others, in the short story *Tsuvaksy* (New Admissions) in which an old blind man, Semko Tuman, is kept ten years in prison without ever being officially sentenced.¹⁷

Perhaps his most biting satire Franko bestows on the judicial system prevailing in Galicia. In addition to inept judges, corrupt court

¹⁶ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. VI, pt. 1, p. 299.

¹⁷ Franko, *Tvory*, VI, pp. 26–27; see also the cycle *Tiuremni sonety* [Sonnets from Prison], Vol. XV, pt. 2, pp. 18–45.

officials, crooked lawyers, and other negative representatives of the top officials, Franko presents a plethora of cheating clerks, immoral investigators and shrewd charlatans who, by pretending to have influence (*Protektion*) at the imperial court, cheat and exploit the peasants. All these unsavory, illegal or pseudo-legal activities take place in the name of the emperor and thus reflect the sad state of justice in the imperial realm. An example of this is found in his long novel *Perekhresni stezhky* (Cross Roads, 1900), in which a completely senile and totally incompetent judge passes out monstrous sentences on the innocent as well as the guilty. Fortunately, however, the court is in reality run by a clever clerk, who like everyone else is corruptible, so that, to paraphrase Bertolt Brecht, even the innocent do occasionally get off free.

Motifs of judicial corruption, flaunting the law, and *Protektion*, also play a prominent role in Franko's fairy tale poem *Lys Mykyta* (A ukrainianized version of the tale of Renard the Fox), a favorite of generations of Ukrainian children. In reality, however, *Lys Mykyta* (1890) is a biting social satire in which the picaresque hero, the fox, makes a fool of everyone from the emperor on down to the lowest court official. Lines such as "V trybunalakh zasidaly/ Stari Tsapy i Osly"—"The tribunals consisted of old billy-goats and jackasses"¹⁸—describe in a comical manner situations identical to those found in his prose works and present a sharply drawn satirical picture of Galicia under the Habsburgs.

Most of the themes and motifs mentioned thus far are Austrian only in the sense that they are Galician. The plight of the army officer, however, as found in the works of Ivan Franko, is an all-Austrian phenomenon. Like many later Austrian authors, Franko saw innate evil in the Austrian military system, which demanded that an officer post a bond (*Kaution*) before marrying. In his novel *Mizh dobrymy liud'my* (Among Good People, 1890), an officer too poor to comply with this law takes a common law wife and suffers the consequences. To compound the tragedy, the officer's subsequent death leaves the woman (incidentally, a typical Viennese *süßes Mädl*) destitute and dishonored.

This same motif is developed in greater detail and from a different perspective in the long novel *Dlia domashn'oho ohnyshcha* (For the Home Hearth, 1894). In this novel, an officer returns after five years

¹⁸ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. VII, p. 59.

service in Bosnia to discover that his wife has been a procuress for a white slaver and for a house of prostitution, because she was unable to live on his salary. Her confession uncovers all the social and moral evils of their state in life and the hypocrisy of the society in which they live. Franko's view of the duel between the protagonist of the novel and his best friend is also of interest here. Franko, anticipating Schnitzler's *Leutnant Gustl* (1901), unmasks the duplicity and hypocrisy of the military code of honor and reveals the ultimate futility of this institution.

Bureaucracy, as already indicated, is often a prominent motif in Franko's works. In many of his novels things are presented *echt österreichisch* (typically Austrian) and the bureaucratic morass with all its trimmings is often an integral part of the narrative. In contrast to Viktor Adler, who called Austria's government "ein durch Schlampelei gemilderter Absolutismus" (an absolutism mitigated by bureaucratic muddleheadedness) and contrasted Austrian ineptness favorably with Prussian efficiency by defining the former as a more humane form of government, Franko saw the bureaucratic inefficiency of the Austrian government as just another tool of the nobility in their oppression of the peasants.¹⁹ In almost all of his works, the nobleman is never enmeshed in the bureaucratic morass; it is always the peasants and the workers who suffer.

Thus there are but few instances in Franko's works in which bureaucracy and the concomitant *Schlamperei* are seen in a frivolous light. One such example is the short story entitled *Istoriia odnoi konfiskaty* (The History of a Confiscation, 1889) in which a typical Austrian phenomenon—the censoring of a newspaper edition—is the central theme. The newspaper is censored for no valid reason whatever, but

¹⁹ Franko's views voiced in literature coincide with those expressed in his journalistic writings. In an article written for *Die Zeit* in early 1906, he says the following: "Ohne Hilfe der Bürokratie und des von ihr geschaffenen Systems würde der grösste Teil der sich in Wien als Stützen Oesterreichs blähenden Schlachtschützen an keine Politik gedacht haben und ruhig in ihren galizischen Bärenwinkeln vermodern. . . . Um diese saubere Gesellschaft oben zu halten, werden von der im chauvinistisch-schlachtschützischen Geiste grossgezogene Bürokratie jahrzehntelang alle möglichen Mittel des Terrorismus, der Demoralisation und der Fälschung gegenüber den breiten Volksmassen angewendet, wird mit dem Rechtsgefühl der Millionen ein zynisches und frivoles Spiel getrieben." See Ivan Franko, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Ukraine*, ed. E. Winter and P. Kirchner (Berlin, 1963), p. 431.

simply because bureaucracy is allowed to take its course, and therein lies the comic element inherent in the story. For the most part, however, bureaucracy is a fearful thing in the works of Ivan Franko and a powerful tool of oppression in the hands of those in authority.

The image of Austria in Franko's works is not entirely negative. In many of his works, and especially in those written after the turn of the century, Franko does bring out some positive features of the empire. To begin with, the imperial commissar in the poem *Pans'ki zharty* (The Lord's Jests, 1887) is a most positive character and a worthy representative of the emperor and the monarchy. He is kind and compassionate in his dealings with the peasants and firm and courageous in his attitude toward the Polish lord. In effect, he is quite willing to risk his life to enforce the imperial decree and to ensure that justice is done in Galicia.

The image of the emperor as found in Franko's works is also substantially a positive one. To be sure, it is not as fully developed or as majestically presented as in Joseph Roth's *Radetzkymarsch* (1932), for example. The emperor in Franko's works is seen, for the most part, through the eyes of the peasants. He is a sort of distant father figure who is most of the time too busy to take care of all his children, although there is never any doubt raised concerning his benevolent intentions, and the people always manifests their faith and trust in him.²⁰

Of importance here is also the role of the Viennese newspapers, especially those of the opposition, in ameliorating the social conditions of Galicia. The lawyer Kalynovych, the protagonist of the novel *Lel' i Polel'*, constantly writes to these newspapers about the various miscarriages of justice in the land; his stories are printed, and they do generate the pressure of public opinion. Also, when Kalynovych himself becomes a victim of an intrigue and is arrested on trumped-up charges, Viennese opposition newspapers send their reporters to cover the trial, and their presence ensures that justice is done.

Vienna, too, is often paid its due as the center of culture, Franko's opinion of Strauss' waltzes notwithstanding. Kost' Dumiak, for example, the hero of the novel *Velykyi shum* (1907), who has served with the imperial grenadiers in Vienna, displays, in contrast to the dehumanizing effects of the service on the individual found in Franko's earlier works, wisdom, knowledge, self-assurance, personal dignity, a well developed *Weltanschauung*, and a virtuosity as a violin player.

²⁰ Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XI, p. 248.

He acquired all these qualities in Vienna, and now he makes use of them to improve his life and that of his fellow men in his native Galician village. In this work, the court system is also seen in better light and justice triumphs more often. Toward the end of the novel, for example, Dumiak is tried for murder and although found guilty, the verdict is a most humane one: a suspended sentence because of mitigating circumstances. His release is greeted by his jubilant friends with the following words: "God's truth is alive! Long live Kost' Dumiak! Long live the Imperial Tribunal, which is not afraid to let justice prevail."²¹

Thus Franko's image of Austria is by no means static and clearcut. A comparison of the treatment of Austria in his literary works written during the 1880s and the early 1890s with those written just before and after the turn of the century, reveals a perceptible shift in his view of the empire. In his early works, the image of Austria is for the most part a negative one. In the later works, however, there is a marked shift toward a more positive view. The latter period, it should be noted, coincides with his collaboration with the Austrian newspapers and his contacts with some of the leading Austrian intellectuals of that time;²² that period was also a very important phase in Franko's personal development as a writer and as a thinker. Both of these factors were probably influential in the evolution of his image of Austria. However, perhaps the most important factor here is Franko the man. He was after all, like many members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of that time, a product of Austrian education and of Austrian culture. As such, he, to some degree at least, identified with Austria.²³ Thus, even the harshest criticism made by him during his

²¹ At the time the novel was published, Franko saw the future of the Galician peasant in a more optimistic light. In an article entitled "Drei Riesen im Kampf um einen Zwerg," published in *Die Zeit* (June 29, 1907), he considered Galicia's social evil a thing of the past: "Das Bauernelend in Galizien . . . ist ein überwundenes Uebel. . . . Unser armes, lange Jahre systematisch verarmtes und verdummes Volk hat sich durch eigene Kraft und Energie aus diesem erniedrigenden Zustand emporgerafft, hat für seine Arbeitskraft und Tüchtigkeit in Amerika und Deutschland Erwerbsquellen und Annerkennung erstritten, hat sich in eigener Sprache Bildungselemente angeeignet, Klarheit in politischen und sozialen Fragen verschafft und sieht mit freudiger Zuversicht seiner beseren Zukunft entgegen." *Beiträge*, p. 434.

²² Among them were Martin Buber, Viktor Adler, Hermann Bahr, and others. See *Beiträge*, pp. 448–525, for letters from many Austrian intellectuals to Ivan Franko.

²³ This can be seen from his use of the phrase "für uns Oesterreicher" (*Beiträge*,

early socialist storm and stress years can be considered a constructive attempt to bring about change in his society. Therefore his image of Austria, no matter how unbalanced and distorted it may appear to us today, was the product of an honest concern for the small world in which he lived as well as for the larger world to which he also belonged, both culturally and spiritually.

pp. 344, 426, and others), and his frequent references to Austria's difficulties made in his German writings. However, he saw the solution of Galicia's social and political problems as a prerequisite for Austria's progress and wellbeing: "Ohne moderne politische und Justiz-Verwaltung in Galizien ist kein politischer Fortschritt in Oesterreich möglich" (*Beiträge*, p. 432).

*Bibliographic Guide to the History of Ukrainians in Galicia: 1848–1918**

Paul R. Magocsi

Bibliographical works

The years 1848 to 1918 have the best bibliographical coverage of any period of Ukrainian history in eastern Galicia. This is due largely to the monumental national bibliography undertaken during these years by Ivan E. Levyts'kyi. Levyts'kyi completed two volumes and several supplements which list in chronological order all the publications that appeared in Galician Ukrainian territory or that dealt with Galician Ukrainians between the years 1801 and 1893. His work also includes invaluable content analyses of newspapers, journals, almanacs, and collective works.¹ Also useful is Varfolomii Ihnatiienko's

* This study is drawn from Chapter 1 and especially Chapter 6 in a forthcoming book by Paul R. Magocsi entitled *Galicia: A Bibliographical Guide*. I am particularly grateful to Professors Mykola Andrusiak, Bohdan Budurowycz, John-Paul Himka, and Edward Kasinec, as well as to the editors of this volume, for their helpful comments. Abbreviations which appear frequently as the notes are: AN URSR — Akademia Nauk Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsialistychnoi Respubliky; LDU — L'vivs'kyi Derzhavnyi Universytet; LU — L'vivs'kyi Universytet; NTSh — Naukove Товариство імені Шевченка; PWN — Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe; TP — Товариство 'Prosvita'; and UAN — Ukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk.

¹ Ivan E. Levytskii, *Halytsko-ruskaia bybliohrafiia XIX stolitiiia s uvzhladnieniem yzdaniï poiavyvshyhsia v Uhors'hyni y Bukovyni 1801–1886*, 2 vols. (L'viv: p. a., 1888–95)—reprinted in Kraus Slavonic Reference Series, Series II, Vol. 2 (Vaduz, Leichtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1963). Continued for the years 1887 through 1893 as *Halytsko-ruskaia bybliohrafiia za 1887, 1888, 1889*, 3 vols. (L'viv: p. a., 1888–90)—reprinted with subsequent years as *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï bibliografii: ukraïn-*

bibliography covering the first century of the Ukrainian press (1816 to 1916), most of whose 579 chronologically arranged titles originate from eastern Galicia or Vienna (that is, for Galicia's Ukrainians) after 1848.² The Polish bibliographer, Karol Estreicher, completed an eleven-volume bibliography for the nineteenth century that is arranged according to author and includes several Galician Ukrainian as well as Polish authors. Although Estreicher's work is much less reliable than Levyts'kyi's, his bibliography nonetheless contains writings by some Galician Ukrainian authors that appeared between 1894 and 1900 and are missing from Levyts'kyi's unfinished opus.³

With regard to secondary literature, the most comprehensive bibliography for eastern Galicia between 1848 and 1918 is by Nina Pasheva.⁴

s'ka bibliografiia Avstro-Uhorshchyny za roky 1887–1900, 3 vols. [1887–1893] (L'viv: Bibliografichna komisiia NTSh, 1909–11).

A comprehensive supplement to Levyts'kyi is the list of Galician-Ukrainian publications compiled by Ivan Franko that appeared in a Polish-based Latin alphabet between 1821 and 1859: *Azbuchna viina v Halychyni 1859 r.: novi materialy*, in *Ukrain-s'ko-rus'kyi arkhyyv*, Vol. VIII (L'viv, 1912), pp. iv–xiv.

² Varfolomii Ihnatiienko, *Bibliografiia ukrains'koi presy, 1816–1916*, in *Trudy Ukrains'koho naukovo-doslidchoho instytutu knyhoznavstva*, Vol. IV (Kharkiv, 1930; reprinted: State College, Pa.: Wasył O. Luciiv, 1968). See also Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Chasopysy Halyts'koho Podillia," in Mykola Bilins'kyi, Nina Spivachevs'ka, and Ivan Krevets'kyi, *Chasopysy Podillia*, Kabinet vyuchuvannia Podillia, Vol. XX (Vinnytsia: Vinnyts'ka filiiia Vsenarodn'oi biblioteky Ukrainy pry UAN, 1927–28), pp. 1–21.

³ Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska XIX. stulecia*, 7 vols. [Vols. I–V: 1800–1870; Vols. VI–VII: 1870–1880] (Cracow: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1872–82) and *Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia lata 1881–1900*, 4 vols. (Cracow: Spółka księgarzy polskich, 1906–16—reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation and Warsaw: PWN, 1964–65).

A revised second edition under the editorship of the author's grandson, also named Karol Estreicher, that combines the above and adds much new data is presently being published: Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia*, Vols. I–XII [A through J] (2nd rev. ed.; Cracow: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1959–79).

Estreicher's original *Bibliografia polska* was continued by him and his son Stanisław Estreicher to include all books published between the 15th and 18th centuries. Vols. XII–XXXIII [A through Y] (Cracow: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1891–1939—reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation and Warsaw: PWN, 1964–65), although these volumes contain few Ukrainian or Old Slavonic titles.

⁴ N.M. Pashaeva, "Galitsiia pod vlast'iu Avstrii v russkoi i sovetskoi istoricheskoi literature (1772–1918 gg.): bibliografiia," in V.D. Koroľiuk *et al.*, eds., *Mezhdunarodnye sviazi stran tsentral'noi, vostochnoi i iugo-vostochnoi Evropy i slaviano-germanskie otnosheniia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), pp. 295–324.

There are also a few subject bibliographies with much material on eastern Galicia: Fedir P. Maksymenko's outstanding compilation of works of a statistical and descriptive nature on towns, cities, and regions throughout the Ukraine;⁵ Iaroslav Dashkevych's description of sources for Galician history available in lexicons and other geographical reference works;⁶ a list of publications of the influential Prosvita Society (f. 1868);⁷ and several bibliographies on the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen during World War I.⁸

There are also bibliographies representing certain historical or national schools. For older Polish writings, the multivolume guide by Ludwik Finkel has some sections dealing with eastern Galicia,⁹ but the most comprehensive coverage is given by Edmund Kołodziejczyk,

⁵ F.P. Maksymenko, "Zbirka istorichnykh vidomostei pro naseleni punkty Ukraïns'koi RSR: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchuk," *Naukovo-informatsiyni biuleten' Arkhivnoho upravlinnia URSS*, XVII, 4, 5, and 6 (Kiev, 1963), pp. 79–86, 79–84, and 76–85; and XVIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (1964), pp. 88–98, 92–99, 89–101, 64–71 and 95–105; see especially the sections on the Ivano-Frankivs'k (items 678–705), L'viv (items 858–987), and Ternopil' (items 1130–1177) oblasts. An earlier version of this work—*Materiialy do kraieznavchoi bibliohrafiï Ukraïny, 1848–1929* (Kiev: Vsenarodna biblioteka Ukraïny pry VUAN, 1930)—did not include any sections on Galicia, at the time outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR.

⁶ Iaroslav Dashkevych, "Skhidna Halychyna v istoriko-geohrafichnykh slovnykakh kintsia XVIII-70-kh rr. XIX st.," *Naukovo-informatsiyni biuleten' Arkhivnoho upravlinnia URSS*, XVII, 2 [58] (Kiev, 1963), pp. 10–25.

⁷ Ivan Kalynovych, *Spys vydan' Tovarystva 'Prosvita' u L'vovi 1868–1924* (L'viv: TP, 1926).

⁸ Petro Zlenko, *Zymovy pokhid: materiialy dlia bibliohrafichnoho pokazhchuka* (Prague, 1935); Petro Zlenko, *Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi: materiialy dlia bibliohrafichnoho pokazhchuka* (Warsaw: Ukraïns'ke voienno-istorichne tov., 1935); Stepan Ripets'kyi, *Bibliohrafiia dzherel do istoriï Ukraïns'kykh Sichovykh Stril'tsiv* (New York: Vydaynychy Komisii Bratstva USS, 1965).

There are also two bibliographies of Ukrainian memoirs, many by Galician authors and/or which deal with the region during the period under consideration: Ivan Kalynovych, "Ukraïns'ka memuarystyka 1914–1924 r.: bibliohrafichnyi reister," *Stara Ukraïna*, IX–X (L'viv, 1924), pp. 145–150; I. Chaikovs'kyi, "Nasha memuarystyka," *Naukovi zapysky Ukraïns'koho tekhnichno-hospodars'koho institutu*, XI (XIV) (Munich, 1966), pp. 63–94—also separately.

⁹ Ludwik Finkel, *Bibliografia historii polskiej*, 3 vols. (Cracow: Komisya Historyczna Akademii Umiejętności, 1904–06), *Dodatek (obejmujący druki po koniec r. 1900)* (Cracow, 1906), and *Dodatek II (lata 1901–1910 obejmujący)* (Cracow, 1914); 2nd rev. ed., Vol. I (L'viv: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1937).

who lists 1,004 Polish studies on all aspects of Galician "Rusini."¹⁰ More recent Polish bibliographies contain works in all languages about Ukrainian Galicia between the years 1795 and 1945.¹¹ Czech-language writings on Galicia are listed in a meticulous bibliography on Czech-Ukrainian relations by Orest Zilyns'kyj.¹²

A few historiographical studies have been written that survey recent Soviet and Polish writings on Galicia between 1848 and 1918.¹³ Finally, several Galician-Ukrainian scholars from the late nineteenth century, much or all of whose work deals with their native region, have been the focus of attention in bibliographical and historiographical works. As might be expected, the largest amount of literature is on Ivan Franko, the prolific belletrist and scholar. The Soviets have virtually transformed Franko into a West Ukrainian (Galician) national institution with writings about all aspects of his career.¹⁴ Mykhailo Moroz has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of Franko's writings (4,919 entries) which includes sections listing his scholarly works, social commentary, and published correspondence.¹⁵ Several articles

¹⁰ Edmund Kołodziejczyk, *Bibliografia słowianoznawstwa polskiego* (Cracow: Akademija Umiejętności, 1911), pp. 196–252.

¹¹ Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska, ed., *Bibliografia historii Polski*, Vol. II: 1795–1918, 2 pts. (Warsaw: PWN, 1967), especially the sections dealing with "lands under Austrian rule"; Wiesław Bienkowski, ed., *Bibliografia historii Polski*, Vol. III: 1918–1945, 2 pts. (Warsaw: PWN, 1974), which includes sections on Ukrainian political parties and Ukrainians as a minority.

¹² Orest Zilyns'kyj, ed., *Sto padesát let česko-ukrajinských literárních styků 1814–1964: vědecko-bibliografický sborník* (Prague: Svět Sovětů, 1968).

See also the survey of writings by and about Ukrainians, especially in Galicia, that appeared in the journal of the Czech National Museum: Pavlo Bohats'kyi, "Ucrainica z zhurnalu 'Časopis Českého Museum' vid počatku ioho isnuvannia po 1926 rik (1827–1925)," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXLVI (L'viv, 1927), pp. 203–214.

¹³ V.K. Osechyn's'kyi, "Do pytannia istoriohrafii zakhidno-ukraïns'kykh zemel' v dobu imperializmu," *Visnyk LU: Seriiia istorychna* (L'viv, 1969), pp. 3–11; V.K. Osechinskii, "K voprosu ob istoriografii zapadnoukraïnskikh zemel' v period pervoi mirovoi imperialisticheskoi voïny," *Naukovi zapysky LDU*, XVII: *Seriiia istorychna*, 4 (L'viv, 1949), pp. 23–40; Lawrence D. Orton, "Polish Publications since 1945 on Austrian and Galician History, 1772–1918," *Austrian History Yearbook*, XII–XIII, pt. 2 (Houston, 1976–77), pp. 315–358.

¹⁴ See below, notes 154–164.

¹⁵ M.O. Moroz, *Ivan Franko: bibliohrafiia tvoriv 1874–1964* (Kiev: L'viv's'ka derzhavna biblioteka—Instytut literatury im. Shevchenka AN URSR, 1966).

and a monograph by Mykola Kravets' focus on Franko as an historian.¹⁶

Other Galicians whose historical scholarship has been analyzed include: Denys Zubryts'kyi (1777–1862),¹⁷ Antin Petrushevych (1821–1913),¹⁸ Izydor Sharanevych (1829–1901),¹⁹ Iuliian Tselevych (1843–1892),²⁰ Ostap Terlets'kyi (1850–1902),²¹ Kyrylo Studyns'kyi (1868–1941),²² Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871–1926),²³ Vasyl' Shchurat (1871–

¹⁶ M.M. Kravets' *Ivan Franko-istoryk Ukraïny* (L'viv: LU, 1971); *I. Ia. Franko iak istoryk*, in *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu istorii AN URSSR*, Vol. VIII (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1956); L.A. Kovalenko, "Ivan Franko pro istoriiu feodal'no-kriposnyts'koï epokhy na Ukraïni," *Naukovi zapysky Uzhhorods'koho derzhavnoho universytetu*, XXV (Uzhhorod, 1957), pp. 75–95; L.A. Kovalenko, "I. Ia. Franko—istoryk-slavist," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, X, 8 (Kiev, 1966), pp. 53–61; I. Hurzhii, "Ivan Franko iak istoryk: do 110-richchia z dnia narodzhennia I. Ia. Franka," *Komunist Ukraïny*, no. 8 (Kiev, 1966), pp. 61–70.

¹⁷ Ia. Isaievych, "D. I. Zubryts'kyi i ioho diial'nist' v haluzi spetsial'nykh istorychnykh dystsyplin," *Naukovo-informatsiyni biuleten' Arkhivnoho upravlinnia URSSR*, XVII, 1 [57] (Kiev, 1963), pp. 48–57; H. Iu. Herbil's'kyi, "Do pytannia pro istorychni pohliady D. Zubryts'koho: istoryk ta publitsyst XIX st.," *Visnyk LU: Serii istorychna*, IV (L'viv, 1967), pp. 63–70.

On the impact of Zubryts'kyi's *History of the Galician-Volhynian Principality*, see Mykhailo Tershakovets', "Rolia Stavropyhii kniazhestva' I–III. ch. ta ioho broshury p. z. 'Anonim Gneznenskii i Ioann Dlugosh'," in *Zbirnyk L'vivs'koï Stavropyhii: mynule i suchasne*, Vol. I, ed. K. Studyns'kyi (L'viv, 1921), pp. 185–246.

¹⁸ M.M. Kravets', "A.S. Petrushevych—vydavets' 'Zvedenoho halyts'ko-rus'koho litopysu 1600–1800 rr.'," *Istoriografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraïns'kii RSR*, Vol. IV (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1971), pp. 193–198.

¹⁹ F.F. Aristov, "Isidor Ivanovich Sharanevich," *Vremennik Stavropigiskogo Instituta na 1930 god*, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1929), pp. 8–18; A.V. Kopystianskii, "Istoricheskie trudy Isidora Iv. Sharanevicha," *Vremennik Stavropigiskogo Instituta na 1930 god*, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1929), pp. 19–29; V.R. Vavrik, "Osnovnye cherty literaturnoi deiatel'nosti Isidora Ivanovicha Sharanevicha," *ibid.*, pp. 33–121; M.M. Kravets', "S.I. Sharanevych," *Arkhivy Ukraïny*, XXIII, 4 (Kiev, 1969), pp. 52–54.

²⁰ Bohdan Barvins'kyi, *Dr. Iuliian Tselevych i ioho naukova diial'nist' na poli ukraïns'koï istoriografii i etnografii v svitli davnishykh ta novishykh doslidiv* (L'viv: NTSh, 1927).

²¹ V.A. Tkachenko, "Ahrarno-selians'ke pytannia v Halychyni v otsyntsi Ostapa Terlets'koho," *Sotsial'no-ekonomichni nauky: zbirnyk robiv aspirantiv kafedr suspil'nykh nauk* (L'viv: LU, 1961), pp. 197–228.

²² Mykhailo Tershakovets', "Akad. Studyns'kyi iak doslidnyk halyts'ko-ukraïns'koho vidrodzhennia," *Zapysky NTSh*, XCIX (L'viv, 1930), pp. 95–112.

²³ "Pam"iaty akad. Volod. Hnatiuka," *Zapysky Istorychno-filohichnoho viddilu*,

1948),²⁴ Stepan Tomashivs'kyi (1875–1930),²⁵ and Ilarion Svientsits'kyi (1876–1956).²⁶ Mykhailo Humeniuk has singled out the bibliographical scholarship of several Galicians, devoting particular attention to Ivan E. Levyts'kyi (1850–1913).²⁷

Historical Surveys, Memoirs, Reference Works

The general literature on the period 1848–1918 can be divided into several categories: histories of the whole period or certain decades, memoirs by participants in contemporary political and cultural life, and descriptive works of an encyclopedic and statistical nature. Works covering the period as a whole are few. The leading Polish Marxist authority on Galicia, Stefan Kieniewicz, has compiled a volume of documents with an introductory historical essay for the years 1850 to 1914, although the vast majority of his material concerns

X (Kiev, 1927), pp. 215–259. On Hnatiuk as a dialectologist and as ethnographer and folklorist on Ruthenians living Subcarpathian Rus' (especially the Prešov Region) and the Bačka, see the studies by Mykola Mushynka, Iosyf Shelepets', Ivan Reboshapka, and František Tichý in *Naukovyi zbirnyk Muzeiu ukrains'koï kul'tury vo Svydnyku*, III: *prysviachenyi pam'iaty Volodymyra Hnatiuka* (Bratislava and Prešov, 1967), pp. 51–126 and 215–220; and Mykola Mushynka, *Volodymyr Hnatiuk: pershyi doslidnyk zhyttia i narodnoi kul'tury rusyniv-ukraintsiv Iugoslavii* (Ruski Krstur: Ruske slovo, 1967).

²⁴ See the biography by Stepan V. Shchurat and bibliography by M.O. Moroz in Vasyli' Shchurat, *Vybrani pratsi z istorii literatury* (Kiev: ANURSR, 1963), pp. 3–26 and 391–432.

²⁵ I. Kryp'iakievych, "Stepan Tomashivs'kyi," *Zapysky NTSh*, CLI (L'viv, 1931), pp. 225–230.

²⁶ O.D. Kizlyk and R.Ia. Lutsyk, *I.S. Svientsits'kyi: korotkyi bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Kiev: ANURSR, 1956); U.Ia. Iedlins'ka, "Ilarion Semenovykh Svientsits'kyi (1876–1956)," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, X, 4 (Kiev, 1966), pp. 133–135.

²⁷ See the chapters on Ia. Holovats'kyi, I. Franko, M. Pavlyk, I.E. Lukych-Levyts'kyi and I.E. Levyts'kyi in Mykhailo P. Humeniuk, *Ukrains'ki bibliohrafi XIX-pochatku XX stolittia: narysy pro zhyttia ta diial'nist'* (Kharkiv: Knyzhkova palata URSR, 1969). See also M. Humeniuk, "Ia.F. Holovats'kyi iak bibliohraf i knyhoznavets'," *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, XIII, 8 (Kiev, 1969), pp. 60–66; Mykhailo P. Humeniuk, "Bibliohrafichna diial'nist' I.O. Levyts'koho," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, XXII, 6 (Kiev, 1968), pp. 30–36; Mykhailo P. Humeniuk, "Levitskii—vydaiushchiisia ukrainskii bibliograf XIX stoletia," *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, no. 41 (Moscow, 1955), pp. 45–52; and Paul R. Magocsi, "Nationalism and National Bibliography: Ivan E. Levyts'kyi and Nineteenth-Century Galicia," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 81–109.

Polish-inhabited western Galicia.²⁸ The best general introduction to Ukrainian eastern Galicia during this period is an article by Ivan L. Rudnytsky.²⁹

It is, of course, from the last decades of Austrian rule that the split within the local intelligentsia between Ukrainophiles and Russophiles dates. Each orientation has left its interpretation of the era. The Ukrainophile view is represented in brief essays by Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi and Volodymyr Levyts'kyi, national activists from the period who depict Austrian rule in a relatively favorable light, and in two semi-popular volumes by Matvii Stakhiv, a political leader from the inter-war period who emphasizes the negative aspects of Austrian cooperation with local Poles that hindered Galician Ukrainian development.³⁰ The Russophile view is presented in the second volume of Pylyp Svystun's history of Galician Rus' under Austrian domination. His narrative stops in 1895 and he is extremely critical of both the Vienna government and Polish provincial administration. Each of them, he argues, promoted in its own way, "Ukrainian separatism," thus perpetuating the Austrian policy of *divide et impera* at the expense of the "Russian" population of eastern Galicia which was forced to remain separated from its brethren in tsarist Russia.³¹ Reflecting the continued efforts of Soviet Marxist scholarship to deny anything positive in all the regimes that preceded the Soviet "liberation" of Galicia in 1939, Volodymyr Osechyns'kyi paints in the darkest colors the cooperation between the Habsburg government and the Polish upper

²⁸ Stefan Kieniewicz, *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej (1850–1914)* (Wrocław: Wyd. Zakładu narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1952).

²⁹ Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia Under Austrian Rule," *Austrian History Yearbook*, III, pt. 2 (Houston, 1967), pp. 394–429. Cf. above, Chapter 2.

See also the earlier and briefer essay by Nicholas Andrusiak, "The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XIV [40 and 41] (London, 1935–36), pp. 163–175 and 372–379.

³⁰ Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, "Obopil'ni stosunki mizh Velykoïu Ukraïnoïu i Halychynoiu v istoriï rozvytku ukraïns'koi politychnoi dumky XIX i XX vv.," *Ukraïna*, V, 2 (Kiev, 1928), pp. 83–90; Volodymyr Levyts'kyi, *Iak zhyvet' sia ukraïns'komu narodovy v Avstrii* (Vienna: Vyd. Soiūza Vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1915); Matvii Stakhiv, *Zakhidna Ukraïna ta polityka Pol'shchi, Rosiï i zakhodu, 1772–1918*, 2 vols. (Scranton, Pa.: Ukraïns'kyi robitnychyï soiuz, 1958).

³¹ Filipp I. Svystun, *Prikarpatskaia Rus' pod vladieniem Avstrii*, pt. 2: 1850–1895 (L'viv: Izd. O.A. Markova, 1897; reprinted Trumbull, Conn.: Peter S. Hardy, 1970).

classes in Galicia to oppress politically and culturally and to exploit economically the Ukrainian peasant masses of eastern Galicia.³²

With regard to surveys concentrating on certain periods, the post-revolutionary decade of neoabsolutism that was followed by the first stirrings of a populist Ukrainian cultural movement during the 1860s has received the most attention, as in the older essays by Mykhailo Drahomanov, Anatol' Vakhnianyn, Ivan Filevych, Serhii Iefremov and Iaroslav Hordyns'kyi, and in a recent monograph by the Soviet writer Stepan Trusevych.³³ The continual changes in Polish-Ukrainian relations in Galicia during the nineteenth century have been traced by Mykhailo Demkovych-Dobrians'kyi.³⁴

Several memoirs date from this period, some of which were conceived as histories of Galicia. The most ambitious of these is the six-volume work by the parliamentarian Kost' Levyts'kyi, whose systematic coverage of political and cultural events during the years 1848 to 1918 (from the Ukrainophile point of view) is still one of the best histories of the subject.³⁵ Other memoirs by local leaders focus on shorter periods: Iustyn Zhelekhivs'kyi (1840s–1870s), Anatol' Vakhnianyn (1847–1874), Oleksii Zaklyns'kyi (1850s–1870s), Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1860s–1870s), Oleksander Barvins'kyi (1860–1888),

³² V.K. Osechyns'kyi, *Halychyna pid hnitom Avstro-Uhorshchyny v epokhu imperi-alizmu* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd., 1954).

³³ M. T-ov [M. Drahomanov], "Russkie v Galitsii: literaturnia i politicheskaia zamietki," *Viestnik Evropy*, VIII, 1 and 2 (St. Petersburg, 1873), pp. 114–152 and 769–798; Natal' Vakhnianyn, *Prychynky do istorii ruskoï spravy v Halychyni v liakh 1848–1870* (L'viv: Lev Lopatyns'kyi, 1901); Ivan P. Filevich, *Iz istorii Karpatskoi Rusi: ocherki galitsko-ruskoï zhizni s 1772 g. (1848–1866)* (Warsaw, 1907); Sergei Efremov, "Galichina v nachalie konstitutsionnoi ery," *Golos minuvshago*, V, 9–10 (Moscow, 1917), pp. 154–180; Iaroslav Hordyns'kyi, *Do istorii kul'turnoho i politychnoho zhytia v Halychyni v 60-tykh rr. XIX v.*, in *Zbirnyk Fil'ol'ogichnoi sekti NTSh*, Vol. XVI (L'viv, 1917); S.M. Trusevych, *Suspil'no-politychni rukh u Skhidnii Halychyni v 50-70-kh rokakh XIX st.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1978).

³⁴ Mykhailo Demkovych-Dobrians'kyi, *Ukrains'ko-pol's'ki stosunky u XIX storichchi*, Ukrain's'kyi Vil'nyi Universytet, Monohrafiï, no. 13 (Munich, 1969).

³⁵ Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv 1848–1914*, 2 vols. (L'viv: p.a., 1926); Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia vyzvol'nykh zmahan' halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv z chasu svitovoi viiny*, 3 vols. (L'viv: p.a., 1929–30); Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Velykyi zryv: do istorii ukrains'koï derzhavnosti vid bereznia do lystopada 1918 r. na pidstavi spomyniv ta dokumentiv* (L'viv: Chervona kalyna, 1931)—2nd ed., New York: Vyd-vo Chartoriys'kykh, 1968).

Kornylo Ustiiianovych (1870s), Tyt Voinarovs'kyi (1880s–1920s), Ievhen Olesnyts'kyi (1914–1917), and Vasyl' Nahirnyi (1890–1914).³⁶ Also of importance are several memoirs by Galician Polish leaders, including Prince Leon Sapieha, marshal of the Galician Diet (1861–1875); Kazimierz Chłędowski, writer and government official in Galicia (1868–1880); Józef Doboszyński, state prosecutor and jurist in eastern Galicia (1859–1889); Leon Biliński, imperial minister for Galicia (1895–1897); and Michał Bobrzyński, viceroy of Galicia (1908–1913);³⁷ as well as memoirs by Mykhailo Drahomanov, the political theorist from the Dnieper Ukraine who spread ideas of Ukrainianism in Galicia during the late 1860s and 1870s, and Vasiliï Kel'siev, the Russian Slavophile who toured Galicia in 1866–1867.^{37a}

³⁶ "Avtobiografia o. Iustina Zhelekhovskago," *Viestnik 'Narodnago Doma'*, XXVII [V] (L'viv, 1909); XXVIII [VI], 1–12 (L'viv, 1910), pp. 8–16, 25–28, 40–46, 54–59, 68–72, 82–88, 107–113, 127–134, 142–148, 160–168; Anatol' Vakhnianyn, *Spomyny z zhyt'ia (posmertne vydannia)* (L'viv, 1908); Oleksei Zaklyns'kyi, *Zapysky parokha starykh Bohorodchan* (L'viv: Chervonaia Rus', 1890; 2nd ed., Toronto: Dobra knyzhka, 1960); Bohdan Didytskii, *Svoezhyt'evyï zapysky*, pt. 1: *Hde-shcho do ystoriï samorozvytia iazyka y azbuky Halytskoi Rusy* (L'viv, 1907)—first published in *Vistnyk 'Narodnogo Doma'*, nos. 2–4, 6–12 (L'viv, 1906) and pt. 2: *Vzhliad na shkol'noe obrazovanie Halytskoi Rusy v XIX st.* (L'viv, 1908); Oleksander Barvins'kyi, *Spomyny z moho zhyt'ia*, 2 vols., *Zahal'na biblioteka*, no. 115–120 (L'viv: Iakiv Orenshtain v Kolomyia, 1912–13); Kornylo N. Ustiiianovych, *M.F. Raievskii i rossiiskii panslavizm* (L'viv: K. Bednarskyi, 1884); memoirs of Tyt Voinarovs'kyi are in *Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st.*, NTSh, Biblioteka ukrainoznavstva, Vol. VIII (New York, Paris, Sydney, and Toronto, 1961), pp. 15–75; Ievhen Olesnyts'kyi, *Storinky z moho zhyt'ia*, 2 vols. (L'viv: Dilo, 1935); Vasyl' Nahirnyi, *Z moikh spomyniv* (L'viv: Reviziynyi Soiuz Ukrain'skykh Kooperativ, 1935).

³⁷ Leon Sapieha, *Wspomnienia (z lat 1803 do 1863 r.)* (L'viv, Warsaw, and Poznań: H. Altenberg, G. Seyfarth, E. Wende, Rzepecki, 1912); Kazimierz Chłędowski, *Pamiętniki*, 2 vols., ed. with an introduction by Antoni Knot (Wrocław: Wyd. Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1951), esp. Vol. I: *Galicja (1843–1880)*; Józef Doboszyński, "Pamiętnik," in *Pamiętniki urzędników galicyjskich*, ed. with an introduction by Irene Homola and Bolesław Łopuszański (Cracow: Wyd. Literackie, 1978), pp. 357–416; Leon Biliński, *Wspomnienia i dokumenty*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: F. Hosick, 1924–25); Michał Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamiętników*, ed. with an introduction by Adam Galos (Wrocław and Cracow: Wyd. Zakładu im. Ossolińskich, 1957).

The introductions by Knot, Homolka, and Łopuszański referred to above include surveys of Galician-Polish memoir literature.

^{37a} M. Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spomyny 1867–1877*, 3 pts. (L'viv: Ivan Franko, 1889–92)—reprinted in his *Literaturno-publistychni pratsi*, Vol. 2 (Kiev: Naukova

Finally, there are several handbooks, statistical compilations, and descriptive works dealing with the years 1848–1918. The best source material on the administrative structure of Galicia is found in the handbooks for the whole empire published almost every year by the imperial government. Beginning in 1856 each volume contains 100 or more pages devoted to Galicia, listing everyone in the Diet, provincial administration (executive, judicial, fiscal, trade, and rural branches), educational system, the military, and the churches.³⁸ Comprehensive statistical data are available in 104 volumes entitled *Oesterreichische Statistik*. This series contains data from each of the decennial censuses between 1880 and 1910, dealing with population (place of habitation, age, marriage status, demographic growth and movement, occupation, religion, mother tongue), sanitation, foreign trade, judicial proceedings (civil and criminal), education, banking, parliamentary election results, internal commerce and trade, and communications. Each of these volumes, with the exception of those on foreign trade, contains a section on Galicia.³⁹

Statistical data on the size and composition of Galicia's population have received special attention. The Austrian government published the results of four of its decennial censuses between 1857 and 1900. One volume for each census was devoted to Galicia, listing all villages with the total number of houses and persons, the latter figures broken down by sex and sometimes national and religious categories.⁴⁰

dumka, 1970), pp. 151–288; Vasilii Kel'siev, *Galichina i Moldaviia: putevyia pis'ma* (St. Petersburg, 1868—reprinted Bridgeport, Conn.: Carpatho-Russian Literary Association, 1976).

³⁸ *Schematismus des kaiserlichen auch kaiserlich-königlichen Hofes and Staates*; later *Hof- und Staats- Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthumes*; and from 1844 to 1868 *Hof- und Staats Handbuch des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staats-Druckerei, 1778–1868); *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der oesterreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, Vols. I–XLIV (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1874–1914).

See also the series devoted specifically to Galicia: *Schematismus der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien* [1789–1843]/ *Provinzial-Handbuch der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien* [1844–1884]/ *Handbuch der Lemberger Stathalterei-Gebietes in Galizien* [1855–1869]/ *Szematyzm Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi z Wielkim Ks. Krakowskim* [1870–1914] (L'viv, 1789–1914).

³⁹ *Oesterreichische Statistik*, 93 vols. (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1882–1914) and *Neue Folge*, 11 vols. (1912–14).

⁴⁰ *Alphabetisch geordnetes Ortschafts-Verzeichnis der Königreiche Galizien und Lodo-*

Yearbooks and other statistical guides for Galicia and the city of L'viv were also published in the late nineteenth century.^{40a}

In an era when the peasant masses were being asked for the first time to identify themselves with some national label (earlier they would have identified themselves primarily by religious affiliation), it is not surprising that difficulties developed with respect to the accuracy of the statistical data. Accuracy would have been a problem even in the most objective environment, which Galicia was not, and the census results caused continual controversy (complete with political repercussions) over the exact number of Ukrainians vs. Poles or Greek Catholics vs. Roman Catholics. Stanislav Dnistrians'kyi has provided an excellent history of census collecting in Austria-Hungary with reference to specific problems in late nineteenth-century Galicia.⁴¹ The problem of national and religious identity among Ukrainians and Poles in eastern Galicia as reflected in contemporary statistical data is analyzed in great detail by Volodymyr Okhrymovych, and an effort

merien und das Herzogthum Bukowina (L'viv, 1855); *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Ost- und West-Galizien nach der Zählung vom. 31 Oktober 1857* (Vienna, 1859); *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Galizien nach der Zählung vom 31. Dezember 1869* (Vienna, 1871); *Orts-Repertorium des Königreiches Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Grossherzogthume Krakau* [based on the 1869 census] (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1874); *Spezial-Orts-Repertorium der im österreichischen Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder*, Vol. XII: *Galizien* (Vienna, 1886); *Spezial-Orts-Repertorium der im österreichischen Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* [based on 1890 census], Vol. XII: *Galizien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1893); *Gemeindelexikon der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* [based on 1900 census], Vol. XII: *Galizien* (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1906).

^{40a} Władysław Rapacki, *Ludność Galicyi* (L'viv: p.a., 1874); J. Bigo, *Najnowszy skorowidz wszystkich miejscowości z przysiołkami w Królestwie Galicyi i Bukowinie* (Zolochiv, 1886; 5th ed., L'viv, 1914); *Podręcznik statystyki Galicyi*, 4 vols. [1898–19??], ed. T. Pilat (L'viv: Krajowe Biuro Statystycznego, 1900–13); Szymon Chanderys, *Kompletny skorowidz miejscowości w Galicyi i Bukowinie* (L'viv, 1909); *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, 3 vols., ed. Tadeusz Romanowicz (L'viv: Gmina miasta Lwowa, 1874–86).

A useful survey of pre-1914 statistical sources on Galicia is provided by Walentyna Najdus, "Źródła statystyczne do dziejów klasy robotniczej w Galicji," in *Polska klasa robotnicza: studia historyczne*, Vol. III (Warsaw: PWN, 1972), pp. 367–385.

⁴¹ Stanislav Dnistrians'kyi, "Natsional'na statystyka," in *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky*, Vol. I–II, ed. M. Hrushevs'kyi (L'viv: Statystychna komisiiia NTSh, 1909–10), pp. 17–64 and 27–67.

to determine correlations between religious background and professional status based on data from the 1900 census was undertaken by Józef Buzek.⁴²

Also of use are the encyclopedic-like guides on all aspects of the province during the last years of Habsburg rule. The earliest of these were compiled by Hipolt Stupnicki and Iakiv Holovats'kyi; they provide descriptions from the 1860s and 1870s.⁴³ The best in this

⁴² Volodymyr Okhrymovych, "Z polia natsional'noi statystyky Halychyny (pomichenia nad rizhnytsiamy i pereminamy v natsional'nim skladi halyts'koi ludnosti)," in *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky*, Vol. I, ed. M. Hrushevs'kyi (L'viv: Statystychna komisii NTSh, 1909), pp. 65–160; Józef Buzek, *Stosunki zawodowe i socyalne ludności z dnia 31 grudnia 1900 r.* (L'viv, 1905); J. Buzek, "Rozsiedlenie ludności Galicji według wyznania i języka," *Wiadomości statystyczne*, XXI, 2 (L'viv, 1909).

See also A. Petrov, *Ob ètnograficheskoi granitsie russkago naroda v Austro-Ugrii* (Petrograd, 1915); Volodymyr Kubijovyč, *Etnichni grupy Pivdennozakhidn'oi Ukraïny (Halychyny) na 1. 1. 1939 r.*, pt. 1: *Etnohrafichna karta Pivdennozakhidn'oi Ukraïny (Halychyny)*, in *Zapysky NTSh*, CLX (London, Munich, New York and Paris, 1953); Stanisław Pawłowski, *Ludność rzymsko-katolicka w polsko-ruskiej części Galicji*, *Prace Geograficzne* Vol. III (L'viv: Polska Spółka Oszczędności, 1919); Alfons Krysiński, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Ukraińców w Polsce*, *Biblioteka "Spraw Narodowościowych"*, no. 6 (Warsaw, 1929).

⁴³ H. Stupnicki, *Galicja pod względem topograficzno-geograficzno-historycznym* (L'viv, 1849; 2nd rev. ed.: L'viv, 1869); Hipolt Stupnicki, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien sammt dem Grossherzogthume Krakau und dem Herzogthume Bukowina in geographisch-historisch-statistischer Beziehung* (L'viv: J. Milikowski, 1853); H. Stupnicki, *Geograficzno-statystyczny opis Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomerji* (L'viv, 1864); Iakov Golovatskii, "Karpatskaia Rus': istoriko-ètnograficheskii ocherk," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvieschenie*, CLXXIX, 6 (St. Petersburg, 1875), pp. 349–369—reprinted in his *Narodnyia piesni Galitskoi i Ugorskoi Rusi*, Vol. III, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1878), pp. 616–670; Iakov Golovatskii, "Karpatskaia Rus': geograficheskostatisticheskie i istorichesk-etnograficheskije ocherki Galichiny, sievero-vostochnoi Ugrii i Bukoviny," *Slavianskii sbornik*, I (St. Petersburg, 1875), pp. 1–30 and II (1877), pp. 55–84—reprinted in his *Narodnyia piesni*, Vol. III, pt. 2 pp. 557–615.

See also J. Jandaurek, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukovina, Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild* (Vienna: K. Graeser, 1884); Roman Zaklins'kyi, *Geografiia Rusy*, pt. 1: *Rus; halyts'ka, bukovyns'ka i uhors'ka* (L'viv: TP, 1887); and the incomplete encyclopedia: Antonii Schneider, *Encyklopedya do krajoznawstwa Galicyi pod względem historycznym, statystycznym, topograficznym, ortograficznym, handlowym, przemysłowym, sfragistycznym, etc.*, 2 vols. [A-Balin] (L'viv, 1868–74).

genre, however, is a two-volume study by Franciszek Bujak covering the years of the early twentieth century.⁴⁴ On the eve of and during World War I, several other guides to Galicia appeared in the Russian Empire: those in Russian reflecting the tsarist government's growing interest in Galicia; those in Polish emphasizing the positive aspects of the Polish-dominated administration in the area.⁴⁵ Less partisan in approach are later works by Ivan Shymonovych and Konstanty Grzybowski.⁴⁶ An encyclopedic survey on the city of L'viv is also available, and although the chronological coverage is only 1870 to 1895, this work, with long historical sections by Alexander Czołowski and Konstantin Ostaszewski-Barański, is perhaps the most comprehensive study of any period of the city's history.⁴⁷

Revolutionary years, 1848–1849

Of the many works devoted to political history during the last seventy years of Austrian rule, the revolutionary period, 1848–1849,

⁴⁴ Fr. Bujak, *Galicya*, 2 vols. (L'viv: H. Altenberg, 1908).

⁴⁵ L. Vasilevskii, *Sovremennaia Galitsiia* (St. Petersburg, 1900); V. Zubkovskii, *Galitsiia: kratkii obzor geografii, etnografii, istorii i ekonomicheskoi zhizni strany* (Kharkov, 1914); Iu. A. Kheifits, *Galitsiia: politicheskoe, administrativnoe i sudebnoe ustroistvo* (Petrograd, 1915); N.V. Iastrebov, *Galitsiia nakanunie Velikoi voiny 1914 goda* (Petrograd, 1915); N.M. Lagov, *Galichina, eia istoriia, priroda, naselenie, bogatstva i dostoprimechatel'nosti* (Petrograd: N.P. Karbasnikov, 1915); E.S. Vul'fon, *Galitsiia do velikoi evropeiskoi voiny* (Moscow, 1915); Bohdan Winarski, *Ustrój prawno-polityczny Galicyi* (Warsaw: Gebethner and Wolff, 1915); Kazimierz Bartoszewicz, *Dzieje Galicyi: jej stan przed wojną i 'wyodrębnienie'* (Warsaw: Gebethner and Wolff, 1917).

⁴⁶ I. Shymonovych, *Halychyna: ekonomichno-statystychna rozvidka* (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd. Ukrainy, 1928); Konstanty Grzybowski, *Galicia 1848–1914: historia ustroju politycznego na tle historii ustroju Austrii* (Cracow, Wrocław, and Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1959).

See also the earlier *Encyclopédie polonaise*, 3 vols. (Fribourg and Lausanne, 1920), especially Vols. II and III.

⁴⁷ *Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu 1870–1895* (L'viv: n.p., 1896).

See also the demographic analysis by Stanisław Pazyra, "Ludność Lwowa w pierwszej ćwierci XX wieku," in *Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone prof. dr. Franciszkowi Bujakowi* (L'viv, 1931), pp. 415–446; and two works on the city's economic history by Stanisław Hoszowski, *Ekonomiczny rozwój Lwowa w latach 1772–1914* (L'viv, 1935) and his *Ceny w Lwowie w latach 1701–1914, Badania z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych*, Vol. XIII (L'viv, 1934).

has received the most attention. During this period Ukrainians in Galicia entered the modern political sphere for the first time and their activity was played out in three places: in Galicia itself, at the Slav Congress in Prague, and at the newly-elected Reichstag, which carried on its short-lived parliamentary career in Vienna and then in the Moravian town of Kroměříž (Kremsier).

In Galicia itself, the enterprising governor Count Franz Stadion (1806–1853) tried to stay on top of the revolutionary situation. He pushed through an important decree on April 22, 1848 liberating the serfs (actually before all other lands in the empire), and in early May he encouraged a group of Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy centered around the St. George Cathedral (from which the term *sviatoiurtsi*—St. George Circle—derives) to form a political organization, the Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada). The latter development gave rise immediately to Polish accusations that Stadion had created the Ruthenian problem, and consequently the Poles set up a rival Ruthenian Council (Rus'kyi Sobor) composed of "Ruthenians of the Polish nation" (*gente Rutheni natione Poloni*). During 1848, the Ukrainians also established their first newspapers—*Zoria halytska* and *Dnewnyk Ruski*; their first cultural societies—the Congress of Rusyn Scholars (Sobor Rus'kykh Uchenykh) and the Galician Rus' Matytsa (Halytsko-russka Matytsa); and their first military units—a peasant frontier defense organization, a national guard, and a sharpshooter division.

Outside Galicia, two rival delegations of Ukrainians—one representing the Supreme Ruthenian Council, the other pro-Polish Ruthenian Council—journeyed to Prague in June, where they and other national leaders put forth cultural and political demands at the first international Slavic Congress. Between July 10, 1848 and March 6, 1849, thirty-nine Ukrainian deputies (elected in May 1848) called for greater social reform and the division of Galicia into separate Ukrainian and Polish provinces during debates in the Austrian Parliament (Reichstag).

The many-sided activity of Galician Ukrainians in 1848–1849 is described in a few documentary collections and general histories of the period. The documentary collections concern the peasantry and political movements throughout eastern Galicia;⁴⁸ the creation of

⁴⁸ See the more than 100 documents from 1848–1849 in *Klasova borot'ba selianstva skhidnoi' Halychyny (1772–1849): dokumenty i materialy* (Kiev: Naukova dumka,

local affiliates of the L'viv-based Supreme Ruthenian Council;⁴⁹ the debates in the Ruthenian-Polish section at the Slav Congress in Prague;⁵⁰ and relations with Czech leaders, who did much to defend Ukrainian interests against Polish encroachments.⁵¹ Also, the views of Ukrainian deputies to the Austrian Reichstag are revealed in the published verbatim debates and protocols.⁵² Finally, there are several political pamphlets from the era—both those that defend the idea of a distinct Ukrainian nationality with the right to political and cultural independence from the Poles⁵³ and those that argue that Ukrainianism (that is, Ruthenianism) is a dangerously divisive creation of Austrian

1974). See also the description of the March days in L'viv from the diary of Ivan Fedorovych in Ivan Franko, "Prychynky do istorii 1848 r.," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXXXVIII (L'viv, 1909), pp. 94–117, and documents on the varied reactions of L'viv Greek Catholic seminarians to the 1848 events in Iurii Kmit, "1848 rik i L'vivs'ka rus'ka dukhovna seminarია," *Zapysky NTSh*, XL (L'viv, 1901), 10 p.

⁴⁹ On the Brody affiliate, see Ivan Sozans'kyi, "Kil'ka dokumentiv do istorii 1848–1849 rr.," *Zapysky NTSh*, XC (L'viv, 1909), pp. 158–165; on the Berezhany affiliate, see F. I. Svistun, "Akty bererzhanskoi Rady russkoi 1848–1849 gg.," *Viestnik 'Narodnogo Doma'*, nos. 2–9 (L'viv, 1909).

⁵⁰ W. T. Wislocki, "Kongres slowiariski w roku 1848 i sprawa polska," *Rocznik Zakladu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich*, I–II (L'viv, 1927–28), pp. 517–731.

⁵¹ Ivan Bryk, *Materiialy do istorii ukrains'ko-ches'kykh vzaiemyn v pershii polovyni XIX st.*, in *Ukrains'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv*, Vol. XV (L'viv, 1921).

⁵² *Verhandlungen des österreichischen Reichstages nach der stenographischen Aufnahme*, 5 vols. (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, n.d.); *Protokolle über die Sitzungen des österreichischen Reichstages* (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1852).

⁵³ [Teodor Rozheiov's'kyi], *An die Russinen: Mit kurzen historisch-politischen und statistischen Notizen* (L'viv, 1848); *Denkschrift der ruthenischen Nation in Galizien zur Aufklärung ihrer Verhältnisse* (L'viv, 1848); Antoni Pietruszewicz, *Słów kilka napisanych w obronie ruskiej narodowości* (L'viv, 1848); I. Kolosowicz [Evs'takhii Prokopchys'], *Die ruthenische Frage in Galizien von Anton Dąbcański, Landrath zu Lemberg* (L'viv, 1849)—second edition published under the cryptonym *Eine Russinen, Die ruthenische Frage in Galizien von Anton Dąbcański* (L'viv, 1850); W. Podoliński, *Słowo przestrogi* (Sanok: Karol Pollak, 1848). This last work has been analyzed by Vasyli' Shchurat, "Rechynk nezalezhnosti Ukraïny v 1848 r. o. Vasyli' Podolyn's'kyi," in his *Na dosvitku novoi doby: statii i zamitky do istorii vidrozhennia halyts'koï Ukraïny* (L'viv: NTSh, 1919), pp. 134–178; and F. I. Steblii, "'Slovo perestorohy' V. Podolyn's'koho," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, X, 12 (Kiev, 1966), pp. 44–51.

political circles trying to counterbalance Polish influence in the province.⁵⁴

With regard to general histories of the period, the best is by the Polish scholar Jan Kozik who, on the basis of a wide variety of archival data, describes in great detail all aspects of the Ukrainian activity, even though he is critical of what he considers the anti-Polish and pro-Austrian conservative tendencies of the Supreme Ruthenian Council.⁵⁵ Such views are also expressed in surveys of the period by the Soviet writer Evdokiia Kosachevskaia and the Slovak Michal Daniľak, whose book is the only work to compare developments during these years in northern Bukovina and northeastern Hungary (Subcarpathian Rus') as well as in eastern Galicia.⁵⁶ More favorably inclined to the Supreme Ruthenian Council and to Ukrainian achievements in general is the shorter survey by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak.⁵⁷

There are also several solid studies devoted to specific aspects of the Galician-Ukrainian experience during 1848–1849. With regard to developments within the province itself, the best work is by the Ukrainian historian Ivan Krevets'kyi. He analyzes the government-

⁵⁴ Anton Dąbcański, *Die ruthenische Frage in Galizien* (L'viv, 1848); Anton Dąbcański, *Wyjaśnienie sprawy ruskiej* (L'viv, 1848; reprinted L'viv: L. Piller, 1885); Kaspar Ciegiewicz, *Rzecz czerwono-ruska 1848 roku* (L'viv, 1848); Kaspar Ciegiewicz, *Die Roth-reussischen Angelegenheiten im Jahre 1848: Eine Berichtigung der Denkschrift der Ruthenen in Galizien zur Aufklärung ihrer Verhältnisse* (Vienna, 1848).

⁵⁵ Jan Kozik, *Miedzy reakcją a rewolucją: studia z dziejów ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji w latach 1848–1849*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, CCCLXXXI: Prace Historyczne, pt. 52 (Warsaw and Cracow, 1975). See also his "Kwestia włościańska w Galicji Wschodniej w polityce Hołownej Rady Ruskiej 1848–1849," in *Prace Historyczne*, no. 50, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, CCCLXIV (Warsaw and Cracow, 1974), pp. 63–93; and his "Stosunki ukraińsko-polskie w Galicji w okresie rewolucji 1848–1849: próba charakterystyki," in *Z dziejów współpracy Polaków, Ukraińców i Rosjan*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, CCCCXVI: Prace Historyczne, no. 54 (Warsaw and Cracow, 1975), pp. 29–54.

⁵⁶ Evdokiia M. Kosachevskaia, *Vostochnaia Galitsiia nakanune i v period revoliutsii 1848 g.* (L'viv: LU, 1965); Mikhal Danylak, *Halys'ki, bukovyns'ki, zakarpats'ki ukraińtsi v revoliutsii 1848–1849 rokiv* (Bratislav and Prešov: Slovens'ke pedahohichne vyd-vo, Viddil ukrains'koï literatury, 1972).

⁵⁷ Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *The Spring of a Nation: The Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia in 1848* (Philadelphia: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1967).

organized elections in May 1848,⁵⁸ the last days of serfdom followed by agrarian strikes and boycotts calling for greater economic freedom,⁵⁹ the psychological atmosphere in 1848 that subsequently was distorted,⁶⁰ the political struggle led by the Supreme Ruthenian Council for the division of Galicia,⁶¹ and the establishment of a Ruthenian National Guard, a Ruthenian peasant frontier defense organization, and a Ruthenian Sharpshooter's Battalion, all supported by the imperial government in its effort to contain the Hungarian revolution from spreading to Galicia and involving Polish revolutionaries.⁶² Other studies dealing with military and revolutionary activity focus on the Hutsul uprising and the imperial army's bombardment of L'viv in November 1848,

⁵⁸ Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Z vyborchoho rukhu u skhidnii Halychyni v 1848 r. (vybir Ivana Kapushchaka)," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXX (L'viv, 1906), pp. 73–85.

On the participation of Galicians in the Reichstag debates, especially Ukrainian peasants, see Włodimierz Borys, "Wybory w Galicji i debaty nad zniesieniem państwa w parlamencie wiedeńskim w 1848 r.," *Przegląd Historyczny*, LVIII (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 28–45; and Roman Rosdolsky, *Die Bauernabgeordneten im konstituierenden österreichischen Reichstag 1848–1849*, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Vol. V (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1976).

⁵⁹ Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Putsylivs'ka trivoha v 1848 r.: pryhynky do istorii ostannikh dniiv panshchyny v Halychyni," in *Naukovyi zbirnyk prys'viachenyi prof. Mykhailovy Hrushevs'komu*. . . (L'viv, 1906); Ivan Krevets'kyi, *Agrarni straiiky i boikoty u skhidnii Halychyni v 1848–1849 rr.: do istorii borot'by za suspil'no-ekonomichne vyzzvolenie ukrains'kykh mas u Skhidnii Halychyni* (L'viv: 'Dilo,' 1906).

See also the Marxist view of this problem in F.I. Steblii, "Selians'kyi rukh u Skhidnii Halychyni pid chas revoliutsii 1848–1849 rr.," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, XVI, 6 (Kiev, 1973), pp. 28–38.

⁶⁰ Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Do psykhol'ogii 1848 roku (sprava St. Hoshovs'koho)," *Zapysky NTSh*, XC (L'viv, 1909), pp. 137–157.

⁶¹ Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Sprava podilu Halychyny v rr. 1846–1850," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXIII (L'viv, 1910), pp. 54–69; XCIV (1910), pp. 58–83; XCV (1910), pp. 54–82; XCVI (1910), pp. 94–115; XCVII (1910), pp. 105–154.

⁶² Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Oboronna organizatsiia rus'kykh selian na halyts'ko-uhors'kim pohranychu v 1848–1849 rr.," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXIII–LXIV (L'viv, 1905), 58 p.; Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Do istorii organizovannia natsional'nykh gvardii v 1848 r.," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXXIII (L'viv, 1906), pp. 125–142; Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Batalion rus'kykh hirskykh striit'siv 1849–1850," *Zapysky NTSh*, CVII (L'viv, 1912), pp. 52–72; Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Proby organizovania rus'kykh natsional'nykh gvardii u Halychyni 1848–1849," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXIII (L'viv, 1913), pp. 77–146. See also the shorter essay by F.I. Svistun, "Galitsko-russkoe voisko v 1848–1849 godakh," *Zhivoe slovo*, I (L'viv, 1899), pp. 30–39.

which resulted in the return of strict Austrian control over the provincial capital.⁶³ The importance of the first cultural organization, the Galician Rus' Matyt'sa, for Ukrainian development is seen in a collection of speeches and other documents by participants dating from the initial years of the Matyt'sa's existence (1848–1850) as well as in a study of the establishment of the organization by Mykhailo Vozniak.⁶⁴ Relations between Ukrainians and Poles are analyzed by Nina Pashaeva in an unsympathetic though factually accurate study of the pro-Polish Ruthenian Council (Rus'kyi Sobor) and by Marceli Handelsman in a monograph on Prince Adam Czartoryski, the influential Polish exile in Paris who urged that Galician Poles cooperate with local Ukrainians as part of his larger effort to undermine Russia and restore independent Polish statehood.⁶⁵

Ukrainian activity outside Galicia during the revolutionary years has also been studied. The Ukrainian scholar Ivan Bryk has written the most detailed account of Galician Ukrainian participation at the Slav Congress in Prague.⁶⁶ More recently the Czech historians Vladimír Hostička and Václav Žáček have described Czech-Ukrainian relations

⁶³ Ivan Franko, "Lukian Kobyl'tsia: epizod iz istorii Hutsul'shchyny v pershii polovyni XIX v.," *Zapysky NTSh*, XLIX (L'viv, 1902), 40 p.—reprinted in his *Tvory*, Vol. XIX (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd-vo khudozhn'oï literatury, 1956), pp. 716–752; Ia. Levyts'kyi, "1 y 2 padolysta 1848 r. v L'vovi," *Zapysky NTSh*, XXV (L'viv, 1898), pp. 1–43.

⁶⁴ Ivan Holovats'kyi, ed., *Ystorycheskii ocherk osnovaniia Halytsko-ruskoy Matyt'sy y spravozdan'e pervoho soboru uchenykh ruskykh y liubytelei narodnoho prosvishcheniia* (L'viv: Yzd. Halytsko-russkoi Matyt'sy, 1850); Mykhailo Vozniak, "Do istorii ukrains'koï naukovoï i prosvitnoi organizatsii v Halychyni 1848 r.," *Zapysky NTSh*, CX (L'viv, 1912), pp. 163–182.

⁶⁵ N.M. Pashaeva, "Otrazhenie natsional'nykh i sotsial'nykh protivorechii v Vostochnoi Galichine v 1848 g. v listovkakh Russkogo Sobora," in *Slavianskoe vozrozhdenie*, ed. S.A. Nikitin et al. (Moscow, 1966), pp. 48–62; Marceli Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną krymską*, in *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho naukovoho instytutu*, Vol. XXXV (Warsaw, 1937)—especially the chapter on Galicia (pp. 60–97) and the decrees of the L'viv Polish National Council regarding Galician Ukrainians in 1848 (pp. 151–162).

⁶⁶ Ivan Bryk, *Slavians'kyi zizd u Prazi 1848 r i ukrains'ka sprava* (L'viv: NTSh, 1920), 81 p.—first published in *Zapysky NTSh*, CXXIX (L'viv, 1920), pp. 141–217; Ivan Bryk, "Shafaryk u roli suddi v terminolohichnomu ukrains'ko-pol's'komu spori 1849 r.," *Zapysky NTSh*, CL (L'viv, 1929), pp. 253–269.

See also the documents from Prague in the collections edited by Bryk and Wislocki,

at the Slav Congress and in the Reichstag, where Czech leaders opposed the Ukrainian demand to divide Galicia but supported all their efforts for cultural and political autonomy in the face of Polish opposition.⁶⁷

Political developments, 1850–1914

After the Austrian defeat (with Russian help) of the Hungarian revolutionaries in August 1849, the Viennese government under the new emperor, Francis Joseph (reigned 1848–1916), embarked on a policy of centralized neoabsolutist control of the empire. In Galicia, martial law remained in effect until 1854, and the province was ruled by the Polish governor Count Agenor Gołuchowski (1812–1875), whose policy of full cooperation with Austria was not yet appreciated by Polish political circles, whether conservative or liberal. As for the Ukrainians, the Supreme Ruthenian Council dissolved itself in 1852, and after that most of the group's concerns revolved around cultural issues, such as the maintenance of German rather than Polish as the official language in the school system. The only studies dealing with the postrevolutionary decade of absolutism are an excellent biography of Gołuchowski by Bronisław Łoziński, which includes a chapter on the governor's relations with "Ruthenian issues,"⁶⁸ and several

above, notes 50 and 51, and in Ivan Sozans'kyi, "Do istoriï uchasty halyts'kykh rusyniv u slovians'kim kongresï v Prazi 1848 r.," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXXXII (L'viv, 1906), pp. 112–121.

⁶⁷ Vladimír Hostička, *Spolupráce Čechů a haličských Ukrajinců v letech 1848–1849*, Rozpravy Československé akademie věd: Řada společenských věd, Vol. LXXV, no. 12 (Prague, 1965); V. Žáček, "Ze styků a západních Ukrajinců v revolučních letech 1848 a 1849," in *Z dějin československo-ukrajinských vztahů: Slovenské štúdie*, I (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1957), pp. 351–374—translated into Ukrainian as "Pro zv'iazky chekhiv i zakhidnykh ukraintsiu u revoliutsiinykh 1848 ta 1849 rokakh," in *Z istoriï chekhoslovats'ko-ukraïns'kykh zv'iazkiv* (Bratislava: Slovats'ke vyd-vo khudozhn'oi literatury, 1959), pp. 343–369.

See also the older essay by Florian Zapletal, *Rusini a naši buditelé* (Prague: Kolokol, 1921); and the more recent Michal Danilák, "Ukrajinci a Slovenský zjazd v Prahe roku 1848," *Slovenské štúdie*, X: *História* 4 (Bratislava, 1968), pp. 5–28.

⁶⁸ Bronisław Łoziński, *Agenor Hrabia Gołuchowski w pierwszym okresie rządów swoich (1846–1859)* (L'viv: H. Altenberg, 1901), esp. pp. 125–194.

See also F.I.S. [vistun], *Gr. Agenor Golukhovskii i Galiiskaia Rus' v 1848–1859 gg.* (L'viv, 1901); and above, note 37, the memoirs of Leon Sapieha, marshall of the Galician Diet, which cover the period up to 1863.

works on the language question. The latter problem took on elements of a Ukrainian *cause célèbre* when Goluchowski's administration proposed in 1859 that the Latin alphabet (in its Czech, not Polish form) be introduced for all Ukrainian publications.⁶⁹ The government's unsuccessful intervention in the Ukrainian language question has been treated in two collections of documents⁷⁰ and in studies by Ivan Franko on the linguistic-cultural aspects and Kazimierz Ostaszewski-Barański on the political implications of the problem.⁷¹

The 1860s inaugurated the constitutional period in Austrian history. In February 1861, a two-chamber Parliament (Reichsrat) consisting of a House of Lords (Herrenhaus) and House of Deputies (Abgeordnetenhaus) was established by imperial patent in Vienna, while during the same year the Galician Diet (Landtag/Sejm) in L'viv was transformed into a representative assembly. The Diet consisted of representatives elected by four *curiae* (great landowners, chambers of commerce, towns, and rural communes), and a few Ukrainians were chosen from the last three *curiae*. Initially, representatives to the House of Deputies in Vienna were designated by the Galician Diet, then after 1873 a four-*curia* system was initiated for elections to the Parliament as well. In 1895, a fifth *curia* was established opened to all male voters, and finally in 1907 the *curia* system was abolished and replaced by universal male suffrage. In the upper house of Parliament, Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishops were members ex-officio from the very beginning.⁷²

⁶⁹ The proposal was drawn up by the Czech scholar and official in the Ministry of Religion and Education in Vienna, Joseph Jireček, *Ueber den Vorschlag das Ruthenische mit lateinischen Schriftzeichen zu schreiben* (Vienna: K.K.Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1859).

⁷⁰ *Die ruthenische Sprach- und Schriftfrage in Galizien* (L'viv, 1861); Ivan Franko, "Azbuchna viina v Halychyni 1859 r.," *Zapysky NTSh* CXIV (L'viv, 1913), pp. 81–116; CXV (1913), pp. 131–153; CXVI (1913), pp. 87–125.

See also the memoirs of Bohdan Didyts'kyi, above, note 36.

⁷¹ Ivan Franko, ed., *Azbuchna viina v Halychyni 1859 r.: novi materialy*, in *Ukrains'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv*, Vol. VIII (L'viv, 1912); Kazimierz Ostaszewski-Barański, *Agenor Gałuchowski i Rusini w roku 1859* (L'viv: M. Schmitt, 1910).

On Euzebiusz Czerkowski, the Ukrainian-born school inspector who favored the introduction of the Latin alphabet in its Polish form, see below, note 131.

⁷² A useful survey of the activity of Ukrainian deputies in the Vienna Parliament is: Theodore Bohdan Ciuciura, "Ukrainian Deputies in the Old Austrian Parliament, 1861–1918," *Mitteilungen: Arbeits- und Förderungsgemeinschaft der ukrainischen Wissenschaften*, XIV (Munich, 1977), pp. 38–56.

To be sure, the Ukrainians, despite their rough equivalency in numbers to the Poles, were always underrepresented in both the Austrian Parliament and Galician Diet. Between 1861 and 1914, the number of Ukrainians in any one session ranged from 38 (1861) to 3 (1867) in Parliament and from 46 (1861) to 13 (1883 and 1901) in the Diet, which meant at best never more than 30 percent of the total allotment in either of the representative bodies. Nonetheless, Galician Ukrainians did participate in the political process and, as a result, a whole new generation of leaders and a politically-aware populace had come into being by the outbreak of World War I.

The secondary literature on Ukrainian political developments during the Austrian constitutional period is not very good; it consists for the most part of polemical essays, sometimes with documents appended, on specific issues, or of memoir-like histories, the best of which is by Kost' Levyts'kyi.⁷³ On the other hand, Polish historiography contains several important studies on Polish politics and the results achieved in Galicia during the period of de facto autonomy between 1871 and 1914.^{73a}

Important source materials exist, however, in the form of the debates and other materials from the Parliament in Vienna and the Diet in L'viv. The complete stenographic record of the 22 sessions of the Austrian Parliament between 1861 and 1918 is available for both the House of Deputies (374 volumes) and the House of Lords (74 volumes). Each session begins with a set of chronologically-numbered volumes that contain the verbatim debates (*Sitzungen*) followed by several volumes of law proposals and other documents (*Beilagen*).⁷⁴

⁷³ See above, note 35.

^{73a} Kasimierz Wyka, *Teka Stańczyka na tle historii Galicji w latach 1849–1869*, Instytut Badań Literackich, Studia Historyczno-Literackie, Vol. IV (Wrocław: Wyd. Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1951); Michał Bobrzyński, Władysław Leopold Jaworski, and Józef Milewski, *Z dziejów odrodzenia politycznego Galicji 1859–1873* (Warsaw, 1905); William Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji, 1846–1906*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1907).

⁷⁴ *Stenographische Protokolle des Hauses der Abgeordneten des Reichsrathes* [1861–1868]/*Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrathes* [1869–1918], [374] vols. (Wien: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1862–1918); *Stenographische Protokolle des Herrenhauses des Reichsrathes* [1861–1872]/*Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Herrenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrathes* [1873–1918], [74 vols.] (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1862–1918).

Extremely valuable are the 50 volumes of indices for both houses, each of which contains a subject index and lists of laws debated, members and their presentations, committees, delegates according to province, and *Beilagen*.⁷⁵ The vast majority of the texts in the stenographic record are in German, although toward the end of the empire some other languages were used (including Ukrainian during the very last session). Certain speeches of Ukrainian deputies have been published separately.⁷⁶

The complete stenographic record of the Galician Diet between 1861 and 1914 is also available. It consists of three series: debates (*posiedzenia*, 54 volumes), addenda (*alegaty*, 90 volumes), and minutes (*protokoły*, 34 volumes).⁷⁷ Each volume is preceded by a subject and speaker index, and separate indices have been prepared for the years 1861 to 1895.⁷⁸ The Diet proceedings are printed in Polish and Ukrainian (using a Latin-based Polish alphabet), although there is a German translation for the years 1863 and 1865–1867⁷⁹ and some individual speeches by Ukrainian deputies have been published in German or Ukrainian.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Index zu den stenographischen Protokollen des Abgeordnetenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrathes*, 28 vols. (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1862–1920); *Index zu den stenographischen Protokollen des Herrenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrathes 1867–1918*, 22 vols. (Vienna: K.K. Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1869–1920).

⁷⁶ *Besida posla Hryhoryia Tsehlins'koho vyholoshena na zasidaniu palaty posliv pry budzhetovii debati dnia 19. hrudnia 1907* (Przemyśl: Selian'ska Rada, 1908); *Ukrains'ko-pol'ska sprava v austriis'kim parlamenti: promovy posliv tt. Iatska Ostapchuka, Hnata Dashyns'koho i Semena Vityka pry halyts'kii debati v austriis'kim parlamenti (20–26 maia 1908 r.)* (L'viv: Vyd. "Chervonyi prapor," 1908).

⁷⁷ *Stenograficzne Sprawozdania Sejmu Krajowego Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi wraz z Wielkiem Księstwem Krakowskiem: Posiedzenie*, 1861–1914, 54 vols.; *Alegaty*, 1865–1914, 90 vols.; *Protokoły*, 1876–1914, 34 vols. (L'viv, 1861–1914).

⁷⁸ Władysław Koziebrodzki, *Repertorium czynności Galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego*, 2 vols. [Vol. I: 1861–1883; Vol. II: 1883–1889] (L'viv: Wydział krajowy, 1885–89); Stanisław Miziewicz, *Repertorium czynności Galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego*, Vol. III: 1889–1895 (L'viv: Wydział krajowy, 1896).

⁷⁹ *Stenographische Berichte über die Sitzungen des galiz. Landtages* [1863, 1865–67].

⁸⁰ *Die gegenwärtige Lage der Ruthenen in Galizien in nationaler, politischer und ökonomischer Beziehung, auf Grund parlamentarischer Enunciationen der ruthenischen Landtagsabgeordneten in den Jahren 1889–1892* (L'viv: Russkaja rada, 1892); Ievhen Olenyts'kyi, *Besida vyholoshena v halyts'kim soimi dnia 14. zhovtnia 1903 pry zahal'ni rozpravi nad zvitom shkil'noi komisii o stanii serednykh shkil v rr. 1900/1 i 1901/2* (L'viv: "Dilo", 1903).

Biographical data on Ukrainian members in the Austrian Parliament is available in guides by Sigmund Hahn covering the five sessions between 1867 and 1892 and in a handbook by Fritz Freund on the House of Deputies during two sessions beginning in 1907 and 1911.⁸¹ Longer biographies of several Ukrainian deputies in both the Vienna Parliament and the Galician Diet are found in works by Kost' Levyts'kyi and Izydor Sokhots'kyi.⁸²

The remaining literature on political problems reflects some of the challenges faced by Galician Ukrainian politicians. In the situation after 1868 when the imperial government in Vienna and eventually local Galician Polish leaders realized that it was in the interest of both parties to cooperate, the resulting *modus vivendi* meant that Ukrainian political interests would always be secondary to Polish ones. The Ukrainians tried to improve on this situation by demanding (sometimes in cooperation with the Poles) more parliamentary and dietary representation, by renewing their long-standing demand for the division of Galicia into Polish and Ukrainian provinces, by creating political parties, by supporting student strikes, and in at least one instance by engaging in political assassination.

Polish-Ukrainian relations were being commented on in essays by contemporaries and/or participants in the political process. On the Polish side, some writers like the pro-Austrian Cracow conservative intellectuals, Józef Szujski, Stanisław Smolka, and Stanisław Tarnowski stressed the need for compromise with the Ukrainians and urged recognition of their demands;⁸³ others like Józef Łokietek took the

⁸¹ Sigmund Hahn, *Reichsraths-Almanach: für die Session 1867* (Prague: Carl J. Satow, 1867); *für die Session 1873–1874* (Vienna: Vlg. von L. Rosner, 1874); *für die Session 1879–1880* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1879); *für die Session 1885–1886* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1885); *für die Session 1891–1892* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1891); Fritz Freund, *Das österreichische Abgeordnetenhaus: Ein biographisch-statistisches Handbuch*, 2 vols.: *1907–1913 Legislaturperiode* and *1911–1917 Legislaturperiode* (Vienna, 1907–11).

⁸² Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ki polityky: syl'vety nashykh davnykh posliv i politychnykh diiachiv*, 2 vols. (L'viv: Dilo, 1936–37). Sokhots'kyi's biographies of seven politicians are in *Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX–XX st.*, NTSh, Biblioteka ukraïnoznavstva, Vol. VIII (New York, Paris, Sydney, and Toronto, 1961), pp. 77–125.

See also the biography of Ievhen Petrushevych in Ivan O. Maksymchuk, *Narys istorii rodu Petrushevychiv* (Chicago, 1967), pp. 155–170.

⁸³ Josef Szujski, *Die Polen und Ruthenen in Galizien* (Vienna and Těšín: Vlg. Karl Prochaska, 1882); Stanislas Smolka, *Les ruthènes et les problèmes religieux du monde*

view that Ukrainians had already gained too much, and considering their eastward "Russophile" tendencies, they posed a serious threat to the well-being of "Polish" Galicia.⁸⁴ On the Ukrainian side, leaders like Stefan Kachala and Oleksander Barvins'kyi favored the idea of compromise with the Poles;⁸⁵ others criticized the failure of any lasting cooperation with the Poles, the half-hearted attempts of the government at electoral reform, the continual electoral abuses, and the support given by Poles to local Russophiles during the first decade of the twentieth century in an attempt to weaken the growing Ukrainian movement.⁸⁶

russien (Bern: Ferdinand Wyss, 1917); Stanisław Tarnowski, *O Rusi i Rusinach* (Cracow: Księgarnia Spółki wydawniczej polskiej, 1891).

Other Polish views favoring compromise and based on specific political developments include: [Jan L.] Czerwiński, *O Rusinach i do Rusinów* (Cracow, 1891); Stanislaus Smolka, *Die Ruthenen und ihre "Gönner" in Berlin* (Vienna-Leipzig: Vlg. 'Austria' Franz Doll, 1902); I. Daszyński [I. Żegota], *Mowa o sprawie polsko-ruskiej* (Cracow, 1908); Ludwik Kulczycki, *Ugoda polsko-ruska* (L'viv, 1912); E. Dubanowicz, "Sejmowa reforma wyborcza a ugoda polsko-ruska," in *Reforma wyborcza sejmowa*, Vol. II (L'viv, 1912).

On the relations of a leading Polish defender of Galician autonomy, Prince Adam Sapieha, with Ukrainian leaders in the 1860s and 1870s, see the excellent biography by Stefan Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha (1828–1903)* (L'viv: Wyd. Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1939), esp. pp. 347–398.

⁸⁴ Jił [Józef Lokietek], *Uwagi na czasie, 5 pts.*, especially pt. 1: *Sprawa ruska: wspomnienia, spostrzeżenia, uwagi, wnioski* (Cracow, 1891) and pt. 5: *Stosunki narodowościowe w Galicyi wschodniej: Archidiecezja lwowska obrz. rzym. katoliczego* (Cracow: Tow. szkoły ludowej, 1894).

See also Zygmunt Miłkowski, "Ukrainizm galicyjski," *Przegląd Narodowy*, I, II (Warsaw, 1908), pp. 141–156; Raciborski-Glombinski, *La question ruthène en Galicie* (Paris, 1911); and the later Franciszek Podelski, *Zagadnienie 'ukraińskie' na tle stosunków austriackich* (L'viv: B. Połoniecki [1935]).

⁸⁵ Stefan Kaczała, *Polityka Polaków względem Rusi* (L'viv: p.a., 1879). For Barvins'kyi's views, see his memoirs, above, note 36.

⁸⁶ Julian Romanczuk, *Die Ruthenen und ihre Gegner in Galizien* (Vienna, 1902); Michel Lozynsky, *Notes sur les relations en Galicie pendant les 25 dernières années (1895–1919)* (Paris: Bureau ukrainien, 1919); *Hromadna deputatsiia ruska (spravozdanie ruskoho komitetu deputatsiinoho)* (L'viv: Vasyl' Nahornyi, 1896); L'onhyn Tsehels'kyi, *Shcho chuvaty z vyborchoiu reformoiu: proekt bar. Gavcha, shcho z nym diie sia ta shcho ruskym khlopam chynyty?* (L'viv: Narodnyi komitet, 1906); Michael Lozynskyj, *Die russische Propaganda und ihre polnischen Gönner in Galizien* (Vienna: Allgemeiner Ukrainischer Nationalrat in Österreich, 1914); Michael Lozynskyj,

The Ukrainian efforts to divide the province from 1847 until the outbreak of World War I are surveyed in several pamphlets written by supporters of the idea,⁸⁷ while the actual legal status of Ukrainians in Galicia is outlined in a solid description by Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi.⁸⁸ The establishment during the 1890s of the Ukrainian Radical, the Ukrainian National Democratic, the Ukrainian Social Democratic, and the Russian National parties is described in a few short essays.⁸⁹

Dokumente des polnischen Russophilismus (Berlin: Allg. ukrainischen Nationalrat in Österreich, 1915).

For a description of the parliamentary elections of 1885 and the controversy between Old Ruthenian and populist candidates, see Bohdan A. Didytskii, *Iak y koho vîbrala Halyskaia Rus' do Dumy derzhavnoi dnia 2 chervnia 1885 h.* (L'viv: Yzdaniia Ob-va ym. M. Kachkovskoho, 1885).

For an excellent analysis of the results in Ukrainian territory of the first election based on universal suffrage (1907), see M. Lozyns'kyi and V. Okhrymovych, "Z vyborchoi statystyky Halychyny," in *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky*, Vol. II, ed. M. Hrushevs'kyi (L'viv: Statystychna Komisiia NTSh, 1910), pp. 75–104.

For a discussion of electoral reform in the Galician Diet, see Józef Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji, 1905–1914* (Warsaw: PWN, 1956).

⁸⁷ Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Utvorennie ukrains'koho koronnoho kraiu v Avstrii* (n.p., 1915)—in German translation as *Die Schaffung einer ukrainischen Provinz in Oesterreich* (Berlin: Vlg. C. Kroll, 1915)—an abridged version of this work is: *Ukrains'ka Halychyna-okremyi koronnyi krai* (n.p.: Partiiia Ukr. Sotsiialistiv-Revoliutsioneriv, 1915); Wladimir Singalewytsh von Schilling, *Zur Frage der Sonderstellung Galiziens: Ein Streifzug in das galizische Problem* (Vienna: G. Röttig u. Sohn, 1917).

See also the 1864 petition of Ukrainian leaders to the imperial government: *Denkschrift in Betreff der Theilung Galiziens* (L'viv, 1865).

⁸⁸ Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, "Avtonomiia kraïv v avstriis'kii konstytutsii," in *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky*, Vol. III, ed. V. Okhrymovych (L'viv: Statystychna komissia NTSh, 1912), 62 p.

⁸⁹ The Ukrainian Radical party has received the most attention in both Soviet and non-Soviet writings: M.M. Kravets', "Do pytannia pro rus'ko-ukrains'ku radykal'nu partiïu u Skhidnii Halychyny v 90-kh rokakh XIX st.," in *Z istorii zakhidnoukrains'kykh zemel'*, Vol. II (L'viv: AN URSSR, 1957), pp. 124–140 and his "Robitnychi rukh u Skhidnii Halychyni naprykintsi XIX st. (1892–1900 roky)," in *Z istorii zakhidnoukrains'kykh zemel'*, Vol. IV, ed. I. P. Kryp' i iakevych (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1960), pp. 40–65; Ivan Makukh, *Na narodnii sluzhbi* (Detroit: Ukrains'ka vil'na hromada Ameryky, 1958), esp. pp. 56–192 and the introductory article by Matvii Stakhiv, "Ukrains'ka Radykal'na Partiia pered pochatkom politychnoi diial'nosti d-ra Ivana Makukha," pp. 1–55; and John-Paul Himka, "Ukrains'kyi sotsiializm u Halychyni (do rozkolu v Radykal'nii partiï 1889 r.)," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, No. 7

More attention has been devoted to the assassination of the governor of Galicia, Count Andrzej Potocki (1861–1908), by a young Ukrainian student Myroslav Sichyns'kyi (1887–1980) in 1908. Contemporary Poles regarded this act as nothing more than murder;⁹⁰ the Ukrainians saw Sichyns'kyi as a national hero who was forced by circumstances to defend the interests of his downtrodden people.⁹¹ Finally, this period saw important Galician contributions to modern Ukrainian political thought: Iuliian Bachyns'kyi's pioneering call for an independent Ukrainian state and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi's suggestion that despite all its shortcomings, Ukrainian Galicia could serve as a Piedmont for such a state.⁹²

Socioeconomic developments

The literature on socioeconomic developments in eastern Galicia during the last seventy years of Austrian rule consists of a few general works and several studies on the peasantry, the cooperative movement, emigration, the growth of industry, and the socialist movement. The vast majority of these writings has come from Soviet Marxist historians who, of course, consider socioeconomic development the most important aspect of Galician Ukrainian history.

The only general descriptions of all aspects of the Galician economy after 1848 came from the pen of the Polish scholar Franciszek Bujak, who wrote a brief economic history and a monumental two-volume

(Toronto, 1979), pp. 33–51.

On the Ukrainian Social Democratic and National Democratic parties, see Matvii Stakhiv, *Proty khvyl': istorychnyi rozvytok ukrains'koho sotsiialistychnoho rukhu na zakhidnykh ukrains'kykh zemliakh* (L'viv: Soimovy kljub USRP, 1934).

On the Russian National Party, see *S'iezd muzhei dovieriia russko-narodnoi partii i eia organizatsiia* (L'viv: Obschestvo 'Russkaia Rada', 1900).

⁹⁰ Stanislaus Zielinski, *Die Ermordung des Statthalters Grafen Andreas Potocki i Materialien zur Beurteilung des ukrainischen Terrorismus in Galizien* (Vienna and Leipzig: C.W. Stern, 1908).

⁹¹ Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Akt 12 ts'vitnia 1908 roku* (L'viv: p.a., 1908; 2nd rev. ed., L'viv: p.a., 1909); Iaroslav Vesolovs'kyi and Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Iak sudyly Myroslava Sichyns'koho* (L'viv: Volodymyr Bachyns'kyi, 1910).

⁹² Iuliian Bachyns'kyi, *Ukraina irredenta* (L'viv, 1896; 3rd ed. Berlin: 'Ukrains'ka molod', 1924); Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Nasha polityka* (L'viv: NTSh, 1911); Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Ukrainskii P'emont," in his *Ukrainskii vopros: stat'i* (Moscow: Tov. 'Rodnaia Riech', 1917), pp. 61–66.

description of the province's economy.⁹³ More recently the Soviet writer, Volodymyr Osechyns'kyi, has provided negative descriptions of the Polish control of all aspects of the economy during the whole period 1848 to 1914.⁹⁴

The peasantry has been the focus of particular attention, and rightly so, since as late as 1900, ninety percent of the population in eastern Galicia lived in the countryside. Although the serfs were legally freed from bondage in 1848, they remained economically bound to their landlords. This is largely due to the fact that the right of the peasants to use the gentry-owned woods and pastures (the traditional "servitudes") was revoked. Now they had to pay for the use of woods or pastures and were forced to rely only on their limited amount of land (constantly being subdivided), so that they became chronically in debt and were in effect transformed into "economic serfs." Despite continual demands by Ukrainian leaders for a favorable resolution of the "servitude" issue and for more equitable distribution of the land, the Polish gentry, most especially in eastern Galicia, successfully opposed at least until the end of the century any real reform; thus by 1900 as much as 40 percent of the farm land remained in the hands of large landlords (each owning at least 100 hectares). The plight of the peasantry in eastern Galicia during the last half of the nineteenth century is discussed in three extensive studies by the Soviet Ukrainian scholar Mykola M. Kravets'.⁹⁵ The problem of the government's policy toward land division throughout Galicia was first surveyed in 1898 in a book dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the repeal of serfdom; it was a kind of apology for the

⁹³ Franciszek Bujak, *Rozwój gospodarczy Galicyi (1772–1914)* (L'viv: Bernard Poloniecki, 1917)—reprinted in Franciszek Bujak, *Wybór pism*, Vol. II (Warsaw, 1976), pp. 342–397; Franciszek Bujak, *Galicya*, 2 vols. (L'viv: H. Altenberg, 1908).

⁹⁴ V.K. Osechyns'kyi, "Kolonial'ne stanovyshe Halychyny v skladі Austro-Uhorshchyny," *Naukovi zapysky LDU*, XXXVI: *Seriia istorychna* 6 (L'viv, 1955), pp. 35–65.

See also above, note 32.

⁹⁵ Mykola M. Kravets', *Selianstvo Skhidnoi Halychyny i pivnichnoi Bukovyny u druhii polovyni XIX st.* (L'viv: Vyd. LU, 1964); M.M. Kravets', "Selians'kyi rukh u Skhidnii Halychyni v 50-80-kh rokakh XIX st.," *Z istorii Ukraïns'koï RSR*, Vol. VI–VII (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1962), pp. 57–81; M.M. Kravets', "Masovi selians'ki vystupy u Skhidnii Halychyni v 90-kh rokakh XIX st.," in *Z istorii Ukraïns'koï RSR*, Vol. VIII (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1963), pp. 3–27.

Austrian regime.⁹⁶ A more balanced discussion of the problem is found in a monograph by the young Polish scholar Katarzyna Sójka-Zielińska.⁹⁷

The vicious cycle of indebtedness, the subdivision of land into smaller holdings (in 1905 the vast majority of landowners—52,000—held only 2 to 5 hectares of land), and rapid demographic growth (the population rose 45 percent between 1869 and 1910)—factors only partially alleviated by emigration to America—led at the turn of the century to a series of agricultural strikes, the largest of which took place in 1902, involving an estimated 200,000 peasants. The history of peasant revolt in eastern Galicia during the two decades before the outbreak of World War I and especially the revolt of 1902, which finally prompted some land distribution on the part of the gentry, are discussed in several studies.⁹⁸ The widespread practice of usury is also carefully analyzed in a contemporary study by Leopold Caro.^{98a}

In an attempt to alleviate the conditions of the peasantry, the new secular-oriented Ukrainophile populist intelligentsia created a very strong cooperative movement which, beginning in the 1880s, led to the formation of numerous agricultural and dairy cooperatives, trade and credit associations, and insurance companies. Such developments in Galicia are described in a comprehensive history of the Ukrainian cooperative movement by Illia Vytanovych and Lev Olesnevych.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Liubomyr Selians'kyi, *U p'iatdesiatu richnytsiu znesenia panshchyny i vidrodzhenia halytskoï Rusy*, Knyzhochky 'Pros'vity', no. 215–216 (L'viv, 1898).

⁹⁷ Katarzyna Sójka-Zielińska, *Prawne problemy podziału gruntów chłopskich w Galicji na tle austriackiego ustawodawstwa agrarnego*, Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis, no. 14 (Warsaw: PWN, 1966).

⁹⁸ P.V. Sviezhyns'kyi, *Ahrarni vidnosyny na Zakhidnii Ukraïni v kintsi XIX—na pochatku XX st.* (L'viv: LU, 1966); Walentyna Najdus, *Szkice z historii Galicji*, Vol. I: *Galicja w latach 1900–1904* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1958); Zbigniew Pazdro, "Strajki rolne w Galicji wschodniej w r. 1902 i 1903 na podstawie materyałów urzędowych," *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych wydane przez Krajowe Biuro Statystyczne*, XX, 1 (L'viv, 1903), pp. 1–68; Jan Rozwadowski, *Ruskie bezrobocie w r. 1902: uwagi o jego terenie* (L'viv, 1904).

^{98a} Leopold Caro, *Studia społeczne*, 2nd ed. (Cracow, 1908).

⁹⁹ Illia Vytanovych, *Istoriia ukrains'koho kooperatyvnoho rukhu* (New York: Tovarys-tvo ukrains'koï kooperatsii, 1964); L.O. Olesnevych, *Kooperatyvni myfy i kapitalistych-na diisnist': zakhidnoukraïns'ka burzhuazna kooperatsiia (1883-1939)* (Kiev, 1974).

See also Ivan Bryk and Mykhailo Kotsiuba, *Pershyi ukrains'kyi pros'vitno-ekonomichnyi kongres uladzhenyi Tovarystvom "Pros'vita" . . . u L'vovi . . . 1909*

When all else failed, another outlet for peasant frustration was emigration to America. Encouraged by steamship agents who visited the Galician countryside, the first emigrants began to depart in the 1880s; having heard about the success of their brethren through avidly read letters, others established a pattern of chain migration that reached large-scale proportions during the first decade of the twentieth century. By 1914, an estimated 420,000 Galician Ukrainians emigrated to the New World, mainly to the United States and Canada. Several studies by Austrian and Polish scholars provide important statistical analyses of the greatest years of emigration (1904–1907),¹⁰⁰ while the Galician Ukrainian political thinker Iulian

roku: protokoly i referaty (L'viv: Pros'vita, 1910); and *The Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Co-operative Movement in Galicia (Austria)* (L'viv: Ruthenian Provincial Co-operative Union, 1913).

¹⁰⁰ Richard von Pflügl, "Die überseeische österreichische Wanderung in den Jahren 1904 und 1905 und die Einwanderungsverhältnisse in den wichtigsten überseeischen Staaten in diesen Jahren," *Statistische Monatschrift*, XXXII, N.F. XI (Brno, 1906), pp. 495–509, 573–629; Richard von Pflügl, "Die überseeische österreichische Wanderung in den Jahren 1906 und 1907 sowie die Einwanderung und sonstigen Verhältnisse in den wichtigsten Einwanderungsstaaten," *Statistische Monatschrift*, XIV (Brno, 1909), pp. 239–256, 308–324, 355–384, 408–440. See also the comprehensive critique of Pflügl's work with emendations regarding Galician Ukrainian emigrants: Zenon Kuzelia, "Prychynky do studiï nad nashoiu emigratsiieiu," *Zapysky NTSh*, CI (L'viv, 1901), pp. 145–158; CV (1911), pp. 175–204; CVII (1912), pp. 129–163.

Johann Chme'ar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900–1914," *Perspectives in American History*, Vol. VII (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 275–378; Hans Chmelar, *Höhepunkte der österreichischen Auswanderung: Die Auswanderung aus den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern in den Jahren 1905–1914*, Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie, Vol. XIV (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974).

The views on emigration by a contemporary Galician lawyer are found in several works by Leopold Caro, including *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Österreich*, Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, Vol. CXXXI (Leipzig: Dunker und Humblot, 1909); *Statystyka emigracyi polskiej i austro-węgierskiej do Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej* (Cracow, 1907); and "Die Statistik der österreichisch-ungarischen und polnischen Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung*, XVI (Berlin, 1907), pp. 68–113; *Emigracya i polityka emigracyjna ze szczególnem uwzględnieniem stosunków polskich* (Poznań, 1914).

See also the discussion of the attitude of the Galician Diet toward emigration in Benjamin P. Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870–1914*,

Bachyns'kyi published in 1914 what has become the classic book on the Ukrainian immigration, with valuable descriptions of the causes of emigration as well as the life of the early immigrants in America.¹⁰¹ Subsequently a considerable literature on the Ukrainian immigration (most of which concerns Galicia, the source of three-quarters of all Ukrainian emigration) developed. It describes life in the New World as well as the conditions in the homeland that prompted the emigration.¹⁰²

The reluctance of the large landowners in eastern Galicia to change the economic status quo (which assured them an unlimited supply of cheap labor) combined with the general Austrian policy that considered Galicia to be an agricultural zone and marketplace (a kind of

East European Monographs, Vol. XXXIII (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, 1977), esp. pp. 79–131.

¹⁰¹ Iuliian Bachyns'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka immigratsiia v Z'iedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* (L'viv: p.a., 1914).

For an interesting history of how this book finally came to be published, see Liubomyr Vynar, "Iuliian Bachyns'kyi—vydatnyi doslidnyk ukrains'koï emigratsiï," *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, VII, 4 (New York and Munich, 1970), pp. 30–43.

¹⁰² The best general introductions to the Ukrainian immigration in the New World are by Paul R. Magocsi, "Ukrainians," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 997–1009; Vasyl Markus, "Ukrainians Abroad: In the United States," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, ed. V. Kubijovyč (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 1100–1151; Ivan Tesla *et al.*, "Ukrainians Abroad: In Canada," in *ibid.*, pp. 1151–1193; O. Boruszenko, "Ukrainians Abroad: In Brazil," in *ibid.*, pp. 1194–1204; E. Onatsky, "Ukrainians Abroad: In Argentina," in *ibid.*, pp. 1204–1212; and Walter Dushnyk, "Ukrainians Abroad: In Other Countries of Latin America," in *ibid.*, pp. 1212–1215.

Among other monographs on Ukrainian immigration which include much data on Galicians are: Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931); M. Nastasivs'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka imigratsiia v Spoluchenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* (New York, 1934); Luka Myshua, ed., *Propamiatna knyha* (Jersey City, N.J.: Ukraïns'kyi Narodnyi Soiuz, 1936); Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937); A.M. Shlepakov, *Ukraïns'ka trudova emihratsiia v SShA i Kanadi (kinets' XIX—pochatok XX st.)* (Kiev: ANURSR, 1960); Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian North-west* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964); Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970).

"internal colony") for products from the industrially advanced western provinces (Bohemia, Silesia, Lower Austria) are factors that caused the province to remain an economically underdeveloped territory. Hence, while Galicia accounted for 25 percent of the land area in the Austrian half of the monarchy, it had only 9.2 percent of the industrial enterprises—and most of these were in western Galicia. A few saw-mills, tanneries, and brick factories existed in eastern Galicia, and in the 1890s oil fields near Drohobych were developed, but the small enterprises were in the hands of Jews, who made up as much as 75 percent of the population in the towns, while the oil industry (which by 1905 accounted for 5 percent of world production) was in the hands of foreign investors (English and Austrian).¹⁰³

The industrial aspect, however small, of the economy in eastern Galicia, and the concomitant rise of an industrial proletariat (which numbered 12,900 in 1890) is traced in great detail in several studies by such Soviet scholars as Hryhorii Koval'chak and Mykola Kravets'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Ia. S. Khonihsman, *Pronyknennia inozemnoho kapitalu v ekonomiky Zakhidnoi Ukraïny v epokhu imperializmu* (L'viv: Vyd-vo LU, 1971).

¹⁰⁴ H.I. Koval'chak, "Rozvytok kapitalistychnoi promyslovosti skhidnoi Halychyny v pershii desiatyrichchia pislia skasuvannia kriposnoho prava (1848–1870 rr.)," in *Z istorii zakhidnoukraïns'kykh zemel'*, Vol. II (L'viv: ANURSR, 1957), pp. 108–123; H.I. Koval'chak, "Rozvytok kapitalistychnoi promyslovosti v Skhidnii Halychyni u 70-80-kh rokakh XIX st.," *Z istorii zakhidnoukraïns'kykh zemel'*, Vol. III, ed. I.P. Kryp'tiakevych (Kiev: ANURSR, 1958), pp. 3–22; H.I. Koval'chak, "Rozvytok fabrychno-zavods'koi promyslovosti v Skhidnii Halychyni v kintsi XIX-na pochatku XX st.," *Z istorii zakhidnoukraïns'kykh zemel'*, Vol. V (Kiev: AN URSR, 1960), pp. 57–74; H.I. Koval'chak, "Ekonomichne stanovyshe robitnychoho klasu Skhidnoi Halychyny v period imperializmu," *ibid.*, pp. 75–112; M.M. Kravets', "Pochatok robitnychoho rukhu v Skhidnii Halychyni," *Z istorii zakhidnoukraïns'kykh zemel'*, Vol. III, ed. I.P. Kryp'tiakevych (Kiev: AN URSR, 1958), pp. 23–59; M.M. Kravets' "Robitnychi rukh u Skidnii Haychyni naprykintsi XIX st. (1892–1900 roky)," in *Z istorii zakhidnoukraïns'kykh zemel'*, Vol. IV, I.P. Kryp'tiakevych (Kiev: AN URSR, 1960), pp. 40–65; M.M. Kravets', "Masovi robitnychni vystypy u Skhidnii Halychyni na pochatku XX st. (1901–1914 roky)," in *Z istorii Ukraïns'koi RSR*, Vol. VI–VII (Kiev: AN URSR, 1962), pp. 113–135.

See also the solid survey of industry and the working class in Galicia before 1870 by Walentyna Najdus, "Galicija," in *Polska klasa robotniczna: zarys dziejów*, Vol. I, pt. 1, ed. Stanisław Kalabiński (Warsaw: PWN, 1974), pp. 507–659; and the study by John-Paul Himka, "Voluntary Artisan Associations and the Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia (the 1870s)," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, II, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 235–250.

Marxist writers are particularly anxious to uncover any indication of worker protests and strikes¹⁰⁵—some ostensibly under the influence of the 1905 Russian Revolution and Leninist ideas¹⁰⁶—in order to point out the insuperable weakness of eastern Galician society as well as Austria-Hungary as a whole during what is considered the era of world imperialistic crisis.

Although Ukrainians comprised only eighteen percent of the small industrial proletariat in eastern Galicia, some of their leaders like Ivan Franko, Mykhailo Pavlyk, and Ostap Terlets'kyi took an active part in the Galician socialist movement from the very beginning. Besides the discussions found in many of the Soviet works mentioned above, Volodymyr Levyns'kyi has written three works on the history of Ukrainian socialism in Galicia, in particular its evolution into a

¹⁰⁵ V. Makaiev, *Robitnychi klas Halychyny v ostanii tretyni XIX st.* (L'viv: LU, 1968); Ivan I. Kompaniets', *Stanovyshche i borot'ba trudiashchykh mas Halychyny, Bukovyny ta Zakarpattia na pochatku XX st.* (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1960); Ievhenii A. Iatskevych, *Stanovyshche robitnychoho klasu Halychyny v period kapitalizmu. (1848–1900): narys* (Kiev: ANURSR, 1958); K.H. Kakovs'kyi, *Na shliakhu do velykoho zhovtnia: Straikovy rukh v Halychyni kintsia XIX—pochatku XX st.* (L'viv: LU, 1970); Ie.A. Iatskevych, "Z istorii revoliutsiinoi borot'by trudiashchykh Skhidnoi Halychyny naperedodni Velykoï zhovtnevoi sotsialistychnoi revoliutsii (1908–1917 roky)," in *Z istorii zakhidnoukrains'kykh zemel'*, Vol. IV, ed. I.P. Kryp'iakievych (Kiev: ANURSR, 1960), pp. 66–76; V.I. Bohaichuk, *Borot'ba trudiashchykh Ternopil'shchyny proty sotsial'noho i natsional'noho hntu za vozz'iednannia z URSSR (1900–1920 rr.)* (Stanislav: Oblasne knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1961).

¹⁰⁶ I.V. Dovhal', *Vplyv rosiis'koï revoliutsii 1905 roku na rozvytok revoliutsiinoho rukhu v Halychyni* (Kiev: Derzhpolitydav, 1952); V.K. Osechyns'kyi, "Vplyv revoliutsiinoho rukhu v Rosii na revoliutsiino-vyzvol'nu borot'bu trudiashchykh Halychyny v kintsi i na pochatku XX st.," *Naukovi zapysky LDU*, XXV: *Seriia istorychna*, 5 (L'viv, 1953), S. Ovnanian, "Vliianie russkoi revoliutsii 1905–1907 gg. na pod'em revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Galitsii i Bukovine," *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov Armenskogo zaochnogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, I, 1 (Erevan, 1954), pp. 165–198; V.K. Osechyns'kyi, "Vplyv pershoï rosiis'koï revoliutsii na pidnesennia revoliutsiinoho rukhu v Halychyni 1905–1907 rr.," in *50 rokiv Pershoï rosiis'koï revoliutsii* (L'viv, 1955), pp. 118–136; I.S. Pavliuk, "Revoliutsiine pidnesennia v Halychyni pid vplyvom rosiis'koï revoliutsii 1905–1907 rr.," in *Z istorii zakhidnoukrains'kykh zemel'*, Vol. I (Kiev: ANURSR, 1957), pp. 43–58; M.M. Volianiuk and V. Iu. Malanchuk, *Poshyrennia marksysts'ko-lenins'kykh idei na Zakhidnii Ukraini* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1960); A.D. Iaroshenko, *V.I. Lenin i revoliutsiinyi rukh na zakhidnoukrains'kykh zemliakh* (L'viv: Kameniar, 1968).

Ukrainian Radical party (f. 1891).¹⁰⁷ The relations between Ukrainian socialist leaders and their Polish counterparts as well as their repeated arrests and trials between 1877 and 1892 are also the subject of separate studies.¹⁰⁸

Cultural history: national identity and national organizations

After the beginnings of a revival in the late 1830s and 1840s, followed by a national "take-off stage" during the revolution of 1848, Ukrainian culture entered a period of fertile development between the 1860s and 1914 that in Galicia was unmatched before and has been unmatched since. This half century witnessed a phenomenal growth in popular and scholarly cultural organizations, the press and other publications, schools, and literary activity. Moreover, all this was taking place at a time when in the Russian-controlled Dnieper Ukrainian lands, Ukrainian cultural activity was severely curtailed (1863–1907). To be sure, Galician cultural life was not without difficulties, such as the internal controversies over national identity and an acceptable literary language and the continued reluctance on the part of the provincial administration to allow more Ukrainian schools. Yet these factors may have stimulated as much as hampered the vibrant cultural activity that was the mark of the last half century of Austrian rule in Ukrainian Galicia. The literature on cultural developments between 1848 and 1918 consists of many works dealing with specific topics: the problem of national identity, cultural organizations,

¹⁰⁷ V. Levyns'kyi, *Narys rozvytku ukrains'koho robotnychoho rukhu v Halychyni* (Kiev, 1914; 2nd rev. ed., Kiev, 1930); and his *Pochatky ukrains'koho sotsializmu v Halychyni* (Toronto, 1918). See also his programmatic statement on land reform: *Selianstvo i sotsialdemokratiia* (L'viv: Zemlia i volia, 1910).

The early history of Galician socialism is also covered in: S. Podolinskii, *Sotsialisty ukrainsky v Avstrii* (Geneva, [1881]); M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Z pochyniv ukrains'koho sotsiialistychnoho rukhu: Mykhailo Drahomaniv i zhenevs'kyi sotsiialistychnyi hurtok* (Vienna: Institut sociologique ukrainien, 1922); M. Iavors'kyi, *Narysy z istorii revoliutsiinoi borot'by na Ukraïni*, Vol. II, pt. 1 (Kharkiv: 1928).

On the establishment of the Ukrainian Radical party, see also above, note 89.

¹⁰⁸ Jan Kozłowski, "I. Franko a polski ruch robotniczy w Galicji w latach 1870-tych i 1880-tych," *Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko-Radzieckiego*, I (Warsaw, 1954), pp. 93–108; Volodymyr I. Kalynovych, *Politychni protsesy Ivana Franka ta ioho tovaryshiv* (L'viv: LU, 1967); Ivan Karpynets', "Do spravy areshytovan' u L'vovi v chervni 1877 r.," *Zapysky NTSh, CLI* (L'viv, 1931), pp. 205–216.

the press and publishing, the language question, education, literature, and the church.

National identity became a factor in Galician life only after 1848, when political and social changes forced the leadership (and after the institution of decennial censuses the masses as well) to think in terms of self-identification. Basically, the intelligentsia became divided into three groups: the Old Ruthenians (*starorusyny*), who had a vague sense of belonging to East Slavdom, but whose national horizons did not really transcend the boundaries of Galicia; the populist-Ukrainophiles (*narodovtsi*), who considered themselves part of a distinct nationality stretching from the Carpathians to the Caucasus Mountains; and the Russophiles, who rejected both the vagueness of the Old Ruthenians and the "separatism" of the Ukrainophiles and who considered the population of eastern Galicia (as well as the Dnieper Ukraine) to be part of one Russian nationality. Most writing on this subject is by partisans of the last two orientations and is usually polemical in nature.¹⁰⁹ More balanced descriptions of the national controversy up until the 1870s are found in contemporary essays by Ostap Terlets'kyi and Mykhailo Drahomanov.¹¹⁰ The best works on the subject as a whole, however, are by Mykola Andrusiak who is careful not to lump the Old Ruthenians and Russophiles together (nor to describe them with the pejorative term *moskvofily*) nor to brand them as national renegades.¹¹¹

Each of the national orientations had its own cultural organizations. The Old Ruthenians controlled the Galician-Rus' Matytsa (f. 1848), the Staupigial Institute, the National Home (f. 1849–64), and the Kachkovs'kyi Society (f. 1874), all of which came into the hands of

¹⁰⁹ Good examples of the Ukrainian viewpoint are found in: M. Pavlyk, *Moskvofil'stvo ta ukraïnofil'stvo sered avstro-rus'koho narodu* (L'viv, 1906) and M. Mykolaievych, *Moskvofil'stvo: ioho bat'ky i dity* (L'viv: Hromads'kyi holos, 1936).

The Russophile viewpoint is forcefully expressed in: O.A. Monchalovskii, *Literaturnoe i poliïcheskoe ukraïnofil'stvo* (L'viv, 1898), 190 p.

¹¹⁰ Ostap Terlets'kyi, *Moskovofily i narodovtsi v 70-ykh rr.*, Literaturno-naukova Biblioteka, no. 37 (L'viv, 1902); Mykhailo Drahomanov, *Halyts'ko-rus'ke pys'menstvo* (L'viv: NTSh, 1876).

¹¹¹ Mykola Andrusiak, *Narysy z istorii halyts'koho moskvofil'stva*, Biblioteka Zhyttia i znannia, no. 15/Vyd. TP, no. 310 (L'viv, 1935). There is also a shorter version: *Geneza i kharakter halyts'koho rusofil'stva v XIX–XX st.* (Prague: Ukrain'ske vyd. 'Proboiem,' 1941).

the Russophiles by the outset of the twentieth century. The Ukrainophiles established the Rus'ka Besida (f. 1861), the Prosvita Society (f. 1868), and the prestigious Shevchenko Scientific Society (f. 1873). Oleksander Barvins'kyi has written a useful, if brief history of these and other cultural, economic, and student societies;¹¹² in addition, each organization has at least one if not several histories of its activity.¹¹³

¹¹² Oleksander Barvin'skii, *Litopys' suspól'noy roboty y syl'y rusynôv avstriiskyykh* (L'viv: TP, 1885).

¹¹³ On the Galician Rus' Matytsia, see S.Iu. Bendasiuk, "Ucheno-literaturnoe obshchestvo Galitsko-russkaia Matitsa vo L'vove (proshloe i nastoiashchee)." *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-russkoi Matitsy*, LXV (L'viv, 1930), pp. 85–109; and N.M. Pashaeva and L.N. Klimkova, "Galitsko-russkaia Matitsa vo L'vove i ee izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost," *Kniga*, XXXIV (Moscow, 1977), pp. 61–77.

On the Stauropigial Institute, see Bohdan A. Didyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia Stavropighiia y 300-litnii prazdnyk ey sushchestvovan'ia*, Yzdaniia Ob-va ym. M. Kachkovskoho, no. 121–122 (L'viv, 1885); A. Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe Stavropigiiskoe Brastvo: opyt tserkovno-istoricheskago izsledovaniia* (Kiev, 1904); Isidor Sharanevich, ed., *Iubileinoe izdanie v pamiat' 300-lietniago osnovaniia l'vovskogo Stavropigiiskogo Bratsva*, Vol. I (L'viv, 1886); and Kyrylo Studyn'skyi, ed., *Zbirnyk l'vivs'koï Stavropighii: mynule i suchasne*, Vol. I (L'viv, 1921).

On the National Home, see Oleksander Barvins'kyi, *Istorychnyi ohliad zasnovykh Narodnoho Domu u L'vovi* (L'viv, 1908).

On the Kachkovs'kyi Society, see J. Hejret, "Spolek Michaila Kačkovského," *Česká osvěta*, no. 10 (Prague, 1910).

On the Rus'ka Besida, see Ia. Dmytriv, *Istoriia prosvitnoho tovarystva Rus'ka Besida* (Chernivtsi, 1909).

On the Prosvita Society, see Ivan Bryk and Mykhailo Kotsiuba, *Pershyi ukrains'kyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres uladzhenyi Tovarystvom 'Prosvita' . . . u L'vovi . . . 1909 roku: protokoly i referaty* (L'viv: Prosvita, 1910); Mykhailo Lozyn'skyi, *Sorok lit diial'nosty 'Prosvity'* (L'viv: TP, 1908); Volodymyr Doroshenko, *'Prosvita' ii zasnovannia i pratsia* (Philadelphia: 'Moloda Prosvita' im. Sheptyts'koho, 1959); and the more popular Yvan Belei, *Dvatsiat' y piat' lit ystoriy Tovarystva 'Prosvity'* (L'viv, 1894); Vasyli' Mudryi, *Rolia 'Prosvity' v ukrains'komu zhytti*, Vyd. TP, no. 742 (L'viv, 1928); Andrii Kachor, *Rolia 'Prosvity' v ekonomichnomu rozvytku Zakhidnoi Ukrainy*, Litopys UVAN, no. 18 (Winnipeg, 1960); and Stepan Pers'kyi [Stepan Shakh], *Populiarna istoriia tovarystva 'Prosvita' u L'vovi*, Vyd. TP, no. 780 (L'viv, 1932)—reprinted in *Narys istorii matirnoho tovarystva Prosvity i ohliad prosvitnykh tovarystv u Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Ukrain's'ke tovarystvo chytal'ni "Prosvita," 1968), pp. 1–268. This last book also includes a supplement (pp. 269–288) covering the years 1932 to 1939 written by Stepan Volynets'.

On the Shevchenko Scientific Society, see Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Ohnyshche*

Cultural history: the press and the language question

There is no general history of the Ukrainian press during the last era of Austrian rule. There are several solid studies, however, on individual periods or publications. Ivan Krevets'kyi treats the Ukrainian press during the revolutionary years,¹¹⁴ while the most important publication to arise from that period, *Zoria halytska* (L'viv, 1848–57), is treated in detail by Ivan Bryk.¹¹⁵ Other studies focus on stillborn publications and censorship¹¹⁶ or, in Soviet Marxist terms, on “progressive” L'viv newspapers like *Druh* (1874–77), *Hromads'kyi druh* (1878), *Dzvin* (1878), *Molot* (1879), *S'vit* (1881–82), and *Tovarysh* (1888), whose history is traced in a long monograph by Oleksa Dei.¹¹⁷

Closely related to the growth of the Ukrainian press in Galicia was

ukraïns'koi nauky: Naukove tovarystvo imeny T. Shevchenka (New York and Philadelphia, 1951); his shorter *Naukove tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka u L'vovi (1873–1892–1912 rr.)* (Kiev and L'viv: NTSh, 1913); Aleksander S. Grushevskii, “Naukove Tovarystvo imena T. Shevchenka i ego izdaniia 1905–1909 gg.,” *Izviestiiia Otdieleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk*, XVI, 3 (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 66–132; and the briefer general histories by: Volodymyr Hnatiuk, *Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka z nahody 50-littia ioho zasnovannia (1873–1923)* (L'viv: NTSh, 1923); *Istoriia Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (New York and Munich: NTSh, 1949); Vasyl' Lev. *Sto rokiv pratsi dlia nauky i natsii korotka istoriia Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (New York: NTSh, 1972); and Stephen M. Horak, “The Shevchenko Scientific Society (1873–1973): Contributor to the Birth of a Nation,” *East European Quarterly*, VII, 3 (Boulder, Colo., 1973), pp. 249–264.

¹¹⁴ Ivan Krevets'kyi, “Pochatky presy na Ukraini, 1776–1850,” *Zapysky NTSh*, CXLIV (L'viv, 1926), pp. 185–208.

¹¹⁵ Ivan Bryk, “Pochatky ukraïns'koi presy v Halychyni i l'vivs'ka Stavropyhiia,” in *Zbirnyk L'vivs'koi Stavropyhiï: mynule i suchasne*, Vol. I, ed. K. Studyns'kyi (L'viv, 1921), pp. 99–142.

See also twelve documents concerning *Zoria halytska* as well as another important newspaper from the period, *Vistnyk. . . posviaschennoie Rusynov Avstriiskoi dierzhavý* (Vienna, 1850–66), in Mykhailo Vozniak, “Z-za redaktsiinykh kulis videns'koho Vistnyka ta Zori Halyts'koi,” *Zapysky NTSh*, CVII (L'viv, 1912), pp. 73–109.

¹¹⁶ Volodymyr Hnatiuk, “Rukopysni humorystychni chasopysy,” *Zapysky NTSh*, CXXX (L'viv, 1930), pp. 133–167; M. Vozniak, “Z zarannia ukraïns'koi presy v Halychyni,” *Zapysky NTSh*, CXI (L'viv, 1911), pp. 140–159; F. Svistun, “Kril. o. Nikita Izhak iako tsenzor galitsko-russkikh izdaniï v 1852–1857 gg.,” *Viestnik 'Narodnago Doma'*, XXV (III), 5–6 (L'viv, 1907), pp. 70–76, 90–94.

On censorship during the 1850s, see also the work of Studyns'kyi, below, note 119.

¹¹⁷ Oleksa I. Dei, *Ukraiïns'ka revoliutsiino-demokratychna zhurnalistyka* (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1959).

the language question. The need for publications prompted by the increase in the size of the secular intelligentsia and educated general public forced editors to face a practical question, albeit with large cultural and national implications—what literary language should be used? By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Galician recension of Church Slavonic (described as the *iazychiie* by its detractors) which was used by the Old Ruthenians, and literary Russian used by the Russophiles, were both rejected by the majority of the populace (and by the Austrian government) in favor of the Ukrainophile solution of a vernacular-based language. After protracted debate with Ukrainians in the Russian Empire this eventually became standard Ukrainian based on the Poltava dialects of the central Ukraine. The history and resolution of the language question during this period is traced in works by Vasyl' Lev and Paul R. Magocsi.¹¹⁸ The most seriously researched period is the 1850s, as in the excellent monograph by Kyrylo Studyns'kyi on the whole decade¹¹⁹ and in several works on the government-inspired "alphabet war" of 1859.¹²⁰

On *Svit*, see also I.I. Doroshenko, "Do istorii vydannia zhurnalu 'Svit' (1881–1882)," *Naukovi zapysky LDU*, XLII: *Pytannia zhurnalistyky*, 1 (L'viv, 1958), pp. 39–46. On *Tovarysh*, see also O.I. Dei, "Zhurnal 'Tovarysh' (epizod iz zhurnalistychnoi diial'nosti I. Franka)," *Doslidzhennia tvorchosti Ivana Franka*, Vol. II (Kiev, 1959), pp. 103–132. Two of the newspapers have been indexed: P.H. Bab"iak, *Svit, 1881–1882: systematychnyi pokazhchyk zmistu zhurnalu* (L'viv: L'vivs'ka derzhavna naukova biblioteka AN URSSR, 1970); P.H. Bab"iak and V.I. Khoma, *Khliborob, 1891–1895: systematychnyi pokazhchyk zmistu* (L'viv: L'vivs'ka naukova biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka AN URSSR, 1971).

¹¹⁸ Vasyl' Lev, "Borot'ba za ukrains'ku literaturnu movu v Halychyni ta kharakter ii," *Zbirnyk na poshanu Ivana Mirchuka*, in *Ukrains'kyi vil'nyi universytet, Naukovi zbirnyk*, Vol. VIII (Munich, New York, Paris, and Winnipeg, 1974), pp. 67–86; for the study by Magocsi, see Chapter 9 of this book.

For a discussion of the alphabet question in Galicia up to the 1890s, see Kost' Kysilevs'kyi, "Istoriia ukrains'koho pravopysnoho pytannia: sprobha syntetzy," *Zapysky NTSh*, CLXV (New York–Paris, 1956), pp. 74–114; and specifically during 1848 in Mykhailo Vozniak, "Proiekt pravopysy Ivana Zhukivs'koho na z'izdi 'rus'kykh uchenykh'," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXXXII, 2 (L'viv, 1908), pp. 53–86.

On Austrian language laws in Galicia, see below, note 121.

¹¹⁹ The comprehensive work by Studyns'kyi actually appears as an extensive (untitled) introduction to the second volume of *Korespondentsiia Iakova Holovats'koho v liakh 1850–62*, in *Zbirnyk fil'ol'ogichnoi sektsyi NTSh*, VIII–IX (L'viv, 1905), pp. i–clxi.

¹²⁰ See above, notes 69–71.

Cultural history: education

For nationalities that have no decisive control over their own political fate and that lack a sufficient number of nationally conscious leaders willing to defend and promote the interests of the group, much emphasis is placed on creating new cadres for future leadership roles. As a result, education becomes a crucial factor, and Galician Ukrainian political and cultural leaders placed great emphasis on expanding the group's educational facilities during the last decades of the twentieth century. A closely-related problem was the legal status of language. After 1867, Polish replaced German as the language of instruction in secondary schools, while at the elementary level the decision was left up to local community councils.¹²¹ As a result of these provisions, Ukrainian leaders were forced to begin a long campaign of constant pressure on the provincial and imperial governments in an attempt to increase the number of Ukrainian schools at all levels.

By the outbreak of World War I, they had obtained certain achievements in eastern Galicia. These included 2,510 elementary schools (71 percent of the total number in the region) and six *Gymnasias* (Przemysł, Kolomyia, Ternopil', Stanyslaviv, two in L'viv) with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, as well as two *Gymnasias* (Berezhany and Stryi) with parallel classes in Ukrainian, and ten teacher's colleges (seminaries) where Ukrainian was taught alongside Polish. Ukrainians remained unsatisfied, however (there was, for instance, one Polish *Gymnasium* for every 60,400 Poles, but only one Ukrainian *Gymnasium* for every 546,000 Ukrainians), and founded private schools run by educational societies or by the Greek Catholic Church, which by 1914 included sixteen elementary schools, ten *Gymnasias*, and three teacher's colleges.

The best source material on education during this period is found in the statistical data issued by the Austrian government¹²² and in a

¹²¹ For an introductory historical survey of Austrian language laws to 1870 (with praise for the final acceptance of Polish in the school system), see F. Kasperek, "Du droit en vigueur en Galicie en ce qui concerne l'usage officiel des différentes langues," *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée*, VI (Gand, 1874), pp. 667–686. On the legal status of Ruthenian (Ukrainian), see Kost' Levytskii, *Pro prava ruskoy movy* (L'viv: TP, 1896).

¹²² *Oesterreichische Statistik: Statistik der Unterrichtsanstalten*, Vol. IX, pt. 1: 1882/83; Vol. XII, pt. 3: 1883/84; Vol. XVI, pt. 2: 1884/85; Vol. XVIII, pt. 2: 1885/86; Vol.

series of annual yearbooks (*zvity*) published by most of the Ukrainian *Gymnasias*, which include protocols of academic activity, retrospective histories, and the names of all students and faculty.¹²³ A recent study by Ann Sirka surveys the history of Ukrainian education in Galicia between 1867 and 1914.^{123a} There are also several histories of Galician schools that cover all or part of the period between 1848 and 1918: Mieczysław Baranowski on elementary schools throughout Galicia and Lev Iasinchuk on Ukrainian schools;¹²⁴ Józef Buzek, Stefan

XXI, pt. 1: 1886/87; Vol. XXII, pt. 4: 1887/88; Vol. XXV, pt. 3: 1888/89; Vol. XXVIII, pt. 4: 1889/90; Vol. XXV, pt. 4: 1890/91; Vol. XXXVIII, pt. 4: 1891/92; Vol. XLIV, pt. 4: 1892/93; Vol. XLVIII, pt. 4: 1893/94; Vol. LI, pt. 1: 1894/95; Vol. LII, pt. 3: 1895/96; Vol. LIV, pt. 2: 1896/97; Vol. LV, pt. 4: 1897/98; Vol. LXII, pt. 1: 1898/99; Vol. LXVIII, pt. 3: 1899/1900; Vol. LXX, pt. 3: 1900/01; Vol. LXXIII, pt. 1: 1901/02; Vol. LXXVI, pt. 1: 1902/03; Vol. LXXVII, pt. 2: 1903/04; Vol. LXXIX, pt. 3: 1904/05; Vol. LXXXVI, pt. 2: 1905/06; Vol. LXXXVIII, pt. 2: 1906/07; Vol. XCI, pt. 2: 1907/08; Vol. XCIII, pt. 1: 1908/09; *Neue Folge*, Vol. VII, pt. 3: 1909/10; Vol. VIII, pt. 2: 1910/11 (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1885–1913).

See also *Statistik der öffentlichen und Privatvolksschulen 1870–1871* [and] *1875–1876* (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1872–78); and *Schematismus der allgemeinen Volksschulen und Bürgerschulen 1890* [and] *1900* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1891–1901).

¹²³ *Spravozdanie Dyrektsiï ts. k. hymnazii Akademichnoy vo L'vovi*, 40 vols. (L'viv, 1877–1917; *Zvit Dyrektsiï ts. k. hymnazii v Kolomyi*, 14 vols. (Kolomyia, 1900–13); *Zvit Dyrektsiï ts. k. hymnazii Frants-Josyfa I. v Ternopoly*, 9 vols. (Ternopil', 1905–13); *Zvit Dyrektsiï ts. k. hymnazii z rus'koiu moviou vykladovoiu u Stanyslavovi*, 8 vols. (Stanyslaviv, 1906–13); *Zvit Dyrektsiï ts. k. hymnazii z rus'kym vykladovym iazykom v Peremyshly*, 8 vols. (Przemyśl, 1910–17); *Zvit Dyrektsiï lytseia rus'koho instytutu dlia divchat v Peremyshly*, 14 vols. (Przemyśl, 1903–17); *Zvit Dyrektsiï pryvatnoi hymnazii z pravom pryliudnosti . . . v Turtsi* (Turka, 1913); *Zvit Dyrektsiï pryvatnoi hymnazii z rus'koiu vyklad. moviou v Iavorovi*, 2 vols. (Iavoriv, 1912–13); *Zvit Dyrektsiï pryvatnoi gimnazii z ukrains'koiu vykladovoiu moviou Kruhka Ukrain-s'koho Tovrystva Pedagogichnoho v Rohatyni*, 4 vols. (L'viv, 1909–12); *Zvit Dyrektsiï pryvatnoi zhens'koï gimnazii ss. Vasylianok u L'vovi*, 8 vols. (L'viv, 1906–13); *Zvit Dyrektsiï pryvatnoi zhinochoï real'noi gimnazii ss. Vasylianok v Stanislavovi* (Stanyslaviv, 1912); *Zvit upravly i komitetu Pryvatnoi gimnazii z rus'koiu moviou vykladovoiu u Zbarazhi*, 3 vols. (Zbarazh, 1910–12).

^{123a} Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867–1914*, European University Studies, Vol. CXXIV (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter D. Lang, 1979).

¹²⁴ Mieczysław Baranowski, *Pogląd na rozwój szkolnictwa ludowego w Galicyi od*

Możdżeń, and Stepan Baran on Galician *Gymnasia*;¹²⁵ and Iaroslav Bilen'kyi on Ukrainian private schools,¹²⁶ and Zygmunt Dulczewski on the struggle over schools as reflected in the Galician Diet.^{126a} The question of a Ukrainian university, with its political-cultural symbolism as well as its purely educational function, was the subject of several contemporary publications.¹²⁷ The Austrian authorities belatedly acquiesced to the Ukrainian demands for a university only in 1914; thus, before World War I, Ukrainian education at the highest level in Galicia was limited to ten chairs in Ukrainian subjects or using the Ukrainian language at the University of L'viv. Ukrainian educational activity and personnel at that institution are discussed in several

1772 do 1895 (Cracow: Redakcja Sprawozdania powszechnej wystawy kraj. we Lwowie, 1897); Antin Pavents'kyi, *Pochatok i rozvii shkil'nystva na Rusy* (L'viv, 1900); Lev Iasynchuk, *50 lit ridnoi shkoły 1881–1931* (L'viv: Tovarystvo Ridna shkola, 1931?); Ivan Fylypchak, *Z istorii shkil'nystva na zakhidni Boikivshchyni (vid 1772–1930)* (Sambir, 1931).

¹²⁵ Józef Buzek, *Rozwój stanu szkół średnich w Galicyi w ciągu ostatnich lat 50* (L'viv, 1909); Stefan I. Możdżeń, *Ustrój szkoły średniej w Galicji i próby jego modernizacji w latach 1848–1884*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Vol. CCXXX (Wrocław, 1974); Stepan Baran, "Z polia natsional'noi statystyky halyts'kykh serednikh shkil," in *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky*, Vol. II, ed. V. Okhrymowych (L'viv: Statystychna komisii NTSh, 1910), pp. 107–178 and "Konfesiini i natsional'ni pereminy v halyts'kykh serednikh shkolakh v rr. 1896–1908," in *ibid.*, Vol. III (1912), 66 p.

¹²⁶ Ia. Bilenkyi, *Ukrains'ki pryvatni shkoly v Halychyni* (L'viv, 1922).

^{126a} Zygmunt Dulczewski, *Walka o szkołę na wsi galicyjskiej w świetle stenogramów sejmu Krajowego 1861–1914* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wyd., 1953).

See also the more polemical accounts of the education in Galicia: the anti-Polish Ukrainian view is by Bohdan Didytskii, *Svoezhyt'evyï zapysky*, pt. 2: *Vzhliad na shkol'noe obrazovanie Halytskoi Rusy v XIX st.* (L'viv, 1908)—first published in *Vistnyk 'Narodnoho Doma'*, XXV (III), 6–12 (L'viv, 1907) and XXVI (IV), 1–9 (L'viv, 1908); the anti-Austrian Polish view by Światłomir [H. Zaleski], *Ciemnota Galicyi w świetle cyfr i faktów 1772–1902: czarna księga szkolnictwa galicyjskiego* (L'viv: Polskie Towarzystwo Nakładowe, 1904).

¹²⁷ *Observator*, *Sprava ukrains'ko-rus'koho universytetu u L'vovi* (L'viv, 1899); Stanislav Dnistrians'kyi, *Prava rus'koï movy u l'viv's'koho universytetu* (L'viv, 1902); *Za ukrains'kyi universytet u L'vovi: zbirka statei v universytets'kii spravi* (L'viv: Ukrains'kyi students'kyi soiuз, 1910).

A good survey of the Ukrainian struggle is found in a later work: Vasyl' Mudryi, *Borot'ba za ohnyshche ukrains'koï kul'tury v zakhidnykh zemliakh Ukrainy* (L'viv: Ukrains'ka kraieva students'ka rada, 1923).

general histories of the University of L'viv.¹²⁸ There are also histories of individual *Gymnasia* and teacher's colleges, the L'viv Theological Seminary, and the short-lived Greek Catholic Seminary in Vienna (1852–1855);¹²⁹ an analysis of teaching Galician history in *Gymnasia*;¹³⁰ a biography of the Ukrainian-born school inspector Euzebiusz Czerkawski (1822–1896), who was instrumental in polonizing the educational system in the 1850s and 1860s;¹³¹ and finally descriptions of the influential student societies—Druzhnyi Lykhviar (f. 1871) and Akademichne Bratstvo (f. 1882) in L'viv, and the St. Cyril and Methodius Society (f. 1864) and Sich (f. 1868) in Vienna.¹³²

¹²⁸ Ludwik Finkel and Stanisław Starzyński, *Historia uniwersytetu lwowskiego* (L'viv: Senat Akademickiego C. K. Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego, 1894); Ie. K. Lazar-enko, *300 rokiv L'vivs'koho universytetu* (L'viv: LU, 1961).

On the establishment of the influential Chair of Ukrainian History in 1894, see Aleksander Barvins'kyi, "Zasnovannia Katedry istorii Ukraïny v L'vivs'komu uni-versyteti," *Zapysky NTSH*, CXLI–CXLIII (L'viv, 1925), 18 p. On the activity of the first holder of the history chair, Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, see below, note 210.

For a brief survey of the Ukrainian rectors at L'viv, see Makarii Karovets', *Ukraïntsi-rektory L'vivs'koho universytetu* (Zhovkva, 1936)—first published in *Dobryi pastyr*, nos. 2–3 (L'viv, 1936).

¹²⁹ Besides the individual gymnasia yearbooks (see above, note 123), see also *Zur polnisch-ruthenischen Frage in Galizien: Die Verhandlung im galizischen Landtage über den Antrag auf Errichtung eines ruthenischen Gymnasiums in Stanislaw* (L'viv: I Vereinsbuchdruckerei, 1903; 2nd ed., L'viv: Mychajlo Petryckij, 1904); I. Fylypchak and R. Lukan', "Ts. K. okružna holovna shkola v Lavrovi, 1788/89–1910/11," *Zapysky Ch. S.V.V.*, V, 1–4 (Zhovkva, 1942), pp. 1–192—reprinted in *Analecta OSBM*, series II, sectio II (Rome, 1967); Vasyl' Veryha, *Tam de Dnister kruto v'iet'sia: istorychni narys vykhovno-osviti oï polityky v Halychyni na prykladi Uchytel's'koï Seminarii ta gimnazii v Zalizchychakh, 1899–1939*, Kanads'ke NTSH, Vol. XIV (Toronto: Sribna Surma, 1974); Bohdan Romanenchuk, ed., *Iuvileina knyha Ukraïns'koï Akademichnoi Gimnazii u L'vovi* (Philadelphia and Munich: Ukraïns'kyi Vil'nyi Universytet, 1978); Iaroslav Levyts'kyi, *L'vivska dukhovna semynaria v litakh 1897–1901* (L'viv: A. Khoïnats'kyi, 1901); Iaroslav Hordyns'kyi, "Viden's'ka gr. k. dukhovna seminaria v. rr. 1852–1855," *Zapysky NTSH*, CXV (L'viv, 1913), pp. 77–130.

¹³⁰ Wanda Zwolska, "Sprawa nauczania historii kraju rodzinnego w gimnazjach galicyjskich w latach 1867–1914," *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne*, IX, 1–2 (Cracow, 1966), pp. 25–45.

¹³¹ Alexander Skorski, *Euzebiusz Czerkawski jego życie i działalność pedagogiczna: przyczynek do historii rozwoju szkolnictwa*, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1898).

¹³² Ivan Franko, ed. "Z istorii Ukraïns'koï molodizhy v Halychyni, 1871–1884,"

Cultural history: literary history surveys

The last half century before the outbreak of World War I witnessed a vibrant growth of Ukrainian literary activity in Galicia, dominated largely by the prolific and talented Ivan Franko (1856–1916). Despite the richness of Galician Ukrainian literature at this time, there is no general history devoted specifically to the years 1848–1918. Instead, it is necessary to consult the general Ukrainian literary (and cultural) histories by the Galicians Omelian Ohonovs'kyi and Ivan Franko, which include special sections on Galician developments to the 1890s, and the more recent Soviet Ukrainian multivolume literary history which brings the story down to 1918.¹³³ The postrevolutionary decade beginning in 1848 and the early development of a popular, vernacular-based literature in the early 1860s is analyzed in some detail by Ivan Verkhrrats'kyi and Ostap Terlets'kyi.¹³⁴ The growth of the populist Ukrainian literary movement in Galicia derives largely from the inspiration of Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861), the great nineteenth-century writer from the Dnieper Ukraine who, although known by some before, was really discovered by Galician society only during the 1860s. By the end of the century, he had become an object of national reverence, and the cult of Shevchenko among Galician Ukrainians (expressed in festivals, memorials, and publications) has

Zapysky NTSh, LV (L'viv, 1903), misc., pp. 1–26; Vasyli Shchurat, "Videns'ke 'Obshchestvo sv. Kyryla i Metodiia'," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXXVIII (L'viv, 1919), pp. 177–202; 'Sich', 1868–1898: *al'manakh v pamiat' 30-ykh rokovyn osnovania tovarystva 'Sich' u Vidny* (L'viv, 1898); Zenon Kuziela and Mykola Chaikivs'kyi, *Sich: al'manakh v pamiat' 40-ykh rokovyn osnovania tovarystva 'Sich' u Vidni* (L'viv, 1908).

There is also a study of the Ukrainian student organization, Hromada, in Cracow: Władysław A. Serczyk, "'Akademiczna Hromada' w Krakowie (1887–1895)," in *Studia z dziejów młodzieży Uniwersitetu Krakowskiego od Oświecenia do połowy XX wieku*, Vol. I, ed. Celina Bobińska (Cracow, 1964), pp. 219–240.

¹³³ Omelian Ohonovskii, *Istoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, 4 vols. in 6 (L'viv: NTSh, 1887–94)—first published serially in *Zoria*, VIII–XV (L'viv, 1887–94); Ivan Franko, *Narys istorii ukrains'ko-rus'koi literatury*, Pysania Ivana Franka, I (L'viv: Ukrains'ko-rus'ka vydavnycha spilka, 1910); *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, 8 vols. (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1967–71), especially volumes 2–7.

¹³⁴ Ivan Verkhrrats'kyi, "Z pervykh lit narodovtsiv (1861–1866)," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXXII (L'viv, 1914), pp. 79–101; Ostap Terlets'kyi, *Halyts'ko-rus'ke pys'menstvo 1848–1865 rr. na tli tohochasnykh suspil'no-politychnykh zman' halyts'ko-rus'koi inteligentsii* (L'viv, 1903).

itself become the subject of study.¹³⁵ Less well-known is the "cult" of Nikolai Gogol (Hohol', 1809–1852), Shevchenko's contemporary and countryman who chose to write in Russian. Osyp Markov has shown how for Galician Old Ruthenians and Russophiles Gogol became a symbol of the pan-Russian (*obshcherusskii*) national and cultural ideals they espoused.¹³⁶ Viktor Malkin has written an informative history of the impact of Russian literature in Galicia and of those local writers who tried, with varying success, to write in that language.¹³⁷

Theater and ethnography are also related to literary activity. Several essays or parts of larger works trace the history of the Ukrainian theater in Galicia, especially after its rise to significance in national life after the creation in 1864 of the Rus'ka Besida Theater.¹³⁸ The history of ethnographic research in Galicia (which actually began seriously in the 1830s) was first surveyed by Aleksander Pypin in the section on the Ukraine in his multivolume history of Russian ethnography.¹³⁹ More recently, the Soviet scholars Vyktoriia Malanchuk

¹³⁵ Viktor Petrykevych, *Istoriia kul'tu Shevchenka sered gimnazyial'noi molodizhy* (Przemyśl, 1914)—first published in *Zvit Dyrektsyi ts. k. gimnazyi z ruskoiiu vykladovoiu movoiu v Peremysly za shkil'nyi rik 1913/1914* (Przemyśl: Naukovyi Fond, 1914), pp. iii–lxviii; Bohdan Zahaievych, "Kul't Shevchenka v Halychyni do pershoi svitovoi viiny," in *Taras Shevchenko*, in *Zapysky NTSh*, CLXXVI (New York, Paris, and Toronto, 1962), pp. 253–262. See also Mykhailo Vasyl'ev, "Perve pomynal'ne bohosluzhenie za upokoi Tarasa Shevchenka 1862 roku u L'vovi," *Zapysky NTSh*, CVIII (L'viv, 1912), pp. 145–157; and M. Dubyna, *Shevchenko i Zakhidna Ukraïna* (Kiev: Kyïvs'kyi universytet, 1969).

¹³⁶ O.O. Markov, "N.V. Gogol' v galitsko-russkoi literaturie," *Izviestiiia otdieleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, XVIII, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 37–78.

¹³⁷ Viktor A. Malkin, *Russkaia literatura v Galitsii* (L'viv: Izd. LU, 1957). See also the extensive critical response by Andrii Brahamets' *et al.*, "Domysly i perekruchennia pid vyhladom nauku," *Zhovten'*, IX, 2 (L'viv, 1959), pp. 132–145.

¹³⁸ Stanisław Schür-Peplowski, *Teatr ruski w Galicyi* (L'viv: Dziennik Polski, 1887); H. Tshylins'kyi, *Rus'kyi teatr*, I (L'viv, 1892); Ivan Franko, "Rus'ko-ukraïns'kyi teatr: istorychni obrysy" (1894), in his *Tvory*, Vol. XVI (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd-vo khudozhn'oï literatury, 1955), pp. 209–245; S. Charnets'kyi, *Narys istorii ukraïns'koho teatru v Halychyni* (L'viv, 1934).

¹³⁹ Aleksander N. Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi ètnografii*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1890–91), esp. Vol. III (1891), pp. 223–258ff. and 413–418.

and Roman Kyrchiv have written monographs on the history of ethnography in Galicia.¹⁴⁰

Cultural history: individual writers and national leaders

More developed than general literary and cultural histories is the literature on individual writers and national leaders from this period, both the publication of their writings and biographies of their activity. After the 1848 Revolution, Galician Ukrainian cultural life was dominated by the Old Ruthenians, whose national horizons were based for the most part on local patriotism and loyalty to Austria, although a few looked toward tsarist Russia for national salvation and eventually emigrated to that country. Some of the writings of these figures are contained in the second volume of Ilarion Svientsits'kyi's compilation of material on Old Ruthenians and Russophiles in the Austro-Hungarian Rus' lands.¹⁴¹ The best researched figure among the older generation of leaders is Iakiv Holovats'kyi, the former member of the Ruthenian Triad who held the first chair in Ruthenian language and literature at the University of L'viv from 1849 to 1867, when he emigrated to Russia. Kyrylo Studyns'kyi has published Holovats'kyi's correspondence from this period,¹⁴² while Mykhailo Vozniak has studied his national views in 1848 and Fedir Savchenko his subsequent clash with the Austrian authorities.¹⁴³ There are also biographies and

¹⁴⁰ Vyktoriiia A. Malanchuk, *Rozvytok etnografichnoi dumky v Halychyni kintsia XIX—pochatku XX st.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977); Roman F. Kyrchiv, *Etnohrafichne doslidzhennia Boikivshchyny* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1978).

¹⁴¹ I.S. Svientsitskii, *Materialy po istorii vrozozhdeniia Karpatskoi Rusi*, Vol. II: *Karpatorusskoe slavianofil'stvo i Ugorusskoe dvizhenie perioda vrozozhdeniia* (L'viv, 1909)—first published in *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik za 1908 god*, VI, 3–4 (L'viv, 1908).

See also Ivan Franko, "Shist' lystiv halyts'kykh 'starorusiv' z rr. 1853–1863," *Zapysky NTSh*, XLVIII (L'viv, 1902), misc., pp. 3–12.

¹⁴² Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, ed., *Korespondentsiia Iakova Holovats'koho v litakh 1835–49 [and] 1850–62*, 2 vols., in *Zbirnyk fil'ol'ogichnoi sektsyi Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, VIII–IX and XI–XII (L'viv, 1905–09). For other correspondence of Holovats'kyi, see below, notes 194 and 213.

¹⁴³ Mykhailo Vozniak, "Do vyiasnennia natsional'nykh pohliadiv Iakova Holovats'koho v 1848 r. (persha redaktsiia 'Rozpravy o iazyts'i iuzhno-ruskim i ieho narichiiakh')," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXXI (L'viv, 1914), pp. 133–172; Fedir Savchenko, "Protest Iakova Holovats'koho do avstriis'koho ministerstva z pryvodu trusu v ioho meshkanni," *Zapysky NTSh*, C (L'viv, 1930), pp. 379–388.

some unpublished writings of other Old Ruthenian leaders: Mykhailo Kachkovs'kyi (1802–1872),¹⁴⁴ the Reverend Antin Dobrians'kyi (1810–1877),¹⁴⁵ the Reverend Mykola Ustiianovych (1811–1885),¹⁴⁶ the Reverend Antin Mohyl'nyts'kyi (1811–1873),¹⁴⁷ the Reverend Antin Petrushevych (1821–1913),¹⁴⁸ the Reverend Ivan Hushalevych

For general biographies of Holovats'kyi, see Omelian Ohonovskii, *Ystoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, Vol. IV (L'viv: NTSh, 1894), pp. 60–119; Ivan Zanevych [Ostap Terlets'kyi], "Literaturni stremlinnia halyts'kykh Rusyniv vid 1772 do 1872," *Zhytie i slovo*, II, 6 (L'viv, 1894), pp. 428–451; Osyp Petrash, *Rus'ka triitsia* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1972), pp. 106–141; F.F. Aristov, *Karpato-russkie pisateli*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1916; 2nd rev. ed., Bridgeport, Conn.: Carpatho-Russian Literary Association, 1977), pp. 76–128; Vasilii P. Vavrik, *Iakov Fedorovich Golovatskii: iego dieiatel'nost' i znachenie v galitsko-russkoi slovesnosti* (L'viv, 1925).

On Holovats'kyi as a bibliographer, see the several studies of Mykhailo Humeniuk, above, note 27.

¹⁴⁴ F.I. Svistun, "Pis'ma Mikhaïla Kachkovskago," *Viestnik 'Narodnago Doma'*, XXVII (V), 11–12 (L'viv, 1909); XXVIII (VI), 1–4, 6 (1910), pp. 3–8, 18–24, 35–40, 59–?.

¹⁴⁵ Bohdan A. Didytskii, *Antonii Dobrianskii: eho zhyzn' y diiatel'nost' v Halytskoi Rusy* (L'viv: Izd. Ob-va ym. M. Kachkovskoho, 1881).

¹⁴⁶ Iaroslav Hordyns'kyi, "Do biografii i kharakterystyky Mykoly Ustiianovycha," *Zapysky NTSh*, CIV (L'viv, 1911), pp. 83–122. See also the extensive sections on Ustiianovych in Omelian Ohonovskii, *Ystoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, Vol. II, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1889), pp. 393–426; F.F. Aristov, *Karpato-russkie pisateli*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1916; 2nd rev. ed., Bridgeport, Conn.: Carpatho-Russian Literary Association, 1977), pp. 62–75.

For some of Ustiianovych's writings, see below, note 147, *Rus'ka pys'mennist'*, Vol. III.

¹⁴⁷ K. Luchakovskii, "Antôn Liubych Mohyl'nytskii, ieho zhytie y ieho znachinie," in *Spravozdanie dykretsii ts. k. hymnazii akademichnoy u L'vovi za rok shkôl'nyi 1886/7* (L'viv, 1887), pp. 5–73.

Some works of Mohyl'nyts'kyi and a brief biography of him appear in Omel'ian Partytskii, *Pys'ma Antonii Liubycha Mohyl'nyts'koho* (L'viv: Zoria, 1885) and in *Rus'ka pys'mennist'*, Vol. III: *Tvory Markiiiana Shashkevycha, Iakova Holovats'koho, Mykoly Ustiianovycha, Antona Mohyl'nyts'koho* (L'viv: TP, 1906), pp. 495–623 and 2nd ed. (L'viv: TP, 1913), pp. 339–512.

¹⁴⁸ Bibliographic data on Petrushevych is found in F.F. Aristov, *Karpato-russkie pisateli*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1916; 2nd rev. ed., Bridgeport, Conn.: Carpatho-Russian Literary Association, 1977), pp. 234–291; and in Ivan O. Maksymchuk, *Narys istorii rodu Petrushevychiv* (Chicago, 1967), esp. pp. 97–138 and 242–263.

See also Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi, "Epihony davn'oï halyts'koï nauky (1894)," in his

(1823–1908),¹⁴⁹ the Reverend Ivan Naumovych (1826–1891),¹⁵⁰ the Reverend Iustyn Zhelekhiv's'kyi (1821–1910),¹⁵¹ Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1827–1908),¹⁵² and Izydor Sharanevych (1829–1901).¹⁵³

The next generation of Galician Ukrainian leaders, who began to be active in the 1860s, were known first as populists (*narodovtsi*) and later as Ukrainophiles. The bulk of existing literature focuses on their most outstanding and prolific representative, Ivan Franko (1856–1916). The dynamic Franko was active in the student movement in the 1870s, was one of the first Ukrainian socialists in the 1880s,¹⁵⁴ and was a leading figure in the propagation of Ukrainian identity and cultural activity from the 1890s until his death. He is best remembered for his enormous output of prose, literary criticism, journalistic essays, and bibliographical and historical works.¹⁵⁵

Rozvidky, staty ta zamitky, in *Zbirnyk istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu UAN*, Vol. LVII (Kiev, 1928), pp. 285–286. For works on Petrushevych as an historian, see above, note 18.

¹⁴⁹ Ivan Franko, "Ivan Hushalevych," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, XXIII, 8 and 9 (L'viv, 1903), pp. 111–128 and 163–187; XXIV, 11 (1903), pp. 92–120—reprinted in his *Tvory*, XVII (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd-vo khudozhn'oi literatury, 1955), pp. 346–406; F.F. Aristov, *Karpato-russkie pisateli*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1916; 2nd rev. ed., Bridgeport, Conn.: Carpatho-Russian Literary Association, 1977), pp. 293–304.

Some of Hushalevych's correspondence was published by Iaroslav Hordyn's'kyi, "Do diial'nosti Ivana Hushalevycha v rr. 1867–1881," *Zapysky NTSh*, XCIII (L'viv, 1910), pp. 144–157. See also below, note 213.

¹⁵⁰ Vasilii P. Vavrik, *Prosvietitel' Galitskoi Rusi Ivan G. Naumovich* (L'viv-Prague, 1926); O.A. Monchalovskii, *Zhit'e i dieiatel'nost' Ivana Naumovicha* (L'viv: Russkaia Rada, 1899).

¹⁵¹ F.I. Svistun, ed., "Iz rukopisnago naslediiia po bl. p. Iustinie Zhelekhovskom," *Viesnik 'Narodnago Doma'*, XXX (VIII), 4–9/10 (L'viv, 1912), pp. 53–66, 70–75, 86–93, 109–114, 121–122.

¹⁵² On Didyts'kyi as a literary figure, see Omelian Ohonovskii, *Ystoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, Vol. II, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1889), pp. 302–315. For some of his correspondence, see below, note 213. For his memoir-like history of Galicia after 1848, see above, note 36.

¹⁵³ Ivan Franko, "Shist' lystiv pok. Izydora Sharanevycha z rr. 1862–1864," *Zapysky NTSh*, XLV (L'viv, 1902), misc., pp. 6–9.

On Sharanevych as an historian, see above, note 19.

¹⁵⁴ The student activist and socialist aspect of Franko's career is treated at length in many recent Soviet studies on Galicia. Cf. above, note 108.

¹⁵⁵ Of the many attempts to list Franko's works (Mykhailo Pavlyk, 1898; Volodymyr Doroshenko, 1918; Ivan Boiko, 1954 and 1956; M. Humenniuk *et al.*, 1956; *Ukraïns'ki pys'mennyky*, Vol. III, 1963), the most comprehensive bibliography is by M.O.

Franko's literary works and some of his correspondence have been published many times. The most extensive multivolume editions appeared in the Soviet Ukraine between 1924 and 1929 (30 volumes)¹⁵⁶ and again between 1950 and 1956 (20 volumes).¹⁵⁷ These collections contained basically Franko's belletristic works, although the 1950–1956 edition included 4 volumes with some of his literary criticism, historical studies, and letters.¹⁵⁸ Recently, a 50-volume edition has begun to appear in Kiev, and this promises to include more of Franko's writings than have previously been republished.¹⁵⁹

The repeated editions of Franko's works reflect the degree to which he is glorified within present-day official Soviet Ukrainian historico-cultural iconography. Reflective of Franko's stature is the amount that has been written about him, including a yearbook, later succeeded by a journal, devoted to recent research,¹⁶⁰ a collection of documents on his life and subsequent influence,¹⁶¹ collections of contemporary memoirs about him,^{161a} and a huge corpus of books

Moroz, *Ivan Franko: bibliohrafiia tvoriv 1874–1964* (Kiev: L'vivs'ka derzhavna biblioteka, Instytut literatury im. Shevchenka AN URSR, 1966).

¹⁵⁶ Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, 30 vols., ed. S. Pylypenka (Kiev and Kharkiv: Rukh, 1924–29—several volumes appeared in a second edition, Kiev and Kharkiv: Rukh, 1927–31 and Knyhospilka, 1924–29). Large parts of the first edition together with works from other editions were reprinted in 20 vols. (New York: Knyho-Spilka, 1956–62).

¹⁵⁷ Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, 20 vols. (Kiev: Derzhavno-literaturne vyd-vo, 1950–56).

¹⁵⁸ Several journalistic works which did not appear in the multivolume editions are contained in Ivan Franko, *V naimakh u susidiv: zbirnyk prats' pysanykh pol's'koiu ta nimets'koiu movamy v perekladi z poiasnieniamy ta dodatkamy avtora*, Vol. I: *Stati na suspil'no-politychni temy pysani v rr. 1886–1890*, Pysania Ivana Franka, Vol. VII (L'viv, 1914), and in Mykhailo Vozniak, ed., "Do publitsystychnoi diial'nosti Iv. Franka v rr. 1879–1883," in *Za sto lit*, Vol. IV, in *Zapysky Istorychnoi sektsii VUAN* (Kiev, 1929), pp. 225–268.

For Franko's correspondence with Dnieper Ukrainian and other Slavic leaders, see below, notes 190, 197, and 212.

¹⁵⁹ Ivan Franko, *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 50 vols. (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1976–). As of 1980, twenty-eight volumes have appeared.

¹⁶⁰ *Ivan Franko: statii i materialy*, 12 vols. (L'viv: LU, 1948–65); *Ukrains'ke literaturoznavstvo* (L'viv, 1966–present). Despite the general title of the latter, it is devoted primarily to Franko.

¹⁶¹ *Ivan Franko: dokumenty i materialy 1856–1965* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1966).

^{161a} O. I. Dei and N. P. Korniiienko, eds., *Ivan Franko u spohadakh suchasnykiv* (L'viv, 1956); O. I. Dei, ed., *Ivan Franko u spohadakh suchasnykiv*, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1972).

and articles about virtually every aspect of his career.¹⁶² Several biographies have also appeared, beginning in 1926 with one by Serhii Iefremov and an anthology of studies edited by Mykhailo Hrushev-s'kyi,¹⁶³ and continuing after World War II with two works by Mykhailo Vozniak and by many other Soviet authors.¹⁶⁴

Writings on other, later nineteenth-century Galician Ukrainian cultural and literary figures are much fewer. These include works on the writer and pedagogue Reverend Vasyl' Il'nyts'kyi (1823–1895),¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² O. Moroz and M. Moroz, "Radians'ke frankoznavstvo za dvadsiat' rokiv (1939–1959): materialy do bibliohrafiï," in *Ivan Franko: statii i materialy*, Vol. VIII (L'viv: LU, 1960), pp. 179–388.

See also the lists of works about Franko in: I. Z. Boiko, *Ivan Franko: bibliohrafiichnyi pokazhchyk* (2nd ed., Kiev: ANURSR, 1956), pp. 129–226 and 272–278; M. P. Humeniuk et al., *Ivan Iakovych Franko: kataloh tvoriv pys'mennyka ta literatury pro n'oho* (L'viv: L'vivs'ka Biblioteka AN URSSR, 1956), pp. 134–155; *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: bio-bibliohrafiichnyi slovnyk*, Vol. III (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd-vo khudozhn'oï literatury, 1963), pp. 504–563; O. N. Moroz, *Ivan Franko: seminarii* (Kiev, 1966; 2nd ed., Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1977).

¹⁶³ S. Iefremov, *Ivan Franko: krytychno-biohrafiichnyi narys* (2nd ed., Kiev: Slovo, 1926); *Ukraina*, III, 6, ed. Mykhailo Hrushev'skyi (Kiev, 1926).

See also the earlier works by Omelian Ohonovskii, *Ystoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, Vol. III, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1891), pp. 915–1072; Mykhailo Vozniak, *Zyttia i znachennia Ivana Franka* (L'viv, 1913) and his *Pam'iaty Ivana Franka: opys zhyttia, diial'nosti i pokhoronu* (Vienna, 1916); and Mykhailo Lozyn'skyi, *Ivan Franko* (Vienna: Soiuз Vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1917).

¹⁶⁴ M.S. Vozniak, *Z zhyttia i tvorchosti Ivana Franka* (Kiev: ANURSR, 1955) and his *Narysy pro svitohliad Ivana Franka* (L'viv: LU, 1955); O.I. Bilets'kyi, I.I. Bass and O.I. Kysel'ov, *Ivan Franko: zhyttia i tvorchist'* (Kiev: ANURSR, 1956); Iurii Kobylets'kyi, *Tvorchist' Ivana Franka: do storichchia z dnia narodzhennia (1856–1956)* (Kiev: Derzhlytvydav Ukraïny, 1956)—translated into Russian as *Ivan Franko: ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1960); Leonid Khinkulov, *Franko* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1961); Ievhen Kyrlyuk, *Vichnyi revoliutsioner: zhyttia i tvorchist' Ivana Franka* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1966); I.I. Bass, *Ivan Franko: biohrafiia* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1966).

Among non-Soviet studies on Franko in the post-World-War-II era is an interesting analysis of his student days in Vienna which includes his extensive curriculum vitae written in 1893: Günther Wytrzens, "Ivan Franko als Student und Doktor der Wiener Universität," *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, VIII (Vienna, 1960), pp. 228–241.

On Franko as an historian, see above, note 15.

¹⁶⁵ For biographical data on Il'nyts'kyi, see Omelian Ohonovskii, *Ystoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, Vol. III, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1891), pp. 554–567. For his writings on Galician society,

the writer Reverend Pavlo Leontovych (1825–1880),¹⁶⁶ the literary historian and linguist Reverend Omel'ian Ohonovs'kyi (1833–1894),¹⁶⁷ the writer and painter Kornilo Ustiiianovych (1839–1903),^{167a} the writer, actor, and teacher born in the Dnieper Ukraine but after 1863 active in Galicia, Pavlyn Svientsits'kyi (1841–1876),¹⁶⁸ the writer and economist Volodymyr Navrots'kyi (1847–1882),¹⁶⁹ the political activist and scholar Ostap Terlets'kyi (1850–1902),¹⁷⁰ the bibliographer Ivan E. Levyts'kyi (1850–1913),¹⁷¹ the radical political activist Mykhailo Pavlyk (1853–1915),¹⁷² the editor and economist Kost'

see Ivan Sozans'kyi, "Z literaturnoi spadshchyny Vasylia Il'nyts'koho," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXVI (L'viv, 1905), 59 p.

¹⁶⁶ Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, "Pavlo Leontovych," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXXXI (L'viv, 1921), pp. 197–229; CXXXII (1922), pp. 135–184, CXXXVI–CXXXVII (1925), pp. 159–196.

¹⁶⁷ Ivan Franko, "Professor Omelian Ohonovs'kyi," *Narod*, nos. 20, 21, 23–24 (L'viv, 1894), pp. 316–318, 334–336 and 382–385; "Dr. Omelian Ohonovs'kyi," *Pravda*, XXIII (L'viv, 1894), pp. 767–778; Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi, "Omel'ian Ogonovskii," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, VI (23) (St. Petersburg, 1894), pp. 176–177—revised version in his *Rozvidky, statii ta zamitky*, in *Zbirnyk istorychno-filolohichno-ho viddilu UAN*, Vol. LVII (Kiev, 1928), pp. 286–291; Leonid Bilets'kyi, *Omelian Ohonovs'kyi*, *Ukrains'ki vcheni*, no. 2 (Winnipeg: Ukrains'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk, 1950).

For some of Ohonovs'kyi's published correspondence, see below, note 199.

^{167a} Ostap Hrytsai, "Kornilo Ustyianovych iak dramaturg," in *Zvit dykretsyi ts. k. Akademichnoi gimnazii u L'vovi za shkil'nyi rik 1911/12* (L'viv, 1912).

¹⁶⁸ Volodymyr Radzykevych, "Pavlyn Svientsitskyi: publiistsychna, naukova ta literaturna ioho diial'nist'," *Zapysky NTSh*, CI (L'viv, 1911), pp. 109–129; CII (1911), pp. 127–147; CIII (1911), pp. 113–190.

¹⁶⁹ Some of Navrots'kyi's writings have appeared in his *Tvory*, with an essay on the author by Ostap Telets'kyi (L'viv: Akademychne bratstvo, 1884).

On the author, see also Illia Vytanovych, *Volodymyr Navrots'kyi (1847–1882): pershyi ukrains'kyi statystyk-ekonomist v Halychyni na tli svoiei doby* (L'viv, 1934).

¹⁷⁰ Ivan Franko, "Dr. Ostap Terlets'kyi: spomyny i materialy," *Zapysky NTSh*, L (L'viv, 1902), 64p.; Oleksandr Lysenko, "Ostap Terlets'kyi," *Zhovten'*, IX, 5 (L'viv, 1959), pp. 107–117. On Terlets'kyi as a historian see above, Chapter 1, note 15. On Terlets'kyi as a social activist, see above, note 108.

¹⁷¹ Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Ivan Em. Levyts'kyi: posmertna zhadka," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXIII (L'viv, 1913), pp. 155–159. On Levyts'kyi as a bibliographer, see the several studies listed above, note 27.

¹⁷² Pavlyk's extensive correspondence with Drahomanov has been published; see below, note 198. For some of his other writings, see Mykhailo Pavlyk, *Vybrani tvory*

Pan'kivs'kyi (1855–1915),¹⁷³ the writer and social activist Natalia Kobryns'ka-Ozarkevych (1855–1920),¹⁷⁴ the writer Uliana Kravchenko (Iuliia Shneider, 1860–1947),¹⁷⁵ the writer and pedagogue Osyp Makovei (1867–1925),¹⁷⁶ the ethnographer and politician Volodymyr

(L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1955) and his *Tvory* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukraïny, 1959).

For works about Pavlyk, see Ivan Franko, "Mykhailo Pavlyk (zamiest' iuvileinoï syl'vetky)," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, XXIX, 3 (L'viv, 1905), pp. 160–186; Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Mykhailo Pavlyk: ioho zhyttie i diïal'nist'* (Vienna: Soiuz vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1917; reprinted Irvington, N.J.: SMB, 1974); Pavlo Iashchuk, *Mykhailo Pavlyk: literaturno-krytychnyi narys* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1959); I.O. Denysiuk, *Mykhailo Pavlyk* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukraïny, 1960); and O.Ia. Lysenko, "Mykhailo Pavlyk i ioho mistse v suspil'no-politychnomu zhytti Halychchyny ostann'oi chverti XIX st.," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, IV, 1 (Kiev, 1960), pp. 36–45.

¹⁷³ Illia Vytanovych, *Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi: idealist hromads'koï pratsi i viry u vlasni syly narodu* (New York: Tov. Ukraïns'kykh Kooperativ, 1954).

For Pan'kivs'kyi's correspondence with Drahomanov, see below, note 206.

¹⁷⁴ Some of Kobryns'ka's writings have appeared in two collections: Natalia Kobryns'ka, *Vybani opovidannia* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1954) and *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukraïny, 1958). For her correspondence with Drahomanov, see below, note 204.

On Kobryns'ka, see Omelian Ohonovskii, *Istoriia lyteratury ruskoy*. Vol. III, pt. 2 (L'viv, 1893), pp. 1263–1305; Irena Knysh, *Smoloskyp v temriavi: Nataliia Kobryns'ka i ukrains'kyi zhinochyi rukh* (Winnipeg, 1957); Pavlo Iashchuk, "Natalia Kobryns'ka," *Zhovten'*, VI, 4 (L'viv, 1956), pp. 93–103.

¹⁷⁵ Some of Kravchenko's writings have appeared in three collected works: *Vybrani poezii* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1941); *Vybrane*, with essay on the author by P. Iashchuk (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1956); and *Vybrani tvory*, with essay on the author by A.A. Kaspruk (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukraïny, 1958). Her correspondence with Ivan Franko appeared in D. Lukiiianovych, ed., "Neopublikovani lysty Ivana Franka (do Uliany Kravchenko)," *Zhovten'*, IV, 10 (L'viv, 1954), pp. 112–115 and "Lysty I. Franka do Uliany Kravchenko," in *Ivan Franko: statii i materialy*, Vol. V (L'viv, 1956), pp. 132–178.

On the author, see Omelian Ohonovs'kyi, *Istoriia lyteratury ruskoy*, Vol. II, pt. 1 (L'viv, 1889), pp. 697–701; and Pavlo Iashchuk, "Uchenytsia velykoho vchytelia," *Zhovten'*, VI, 1 (L'viv, 1956), pp. 105–116.

¹⁷⁶ For a comprehensive bibliography of Makovei's writing, see O.P. Kushch, *Osyp Makovei: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (L'viv: L'vivs'ka biblioteka AN URSSR, 1958).

Some of his writings appear in three collected volumes (each with a brief biography of Makovei): *Vybrani tvory* (Kharkiv and Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930); *Vybrani tvory* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukraïny, 1954); *Vybrane* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo,

Okhrymovych (1870–1931),¹⁷⁷ the ethnographer and linguist Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871–1926),¹⁷⁸ and the writer and parliamentarian Vasyli' Stefanyk (1871–1936).¹⁷⁹

Church history

As a result of the enormous political and social changes that took place in Galician society after 1848, the church no longer played the undisputed dominant role that it once had. Nevertheless, several Greek Catholic priests as well as the hierarchy (from the inner sanctum of the St. George Circle at the L'viv Cathedral chapter) did hold a commanding influence over Galician Ukrainian developments,

1956). Also D. Lukiianovych, ed., "Avtobiohrafiiia O. Makoveia," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, LXXXVIII, 11 (L'viv, 1925), pp. 230–240.

The most comprehensive biography is F. Pohrebennyk, *Osyp Makovei: krytyko-biohrafichnyi narys* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukrainy, 1960).

¹⁷⁷ Viktoriia A. Malanchuk, *Etnohrafichna diial'nist' V. Iu. Okhrymovycha* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972).

¹⁷⁸ Mykola Mushynka, ed., *Naukovyi zbirnyk Muzeiu ukrains'koi kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. III: *prysviachenyi pam'iaty Volodymyra Hnatiuka* (Bratislava and Prešov, 1967), esp. pp. 17–220.

On Hnatiuk's scholarly career, see above, note 23.

¹⁷⁹ The most comprehensive bibliography of Stefanyk's writings and studies about him is O.P. Kushch, *Vasyl' Stefanyk: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchuk* (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1961).

Among the several anthologies of Stefanyk's writings, the oldest is Vasyli' Stefanyk, *Vybrani tvory* (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vyd-vo Ukrainy, 1927; 2nd ed., 1928; 3rd ed., 1929); the most complete collection is Vasyli' Stefanyk, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 3 vols. (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1949–54).

Studies on Stefanyk's life and work include: S. Kryzhaniv's'kyi, *Vasyl' Stefanyk: krytyko-biohrafichnyi narys* (Kiev: Derzhlitvydav Ukrainy, 1946); Oleksandra Bandura, *Vasyl' Stefanyk* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vyd-vo, 1956); N. Zhuk, *Vasyl' Stefanyk: literaturnyi portret* (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd-vo khudozhn'oï literatury, 1960); V.M. Lesyn, *Tvorchist' Vasyliia Stefanyka* (L'viv: LU, 1965)—2nd rev. ed. under the title *Vasyl' Stefanyk-maister novely* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1970); Vasyli' Kostashchuk, *Volo-dar dum selians'kykh* (2nd rev. ed., Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1968); *Vasyl' Stefanyk u krytytsi ta spohadakh: statii, vyslovliuvannia, memuary* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1970); Luka Lutsiv, *Vasyl' Stefanyk: spivets' ukrains'koi zemli* (New York and Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda, 1971); D.S. Struk, *A Study of Vasyl' Stefanyk: The Pain at the Heart of Existence* (Littleton, Colo.: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1973); V.E. Mykytas', *Pravda pro Vasyliia Stefanyka: proty burzhuazno-nationalistychnykh falsyfikatsii tvorchosti pys'mennyka* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1975).

especially before the 1870s. The continuing role of Greek Catholic priests in transmitting national ideas from the intelligentsia to the peasantry is the subject of a brief study by John-Paul Himka, whose work is one of the few general studies on the Galician church between 1848 and 1918.¹⁸⁰

Most of the literature dealing with the church during these decades focuses on the activity of individual hierarchs. Luigi Glinka has provided a comprehensive biography of the life and times of Reverend Hryhorii Iakhymovych (1792–1863), the bishop of Przemyśl (1849–1859) and metropolitan of L'viv (1860–1863) who played a decisive role in Ukrainian political and cultural developments in the 1848 revolution and during the decade that followed.¹⁸¹ Iakhymovych's successor, Metropolitan Spyrydon Lytvynovych (1810–1869, consecrated 1863) has been the subject of study, and some of the Przemyśl Bishop Ivan Stupnyts'kyi's (1816–1890, consecrated 1871) correspondence has been published as well.¹⁸² Most of the existing literature, however, is devoted to Reverend Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1865–1944) who, after serving less than a year as bishop of Stanyslaviv, became Greek Catholic Metropolitan of L'viv in 1900. Born into a polonized aristocratic family, Sheptyts'kyi soon embraced the

¹⁸⁰ John-Paul Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867–1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXI, 1 (Ottawa, 1979), pp. 1–14.

See also the compilation of legal matters related to the church in Michael Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staatssatzungen bezüglich des griechisch-katolischen Ritus der Ruthenen in Galizien* (L'viv, 1861); and the description of the priesthood in a travel account by the Russian T. Tytov, *Russkoe dukhovenstvo v Galichine: iz nabludenii putestvennyka, tserkovno-istoricheskii ocherk* (Kiev, 1903).

¹⁸¹ Luigi Glinka, *Gregorio Jachymovyc—Metropolita di Halyč ed il suo tempo (1840–1865)*, 2nd ed., *Analecta OSBM*, series II, sectio I, Vol. XXX (Rome, 1974).

See also the earlier description of Iakhymovych as defender of "Russian" culture in eastern Galicia by Dmitrii Vientskovskii, *Grigorii Iakhimovich i vremennoe russkoe dvizhenie* (L'viv, 1892).

For correspondence of Bishop Iakhymovych, see Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, ed., *Materiialy do istorii kul'turnoho zhytia v Halychyni v 1795–1857 rr.: zamytky i teksty*, in *Ukrains'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv*, Vols. XIII–XIV (L'viv, 1920).

¹⁸² F. Svistun, "Mitropolit Spiridon Litvinovich i o. Iv. Naumovich v 1864 g.," *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik 'Galitsko-russkoi Matitsy'*, IV, 1 (L'viv, 1905); Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, ed., "Lysty min. Fl'oriiiana Ziemialkovs'koho do ep. Ivana Studyns'koho," *Zapysky NTSh*, LXXXV, 5 (L'viv, 1908), pp. 106–133.

Ukrainian cause and became its staunchest defender under Austrian and later Polish rule.¹⁸³ Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letters from 1899 to 1901 and some of his ascetic and ethical works have been published.¹⁸⁴ Among the best works, which contain much information on Sheptyts'kyi's career before 1914, are biographies by Stepan Baran, Hryhorii Prokopchuk, and Kyrylo Korolevs'kyi.¹⁸⁵ Because of his overwhelming stature in Galician Ukrainian life, Sheptyts'kyi has not been ignored by Soviet writers, although everything the Greek Catholic hierarch accomplished is depicted in a negative way.¹⁸⁶

Relations with neighboring Slavs

The contacts that first developed between Galician Ukrainians and other Slavic peoples before 1848 were expanded to include political as well as cultural interaction during the second half of the nineteenth century. The revolutionary years 1848–1849 brought Galician Ukrainians especially close to the Czechs, who at the time were respected by

¹⁸³ Sheptyts'kyi was also forced to take sides between the competing Ukrainophile and Russophile intelligentsias. He chose the Ukrainian cause. See the documents in: *Mitropolit galitskii Andrei Sheptytskii i 'Galitsko-ruskaia Matitsa'* (L'viv: Galitsko-ruskaia Matitsa, 1905).

¹⁸⁴ Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory*, Vol. I: *pastyrs'ki lysty: 2. VIII.1899–7.IX.1901*, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, Vol. XV (Toronto, 1965); Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory (asketychno-moral'ni)*, Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademii, Vols. XLV–XLVII (Rome, 1978).

¹⁸⁵ Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich: Vernyhora, 1947); Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion Graf Andreas Scheptytzkyj* (Munich: Vlg. Ukraine, 1955); Cyrille Korolevskij, *Metropolit André Szeptyckyj 1865–1944*, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, Vol. XVI–XVII (Rome, 1964).

See also the shorter biographies by: Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi: korotkyi zhyttiepys i ohliad ioho tserkovno-narodnoi diial'nosti* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Vyd. Ameryky, 1937); Feuillen Mercenier, "Le Métropolit André Szeptyckyj," *Irénikon*, XIX, 1 (Brussels, 1946), pp. 49–69; Theodosius Halusczyński, "Andreas Szeptyckyj, O.S.B.M., Metropolit Haliciensis," *Analecta OSBM*, series II, section II, Vol. I, 2–3 (Rome, 1950), pp. 268–284; Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Velykyi Mytropolyt* (Yorkton, Sask.: Logos, 1958).

¹⁸⁶ V.K. Osechyns'kyi, "Hreko-katolyts'ka tserkva na sluzhbi u avstro-nimets'koho imperializmu i fashysts'kykh zaharbnikiv," *Naukovi zapysky L'vivs'koho derzhavnoho universytetu*, X: *Seriia istorychna*, 3 (L'viv, 1948), pp. 5–21; Serhii T. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady (istorychna khronika)* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1970; 2nd rev. ed., Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972).

their fellow Slavs as one of the most advanced groups among the subject peoples in the Habsburg Empire. The literature on Czech-Galician Ukrainian relations in 1848–1849 is well-developed,¹⁸⁷ and although relations continued in subsequent years, they were less intense and limited primarily to the cultural realm. There are no general surveys of Czech-Galician Ukrainian relations after 1848; the existing literature deals only with ties among individual leaders. Kyrylo Studyns'kyi has described the relations between Iakiv Holovats'kyi and the Czech writer Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870), while the interest of the Czech ethnographer František Řehoř (1857–1890) in Galicia has been discussed and his correspondence with Ukrainian leaders there published.¹⁸⁸ The most attention, however, has been devoted to Ivan Franko. There exist studies of his relations with Czechs and Slovaks,¹⁸⁹ as well as a volume including Franko's articles on and correspondence with leaders of those groups as well as the commentary on the Galician Ukrainian writer in the contemporary Czech and Slovak press.¹⁹⁰

Besides the more general political histories and polemical works mentioned above that include material on Polish-Galician Ukrainian relations, the literature devoted specifically to this topic is limited to two recent monographs by the Polish scholar Elżbieta Hornowa on Mykhailo Drahomanov and his impact upon Polish left-wing

¹⁸⁷ See above, notes 66 and 67.

¹⁸⁸ Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, "Karel Jaromír Erben i Iakiv Holovats'kyi," *Zapysky NTSh*, CLV (L'viv, 1937), pp. 6–28; M.M. Mundiak, "Frantyshek Rzhedorzh i Ukraïna," *ibid.*, pp. 279–287; Petro Bogatyrev, "Z lystuvannia Frantishka Rzhedorzha," in *Za sto lit*, Vol. IV, *Zapysky Istorychnoi sektsii VUAN*, XXX (Kiev, 1929), pp. 269–299.

¹⁸⁹ Jozef Hrozičnik, ed., *Z dejin československo-ukrajinských vzťahov: Slovenské štúdie*, I (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1957)—translated into Ukrainian as *Z istorii chekhoslovats'ko-ukraïnskikh zv'iazkiv* (Bratislava: Slovats'ke vyd-vo khudozhn'oï literatury, 1959). This work (esp. pp. 41–186 of the Slovak version and pp. 39–202 of the Ukrainian version) contains eight essays on Franko's relations with Czechs. See also Mikuláš Nevrlý, "Ivan Franko a česká kultura," in *Věcná družba: sborník prací k třicátému výročí opětného sjednocení Ukrajiny s Ruskem* (Prague: Svět Sovětů, 1957), pp. 317–354; I. Iu. Zhuravs'ka "Franko i rozvytok ches'ko-ukraïnskikh literaturnykh zv'iazkiv," *Mizhslov'ians'ki literaturni vzaïemyny*, Vol. I (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1958), pp. 262–278.

¹⁹⁰ Mykhailo Mol'nar and Mariia Mundiak, eds., *Zv'iazky Ivana Franka z chekhamy ta slovakamy* (Bratislava: Slovats'ke vyd-vo khudozhn'oï literatury, 1957).

intellectuals, including Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia,¹⁹¹ and to a collection of documents on pro-Russian elements within the Polish movement on the eve of World War I, including "Polish Russophiles" in Galicia.¹⁹² There is also a recent collection of documents, including many from L'viv and other cities in eastern Galicia, which reveal the Galician reaction to the anti-Russian Polish uprising of 1863.^{192a}

Ultimately the most influential relations for Galician Ukrainians were those that they had with their brethren in the Dnieper Ukraine. The writings of Shevchenko and the visits and correspondence of several leading Dnieper Ukrainian writers prompted the beginnings of the populist literary movement in Galicia in the 1860s and the blossoming of Ukrainian literary and cultural activity in the decades that followed. The only general studies of these developments focus on Galicia-Dnieper Ukrainian interrelations during the 1860s and the activity of Galician students in Kiev during the 1870s.¹⁹³

Most of the existing literature deals with relations between certain individuals. From the immediate post-1848 revolutionary years dates the correspondence of Iakiv Holovats'kyi and Osyp Bodians'kyi.¹⁹⁴ The best-documented coverage is on the Dnieper Ukrainian Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841–1895), the historian and political theorist who travelled to Galicia and subsequently corresponded with and influenced

¹⁹¹ Elżbieta Hornowa, *Ukraiński obóz postępowy i jego współpraca z polską lewicą społeczną w Galicji 1876–1895* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1968); Elżbieta Hornowa, *Problemy polskie w twórczości Michała Drahomanowa* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdańsk: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1978).

¹⁹² Michael Lozynskyj, *Dokumente des polnischen Russophilismus* (Berlin: Allg. ukrainischer Nationalrat in Österreich, 1915).

^{192a} S. Kieniewicz and I. Miller, eds., *Galicja w powstaniu styczniowym/Galitsiia v vosstanii 1863 goda* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdańsk: ZNO-PAN, 1980).

¹⁹³ Kyrylo Studyn'skyi, "Do istorii vziemyn Halychyny z Ukraïnoi u rr. 1860–1873," *Ukraïna*, 2 [27] (Kiev, 1928), pp. 6–40; Andronyk Stepovych, "Do kyivohalys'kykh zv"iazkiv pochatku 1870-kh rokiv," in *Za sto lit*, Vol. V, in *Zapysky Istorychnoi sektiï UVAN*, XXXI (Kharkiv and Kiev, 1930), pp. 183–191.

Galician-Dnieper Ukrainian relations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are also covered in a polemical essay by Andrei Kamins'kyi, *Zahadka Ukraïny i Halychyny* (L'viv, 1927), although the author is more concerned with trying to prove Galicia's alleged cultural backwardness.

¹⁹⁴ Fedir Savchenko, "Lystuvannia Ia. Holovats'koho z O. Bodians'kym (1843–1876 rr.)," in *Za sto lit*, Vol. V, in *Zapysky Istorychnoi sektiï UVAN*, XXI (Kharkiv and Kiev, 1930), pp. 121–169.

many of the most important Galician Ukrainian activists. It was Drahomanov who convinced several Old Ruthenians (including Ohonovs'kyi, Franko, and Pavlyk) of their national affiliation with Dnieper Ukrainians and of the fact that the success of nationalism in the region was dependent upon the socioeconomic transformation of Galician society. There are a few general descriptions of Drahomanov's contacts with Galicia and in particular his meetings with students in the early 1870s.¹⁹⁵ More important are Drahomanov's "Austro-Hungarian memoirs," which dwell in great detail on his visit to the area in 1873,¹⁹⁶ and in particular several volumes of his correspondence with Galician Ukrainian leaders, including Ivan Franko,¹⁹⁷ Mykhailo Pavlyk,¹⁹⁸ Omelian Ohonovs'kyi,¹⁹⁹ Iuliiian Bachyns'kyi (1870–193?),²⁰⁰ Teofil' Okunevs'kyi (1858–1937),²⁰¹ Volodymyr

¹⁹⁵ Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, and the Relations between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, VII, 1–2 (New York, 1959), pp. 1542–1566; Kyrilo Studyns'kyi, "Perśha zustrich Mykhaila Drahomanova z halyts'kymy studentamy," *Ukraina*, III, 2–3 (Kiev, 1926), pp. 70–75.

See also Iliarion Svientsits'kyi, *Drahomanov i Halychane* (L'viv: Natsional'nyi Muzei, 1922); Mykhailo Pavlyk, *Mykhailo Drahomanov i ioho rolia v rozvoiu Ukraïny* (L'viv, 1907).

¹⁹⁶ See above, note 37a.

See also Mykhailo Vozniak, "Dopovnennia M. P. Drahomanova do ioho 'Austro-rus'kykh spomyniv' u vidpovid' retsenzentovi 'Dila'," *Ukraina*, III, 2–3 (Kiev, 1926), pp. 78–89.

¹⁹⁷ *Lysty M. Drahomanova do Ivana Franka i ynshykh*, Vol. I: 1881–1886, Vol. II: 1887–1895 (L'viv: Ivan Franko, 1906–08); Mykhailo Vozniak, ed., *Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova*, Materiialy dlia kul'turnoi i hromads'koi istorii Zakhidn'oi Ukraïny, Vol. I, in *Zbirnyk Istorychno-filohichnoho viddilu VUAN*, Vol. LII (Kiev: Komisiia Zakhidn'oi Ukraïny VUAN, 1928).

¹⁹⁸ Mykhailo Pavlyk, ed., *Perepyska M. Drahomanova z M. Pavlykom*, 7 vols. [numbered II–VIII] (L'viv and Chernivtsi: Ukraïns'ko-rus'ka vydavnycha spilka and Lev Kohut, 1901–12).

¹⁹⁹ M. Pavlyk, ed., "Perepyska M. P. Drahomanova z drom Omelianom Ohonovs'kym," *Zhytie i slovo*, VI, 5–6 (L'viv, 1897), pp. 363–400.

²⁰⁰ Iuliiian Bachyns'kyi, *Moia perepyska s Mykhailom Drahomanovym* [1894] (L'viv: p.a., 1900).

²⁰¹ M. Pavlyk, ed., *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z drom Teofilem Okunevs'kym* (1883, 1885–1891, 1893–1895) (L'viv: Dilo, 1905).

Navrots'kyi (1847–1882),²⁰² Meliton Buchyns'kyi (1847–1903),²⁰³ Natalia Kobryns'ka-Ozarkevych (1851–1920),²⁰⁴ Oleksander Borkovs'kyi (1841–1921),²⁰⁵ Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi (1855–1915),²⁰⁶ and Iuliian Iavors'kyi (1873–1937).²⁰⁷ Second to Drahomanov in influence over Galician Ukrainians was the historian and belletrist Panteleimon Kulish (1819–1897), who lived for a while in Warsaw (1868–1871) and in Austria, from where he corresponded with leaders in Galicia whom he finally visited in 1881. While Kulish was successful in promoting the populist-Ukrainian movement in Galicia, he failed to achieve his other goal—Polish-Ukrainian cooperation. Osyp Makovei, Oleksander Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo Vozniak, and Kyrilo Studyns'kyi have written solid studies of Kulish's impact on Galicia;²⁰⁸ some of his correspondence with local leaders has been published as well.²⁰⁹

The third Dnieper Ukrainian to have had a lasting influence on Galicia was Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (1866–1934). Unlike his

²⁰² Kyrilo Studyns'kyi, "Perepyska M. Drahomanova z V. Navrots'kym (z pochatkiv sotsialistychnoho rukhu v Halychyni)," in *Za sto lit*, Vol. I, in *Zapysky Istorychnoi sektiï UAN*, XXIV (Kiev, 1927), pp. 83–153.

²⁰³ Mykhailo Pavlyk, ed., *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Melitonom Buchyns'kym 1871–1877*, in *Zbirnyk Fil'ol'ogichnoi sektiï NTSh*, Vol. XIII (L'viv, 1910).

²⁰⁴ M. Pavlyk, ed., *Perepyska Drahomanova z Nataliieu Kobryns'koiu (1893–1895)* (L'viv: M. Pavlyk, 1905).

²⁰⁵ M. Drahomanov, "Lysty do O. Borkovs'koho (1888–1889)," *Zhytie i slovo*, VI, 1 and 2 (L'viv, 1897), pp. 62–69, 74–76 and 141–145.

²⁰⁶ M. Drahomanov, "Lysty do K. P[ankiv]s'koho, 1886, 1893–1894," *Zhytie i slovo*, VI, 2 (L'viv, 1897), pp. 151–158.

²⁰⁷ M. Drahomanov, "Lysty do Iuliana Iavors'koho (1891–1894)," *Zhytie i slovo*, V, 5 (L'viv, 1896), pp. 378–391.

²⁰⁸ Osyp Makovei, "Pan'ko Olel'kovych Kulish: ohliad ioho diialnosti," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, IX, 3 (L'viv, 1900), pp. 161–183; X, 4, 5, 6 (1900), pp. 1–28, 77–107 and 169–188; XI, 9 (1900), pp. 145–161; XII, 10, 11, 12 (1900), pp. 30–43, 92–114, 150–169—also separately (L'viv, 1900); Oleksander Hrushevs'kyi, "Halys'ka molod' ta Kulish v 1860-kh rr.," *Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VAN*, XX (Kiev, 1928), pp. 325–342; Mykhailo Vozniak, "Ostanni znosyny P. Kulisha z Halychanamy (z dodatkom ioho lystuvannia z M. Pavlykom)," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXLVIII (L'viv, 1928), pp. 165–240; Kyrilo Studyns'kyi, "Slidamy Kulisha," *Zapysky NTSh*, CXLVIII (L'viv, 1928), pp. 241–306.

²⁰⁹ O. Monchalovskii, "Pis'ma P.A. Kulisha otnosiashchiiasia k vremeni i tseli ego prebyvannia vo L'vovii," *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-russkoi Matitsy*, III, 1 and 2 (L'viv, 1904), pp. 59–72 and 1–44; Ivan Franko, ed., "Iz perepysky P. Kulisha z Halychanamy 1870–71 r.," *Zapysky NTSh*, XXVI (L'viv, 1898), misc., pp. 7–16.

predecessors, Hrushevs'kyi actually lived in Galicia where he held the chair of Ukrainian history at the University of L'viv (1894–1914) and was president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1897–1914). He was largely responsible for making the Shevchenko Scientific Society an “unofficial” Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, transforming the previously provincial Ukrainian scholarly atmosphere of L'viv into an environment that matched the standards of other European intellectual centers at the time. Lubomyr Vynar has surveyed Hrushevs'kyi's career in Galicia in several studies.²¹⁰

Studies also exist on the relations and influence of four other Dnieper Ukrainians upon Galicia—the writers Oleksander Konys'kyi (1836–1900), Pavlo Hrabovs'kyi (1864–1902), Mykhailo Kotsiubyns'kyi (1864–1913), and the historian Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908).²¹¹ Finally, some of the correspondence has been published between the writer Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi (1838–1918) and the Galician intelligentsia he so harshly criticized.²¹²

The relations between Galician Ukrainians and Russians had from the very beginning political overtones, reflecting the foreign policy interests of the Russian Empire. As the nineteenth century progressed, and as Russia saw itself as more than ever a protector of all the Slavs, it could not help but take a special interest in its “Russian”

²¹⁰ Liubomyr Vynar, “Halyts'ka doba zhyttia Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho 1894–1914,” *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, IV, 1–2 (New York and Munich, 1967), pp. 5–22; Liubomyr Vynar, “Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi iak holova Naukovoho tov. im. Shevchenka,” *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, VI, 1–3 (New York and Munich, 1973), pp. 5–46; Liubomyr Vynar, *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i Naukove Tovarystvo im. Tarasa Shevchenka 1892–1930* (Munich: Dniprova khvyliia, 1970).

See also the more general Liubomyr Vynar, “Zhyttia i naukova diial'nist' Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho,” *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, III, 1–2 (New York and Munich, 1966), pp. 15–31.

²¹¹ Kryrylo Studyns'kyi, “Zv''iazky Oleksandra Konys'koho z Halychynoiu v rr. 1862–1866,” *Zapysky NTSh*, CL (L'viv, 1929), pp. 271–338; M. Vozniak, “Zv''iazky Pavla Arsenovycha Hrabovs'koho z Zakhidnoi-Ukrainoiu,” *Naukovi zapysky LDU*, III: *Seriia filolohichna*, 3 (L'viv, 1946), pp. 3–71; M. Vozniak, “Do zv''iazkiv M. M. Kotsiubyns'koho z Halychynoiu,” *Zapysky istor. ta filol. fakul'tetiv LU*, I (L'viv, 1940), pp. 149–202; Myron Korduba, “Zv''iazky V. Antonovycha z Halychynoiu,” *Ukraina*, V, 5 [30] (Kiev, 1928), pp. 33–78.

²¹² Mykhailo Vozniak, “Z lystuvannia Ivana Nechui-Levyts'koho z Halychanamy,” *Zapysky Istorychnoi sekti VUAN*, XXVI (Kiev, 1927), pp. 97–133. Included is correspondence with the Galicians Ivan Belei, Volodymyr Lukych-Levyts'kyi, Ivan Franko, Nataliia Kobryns'ka, and Volodymyr Barvins'kyi.

brethren living within the Habsburg Empire. As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century the territorial acquisition of eastern Galicia had become a foreign policy goal of the tsarist empire. Russia's actual activity in Galicia between 1848 and 1914 took the form of moral and sometimes financial support for Old Ruthenian and later Russophile leaders and their publications as well as encouragement of the Orthodox movement either directly or via immigrants who returned from the United States.

There are several general studies on the early stages of Russian Pan-Slavism and its relations with Slavs living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as a volume containing letters from local leaders, including several Galician Old Ruthenians, to Mikhail F. Raevskii (1811–1884), an Orthodox priest at the Russian Embassy in Vienna who served as tsarist liaison to Slavs in Austria-Hungary.²¹³ As for Galicia in particular, Fedir Savchenko has described Russian support for the newspaper *Slovo* (L'viv, 1861–88).²¹⁴ There is also much important data in biographies of Adol'f Dobrians'kyi (1817–1901), the Russophile leader from Subcarpathian Rus' who, together with his daughter Olga Grabar (the mother of the famous art historian and painter Igor Grabar), was a defendant at a treason trial held in L'viv in 1882 at which the defendants were acquitted, but which embarrassed the Old Ruthenian movement sufficiently to end not only the "Russian connection" but its general effectiveness in Galician cultural life as well.²¹⁵

The second stage of Russian relations with Galician Russophiles

²¹³ Mieczysław Tanty, "Kontakty rosyjskich komitetów słowiańskich ze słowianami z Austro-Węgier (1868–1875)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, LXXI, 1 (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 59–77; V. Matula and I.V. Churkina, eds., *Zarubezhnye Slaviane i Rossiia: dokumenty arkhiva M. F. Raevskogo 40-80 gody XIX veka* (Moscow: Izd. Nauka, 1975). Included is correspondence from Bohdan Didyts'kyi, Ivan Holovats'kyi, and Ivan Hushalevych.

²¹⁴ Fedir Savchenko, "Sprava pro shchorichnu, taiemnu subsydiu l'vivskomu 'Slovu,'" *Zapysky NTSh*, CL (L'viv, 1929), pp. 391–404.

²¹⁵ F.F. Aristov, *Karpato-russkie pisateli*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1916; 2nd rev. ed., Bridgeport, Conn.: Karpatho-Russian Literary Association, 1977), pp. 145–233; Stepan Dobosh, *Adol'f Ivanovich Dobrianskii: ocherk zhizni i dieiatel'nosti* (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1956).

For correspondence from this period among Dobrians'kyi, Ivan Naumovych, and Russian leaders, see I.S. Svientsitskii, *Materialy po istorii vozrozhdeniia Karpatskoi Rusi*, Vol. II (L'viv, 1909), pp. 94–104.

occurred during the two decades preceding the outbreak of World War I and is less well studied. There is some polemical material on the Orthodox movement in Galicia,²¹⁶ reports on the activity of the Galician-Russian Benevolent Society (*Galitsko-russkoe Blagotvoritel'noe Obshchestvo*) in St. Petersburg,²¹⁷ and a brief study of Galicians at the Kiev *Gymnasium* who were later to play a leading role in the Russophile movement in Galicia.²¹⁸

World War I

The last phase of Austrian rule in Galicia began in August 1914, with the outbreak of World War I. It ended four years later with the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in October 1918. From the outset of hostilities, Galicia, especially its eastern, Ukrainian-inhabited half, was a theater for military operations. After a brief advance onto Russian territory, the Austro-Hungarian army led by Field Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf (1852–1925) was turned back by a series of swift Russian victories that began on August 5; one month later the tsarist armies reached the San River and the well-defended walls of Przemyśl. During their rapid retreat, Habsburg troops, especially the Hungarian *Honvéds*, took revenge upon many inhabitants whom they considered to be Russian spies. Several hundred people—both local Russophiles and Ukrainophiles, Orthodox and Greek Catholics—were summarily shot, hanged, or herded off to concentration camps, the most infamous being Talerhof, near Graz, in Styria.

Militarily in control of eastern Galicia, the Russian government installed a civilian administration headed by Count Georgii Bobrinskii, who immediately cooperated with local Russophiles, including Semen Bendasiuk (1877–1965) and Volodymyr Dudykevych (1861–1922), and pro-Russian Poles, including Professor Stanisław Grabski (1871–1949) and Count Leon Piniński (1857–1938). Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions were closed, plans were made to

²¹⁶ Mykhail Sharych, *Bratskii priviet brat'iam i sestram karpatorussam, zhivushchim v predielakh karpatskikh gor i v Amerikie* (St. Petersburg, 1893); V.A. Bobrinskii, *Prazhskii s'iezd: Chekhiiia i Prikarpatkaia Rus'* (St. Petersburg, 1909).

²¹⁷ *Otchet o dieiatel'nosti Galitsko-russkago Blagotvoritel'nago Obshchestva v S.-Peterburgie za 1912 god* (St. Petersburg, 1913); . . . *za 1913–1914 god* (St. Petersburg, 1914).

²¹⁸ F.I. Svistun, "Galitskie urozhentsi—uchiteli pervoi kievskoi gimnazii," *Viestnik 'Narodnago Doma'*, XXIX (VII), 7–8 (L'viv, 1911), pp. 132–140.

dismantle the Greek Catholic Church, and several leaders, including Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, were arrested and deported to Russia. Those Ukrainians who managed to flee westward before the Russian advance settled in refugee camps, the largest of which was at Gmünd in Upper Austria. The tsarist army captured Przemyśl in March 1915 and advanced even farther westward into Galicia as far as Gorlice and Tarnów on the Dunajec River. Finally, an Austrian counteroffensive (with German help) began in May 1915. Within a month the Russian government was driven out of L'viv and the tsarist army was pushed back, so that it managed to retain only the far eastern section of Galicia, south of Ternopil' between the Seret and Zbruch Rivers. The rest of Galicia remained under the control of an Austrian military and civilian administration until November 1, 1918. The Russians held most of eastern Galicia again briefly during the offensive led by General Aleksei Brusilov (1853–1926) in the summer of 1916, but by the fall of that year they were driven back to the region around Ternopil', which they were finally forced to abandon in July 1917.

During the war years, Galician Ukrainian leaders set up new inter-party political organizations in Vienna. The first of these, the Supreme Ukrainian Council (Holovna Ukraïns'ka Rada), within a week of its establishment on August 1, 1914, united the Ukrainian units in the Austrian army into a military formation known as the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi). This unit fought within the Austrian ranks against the tsarist army on the eastern front. The Supreme Ukrainian Council cooperated with the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny), also founded in Vienna in August by Ukrainians from the Russian Empire.

Eventually, two factions arose among the Galician Ukrainians, both of which were in basic agreement as to ultimate goals but not as to tactics. The General Ukrainian Council (Zahal'na Ukraïns'ka Rada, f. May 5, 1915) led by parliamentarian Kost' Levyts'kyi (1859–1941) supported the idea of an independent state for Dnieper Ukrainians in the Russian Empire but called only for national autonomy for Galicia within Austria. The other faction, the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation led by Ievhen Petrushevych (1863–1940) and supported by the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, was after 1916 less conciliatory toward the Austrians and demanded the separation of Galicia and a guarantee of Ukrainian autonomy even before hostilities ceased. The imperial Habsburg government made some

token concessions but never fulfilled the basic demands of either Ukrainian faction. By 1918, when the end of the war was in sight and it was clear that Austria was to be on the losing side, Ukrainian leaders met in L'viv on October 19, stated their intention to declare an independent western Ukrainian state (comprising northern Bukovina and northeastern Hungary as well as eastern Galicia), and carried out that intention after the break-up of the Habsburg Empire less than two weeks later.

There are no general histories that deal competently with all aspects of Galicia (political, socioeconomic, cultural, military) during the years of World War I. One of the best surveys is still the four-volume historical memoir of Kost' Levyts'kyi, three volumes of which deal with events up to March 1918, the fourth concerns the crucial changes in the attitudes of Galician Ukrainian leaders between March and October of that year. Although useful, Levyts'kyi's works are basically memoirs of a Ukrainophile politician in Vienna where most of the action in his narrative takes place.²¹⁹ The Soviet Marxist writer V. K. Osechyns'kyi has also written surveys focusing more on events in Galicia during this period; he uses sources from local archives and the contemporary press but his aim is basically to be highly critical of all the actors in the drama: local Poles, Ukrainophiles, Russophiles, the Austrian government, the Greek Catholic Church, and the reactionary tsarist military machine and civil administration.²²⁰

Since it is from the period 1914–1915 that the real animosity and deep-seated hatred between Galician Ukrainophiles and Russophiles derives, it is not surprising that several accounts of the Russian occupation, most of which were written during the war years, are

²¹⁹ See Levyts'kyi's *Istoriia vyzvol'nykh zmahan'* and *Velykyi zryv*, above, note 35.

See also the diary of another Ukrainian parliamentarian in Vienna and member of the General Ukrainian Council, Ievhen Olesnyts'kyi, *Storinky z moho zhyttia [1914–1917]*, 2 vols. (L'viv: Dilo, 1935).

²²⁰ V.K. Osechinskii, *Galichina pod gnetom Avstro-Vengrii v roky pervoi mirovoi voiny* (L'viv, 1949); V.K. Osechyns'kyi, "Avstriis'kyi viis'kovo-politseis'kyi teror v Halychyni pid chas pershoi svitovoi viiny," *Naukovi zapysky LDU*, XLIII: *Seriia istorychna*, 6 (L'viv, 1957), pp. 65–91.

See also Jurij Křížek, "Ukrajinská a polská otázka v Haliči na začátku první světové války," *Historia a vojenství*, no. 3 (Prague, 1970), pp. 319–345.

highly polemical in nature. The Ukrainophile viewpoint, best represented by Ivan Petrovych, stresses the degree to which Ukrainians suffered under Russian occupation.²²¹ The Russophile view considers the tsarist army to be liberators who, however briefly, restored the "true Russian" character of the land. They have given particular attention to the "Talerhof martyrs," loyal patriots who suffered for their nation.²²² As might be expected, both the Ukrainophiles and Russophiles, in an effort to discredit their opponents, accuse each other of duplicity and cooperation with the Austrians, Russians, or local Poles.

The Polish view of 1914–1915, best expressed in a contemporary account by Feliks Przysiecki and Józef Białina Chołodecki, tries to explain in a larger Polish context the reason why some local Poles, influenced by their countrymen in the Congress Kingdom (Roman Dmowski among others), found it necessary to cooperate with the Russian administration.²²³ Soviet writers are highly critical of a policy

²²¹ Ivan Petrovych, *Halychyna pidchas rosiis'koï okupatsii: serpen' 1914-cherven' 1915* (L'viv: Politychna Biblioteka, 1915).

See also Austriacus, *Polnische Russophilen und Massenverhaftungen staatstreuer Ukrainer in Galizien* (Berlin: Carl Kroll, 1915); Bedwin Sands [Rafalovych] *The Russians in Galicia* (New York: Ukrainian National Council, 1916); M.H. Tshelyns'kyi, *Halyts'ki pohromy: trahichna storinka z zhyttia halyts'kykh ukrainsiv v chasy evropeis'koï viiny 1914–1915 rr.* (Cleveland: Robitnyk, 1917); and the memoirs of the Dnieper Ukrainian Dmytro Doroshenko, who served with the Russian government in Galicia, *Moi spomyny pro nedavnie mynule (1914–1918)*, Vol. I: *Halyts'ka ruina, 1914–1917* (L'viv: Chervona Kalyna, 1923—reprinted in Munich: Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo, 1969).

²²² A. Cholovskii, *L'vov vo vremena russkago vladychestva* (Petrograd?, 1915); *Talergofskii al'manakh: propamiataia kniga avstriiskikh zhestokostei, izuvierstv i nasilii nad karpato-russkim narodom vo vremena vseмирnoi voyny 1914–1917 gg.*, 4 vols. (L'viv: Talergofskii Komitet, 1924–32)—reprinted with additions as *Voennye prestupleniia Gabsburgskoi monarkhii 1914–1917 gg.: Galitskaia golgofa* (Trumbull, Conn.: Peter S. Hardy, 1964). The supplemented reprint also includes an essay by Bohdan Svitlynskii, "Avstro-Uhorshchyna i Talerhof," 39 p.

On Galician-Ukrainian refugees in Gmünd, Upper Austria, see V. Makovs'kyi, *Gmind, tabir ukrains'kykh zbihtsiv i vyhnantsiv u chasy svitovoi viiny 1914–1918 rr.* (L'viv, 1935).

²²³ Feliks Przysiecki, *Rzady rosyjskie w Galicyi wschodniej* (Piotrków: Wyd. 'Wiadomości Polskich', 1915); Józef Białina Chołodecki, *Lwów w czasie okupacji rosyjskiej (3 września 1914–22 czerwca 1915)*, Wschód, Vol. IV (L'viv, 1930).

See also Stanisław Rossowski, *Lwów podczas inwazyi* (L'viv: H. Altenberg, 1917)

that they believe strove to preserve the interests of local Polish aristocratic and bourgeois exploiters.²²⁴ Some documents and studies on Russian policy toward the Greek Catholic Church and descriptions of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi as "prisoner of the tsar" between 1914 and 1917 are also available.²²⁵ As for Ukrainian political action carried on mostly from Vienna, the account of Kost' Levyts'kyi can be supplemented by a collection of decrees by the General Ukrainian Council between 1915 and 1917 and by political pamphlets demanding the division of Galicia and the "recreation" of the medieval Galician-Volhynian state under the Habsburg throne.²²⁶ The German scholar Helga Grebing has outlined the changes in policy of the Austrian government toward Galician Ukrainians during the war in the light of Vienna's relations to Germany, the Polish question, and the aspirations of Dnieper Ukrainians for an independent state.²²⁷

As for military developments, there exists an extensive literature on campaigns in the region during World War I, including the Battle of Galicia (August 5–September 11, 1914), the Austro-German counteroffensive against the Russians (May–June 1915), and the

and Bohdan Janusz, *293 dni rządów rosyjskich w Lwowie* (3. IX. 1914–22. VI. 1915) (L'viv and Warsaw: Bernard Poloniecki – Gebethner i Wolff, 1915).

²²⁴ I.I. Bieliakovich, "Polityka pol's'kykh burzhuažno-pomishchyts'kykh diiachiv Skhidnoi Halychyny (VIII.1914–VII.1915)," *Visnyk LDU: Seriiia istorychna*, IV (L'viv, 1967), pp. 44–53. See also above, note 220.

²²⁵ See the top secret report by the head of the Russian gendarmerie in L'viv (dated 17.I.1915) in S. Iefremov, "Do istorii 'halyts'koï ruiny' 1914–1915 rr.," *Ukraina*, I, 4 (Kiev, 1924), pp. 127–144; and a Russian report on the goals to destroy the Greek Catholic Church (dated 24.III.1915) in Mykhailo Kornylovych, "Plany 'vozsoiedyneniia halyts'kykh uniiativ' v 1914–1915 rr.," *Ukraina*, I, 4 (Kiev, 1924), pp. 144–152.

See also D. Doroshenko, "The Uniat Church in Galicia (1914–17)," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XII [36] (London, 1934), pp. 622–627; and *Tsars'kyi viazen', 1914–1917* (L'viv: Komitet 'Zhyvoho pamiatnyka', 1918).

²²⁶ *Zvidomlenie Zahal'no-ukraïns'koï kul'turnoi rady* (vid b. liutoho 1915 do zhovtnia 1917 r.) (L'viv: Zahal'no-ukraïns'ka kul'turna rada, 1917); Michael Lozynskyj, *Wiederherstellung des Königreiches Halysch-Wolodymyr: Galizien und das ukrainische Problem in Osterreich* (L'viv, 1918).

See also the manifesto of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation: *Die österreichische Politik gegen die Ruthenen: Ein Appell an die öffentliche Meinung Österreichs* (Vienna, 1914); and other contemporary pamphlets on the need for a separate Ukrainian province in Galicia—cf. above, note 87.

²²⁷ Helga Grebing, "Österreich-Ungarn und die 'Ukrainische Aktion' 1914–18," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F., VII, 3 (Munich, 1959), pp. 270–296.

short-lived Russian offensive of General Brusilov (June 5–September 1, 1916). These events are covered in great detail in general Austrian and Russian military histories of World War I;²²⁸ in the memoirs of the leading protagonists—the Austrian Field Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf and the Russian general Aleksei Brusilov;²²⁹ and in studies of individual battles—L'viv (August 21–September 11, 1914),²³⁰ San (September 1914),²³¹ Gorlice (May 1915),²³² Horodok-L'viv (June 1915),²³³ and Luts'k (June 1916).²³⁴

²²⁸ *Osterreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg 1914–1918*, 7 vols. in 15 (Vienna: Vlg. der militärwissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen, 1930–38), esp. Vols. I, II, IV; A.M. Zaionchkovskii, *Mirovaia voina 1914–1918 gg.*, 3 vols. (3rd ed., Moscow: Voenizdat, 1938–39), esp. Vol. I.

See also the chapters on Galicia (1914) and the Brusilov offensive (1916) in Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front 1914–1917* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), and in the memoir-like account of the journalist Stanley Washburn, *Field Notes from the Russian Front* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1915), and his *The Russian Offensive* (London: Constable and Co., 1917); studies of the 1914 campaign in N. Auffenberg-Komarow, *Aus Osterreich-Ungarns Teilnahme am Weltkriege* (Berlin and Vienna: Vlg. Ullstein, 1920) and N.N. Golovin, *Iz istorii kampanii 1914 goda na russkom frontie*, Vol. III: *Galitsiiskaia bitva* (Paris: Rodnik, 1930); and of the 1915 Russian retreat in Mikhail D. Bonch-Bruевич, *Poteria nami Galitsii v 1915 godu*, 2 vols., Trudy Voenno-istoricheskoi komissii, Vol. I (Moscow, 1920–26) and Hans Niemann, *Die Befreiung Galiziens* (2nd ed., Berlin: Ernst Siegfried, 1916).

²²⁹ Feldmarschall Conrad, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906–1918*, 5 vols. in 8 (Vienna, Leipzig, and Munich, 1922–25), esp. Vols. IV and V; A.A. Brusilov, *Moi vospominaniia* (Riga: Mir, 1929)—French translation: A.A. Brouilov, *Mémoires* (Paris: Hachette, 1929)—English translation: *A Soldier's Notebook 1914–1918* (London: Macmillan, 1930).

See also the memoirs of an Austro-Hungarian officer on the 1914 Galician battle: Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, *Trois mois de campagne en Galicie* (Paris and Neuchâtel: Attinger frères, 1927?).

²³⁰ Max Freiherr von Pitreich, *Lemberg 1914* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, 1929).

²³¹ *Kämpfe am San*, Der grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen, Vol. XXII (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1918).

²³² V. François, *Gorlice 1915: Der Karpathendurchbruch und die Befreiung von Galizien* (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1922); Leonhard von Rothkirch, *Gorlice-Tarnow*, Der grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen, Vol. XXI (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1918); *Gorlitskaia operatsiia: sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1941).

²³³ Müller-Brandenburg, *Die Schlacht bei Grodek-Lemberg (Juni 1915)*, Der grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen, Vol. XXIV (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1918).

²³⁴ Max Schönowsch-Schönwies and August Angenetter, *Luck: Der russische Durch-*

The history of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen within the Habsburg army has also been traced from its beginnings as a paramilitary organization in March 1913 to its participation in Carpathian Mountain battles (September 1914) and the Brusilov offensive (Summer 1916) until its incorporation into the Ukrainian Galician Army (November 1918). The best works on the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen are by Osyp Dumin and Stepan Ripets'kyi, who have written histories of the unit and edited collections of articles, documents, and biographies of its leading participants.²³⁵

bruch im Juni 1916 (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1919); E. Messner, *Lutskii proryv* (New York: Vseslavianskoe izd., 1968).

²³⁵ Osyp Dumin, *Istoriia Liegionu Ukraïns'kykh Sichovykh Stril'tsiv 1914–1918* (L'viv: Chervona Kalyna, 1936); Stepan Ripets'kyi, *Ukraïns'ke Sichove Striletsvo: vyzvol'na ideia i zbroinyi chyn* (New York: Vyd. Chervona Kalyna, 1956); Stepan Ripets'kyi, *Za voliu Ukraïny: istorychnyi zbirnyk USS: v 50-littia zbroinoho vsytupu Ukraïns'kykh Sichovykh Stril'tsiv proty Moskvy 1914–1964* (New York: Hoiovna Uprava Bratstva USS, 1967).

See also the earlier general history: Bohdan Hnatkevych, "Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi," in Ivan Kryp'iakevych and Bohdan Hnatkevych, eds., *Istoriia Ukraïns'koho viis'ka* (L'viv: Ivan Tyktor, 1936—reprinted Winnipeg, 1953), pp. 293–356; a collection of essays: *Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi 1914–1920* (L'viv: Vyd. Ihora Fediva, 1935; 2nd ed., L'viv, 1936; 3rd rev. ed., Montreal, 1955); and the memoirs by the first commander of the unit, Mykhailo Halushchyns'kyi, *Z Ukraïns'kymy Sichovymy Stril'tsiamy: spomyny z rr. 1914–1915* (L'viv: Dilo, 1934), and by a prominent contemporary journalist, Osyp Nazaruk, *Slidamy Ukraïns'kykh Sichovykh Stril'tsiv* (L'viv: Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1916—reprinted New York: Howerla, 1975).

List of Contributors

Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak is Professor in the Department of History at Manhattanville College.

Peter Brock is Professor in the Department of History at the University of Toronto.

Leila P. Everett has been a Research Associate of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

John-Paul Himka is Visiting Assistant Professor of History at the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta.

Paul R. Magocsi is Associate Professor, Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto.

Andrei S. Markovits is Assistant Professor in the Department of Government at Wesleyan University.

Ezra Mendelsohn is Associate Professor in the Institute of Contemporary Jewry and Russian Studies at the Hebrew University.

Ivan L. Rudnytsky is Professor in the Department of History at the University of Alberta.

Leonid Rudnytzky is Professor of German and Slavic literatures at La Salle College.

Frank E. Sysyn is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Harvard University.

Piotr Wandycz is Professor in the Department of History at Yale University.

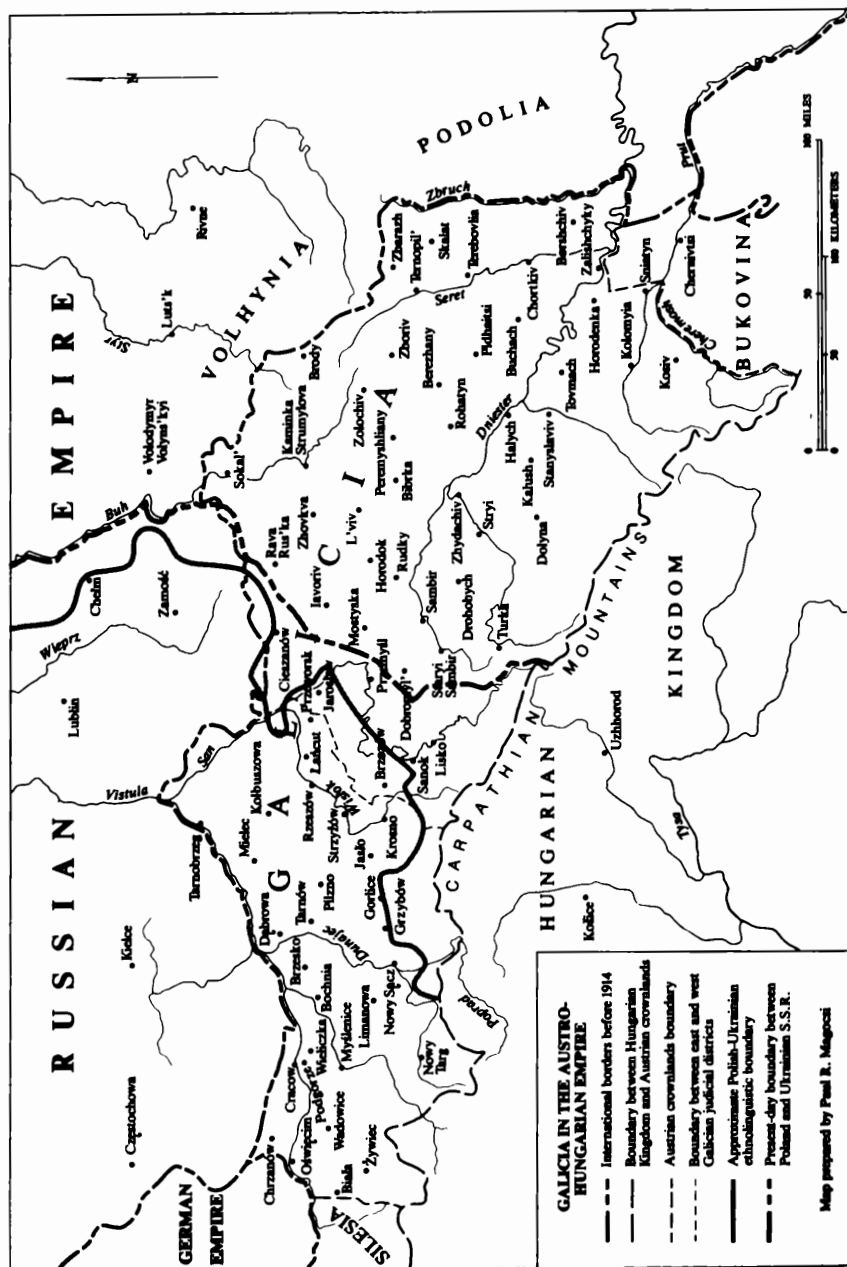


Table of Major Place Names

Ukrainian	Polish	German	Yiddish
Belz	Bełz	Belz	Belz
Berezhany	Brzeżany	Brzezany	Berezhn
Bolekhiv	Bolechów	Bolechow	Bolekhov
Boryslav	Borysław	Borislau	Borislav
Brody	Brody	Brody	Brod
Buchach	Buczacz	Buczacz	Buchach
Chernivtsi	Czerniowce	Czernowitz	Czernowitz
Chortkiv	Czortków	Czortkow	Chortkov
Drohobych	Drohobycz	Drohobycz	Drohobich
Halych	Halicz	Halicz	Halich
Horodok	Gródek (Jagielloński)	Grodek	Grodek
Iaroslav	Jarosław	Jaroslau	Yaroslav
Iavoriv	Jaworów	Jaworow	Yavorov
Kalush	Kałusz	Kalusz	Kalish
Kaminka	Kamionka	Kamionka	Kamenke
Strumylova	Strumiłowa		
Kolomyia	Kołomyja	Kolomea	Kolomay
L'viv	Lwów	Lemberg	Lemberg
Peremyshl'	Przemyśl	Przemysl	Pshemishl
Pidhaitsi	Podhajce	Podhajce	Podhayts
Rava Rus'ka	Rawa Ruska	Rawaruska	Rava-Ruska
Riashiv	Rzeszów	Rzeszow	Zheshov
Sambir	Sambor	Sambor	Sambor
Sokal	Sokal	Sokal	Sokal
Stanyslaviv*	Stanisławów	Stanislau	Stanislav

*In 1962, Stanislav (the Soviet Ukrainian version of the historic name) was renamed Ivano-Frankiv'sk.

Ukrainian	Polish	German	Yiddish
Stryi	Stryj	Stryj	Stri
Terebovlia	Trembowla	Trembola	Trembovla
Ternopil'	Tarnopol	Tarnopol	Tarnopol
Zbarazh	Zbaraż	Zbaraz	Zbarazh
Zboriv	Zborów	Zborow	Zborov
Zhovkva**	Żółkiew	Zolkiew	Zolkva
Zolochiv	Złoczów	Zloczow	Zlochov

**In 1951, Zhovkva was renamed Nesterov.

Index

- Abrahamowicz family, 152
- Absolutism, 4
 - of Austrian state, 3, 5, 6, 10, 37, 38n32, 72, 89, 251, (decline of) 14, 15, 89
 - neoabsolutist era, 35, 81, 262, 273
 - Russian, 33
- Academy of Arts and Sciences (Akademia Umiejętności), 85. *See also* Education
- Adler, Viktor, 162n37, 251, 253n22
- Agricultural Society, 75
- Agriculture, 52, 54, 75, 87, 149
 - and agrarian strikes, 53, 60, 88, 153, 166, 271, 282
 - changes in (and effect on class structure), 15
 - domination of, by landed aristocracy, 2*See also* Peasantry
- Akademichne Bratstvo (student society), 295. *See also* Youth/student movements.
- Alcoholism, 52, 154
 - campaigns against, 155, 168, 191–192, 194
- Alphabet(s). *see* Language
- Andrusiak, Mykola, 288
- Anhelovych, Metropolitan Antin, 26
- Anti-Semitism, *see* Jews, the
- Antonovych, Volodymyr, 57–58, 312
- Arbeiterinnenzeitung* (Viennese periodical), 217
- Aristocracy, 7–10 *passim*
 - alliance of, with Church and throne, 2, 5–6*See also* Austrian/Habsburg Empire
- Armenians: in Galicia, polonization of, 38n32
- Army (Austrian), 244, 250–251, 314, 315
 - as element of Austrian state, 3, 5, 9, 69
 - Galicia as manpower source for, 72, 73
 - Galician military units formed, (1848) 31, 268, 271, (1914) 66, 257, 315, 320*See also* World War I
- Arndt, Ernst Moritz, 220
- Artisan associations (1870s), 178–195
- Askenzi, Tobias, 108n52
- Assembly of Ruthenian Scholars (Sobor Rus'kykh Uchenykh), 31, 43, 233, 268
- Association of the Polish People (underground movement), 29, 119–120
- Austrian/Habsburg Empire, 51, 236, 313, 315, 318
 - a-national quality of, 10
 - bureaucracy as embodiment of, 5 (*see also* Bureaucracy)
 - and the Church, 2, 5–6, 25–26, 112
 - decline and dissolution of, 1–2, 6, 36, 45, 314, 316
 - defeated in Italian war (1859), 35, 82
 - Eastward expansion of, 1–2, 13–16, 23–26
 - education under *see* Education
 - Franko's view of, 239–254
 - Galicia annexed by, 13–14, 23–24, 68, 70, 72, 112
 - and Galician autonomy, *see* Autonomy
 - guilds abolished by, 180
 - Jewish loyalty to, 96, 98, 172
 - and language, 131, 146, 221, 229, 234 (*see also* Language)
 - modernization in 2, 4–5, 7–8, 11, 15,

- 102 (*see also* Education; Industrialization)
- Poland in, 68–93 (*see also* Poland)
- Polish loyalty to, 71, 81–92 *passim*
- Polish-Ukrainian relations as administrative weapon of, 16, 71, 75–79, 81, 83, 91–92, 261, 269–270
- Polish-Ukrainian unity against, 136, 138, 147–148
- serfdom abolished by, *see* Serfdom
- socialism and nationalism as threat to, 3, 8–10, 12–13
- Ukrainian loyalty to, 25, 36, 45, 47, 48, 76, 245
- Ukrainian representation in, *see* Reichsrat (Austrian parliament); Reichstag
- in World War I, 314–320
- See also* Austro-Hungarian Empire (Dual Monarchy); Constitutional monarchy
- Austro-Hungarian Empire (Dual Monarchy), 222
- Austro-Marxism in, 11–12
- formation of (Austro-Hungarian Compromise, *Ausgleich*, 1867), 3, 6, 8, 13, 36, 45, 83–86 *passim*, 98
- Franko's view of, 239–254
- Galicia breaks away from, 68
- Russia and, *see* Russia
- Ukrainian population in, 23
- in World War I, 66, 314–320
- Austro-Marxism, 11–12. *See also* Marxism
- Austro-Prussian war, 2, 6, 36, 45
- Autonomy, 136, 150, 160, 275, 315
- cultural, 273, (rejected) 148
- Habsburg recognition of, 8, 15, 72, 89, 93
- Jewish, 162–163, 166, 168
- Polish demand for, 30, 80, 82, 84–86, 153, 183–184
- “relative,” of modern state, 7
- of “Ruthenia,” 119
- Auty, Robert, 222
- “Awakeners,” 28, 30
- Bach, Alexander von, 81, 82
- Bachyns'kyi, Iulian, 280, 283–284, 310
- Bachyns'kyi, Lev, 59
- Badeni, Count Kazimierz, 57, 58, 69, 88, 248
- Bahr, Hermann, 253n22
- Baran, Stepan, 294, 307
- Baranowski, Mieczyslaw, 293
- Barvins'kyi, Oleksander, 47, 49, 58, 216, 262, 278, 289
- Barvins'kyi, Volodymyr, 47, 48, 49
- Bauer, Otto, 11
- Bazhans'ka, Olesia, 216
- Beiser, Dr. Moyses, 98n10
- Belcredi, Count Richard, 84
- Belei, Ivan, 209
- Belorussia, 143, 208
- and Belorussian language, 131, 147
- Bendasiuk, Semen, 235, 314
- Ber Meisels, Rabbi (of Cracow), 97n9
- Besieda* (L'viv periodical), 235
- Beust, Count Friedrich Ferdinand von, 36
- Bielowski, August, 145n83, 228
- Bierer, Reuvan, 99n17
- Bilen'kyi, Iaroslav, 294
- Biliński, Leon, 69, 263
- Birnbaum, Nathan, 163, 175
- Bismarck, Prince Otto von, 8
- Bloch, Joseph, 157
- Bobrinskii, Count Georgii, 314
- Bobrzyński, Michal, 64, 263
- Bodians'kyi, Osyp, 28, 309
- Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Martha, 270
- Bohemia, 1, 13, 14, 180, 285
- Boikos (Galician people) 122n23
- Borkovs'kyi, Oleksander, 237, 311
- Borkowski, Count Leszek, 41
- Borysykevych, Ivan, 47
- Bourgeoisie
- emergence of, under Habsburgs, 2, 6, 9, 224
- and nationalism, 9, 13
- Braude, Markus, 175
- Brazil: Ukrainian emigration to, 53, 247–248
- Brecht, Bertolt, 250
- Broch, Hermann, 239
- Brusilov, General Aleksei, 315, 319, 320
- Bryk, Ivan, 272, 290
- Buber, Martin, 253n22
- Buchyns'ka Sofiia, 209
- Buchyns'kyi, Meliton, 311
- Buckle, Henry Thomas: *History of Civilization*, 197–198

- Bujak, Franciszek, 267, 280
- Bukovina, 13, 61, 122, 153, 162, 175, 270, 316
- German culture in, 13, 98–99n14
- language in, 111, 234
- Ukrainian population in, 23, 222, 234
- Bureaucracy, 9, 13, 14, 28, 69, 72–73, 136
- centralization of, 3–6 *passim*, 10, 92, 273, (abandoned) 6, 15
- discrimination against Jews in, 155, 165
- as embodiment of modern state, 4, 5
- Franko on, 244, 251–252
- Ukrainian alliance with, 137
- Buzek, Józef, 266, 293
- Byk, Emil, 99n16, 156, 157, 162, 169, 170
- Byzantine liturgy: "Old Ruthenian" insistence on use of, 44
- Canada: emigration to, 53, 283. *See also* Emigration
- Capitalism, 7, 11, 68, 72
- Jews identified with, 166–167
- Caro, Leopold, 282
- Catholicism, 110, 149n2
- under Habsburgs, 2, 5–6, 25–26, 112
- and Uniate Church, 25, 26, 112
- See also* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; Roman Catholic Church
- Censorship, *see* Press, the
- Centralism, 36, 83, 89, 153, 156, 172, 183
- Centralization, *see* Bureaucracy
- Central Ruthenian Council, *see* Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada)
- Charles VI (emperor), 5
- "Charta Leopoldina" (1790), 74
- Chernyshevskii, Nikolai, 199
- What is to be done*, 200
- Chłędowski, Kazimierz, 263
- Chodakowski, Zorian Dołęga (Adam Czarnocki), 115–116
- Cholodecki, Józef Białynia, 317
- Christian Socialist party, 60, 153, 155, 168
- Church, the, *see* Religion
- Church Slavonic, *see* Language
- Cięglewicz, Kasper, 120, 139, 143
- Cisleithania, 88
- Colonization attempts (Galicia), 69
- Congress of Ruthenian Scholars, *see* Assembly of Ruthenian Scholars (Sobor Rus'kykh Uchenykh)
- Congress of Vienna, 74
- Conscience collective, 4, 9
- conservative party, 150–151, 177
- Conservatives and conservatism, 43, 71, 75, 78, 82–86 *passim*, 90, 135, 139, 270
- "Cracow school" of, 41, 83, 87–88, 277
- "enlightened," 31
- "Old Ruthenians" as, 36 (*see also* "Old Ruthenians")
- and women's movement, 205, 207, 215
- Constitutional monarchy, 6, 14, 68, 72, 142
- and constitutional experiments, 34–35, 36, 74, 82, 85, 89–90, 144, 146, 274–275
- and constitutional liberties, 37, 49, 136, 138
- Cooperative movement, 54, 154n13, 155, 166, 188, 203n12, 280, 282
- Corvée, *see* Peasantry
- Cossacks, the, 47, 55, 126, 142
- struggle for political independence by, 26
- wars of, 40, 164
- Covenant of Brothers (*Przymierze braci*), 100, 101, 102, 106–110
- Cracow, Republic of, 13, 34
- Cracow, University of, 85
- "Cracow school," *see* Conservatives and conservatism
- Credits unions, 54, 75, 153, 155, 182, 282
- Croats, the, 131, 221, 227
- and 1847 riots, 78
- Cultural activities
- and cultural autonomy, 148, 273
- and cultural organizations, 31, 43, 185, 232, 233, 268, 272, 287, 288–289, 314
- history of, 287–305
- prohibited in Russia, 51, 236, 287, 314
- See also* Artisan associations; Education; Folklore; Language; Literature; Press, the; Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society
- Cyrillic alphabet, *see* Language
- Czajkowska, Jadwiga, 218

- Czarnocki, Adam, 115–116
 Czartoryski, Prince Adam, 40, 272
 Czechs, the, 13, 65, 69, 124, 161, 162
 culture of, 99n14, 230
 and Czech national movement, 28, 159, 221
 and Czech women, 215n41, 218–219
 and language, 130, 229
 -Polish relations, 70, 78, 82, 84
 Slovaks, Silesians and Moravians unite with, 40, 120n19
 -Ukrainian relations, 28, 31–33, 84, 115, 218–219, 258, 269, 272–273, 307–308
 writings of, on Galicia, 258
 and "Young Czech" parliamentary club, 170
 Czerkawski, Euzebiusz, 295
 Czolowski, Alexander, 267
- Dąbcański, Anton, 228
 Dabrowski, General Jan, 74
 Danilak, Michal, 270
 Darowski, Mieczysław, 101n23
 Dashkevych, Iaroslav, 257
 Daszyński, Ignacy, 162
 Dei, Oleksa, 290
 Demkovych-Dobrians'kyi, Mykhailo, 262
 Democratic Society (Polish émigré), 135
 Democrats and democratization/democracy, 49, 57, 61, 86, 88–89, 90, 120, 139, 140
 democratic nationalism/federalism, 59, 67, 80, 83–84
 Polish, 31, 119, 129, 137, 139, 141
 Diamand, Hermann, 100, 175
 Didyts'kyi, Bohdan, 43, 231, 262, 300
Dilo (The Deed) (Ukrainian daily), 48, 86n34, 165, 169, 173, 205, 208, 209, 215
 Dmowski, Roman, 317
Dnewnyk Ruskij (Ruthenian Daily), 34, 141, 144, 147, 229, 268
 Dnistrrians'kyi, Stanislav, 265
 Doboszyński, Józef, 263
 Dobrians'kyi, Adol'f, 48, 313
 Dobrians'kyi, Reverend Antin, 299
 Dobrovský, Josef, 129, 220, 230, 233
- Doroshenko, Volodymyr, 67
 Drahomanov, Mykhailo, 57, 86n34, 133, 185n23, 262, 288, 308
 "Austro-Hungarian memoirs" of, 310
 influence of, 56, 59, 192n39, 200, 203, 208, 263, 309–311
 quoted, 50, 186n27, 212n30
Druh (L'viv "progressive" newspaper), 290
 Druzhnyi Lykhviar (student society), 295
 Dual Monarchy, *see* Austro-Hungarian Empire
 Dubs, Marcus, 98n10
 Duchymins'ka Ol'ha, 200–201n8, 203
 Dudykevych Volodymyr, 63, 314
 Dulczewski, Zygmunt, 294
 Dumin, Osyp, 430
 Dunajewski, Julian, 69
 Dunin-Borkowski Count Józef, 129, 130n32
 Durkheim, Emile, 4
 Dymet, Mykhailo, 185n23, 191n36
 Dzieduszycki, Count Maurycy, 145
 Dzieduszycki, Count Włodzimierz, 139
 Dzieduszycki family, 152
Dzvin (L'viv "progressive" newspaper), 290
- Eastern religious tradition, 39, 57
 and Eastern Rite, 56, 227
 See also Orthodox Church
 Economic development, 53–54
 and economic exploitation, 72–74, 87, 91, 92, 262
 under Habsburg rule, 2, 5, 6–7, 8, 14, 65, 149
 under Polish rule, 52, 92–93
 and socioeconomic developments, studies of, 280–287
 Edict of Toleration, 15
 Education
 adult, Prosvita Society for, *see* Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society
 artisan associations and, 182, 183
 bibliographic guide to history of, 292–295
 of clergy, 26, 112–113, 198, 206
 compulsory, as factor in nationalism, 8

- and Dnieper Ukraine-Galicia relations, 50
- germanization of, 37, 74, 81, 85, 98
- under Habsburgs, 8, 9, 15, 16, 37, 42, 74, 91, 113, 138, 141, 226, 287, 292–295
- Jewish schools established, 102
- language and, 113, 141–146 *passim*, 154, 198, 227, 233, 234, 273, 292 (see also germanization of, *above*; polonization of, *below*; Language)
- and literacy/illiteracy, 8, 15, 16, 52, 112, 131, 207
- of peasantry, 119, 120, 198, 203, 206, 207
- polonization of, 37, 85, 99, 151, 154, 198 (see also Language, Polish)
- Populist efforts for, 47–48, 58
- and rise of intelligentsia, 47, 56, 65, 95, 99, 116, 119, 225, 291
- of Ukrainians vs. Poles, 39–40, 42, 65
- Ukrainian university proposed, 57, 62–63, 65, 294
- for women, 198, 199, 200, 204n14, 205, 206, 209, 210, 213–219 *passim*
- See also Kiev University; L'viv University
- Ekonomist* (periodical), 166
- Elections, 31, 37n31, 60, 65, 85, 156, 158
 - administrative abuse in, 58, 88, 150–153, 157, 167, 170, 175, 176, 248, 278
 - and electoral reforms, 61, 151, 153, 161, 169, 172, 278, (Diet, 1914) 32, 61–62, 64–65, 89
 - Zionism and (in 1907), 164–177
 - See also Political participation
- Emigration, 53, 217, 247–248, 280, 282, 298
 - and returned immigrants, 313
 - studies of, 283–284
- Engels, Friedrich, 196n1, 199
- England, 9, 204
- Enlightenment, the, 5
 - and Enlightened Despotism, 3, 68, 73, (impact of) 23–26, 112
 - Jewish tradition of, 95–97, 99n15, 100, 102, 106
- Enlightenment Society, see Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society
- Erben, Karel Jaromir, 308
- Estreicher, Karol 256
- Ethnicity
 - and ethnic intermingling, 38–39
 - and pan-slavism, see Slavs, the
- Ethnography
 - appearance of scholars in field of, 27, 115, 119, 228
 - bibliographic guide to history of, 297–298
 - See also Folklore
- February Patent, 82
- Federalism, 67, 80, 82, 83, 84, 89
- Feldman, Wilhelm, 101–110, 168
- Feminism, see Women
- Ferdinand (emperor), 243–244
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 220
- Finkel, Ludwik, 257
- Fishman, Joshua, 222
- Folklore, 27, 28
 - collectors of, 40, 55, 115–127 *passim*, 198, 203
- France, 9, 24
 - and French Revolution, 5–6, 72, 74
- Francis II (emperor), 6
- Francis Joseph (emperor), 91, 239, 244, 273
- Franko, Ivan, 25, 41, 42, 50, 51–52, 55, 56, 87, 128–129, 256n1, 296, 308, 310
 - and feminist movement, 200–212 *passim*, 215n41
 - image of Austria in writings of, 239–254 *passim*
 - and language, 223, 224, 235, 236–237, 274
 - and radical/socialist movement, 49, 59, 167, 286, 300
 - Soviet recognition of, 258–259, 301–302
- Freund, Fritz, 277
- Fylevych, Ivan, 223, 224, 262
- Gabel (candidate in 1907 election), 175, 177n90
- Gaj (Croat linguist), 221

- Galicianin* (L'viv periodical), 235
- Galicia and Lodomeria, Kingdom of
 Austrian acquisition of (1772), 13–14, 23–24, 68, 70, 72, 112
 Austrian Empire rule of, *see* Austrian/Habsburg Empire
 autonomy of, *see* Autonomy
 and Battle of Galicia (1914), 318
 -Dnieper Ukraine relations 50–51, 224, 236, 237, 238, 309–312
 as “Piedmont” of Ukraine, 16, 51, 70, 280
 Poland and, *see* Poland and Galicia
 Russia and, *see* Russia
 Soviet “liberation” of (1939), 261
 Galician (provincial) Diet (*Sejm*), 41, 52, 60, 88, 89, 153, 183, 231, 263, 294
 demands for, 82
 Dual Monarchy and, 84–85, 86
 first meets (1861), 35, 274
 Jewish representation in, 156, 165, 166, 169
 “Old Ruthenian” control of, 47
 Polish preponderance in, 36–37, 62, 65, 151–152
 records of, 264, 275, 276, 277
 reform of electoral law for, 32, 61–62, 64–65, 89
 Russophile decline in, 63
 Ukrainophiles in, 58–59
- Galician Estates, 75
- “Galician Resolution” (1868), 85
- Galician-Russian Benevolent Society, 314
- Galician-Ruthenian Cultural Society
 (*Halytsko-ruskaia Matytsa*), 185, 232, 268, 272, 288
- Galicia-Volhynia, 13, 24, 318
- Gartner, Fedor, 234
- Gautch administration, 169
- General Ukrainian Council (*Zahal'na Ukraïns'ka Rada*), 315, 318
- Germanization, 143
 administrative, 73, 89, 91, 95, 97
 of Galician Jews, 15, 95
 of schools and universities, 37, 74, 81, 85, 98
- Germany, 204, 318
- under Bismarck, 8
- in Czech lands and Upper Silesia, 65
- and Germans in Austrian Empire, 10, 83, 90, 92, 218, (Galicia) 35, 36, 38n32, 69, 150n3, 188
- Habsburg decline in German states, 1–2, 6, 36
- and Jewish nationality (opposition to), 162
- Jewish orientation toward culture of, 13, 95–98, 156, 159, 164
- language of, *see* Germanization; Language, German
- nationalism in, 9
- Ukrainian emigration to, 53
- Glinka, Luigi 306
- Gogol, Nikolai, 43, 199, 297
- Gold (National Democrat in 1907 election), 175
- Goldman, Bernard, 98, 100n19
- Golos naroda* (L'viv periodical), 235
- Gofuchowski, Count Agenor, 35, 44, 81, 82, 90, 91, 229, 243–244, 273–274
- Gofuchowski brothers, 69
- Grabar, Igor, 313
- Grabar, Olga, 313
- Grabski, Stanislaw, 314
- Grebing, Helga, 318
- Grech, N. I., 131
- Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, 38, 149n2, 201, 316
- and anticlericalism, 47, 56, 57, 59, 138, 205
- bibliographic guide to history of, 305–307
- and clerical influence on artisan associations, 190–195
- Habsburgs and, 14, 24, 86, 91
- intellectual growth and literacy within, 27–29, 112–113
- vis-à-vis “Latin” Church, 25–26, 33, 39, 40, 44, 79, 112, 227
- liturgical language position of, 43–44, 113, 118, 126, 127–128, 133
- political leadership by, 25–26, 59, 136, 140, 176, 268, 305–306
- polonization of clergy of, 112
- power of, curtailed, 73

- private schools run by, 292
 and "ritualist movement," 44
 Russian suppression of, 26, 315
 Ukrainian identification with, 39, 40
 as Ukrainian national church, 26, 37
 and Ukrainian national movement, 43–44, 47, 48, 49, 56–57
 Vahylevych and, 139, 144–146
 Vienna Seminary for, 295
 in World War I, 314, 315, 318
- Grillparzer, Franz, 3
- Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm, 220
- Grocholski, Kazimierz, 69
- Gross (candidate in 1907 election), 175
- Grzybowski, Konstanty 167
- Guilds, 248
 abolition of, 180
 Ukrainians barred from, 187
See also Artisan associations
- Gwiazda (Star) (Polish artisan association), 183–184, 185–186, 188, 189, 192, 194
- Gymnastic and sport associations (Sokil, Sich), *see* Youth/student movements
- Habsburg dynasty, *see* Austrian/Habsburg Empire
- Hahn, Sigmund, 277
- Halytsko-ruskaia Matytsa, *see* Galician-Ruthenian Cultural Society
- Hammerstein, General (leads attack on L'viv), 144
- Hamorak, Anna, 203
- Handelsman, Marcell, 272
- Harasevych, Mykhailo, 27
- Haugen, Einar, 222
- Havlíček, Karel, 28
- Hebbel, Friedrich, 240
- Heine, Heinrich, 244
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 115, 220
- Himka, John-Paul, 306
- Hirszenberg, Samuel, 105n38
- Hnatiuk, Volodymyr, 259, 305
- Hoffmanowa, Clementine, 197
- Hohenwart, Count Karl, 85
- Holovats'kyi, Iakiv, 127, 129, 266, 308, 309
 quoted, 29, 118, 121, 221
 in Ruthenian Triad, 27–28, 44, 114–118 *passim*, 123, 128, 233, 298
- Holovna Rus'ka Rada, *see* Supreme Ruthenian Council
- Holovna Ukraïns'ka Rada, *see* Supreme Ukrainian Council
- Holy Roman Empire, 1–2
- Hönigsmann, Oswald, 98n10
- Hordyns'kyi, Iaroslav, 262
- Hornowa, Elzbieta, 308
- Horoszkiewicz, Julian, 139
- Horowitz (defeated candidate, 1907 election) 175
- Hostička, Vladimir, 272
- Hotzendorf, Field Marshal Conrad von, 314, 319
- Hrab, Pavlo, 216n46
- Hrabovs'kyi, Pavlo, 312
- Hrinchenko, Borys 236, 237
- Hroch, Miroslav, 178–179
- Hromads'kyi druh* (L'viv "progressive" newspaper), 290
- Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo, 55–56, 58, 59, 67, 280, 302, 311–312
History of the Ukraine-Rus', 55
- Hrushevs'kyi, Oleksander, 311
- Hulak-Artemovs'kyi, Petro, 237
- Humeniuk, Mykhailo, 260
- Hungary, 13, 36, 131, 270, 316
 censorship in, 27
 and Dual Monarchy, 3, 61, 84, 85 (*see also* Austro-Hungarian Empire)
 under Habsburg rule, 1, 2, 6, 13, 14, 31
 Magyar nationalism in, 13, 31
 Polish relations with, 70, 78, 80, 89
 in revolution (1848), 31, 78, 80, 89, 271, 273
 Ukrainians in, 23, 111, 222, 234
 World War I troops (*Honvéds*) of, 314
- Hushalevych, Reverend Ivan, 231, 299
- Hutsuls (Galician mountaineers), 122n23, 271
- Huzar, Reverend Dmytro, 193, 194
- Iakhymovych, Bishop Hryhorii, 30, 31, 136, 140, 306
- Iasynchuk, Lev, 293
- Iavors'kyi, Iuliian, 235, 311

- Iefremov, Serhii, 262, 302
 Ihnatiienko, Varfolomii, 255
 Il'nyts'kyi, Reverend Vasyl', 302
 Independent Socialist party, 151n4
 Industrialization
 beginning of, 5, 14–15, 73–74
 and the Jews, 154–155, 167, 285
 and rise of bourgeoisie (in Bohemia), 13
 slow progress/lack of, 52, 87, 91, 180, 191
 studies of, 280, 285
 women, and 214–215
 Industrial revolution, 72
 Ioltukhovs'kyi, Oleksander Skoropys', 67
 Islam: struggle against, 26
 Ireland: Galicia compared to, 65
 Italy, 3, 9, 78, 80
 defeats Austrian Empire (1859), 35

 Jahn, Friedrich, 220
 Jewish National party, 171, 173
 Jewish Socialist party (Z.P.S.), 172.
 See also Socialist party
 Jews, the, 285
 and anti-Semitism, 88, 107–108, 109n54,
 155–160 *passim*, 163n39, 164–171
 passim, 176, 214
 assimilation of, 15, 94–110, 156–159
 passim, 162–165 *passim*, 169, 170, 174
 migration of, 14, 155
 national autonomy sought by, 161–163,
 166–177 *passim* (*see also* Zionism)
 orientation of, toward German culture,
 13, 95–98, 156, 159, 164
 Orthodox, 95, 101, 103, 156, 157, 174
 political emergence of, 154–177
 population statistics, 38, 94, 97n8, 149,
 150, 154, 155, 221
 religious toleration of, 5, 15, 90
 represented in Vienna Reichsrat, 61,
 150, 157, 161–163, 165–166, 169–
 170, 175
 Jireček, Josef, 229, 274n69
 Joseph II (emperor), 3, 15, 24–25, 69, 91,
 112, 113, 226
 and Josephinian reforms, 5–6, 26, 31,
 72, 73, 74, 243

 Julian calendar: "Old Ruthenian" insist-
 ence on, 44
 Jungmann (Czech linguist), 221

 Kachala, Rev. Stefan, 47, 191, 207, 278
 Kachkovs'kyi, Mykhailo, 299
 Kachkovs'kyi Society, 288
 Kahn, Leopold, 171n71
 Kalinka, Reverend Walerian, 40, 73n10
 Kálnoky, Count Gustav von, 57
 Kapushchak, Ivan, 33
 Karadžić, Vuk, 118, 221
 Kel'siev, Vasilii, 263
 Khvan'ko (Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi), 236
 Kieniewicz, Stefan, 260
 Kiev: as Ruthenian capital, 133
 Kiev University, 50, 57
 Kobryns'ka-Ozarkevych, Natalia, 196–219,
 304, 311
 Kobryns'kyi, Teofil', 199–200, 201
 Kobylians'ka, Ol'ha, 210nn26, 27
 Kohn, Hans, 220
 Kokorudz, Illia, 237
 Kolischer (candidate in 1907 election), 175
 Kolodziejczyk, Edmund, 257
 Kononenko, Musii (Shkolychenko), 236
 Konys'kyi, Oleksander, 312
 Kopitar, Jernej, 221, 230, 233
 Korolevs'kyi, Kyrylo, 307
 Kosachevskaia, Evdokiia, 270
 Kościuszko, Thaddeus, 74, 97, 105n42
 Kotliarevs'kyi, Ivan, 115
 Kotsiubyns'kyi, Mykhailo, 312
 Koval'chak, Hryhorii, 285
 Kozik, Jan, 270
 Kravchenko, Uliana (Iuliia Shneider), 205,
 210n26, 304
 Kravets', Mykola, 259, 281, 285
 Krevets'kyi, Ivan, 270, 290
 Kryms'kyi, Ahatanhel (Khvan'ko), 236
 Krytyka (Polish journal), 110
 Kulish, Panteleimon, 237, 311
 Kvitka, Hryhorii, 237
 Kyrchiv, Roman, 298
 Kysilevs'ka, Olena, 219

 Labor
 and agrarian/peasant strikes, 53, 60, 88,
 153, 166, 271, 282

- eight-hour day voted by miners (1894), 213
 migrant, 53
 and strikes by Jewish workers, 160
 and trade union movement, 60
See also Peasantry; Working class
 Labor Zionists (Poale Zion), *see* Zionism
 Land Bank (Ukrainian, 1908), 54
 Land ownership, *see* Property
 Language, 149n2, 220–238
 and “alphabet war,” 44, 113–114, 121, 126, 227–230, 233, 237–238, 274, 291, (Cyrillic), 44, 133, 121, 126, 227, 229, 230, 238, (Latin) 44, 114, 227, 228–229, 274, 276, (Old Slavonic) 113, 122, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, (Serbian), 118
 Belorussian, 131, 147
 bibliographic guide to history of, 291
 Church Slavonic, 43–44, 113, 118, 126–127, 231, 233, 291
 Czech, 130, 229
 Hebrew, 106, 159n27, 170
 lingua franca, 4, 9
 “Little Russian,” 129–130, 134, 146, 147, 231 (*see also* Language, Ukrainian)
 macaronic/jargon (*iazychiie*), 44, 63, 113–114, 126, 150n2, 224, 232, 236, 291
 Ruthenian, 226, 230 (*see also* Language, Ukrainian)
 Slavono-Rusyn, 226, 230, 231–233, 234, 235, 238 (*see also* Language, Ukrainian)
 standard literary, *see* Language, Ukrainian
 and two-language theory, 231, 232–233
 Yiddish, 94n2, 95, 99n15, 102, 106, 150n2, 154, 158, 161n32, 162, 170
 Language, German, 1, 94, 96n5, 100n19, 149n2, 158
 administrative, 9, 113, 276
 in education, 117, 273, 292
 in macaronic language, 44, 130–131, 237
 See also Germanization
 Language, Polish, 44, 94, 124, 125, 131, 149n2, 225, 226, 228–229, 237, 276
 administrative, 37, 113
 dominance of, 26, 129, 187
 in education, 85, 99, 143, 198, 215, 227, 273, 292
 equal status demanded for, 42
 Jewish use of, 106, 109, 157, 158
 literary, 40, 120, 129
 opposition to use of, 43, 215, 227
 Language, Russian, 124, 226
 literary, 43–44, 45, 63, 235, 238, 291, 297
 in macaronic language, 44, 113
 Ukrainian difference from/likeness to, 125, 126, 131, 147, 227, 231–234
 Language, Ukrainian, 32, 94, 111, 115, 124–127, 136, 146–147, 148, 149n2, 173n76, 187, 276
 bibliographic guide to study of, 274
 the clergy and, 112–113
 demand for, 42, 138, 154, 203, 218, 233
 first newspaper in, 31
 grammars and dictionaries, 114, 129–132, 134, 145, 227, 230, 234, 237
 and *iazychiie*, 44, 63, 113–114, 126, 224, 232, 236, 291
 outlawed in Russia, 236
 Poltava dialect of, 51, 237, 291
 in schools and universities, 37, 58, 62, 113, 116, 141–142, 146, 198n4, 292, 294 (*see also* Education)
 “South Ruthenian”/“Little Russian,” 129–132, 134, 146, 147
 standard literary, 43, 45, 51, 81, 143, 224, 237, 287, 291
 three main dialects of, 131
 vernacular (“peasant”) and controversy over, 27–28, 29, 43, 46, 113–114, 117–132 *passim*, 140–142, 146, 221, 224, 226, 232–238, 291, 296
 Latin alphabet, *see* Language
 “Latin” Church, *see* Roman Catholic Church
 Lavrivs’kyi, Iuliiian, 47, 87
 Lemberg, *see* L’viv
 Leninism, 286
 Leontovych, Reverend Pavlo, 303
 Leopold II (emperor), 6, 25
 Lev, Vasil’, 223, 224, 291

- Levyns'kyi, Volodymyr, 286
 Levyts'kyi, Iosyf, 27, 114, 131, 227, 228
 Levyts'kyi, Ivan E., 255–256, 260, 303
 Levyts'kyi, Kost', 59, 66, 176n89, 262, 275, 277, 315, 316, 318
 Levyts'kyi, Metropolitan Mykhailo, 28, 113, 227
 Levyts'kyi, Volodymyr, 261
 Liberalism, 6, 10, 30, 43, 92, 207, 215
 defeat of (1848–49), 143
 and German liberals in Austrian state, 83, 159
 Polish, 129, 135, 139
 Lieberman (Social Democrat in 1907 election), 175
 Literacy, *see* Education
 Literature, 138
 bibliographic guide to, 296–307
 modern Ukrainian, beginning of, 27–29, 125
 national, need for, 40, 141–142, 148
 Polish, Ukrainian School in, 116
 Russian, impact of, 297
 stereotypes in, 40
 for and by women, 202–203, 206–207, 208–210, 211, 216, 217
 See also Folklore; Language; Press, the
Literaturno-naukovi vistnyk (Literary and Scholarly Messenger) (monthly), 56
 Lithuania, 137, 143, 208
 "Little Russians," *see* Ruthenians
 Loewenstein, Nathan, 100n19
 Lokietek, Józef, 227
 Lomonosov, Mikhail, 232
 Losun (Ivan Verkhtrats'kyi), 237
 Lowenstein (candidate in 1907 election), 175
 Loziński, Bronisław, 273
 Lozyns'kyi, Iosyf, 27, 228
 Lozyns'kyi, Mykhailo, 261, 279
 Lubomirski, Prince Jerzy, 145
 Lueger, Karl, 214
 Lutheran Church, 145
 L'viv, 15, 38, 119
 artisans and artisan associations in, 187–194
 bombardment of, 79, 144, 271–272
 demonstrations in, 183, 184
 encyclopedia survey of, 267
 Jewish assimilation in, 94–110
 statistical guides for, 265
 L'viv Theological Seminary, 27, 29, 295
 L'viv University, 44, 55, 58, 62, 67, 113, 117, 294–295, 312
 polonization of, 37, 85, 198
 student protests at, 63, 203
Lyteraturnyi sbornyk (publication), 232
 Lytvynovych, Metropolitan Spyrydon, 306
 Maciejowski, W. A., 134
 Magocsi, Paul R., 291
 Magyars, *see* Hungary
 Mahler (candidate in 1907 election), 175
 Makovei, Osyp, 223, 224, 236–237, 304, 311
 Maksymenko, Fedir P., 257
 Maksymovych, Mykhailo, 28, 115, 118, 125, 230n22
 Makukh, Ivan, 59
 Malanchuk, Vyktoriia, 297
 Malkin, Viktor, 297
 Margulies (Jewish delegate to Vienna), 171n71
 Maria Theresa (empress), 5, 24, 25, 69, 70, 112, 226
 Markov, Osyp A., 235, 297
 Marxism, 10, 11, 59, 60, 72, 106, 161n32, 224
 and Marxist historical view, 76, 81, 260, 261, 280, 286, 290, 316
 Masurians (ethnically Polish peasants), 40
 Melenevs'kyi, Markiiian, 67
 Mendelssohn, Moses, 95, 97
Meta (L'viv periodical), 234
 Metternich, Clemens von, 74, 76, 140
 Mickiewicz, Adam, 97, 156
 Mill, John Stuart: *On the Subjugation of Women*, 200
 Modernization: of Austrian state, 2, 4–5, 6–8, 11, 15, 102. *See also* Education; Industrialization
 Mohyl'nyts'kyi, Reverend Antin, 299
 Mohyl'nyts'kyi, Ivan, 27, 114, 227, 230
Molor (L'viv "progressive" newspaper), 290
 Monchalovs'kyi, Osyp, 235

- Moravia and Moravians, 40, 78, 120n19, 268
- Moroz, Mykhailo, 258
- Mozdzeń, Stefan, 293–294
- Multinational society, *see* State
- Muscophiles, *see* Russophiles
- Nadiia (Hope) (artisan association), 181, 190, 191, 192, 194
- Nahirnyi, Vasyi', 263
- Napoleon Bonaparte, 2, 26
- Napoleonic wars, 24, 72, 111
- Narod* (Radical party organ), 216
- Narodovtsi*, *see* Populist movement
- Nasha dolia* (Our fate) (anthology of women's writings), 211, 212n30, 214, 216, 217
- Nation
- building, in Austrian Empire, 3, 11, 15, 16
 - conservative view of, 87
 - as "expressive" entity, 3–4
 - state dichotomy, 3
 - as synonymous term for state, 9
- See also* State
- National Council (Rada Narodowa), 30, 79, 135–137
- Ruthenian Assembly merges with, 144
- National Democratic party, 61, 66, 153, 162, 168, 175
- formed, 59–60, 279
 - nationalist spirit of, 88, 90, 177
- National Guard (Ruthenian), 31, 271
- "National Home" (L'viv), 47, 235n34, 288
- Nationalism
- and denationalization, 115, 187 (*see also* Germanization; Poland)
 - development of, 8–13, 15, 82, 87
 - ethnic intermingling vs., 38–39
 - German, 159
 - Jewish, *see* Jews, the; Zionism
 - language and, 220–238 (*see also* Language)
 - and national identity, 7, 141 (*see also* Nationalism, Ukrainian)
 - opposing schools of thought (within Austro-Marxists) on, 11–12
 - religious allegiance and, 39, 40, 71
 - and socialism, Kobryns'ka and, 200
- Nationalism, Polish, 114, 115–116, 119–121, 128, 143, 144, 177
- under Habsburgs, 16, 68–93
 - Jewish identification with, 100, 101, 107
- See also* Poland
- Nationalism, Ukrainian, 42–48, 57, 97n8, 288, 310
- and anti-Polish sentiments, 165 (*see also* Poland)
 - artisan associations and (1870s), 178–195
 - defeat of, 143
 - educational/political reforms and, 16, 31–34, 120
 - growth and revival of, 153, 178
 - Habsburg role in, 16
 - language and, 130–133, 140, 221
 - and literature, 27–30, 118, 141–142
 - and national name, 23, 51, 111, 218n54, 221
 - petition for recognition of identity, 30
 - Polish view of, 29, 39–41, 86, 119
 - radicals and, 49–51, 86–87
 - religious affiliation and, 39, 40, 71
 - and "separatism," 44, 50, 67, 224, 261, 288
 - Russian threat to, 46, 63
 - Vahylevych and, 111–148
- Nauka* (publication), 232
- Naukovyi* (later *Lyteraturnyi*) *sborynk* (publication), 232
- Naumovych, Reverend Ivan, 48, 187, 231, 232, 244, 245, 300
- Navrots'kyi, Volodymyr, 303, 310–311
- Nechui-Levyts'kyi, Ivan, 236, 237, 312
- Netherlands: Austrian, loss of, 13
- "New Era" (Polish-Ukrainian compromise attempts, 1890–94), 57–59, 64.
- See also* Poland and Galicia
- Newspapers, *see* Press, the
- Nossig, Alfred, 100, 108, 109
- Nossig-Próchnikowa, Felicja, 218
- Nychai, Emiliia, 205, 209
- Nyva* (L'viv periodical), 234
- October Diploma, 82, 84, 90

- Oesterreichische Statistik*, 264
- Ohonovs'kyi, Oleksander, 47, 191n36
- Ohonovs'kyi, Reverend Omelian, 47, 210, 234, 296, 303, 310
- Ojczyzna* (Fatherland) (Jewish-Polish journal), 100n19, 108
- Okhrymovych, Volodymyr, 265, 304–305
- Okinshevych, Lev, 282
- Okunevs'ka, Emilia and Natalia, 203
- Okunevs'ka, Sofiia, 210
- Okunevs'ka, Teofiliia, 197
- Okunevs'kyi, Teofil', 59, 310
- "Old Ruthenians" ("St. George Circle"), 36, 86, 87, 244–247 *passim*, 288, 297, 310
- the clergy and, 56, 135, 268
- and language, 43–44, 45, 225–226, 230n22, 232, 235, 237, 238
- as Populists/Ukrainophiles, 49, 225
- Russian support for, 313
- Russophilism of, 45–46, 47, 48, 63, 225–226
- writings of, 298–299
- Old Slavonic alphabet, *see* Language
- Olesnyts'kyi, Ievhen, 59, 263
- Orthodox Church, 187
- Russian, 29, 48, 313–314
- in the Ukraine, russification of, 26
- See also* Eastern religious tradition
- Orthodox Jewry, *see* Jews, the
- Osadtsa, Mykhailo, 234
- Osechyns'kyi, Volodymyr, 261, 281, 316
- Osnova* (journal), 234
- Ostaszewski-Barański, Konstantin, 267, 274
- Ottoman Empire and the Turks, 1, 2, 91, 142
- Ozarkevych, Reverend Ivan, 197, 199, 218
- Ozarkevych, Volodymyr, 201
- Palacký, František, 32, 34
- Pan'kivs'kyi, Kost', 303–304, 311
- Partys'kyi, Omelian, 47, 234
- Pashaeva, Nina, 256, 272
- Pauli, Žegota, 119
- Pavlyk, Anna and Paraskeviia, 205
- Pavlyk, Mykhailo, 49, 59, 224, 286, 303, 310
- and Kobryns'ka, 202–208, 211–212, 216
- Pchilka, Olena, 203, 210
- Peasantry, 16
- agrarian strikes by, 53, 60, 88, 153, 166, 271, 282
- anti-Semitism of, 155–156, 176
- census data on, 265
- concern for, 57, 120, 168, 203, 214–215
- and *corvée*, 24, 31, 33, 53
- and cultural unity, 114, 115, 121 (*see also* Folklore)
- education of, 119, 120, 198, 203, 206, 207
- emancipation of, 79, 91 (*see also* Serfdom)
- emigration of, *see* Emigration
- under Habsburgs, 2, 5, 8, 15, 24, 73, 243–249, 262
- "hereditary tenancy" of, 24, 31, 33
- jacquerie* of (1846), 75–78
- landlord relationship, 5, 8, 16, 81, 91, 154, 155, 167, 281–282
- land ownership by, 24, 53–54, 200, 281–282
- and national movement, 9, 188
- "Old Ruthenian" paternalism toward, 36
- and "peasant politicians," 59
- vs. Polish gentry, 69, 71, 75–76, 77–78, 81, 86, 91
- Polish vs. Ukrainian, 52
- political power/weakness of, 10, 52, 86, 88, 90, 112, 224
- representation of, 151–153 (*see also* Political participation)
- rural artisan associations of, 188–195
- in Russia, 29
- "Ruthenian" as synonym for, 39
- socioeconomic studies of, 280–283
- in the Tyrol, Habsburg reliance on, 13
- See also* Agriculture
- Peel, Sir Robert, 31
- Pelesh, Bishop Iuliiian, 209
- Perl, Anna, 217
- Pershyy vinok* (The First Wreath) (anthology of women's writings), 210, 216
- Petrovych, Ivan, 317
- Petrushevych, Reverend Antin, 231, 232, 259, 299
- Petrushevych, Ievhen, 59, 315
- Piniński, Count Leon, 63, 314

- Pilushch, Pavlo P., 223, 224
 Ploshchans'kyi, Venedykt, 244, 245
 Pobratym (Blood Brother) (artisan association), 181–191, 193, 194
 Podolecki, Jan Kanty, 137
 Podolyns'kyi, Serhii, 190–191
 Podolyns'kyi, Reverend Vasyl' (Basyli Podoliński), 136n65
 Pogodin, M. P., 123–124, 127, 134
 Poland
 Congress kingdom, 29–30, 63, 74, 78, 317–318
 in Habsburg monarchy, 68–93 (*see also* Austrian/Habsburg Empire)
 as "historical" Polish state, 42, 208, 272
 Partitions of, 69, 72, 80, 83, 86, 91, 92, (First, 1772), 13–16, 23–24, 70, 119, (Second, 1793), 25, (Third, 1795) 72
 and Polish-Russian pact (1908), 63
 and polonization, 77, 87, (of Germans) 38n32, 69, (of Jews) 15, 99, 169, 171, (and Polonophiles) 128, 222, 225, 226, 229, (of schools and universities) 37, 85, 99, 151, 154, 198, (of Ukrainian intellectuals/upper class) 34, 41, 56, 112, 139, 306
 Prussian/German, 71, 78, 86, 92
 Russian, 86, 92, 149, (1863 uprising in) 83, 98, 309
 women activists of, 218
 in World War I, 317–318
 See also Language, Polish; Nationalism, Polish
 Poland and Galicia, 29–32, 34, 68–71
 and anti-Polish sentiments, 26, 28, 29–30, 44, 46, 53, 129, 165, 168, 244, 270
 Austro-Polish compromise (1867) and, 35–36
 cultural influence, 14–15, 26, 86, 154, 197
 Jewish community, 94–102 *passim*, 106–110 *passim*, 154–177
 Polish/Austro-Polish control of, 49, 58, 94, 142, 183, (and alphabet/language), 223, 229, 273, (the clergy under) 56–57, (economy/exploitation under) 52, 54, 150–155, 244, 261, 281, (the Jews and) 156–158, 173, (power structure of) 36–37, 64–65, 69–71, 85–86, 91, 150–152, 157, 173, (studies of) 223, 261, 267, 269–270
 and Polish-Ukrainian relations, (alliance considered against Russia) 41, 57–58, 61, 143, 147–148, 272, (as Austrian administrative weapon) 16, 71, 75–79, 81, 83, 91–92, 261, 269–270, (and compromise/"New Era") 32, 57–59, 64, (1848 revolution and) 34, 78–79, (the Jews and) 107, 159, (nature of) 38–42, (political struggles) 60–65, 86–88, 135–143, 153, (studies of) 262, 272, 277–278
 Polish writings on, 256–258, 260, 275
 polonization in, *see* Poland
 vs. Russia, 28, 42–48, 72, 77, 80, 84, 272
 Polians'kyi, Vasyl', 203
 Police regime and actions, 27, 60, 75, 81, 90, 118, 121, 244, 249
 and election abuses, 157, 167, 170
 Polish Jewish Organization, 175
 Polish Peasant party, 41
 Polish Socialist party (P.P.S.), 172.
See also Socialist party
 Political participation
 curial system, *see* Reichsrat (Austrian parliament)
 demands for and use of, 6, 31, 37
 under Habsburgs, 6, 8, 10, 15, 31, 85, 92
 by "new working class," 11
 and "peasant politicians," 59 (*see also* Peasantry)
 of Ukrainians, during Dual Monarchy, 36–37, 42, (and two-party system) 59–60
 See also Elections; Galician (provincial) Diet (Sejm); Reichstag; Suffrage
 Pomich (Aid) (artisan association), 181, 182n10, 189–190, 191, 192, 193–194
 Popp, Adelheid, 217
 Population
 Austrian Empire, 23, 233–234
 census data, 264–265
 growth of, 52, 282
 Jewish, 14, 38, 149, 150, 154, 155, 221, (in L'viv) 94, 97n8

- migrant, 53 (*see also* Emigration)
- Polish (in Galicia), 149, 150, 221
- statistics, (1848) 32, (1854) 221, (1869) 188, 190, (1890) 187, (1900) 149–150, 187, 281, (1910) 38, (1911) 221, (pre-World War I) 23
- Populism, 43, 119, 124, 167, 207, 214, 309, 311
- Populist movement (Young Ruthenians, Ukrainophiles, *narodovisi*), 35, 44, 45–48, 49, 58–59, 261, 283, 288–289, 300, 314
- and language, 222, 224, 225–226, 230n22, 233, 235–236, 238, 291
- Russophile hatred arises, 316–317
- Positivism, 49, 198
- Potocki, Count Alfred, 69, 85
- Potocki, Count Andrzej, 60, 63, 88, 280
- Poznań: German-Polish friction in, 69
- Pravda* (The Truth) (Ukrainian journal), 51, 185, 234
- Press, the, 51, 56, 166–169, 173, 189–190
- Austrian, 91, 217, 252, 253
- bibliographic guide to (Ukrainian), 255–256, 290–291
- censorship of, 27, 28, 118, 120, 126, 251, 290
- Czech, 28, 308
- first Ukrainian-language newspapers, 31, 34, 141, 268
- freedom of, 33, 37, 90
- German, 29
- Jewish/Zionist, 100n19, 108, 163–165, 169, 170, 171, 173–174
- and language controversy, 232–234
- “Old Ruthenian,” 47, 235
- Polish, 53, 145, 164, 165, 218
- Populist, 48
- pro-Russian, 45, 48
- Radical, 49
- Ukase of Ems and, 51
- and women’s movement, 205, 216, 218, 219
- See also* entries for individual newspapers and periodicals
- Prikarpatskaia Rus'* (L’viv periodical), 235
- Prokopchuk, Hryhorii, 307
- Propaganda
- Pan-Slavist, 86
- Polish, 29, 166
- “schismatic” Russian, 25
- Russophile, 48, 63
- Zionist, 158, 165
- Property
- and compensation for land (abolition of serfdom and), 33, 81
- expropriation of (by Joseph II), 5
- and landowners, (under Austrian system) 16, 52, 73, 284, (Jews as) 167, (peasants as) 24, 53–54, 200, 281–282, (power of) 151
- and peasant-landlord relationship, 5, 8, 16, 81, 91, 154, 155, 167, 281–282
- and peasants as “hereditary tenants,” 24, 31, 33
- Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society, 47, 54, 185, 192, 199, 207, 234, 257, 289
- Protestantism, 145
- religious toleration of, 5
- Provincial Board (*Landesausschuss*), 64
- Prussia, 251
- Habsburg defeat by, 2, 6, 36, 45
- Jews of, 158
- and Prussian Poland, 71, 78
- and Prussian-Ukrainian “intrigue” against Poles, 40, 53
- Przysiecki, Feliks, 317
- Przyszłość* (The Future) (Zionist journal), 110
- Pushkin, Aleksandr, 232
- Pypin, Aleksandr, 232, 297
- Radetsky, Marshal Joseph, 3
- Radical movement, 49–51, 78, 87, 90
- anticlericalism of, 56, 205
- and women’s movement, 203, 207–208, 212, 215–216
- See also* Youth/student movements
- Radical party, 58–60, 61, 66, 153, 167, 168, 208, 279, 287
- Raevskii, Reverend Mikhail, 45, 313
- and Raevskii circle, 49
- Railroads, 8, 87, 180n5
- Rappaport, Maurycy, 98
- Řehof, František, 308
- Reichsrat (Austrian parliament), 59, 60, 82,

- 86, 156, 197, 245
 curial system of representation in, 6,
 36–37, 64, 85, 88–89, 151–152, 274,
 (abolition sought) 61
 establishment of, 274
 Jewish representation in, 61, 150, 157,
 161–163, 165–166, 169–170, 175
 Polish representation in, 36–37, 64, 69,
 82, 92, 151, 172–173
 stenographic record of, 275–276
 Ukrainian representation in, 37, 47, 61,
 64, 151n4, 165, 172–173, 176, 218,
 275–276, (biographical data on) 277
 Reichstag: Ukrainians in, 31, 32–34, 40,
 268, 269, 273
- Religion
 nationality identified with, 39–40, 71
 power of Church under Habsburgs, 5–6
 and religious toleration, 5, 15, 90
 See also Catholicism: Eastern religious
 tradition: Greek Catholic (Uniate)
 Church: Jews, the: Roman Catholic
 Church
- Renan, Ernest, 199
 Life of Christ, 200
- Renner, Karl, 11
- Revolution(s)
 1830–31, of Congress Poland, 29–30, 74
 1846, (Polish) 29, 31, 34, 77, 78,
 (jacquerie) 75–78
 1848, 30–35, 77, 128, 135, 213, 233,
 287, (Czech-Galician relations during)
 307–308, (Habsburgs and) 6, (the
 Poles in) 78–81, 89, (writings on)
 267–273, 308
 1863 uprising in Russian Poland, 83, 98,
 309
 French, 5–6, 72, 74
 1902 peasant revolt/agrarian strikes, see
 Peasantry
 1905 Russian, 61, 177, 286
- Rieger, František Ladislav, 32, 33
- Ripets'kyi, Stepan, 320
- Rohling, August: *Der Talmudjude*, 157
- Roman Catholic Church, 38, 139, 149n2,
 214
 Greek Catholic Church vis-à-vis, 25–26,
 33, 39, 40, 44, 79, 112, 227
 Polish identification with, 39, 40
 See also Catholicism
- Romanchuk, Iulian, 59, 162, 163, 164n43,
 165, 166, 169, 176n89
- Romanian culture: Jews and, 99n14
- Roshkevych, Mykhailyna, 203
- Roshkevych, Ol'ha, 201
- Roth, Joseph: *Radetzky marsch*, 252
- Rudnytsky, Ivan L., 261
- Rusalka* (L'viv periodical), 234
- Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Nymph of the
 Dniester), 27–28, 125, 233
- Rus'ka Besida (cultural organization), 289
 Theater of, 297
- Russia
 and Austria-Hungary, 14, 57, 66, 74,
 78, 83, 91, 227, 233, 273, 313
 and Galicia, 14, 28, 42–48, 71, 72, 77,
 80, 84, 267, 272, 312–314 (see also
 panslavism in, below)
 Galician Jewry resemblance to Jewry of,
 95
 language of, see Language, Russian
 and "Little Russians," see Ruthenians
 nationalism in, 9, 114–115
 Pan-Slavism in, 45, 86, 236, 313
 vs. Poland, 28, 29, 40, 44, 45, 74, 77,
 80, 84, 91, (Polish-Ukrainian alliance
 considered) 41, 57–58, 61, 143,
 147–148, 272
 and Polish-Russian pact (1908), 63
 reforms in, 199
 and Russophile faction, see Russophiles
 "schismatic" propaganda of, 25
 Ukrainian differences from, 16, 49–50,
 227, 233
 Ukrainians living in, 14, 28–29, 32–33,
 46, 48, 63, 113, 114–115, 234, (cul-
 tural activities prohibited) 51, 236,
 287, 314, (and Ukrainian movement)
 67
 Uniate Church suppressed in, 26, 315
 in World War I, 314–315, 316–319
- Russian National party, 279
- Russian Poland, see Poland
- Russian Revolution (1905), 61, 177, 286
- Russophiles, 35, 54, 138n70, 207, 261,
 278, 288–289, 297, 298 313–314

- and language, 63, 146, 147, 224,
225–226, 230n22, 231, 235–236, 237,
238, 291
- “Old Ruthenians” as, 43–48, 225n11
(*see also* “Old Ruthenians”)
- “Polish,” 309
- in Reichsrat, 61
- trends toward and away from, 49–50, 63,
116, 118n10, 146, 222
- in World War I, 314, 316–317
- Ruthenian Assembly/Council (Rus’kyi
Sobor), 34, 138–140, 142–144, 229,
268, 272
- Ruthenians, 13, 111
- annexation of Galicia and, 14 (*see also*
Galicia)
- and autonomous “Ruthenia,” 119
- “invention” of, 16, 30, 31, 32, 79, 268
- “Little Russians,” 16, 28, 29, 43, 111,
115, 116, 143, (and “Little Russian”
language) 129–130, 134, 146, 147, 231
- national consciousness, of *see* National-
ism, Ukrainian
- national name of, 23, 46, 51, 111,
218n54, 221
- Populist (Young Ruthenians, *narodovtsi*),
see Populist movement
- Russian distinction, 233
- See also* “Old Ruthenians”; Supreme
Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus’ka
Rada); Ukraine and Ukrainians
- “Ruthenian Triad,” 27–28, 40, 44, 46,
118–121, 125–128, 139–140, 148,
233, 298
- Ruthenische Revue* (periodical), 167
- Rzewuski, Count Leon, 137
- Šafařík, P. J., 123, 124, 134
- St. Cyril and Methodius Society, 136n65,
295
- “St. George Circle,” *see* “Old
Ruthenians”
- Sapieha, Prince Adam, 278n83
- Sapieha, Prince Leon, 144–145, 263
- Savchenko, Fedir, 298, 313
- Schalil, Dr. I., 163
- Schmerling, Anton von, 36
- Schnitzler, Arthur, 244
- Leutnant Gustl*, 251
- Schreiber, Rabbi Simon, 157
- Sejm, *see* Galician (provincial) Diet
- Selians’kyi, Reverend Liubomyr, 214
- Sembratovych, Iosyf, 48
- “Separatism,” *see* Nationalism, Ukrainian
- Serbs, the, 221, 227
- and Serbian alphabet, 118 (*see also*
Language)
- Serfdom, 2, 5, 24, 73, 75, 140, 243
- abolition of, 33, 79, 81, 89, 224, 268,
271, 281
- “economic,” 281
- in Russia, 29
- See also* Peasantry
- Sharanevych, Izydor, 259, 300
- Shashkevych, Hryhorii, 33n26
- Shashkevych, Markiiian, 27–28, 30, 33n26,
34, 114–118 *passim*, 123, 128, 228,
233
- quoted, 126
- Shchurat, Vasyi’, 223, 259
- Sheptyts’kyi, Metropolitan Andrei, 54n70,
56–57, 64, 306–307, 315, 318
- Sheptyts’kyi, Bishop Lev, 25
- Shevchenko, Taras, 46, 86n34, 141n77,
237, 296–297, 309
- Shevchenko Scientific Society, 55–56, 234,
289, 312
- Shevchenko Society of L’viv (1873), 51
- Shevelov, George, 224
- Shkolychenko (Musii Kononenko), 236
- Shneider, Iuliia, *see* Kravchenko, Uliana
- Shomer Yisrael (Guardian of Israel), 96,
98–99, 100, 156
- Shymonovych, Ivan, 267
- Sich
- gymnastic/sport association, 55, 66
- student society (Vienna), 201–202, 295
- See also* Youth/student movements
- Sichyns’kyi, Myroslav, 61, 280
- Sienkiewicz, Henryk, 40
- Silesia, 285
- Austrian (Teschen), Polish question in,
70n3
- German-Polish friction in, 69

- Slavs from, unite with Czechs, 40, 120n19
- Upper, German nationality in, 65
- Sil's'kyi Hospodar (The Farmer) (association), 54
- Simenovych-Kisilevs'ka, Olena, 205
- Sirka, Ann, 293
- Slav Congress
- Moscow (1867), 44
- Prague, (1848), 31, 32, 64, 78, 80, 142, 143, 268, 269, 272–273, (1908) 63
- Slavs, the, 33, 45, 82, 89, 115, 120n19, 122–126 *passim*, 134–135n63, 226
- Galician relations with (guide to history of), 307–314 (*see also* Galicia)
- one language for, 231 (*see also* Language)
- and Pan-Slavism, 45, 86, 230, 236, 313
- Slavaks, the, 45, 221
- unite with Czechs, 40, 120n19
- Slovo (The Word) (Old Ruthenian newspaper), 45, 47, 48, 232, 313
- Smal'-Stots'kyi, Stepan, 234
- Smolka, Franciszek, 69–70, 80, 83, 85, 89, 107
- Smolka, Stanislaw, 277
- Smotryts'kyi, Meletii, 230
- Social Democratic party, 60, 61, 66, 161, 171, 174–175, 279
- Polish, 101n21, 151n4, 162, 218, (Jewish and Ruthenian separation from) 160
- women in, 214
- Social Democratic Workers party (Austria), 12
- Socialism, 100, 101, 280, 300
- agrarian, 59
- and antisocialist trials, (Galicia, 1878) 49, 201–202, 207, (Cracow, 1891) 105n43, (Galicia, 1905) 164
- European governments challenged by, 8, 10–12
- Jewish, 161n32, 164, 177
- Kobryns'ka and, 198, 200, 208, 211–213
- of Radical movement, 49, 167, 208
- Ukrainian, writings on, 286
- and women, 196, 208
- Socialist party, 88, 90, 91, 175
- Jewish (Z.P.S.), 172
- Polish (P.P.S.), 172
- Sójka-Zielińska, Katarzyna, 282
- Sokhots'kyi, Izydor, 277
- Soviet Union, 116, 290, 301, 316
- historians/writings from, 138n70, 140n75, 258, 261, 280–281, 296, 297–298, 302, 307, 317
- “liberates” Galicia (1939), 261
- Springer, Anton, 78
- Sreznevs'kyi, Izmail, 28
- Stadion, Count Franz, 30, 31, 35, 40, 78–79, 268
- Stakhiv, Matvii, 261
- Stand, Adolf, 165, 174, 177n92
- Stanyslaviv Society, 205–206, 208–209
- Starukh (candidate in 1907 election), 176n89
- Starvation, 52, 149n1
- State
- absolutism of, 4–5
- building, in Austrian Empire, 3, 11
- as “instrumental” structure, 3
- multinational society within, 7, 9, 70, 97
- See also* Nation
- Stauropigial Institute, 185, 232, 235n34, 288
- Stefanyk, Vasyl', 305
- Stein, Baron Karl von, 31
- Stojałowski, Father Stanislaw, 155
- Storozhenko, Senator A. I., 134
- Straucher, Benno, 162, 170, 171n71
- Strauss, Johann, 242, 252
- Strikes, *see* Labor
- Students, *see* Youth/student movements
- Studium Ruthenum, 113. *See also* Education
- Studyns'kyi, Kyrilo, 223, 224, 259, 291, 298, 308, 311
- Stupnicki, Hipolt, 266
- Štúr, Ludevít, 45, 221
- Stypnyts'kyi, Bishop Ivan, 306
- Suffrage, 6, 8, 10, 15
- and election abuses, 152 (*see also* Elections)
- property requirements for, 183

- reforms sought, 61, 62, 161
 universal male, 88, 89, 171, 172, 177, 205, 274
 for women, 205, 213-214, 218
- Sumarokov, Alexander, 232
- Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada), 142
 formation of, 30-35, 136, 146, 268, (dissolved) 144, 273
 histories of, 269-273 passim
 and language, 229, 233
 and national identity, 42-43
 opposition to, 139-140
- Supreme Ukrainian Council (Holovna Ukraïns'ka Rada), 66, 315
- Sushkevych, Korniylo, 191n36
- Svetla, Karolina, 219
- Svientsits'kyi, Ilarion, 223, 260, 298
- Svientsits'kyi, Pavlyn, 303
- S'vit (L'viv "progressive" newspaper), 290
- Svystun, Pylyp, 223, 224, 235, 261
- Szczepanowski, Stanisław: *Misery of Galicia*, 87
- Szujski, Józef, 277
- Tanchakivs'ka, Evheniia, 203
- Taniachkevych, Danylo, 47
- Tańska-Hoffmanowa, Clementine, 197n3
- Tarnowski, Count Jan Feliks, 122, 123
- Tarnowski, Count Stanisław, 41, 277
- Tax system, 5, 9, 73, 151, 244, 248-249
- Taylor, A. J. P., 88, 90
- Terlets'kyi, Ostap (Ivan Zanevych), 49, 111n1, 184, 201-202, 286
 writings of, 223, 224, 259, 288, 296, 306
- Theater, the, 297
- Thon (Galician Jewish leader), 171n71
- Thun, Count Leo, 221
- Togblat (Jewish daily), 163
- Tolstoy, Leo, 232
- Tomashivs'kyi, Stepan, 260
- Tovarysh (L'viv "progressive" newspaper), 290
- Trade union movement, 60. *See also* Labor
- Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654), 66
- Trusevych, Stepan, 262
- Tryl'ovs'kyi, Kyrylo, 59, 164
- Tsehlins'kyi, Hryhor, 216
- Tselevych, Iuliian, 259
- Turgenev, Ivan, 199, 232
- Turks, the, *see* Ottoman Empire and the Turks
- Tyrol: Habsburg dynasty in, 13
- Ukase of Ems (1876), 51
- Ukraine and Ukrainians
 and Dnieper Ukraine, 41, 55, 222, 263, 287, 288, 296, 303, (national movement in) 57, 58, 66, 315, 318, (relations of, with Galicia) 50-51, 224, 236, 237, 238, 309-312
 as "lamb between two wolves," 28
 and national name, 23, 46, 51, 111, 218n54, 221
 population figures (pre-World War I), 23 (*see also* Population)
- Ukrainians in Galicia, 15, 23-67, (bibliographic guide to the history of) 255-320, (constitutional rights of) 37, 49, 136, 138, (dynastic loyalty of) 25, 36, 45, 47, 48, 76, 245, (Polish conflict with) *see* Poland and Galicia, (political activism of/participation by) 15, 31, 36-37, 268
See also Constitutional monarchy; Language, Ukrainian; Nationalism, Ukrainian; Political participation; Ruthenians
- Ukrainian national movement, *see* Nationalism, Ukrainian
- Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, 315
- Ukrainian Sich Riflemen/Sharpshooters, 66, 257, 271, 315, 320
- Ukraïinka, Lesia, 203, 210n26
- Ukrainophiles, *see* Populist movement
- Uniate Church, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church
- Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine, 66-67, 315
- United States, 204
 emigration to, 53, 217, 282, 283-284, 313 (*see also* Emigration)

- Ustianovych, Kornelio, 49–50, 263, 303
 Ustianovych, Reverend Mykola, 299
- Vahylevych, Ivan, 27, 28, 34, 114–135, 139–148, 228, 229, 233
- Vakhnianyn, Anatol' (Natal'), 47, 262
- Vechernytsi* (L'viv periodical), 234
- Vergil's *Aeneid* parodied, 115
- Verkhrats'kyi, Ivan (Losun), 237
- Vinkovs'kyi, Kyrylo, 144n80
- Vistnyk* (National Home publication), 232
- Voinarovs'kyi, Tyt, 54n70, 263
- Vote, the, *see* Suffrage
- Vovchok, Marko, 237
- Vozniak, Mykhailo, 223, 224, 272, 298, 302, 311
- Vremennyk* (Stauropegial Institute publication), 232
- Vytanovych, Illia, 282
- Wielopolski, Aleksander, 77n19
- Wiener Zeitung*, 79
- Women
 and day-care centers, 211, 214–215
 education for, 198, 199, 200, 204n14, 205, 206, 209, 210, 213–219 *passim*
 and feminist movement, 196, 200, 203–205, 211–212, 216, 219
 Galician-Ukrainian, denigrated, 216
 literature for and by, 202–203, 206–207, 208–210, 211, 216, 217
 organization of (1884), 205–206
 socialism and, 196, 208, 211–214
 and the vote, 205, 213–214, 218
- Working class
 and nationalism, 9, 12
 rise of, in Austrian state, 8, 10, 11, 15
 See also Industrialization; Labor; Peasantry
- World War I
 bibliographic guide to history of, 314–320
 effects of, 6, 89
 Galician attitude toward, 66–67
 See also Army
- Wschód* (Zionist journal), 164, 174
- Wynar, Lubomyr, 312
- Yiddish, *see* Language
- Young Ruthenians, *see* Populist movement
- Youth/student movements, 29, 49–50, 87, 98, 203–204, 213, 277, 300, 309
 gymnastic and sport associations (Sokil, Sich), 55, 66, 201–202, 295
 literary (vernacular), 28, 46 (*see also* Language, Ukrainian)
 and student societies, 47, 295
 and student violence, 63, 88
 Zionist, 106nn44, 108, 110, 157, 159, 166
 See also Radical movement
- Yudische arbeter, Der* (Zionist paper), 171
- Žaček, Václav, 272
- Zaklyns'kyi, Oleksii, 262
- Zaleski, Wacław, 40, 120–121, 126, 228
- Zanevych, Ivan, *see* Terlets'kyi, Ostep
- Zap, Karel Vladislav, 28
- Zetkin, Klara, 212
- Zhelekhivs'kyi, Ievhen, 230n22, 234, 235
- Zhelekhivs'kyi, Reverend Iustyn, 262, 300
- Zhelekhivs'kyi, Markyl', 185, 191n36
- Zhovtobriukh, Mykhailo, 223, 224
- Zhuk, Andrii, 67
- Zhyttia i slovo* (Ukrainian periodical), 216
- Ziemiałkowski, Florian, 32, 40, 83
- Zilyns'kyi, Orest, 258
- Zionism, 99n17, 105n41, 43, 106n44, 108–110, 156–165
 electoral alliance of, with Ukrainians, 61, 100n20, 163–165, 168–169, 174–177
 and Labor Zionists (Poale Zion), 160, 161–162, 170–172
- Zola, Emile: *Lourdes*, 216
- Zoria* (The Star, anthology proposed by Ruthenian Triad), 118, 120
- Zoria* (The Star, artisan association), 181n9
- Zoria* (The Star, Ukrainian journal, 1880–97), 51, 216
- Zoria halytska* (The Galician Star, Ukrainian-language newspaper), 31, 234, 268, 290
- Zubryts'kyi, Denys, 27, 113, 231, 259
- Zucker, Filip, 98, 100n19
- Zyblikiewicz, Mikolaj, 83

HARVARD UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Monograph Series

- Ievhen Sverstiuk, *Clandestine Essays*, translated with an introduction by G.S.N. Luckyj. Littleton, Colo.: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1976.
- Taras Hunczak (ed.), *The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Paul R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Ivan Zilyn's'kyj, *A Phonetic Description of the Ukrainian Language*, translated by W.T. Zyla and W.M. Aycock. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1979.
- George G. Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1981.
- George G. Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: An Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Sources and Document Series

- Proceedings of the Conference on Carpatho-Ruthenian Immigration*, transcribed, edited and annotated by Richard Renoff and Stephen Reynolds. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1975.
- Nonconformity and Dissent in the Ukrainian SSR, 1955–1975: A Select Bibliography*, compiled by George Liber and Anna Mostovych. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978.
- The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 vols., compiled by George Gajecky. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978.

An Early Slavonic Psalter from Rus': St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai, Volume I: Photoreproduction, edited by Moshé Altbauer and Horace G. Lunt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1978.

The Ukrainian Experience in the United States: A Symposium, edited by Paul R. Magocsi. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1979.

Occasional Papers

Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, Inaugural Lecture delivered at Harvard University, October 1975. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1976.

HARVARD SERIES IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Eyewitness Chronicle (Litopys Samovydcja), Part I, edited by Orest Levyc'kyj. Munich: Fink Vlg., 1972.

George S. N. Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko*. Munich: Fink Vlg., 1971.

Myron Korduba, *La littérature historique soviétique ukrainienne*. Munich: Fink Vlg., 1972.

Oleksander Ohloblyn, *A History of Ukrainian Industry*. Munich: Fink Vlg., 1971.

Fedir Savčenko, *The Suppression of Ukrainian Activities in 1876* (Zaborona ukrajinstva 1876 r.). Munich: Fink Vlg., 1970.

The Galician-Volynian Chronicle, translated and annotated by George Perfecky, Munich: Fink Vlg., 1973.

Dmitrij Tschizewskij, *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker*. Munich: Fink Vlg., 1974.

