

**MODERNIZATION AND NATIONALIZATION IN *BATKIVSHCHYNA*:  
UKRAINIAN VILLAGE CORRESPONDENCE  
IN AN EASTERN GALICIAN NEWSPAPER 1886-1889**

**BY  
TAMI KOWAL**

**A Thesis  
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MASTER OF ARTS**

**Department of History  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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**Modernization and Nationalization in *Batkivshchyna*:  
Ukrainian Village Correspondence  
In an Eastern Galician Newspaper 1886-1889**

**BY**

**Tami Kowal**

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University  
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree  
of  
Master of Arts**

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## ABSTRACT

The Ukrainian populist press in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia serves as a window to the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry. This study, which functions on this premise, examines the Ukrainian populist newspaper *Batkivshchyna* 1886-1889. It begins by addressing several leading theories of nationalism. Application of Hobsbawn's theory of proto-nationalism demonstrates that prior to the mid-nineteenth century the Ukrainian peasantry possessed proto-national identity. However, Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities shows that through a loss or decline of age-old imagined communities (the church, the role of monarch) and cultural conceptions (serfdom, the pre-modern apprehension of time) proto-national identity was gradually transformed into national identity, as people began to identify exclusively with the imagined community of nation.

Throughout the late nineteenth century the Ukrainian peasantry, inspired by both the support and criticism of their populist intelligentsia, would seek to achieve modernity and solidify their role as members of the imagined community of the Ukrainian nation. Through a translation and study of the Ukrainian populist newspaper *Batkivshchyna* (background information on which is based on the research of John-Paul Himka), four central themes emerge which document the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry: civic responsibility, culture, education and innovation. These four themes illustrate that among the Ukrainian peasantry in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia, the effort to achieve modernity and Ukrainian national consciousness was very much a reality.

Through an examination of the modernization and nationalization of the peasantry of other nations, such as France and French Canada, and a comparison of these peasant societies with the Ukrainian peasantry in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia, a sense of continuity emerges. It becomes apparent that the modernization and nationalization of the



peasantry was a common phenomenon throughout nineteenth century Europe (and European societies abroad) and that in their effort to achieve modernity and national identity, Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were proceeding in the path of other nations. Finally, a brief examination of the continued rise of the Ukrainian national movement 1890-1925, in the Ukrainian diaspora (Canada and Brazil), as well as in Eastern Galicia and Eastern (Dnipro) Ukraine, illustrates that the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry documented by the Ukrainian populist press, did not represent a brief moment in history, but rather an ongoing process in the reshaping of the Ukrainian peasant into an active member of the imagined community of nation.

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## NOTES TO THE TEXT

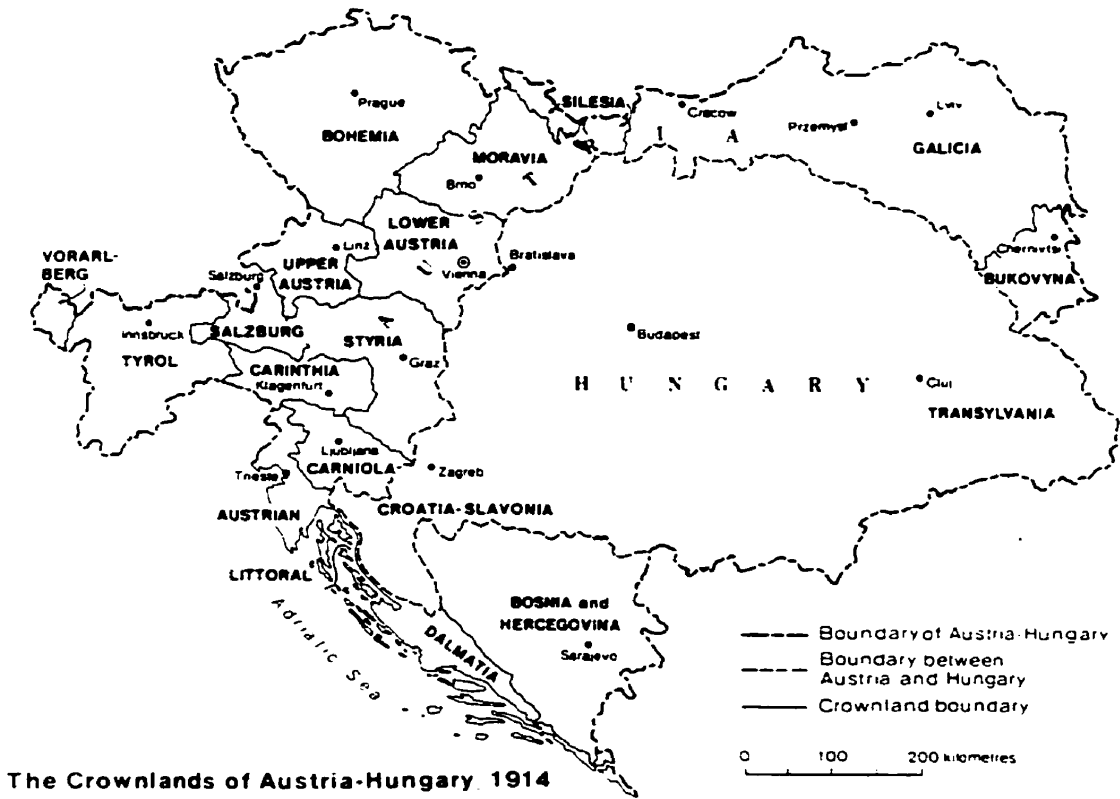
A few explanations regarding terminology add clarity to the study. Firstly, for the rendering of Ukrainian words into English I have used the Modified Library of Congress of Cyrillic Transliteration with the following variants: *я—ya, ю—yu, е—ye, і—yi and я—y* when occurring initially. The apostrophe, as a means of consonantal palatalization, has been omitted.

The *joch*, or *morg* in Ukrainian (the Ukrainian version will be used throughout this study), was a unit of measurement based on the Lower- Austrian system, and was the rough equivalent of an acre (and acre = 0.0405 hectares, whereas a *joch* or *morg* = 0.575 hectares). Although the Lower -Austrian system was replaced by the metric system in 1876, its most popular units measurement and weights remained in usage. The regard to currency, as of 1858 the official currency throughout the empire was that of the Austrian standard, comprised of *gulden* and *kreuzer*. In the Austrian standard, 1 *gulden* had 100 *kreuzer*. In this study the Ukrainian term for *gulden* , that is *zoloti rynski (zr.)* and for the *kreuzer*, *kraitsar (kr.)*, will be used. Finally, a note on the calendar. From 1 March 1880 there occurred a twelve-day difference between the new Gregorian calendar and the old, Julian calendar ( in 1700 the difference had been eleven days, and in 1900 it was increased from twelve to thirteen days). Often in their own internal affairs (the church for example) Ukrainians referred exclusively to the old calendar. *Batkivshchyna* provides both dates. Consequently, when the correspondence of *Batkivshchyna* is referred to, both dates are included.



The Crownlands of Austria-Hungary 1914

Source: Himka, Galician Villagers, xxix.



Source: Himka, Galician Villagers, xxxi.



## INTRODUCTION

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, and even well into the twentieth century, Ukrainians living in Eastern Galicia underwent a process of modernization and nationalization. This process was expedited by both circumstance and intervention. Circumstances, in particular a number of unforeseen developments related to the governance of the Austrian empire, provided for the conditions to stimulate and facilitate the growth of Ukrainian national consciousness. Still, a great deal of intervention would be required on the part of the small but growing Ukrainian intelligentsia. When not distracted by internal conflict, early activists expended a great deal of effort influencing the Austrian government to offer certain concessions to the Ukrainian populace. The later challenge of inspiring the downtrodden peasantry to modernize and nationalize however, proved equally onerous. Nowhere is this struggle more visible than within the pages of the Ukrainian language populist press.

Populism (*narodovstvo*) an ideology which based the entire rise and success of a nation on the fate of the peasantry, by the 1880s represented the most popular movement among the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Eastern Galicia. To the mind of the Ukrainian populist, all hope for the future of the Ukrainian nation rested on the enlightenment of the peasantry. This education was conducted through teaching literacy in the Ukrainian language, and participation in Ukrainian choirs, reading clubs, businesses and political campaigns for the Ukrainian election candidate. Ukrainian populism, also referred to as Ukrainophilism (*ukrainofilstvo*) by its adherents, also preached the notion of individual responsibility and the adoption of a modern outlook on the changes which were revolutionizing Ukrainian peasantry society, such as the prevalence of the money economy, and the enfranchisement of the Ukrainian peasantry (although in an indirect fashion). With the establishment of the Ukrainian populist enlightenment society Prosvita (the word itself

means “enlightenment”) in 1868, many of the aforementioned initiatives began to take root throughout the Eastern Galicia countryside. However, the most vital component of the enlightenment of the Ukrainian peasantry was the notion of loyalty to nation.

The Ukrainian populist press in Eastern Galicia was the most effective vehicle by which the values and aspirations of Ukrainian populists were conveyed to the peasantry. In 1877 Prosvita began to produce a monthly newspaper, *Pysmo z Prosvity* (Letter from Prosvita). However, as its political opinions were scrutinized by the Austrian authoritarian officials (whose bureaucratic positions in Eastern Galicia were frequently occupied by Poles), Prosvita risked its status as an organization.<sup>1</sup> In order to more effectively communicate the mandate of the Ukrainian populists, *Pysmo z Prosvity* was shut down and replaced by the independent *Batkivshchyna* (Fatherland/Patrimony, 1879-1896). However, as an avid supporter of Prosvita, and a proponent of the enlightenment movement, the national-populist newspaper *Batkivshchyna*, would remain as the voice of Prosvita in homes, churches, and reading clubs throughout Eastern Galicia. In 1885 *Batkivshchyna* maintained the highest press run out of all the Ukrainian political periodicals in Galicia (1500, followed by a moderate *Dilo* [The Deed] with 1300), despite the fact that it only produced 52 issues a year (as opposed to *Dilo* with 156 issues).<sup>2</sup> *Batkivshchyna's* orientation differed from the also populist *Dilo*, in that the former spoke to a peasant audience, whereas the latter was directed at the intelligentsia.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, combined with its close ties to “Prosvita,” and its high press run, *Batkivshchyna* emerged as favourite among the Ukrainian peasantry. That more than half of its correspondents were peasants, is a clear indication of this.<sup>4</sup> It is for this reason that *Batkivshchyna* represents the Ukrainian populist newspaper of choice in this study.

### **Batkivshchyna as a Source in the Study of the Ukrainian Press**

*Batkivshchyna* has been recognized as an invaluable source in the study of the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia. Stella Hryniuk refers to *Batkivshchyna* in her top-

down study of five counties in Southeastern Galicia in the late nineteenth century. *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia 1880-1900*, while minimizing the question of the rise of Ukrainian national consciousness, seeks to challenge the notion of poverty as the mobilizing factor behind the mass emigration of Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia throughout the last few decades leading up to the Great War. The utilization of *Batkivshchyna* by John-Paul Himka is much more extensive. Himka has relied on the correspondence within *Batkivshchyna* to inform his studies on Eastern Galicia involving the Ukrainian peasantry, the role of the clergy, and the issue of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. In *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*, Himka uses two years of correspondence from the “News from the Crownland” (*Visti z Kraiu*) section of *Batkivshchyna* (1884-5) to support his illustration of the social dynamics present in the Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia. This approach to the study of nationalism emphasizes the link between the national movement and the pursuit of social mobility. In his work Himka also provides important details about the newspaper *Batkivshchyna*, including a history of the paper, statistics on circulation and reasons for confiscation, information of the editors, and a breakdown of village activists/correspondents (1884-5) according to occupation.

### **Batkivshchyna and the Study of the Modernization and Nationalization of the Ukrainian Peasantry**

In the letters to the editor section of *Batkivshchyna* populist writers criticized and dissected Ukrainian society in Galicia. Villages and even individuals were exposed for their alleged backwardness, and nonchalant approach to politics, culture, education, religion and even practices with respect to farmstead management. Socially, the correspondents ranged from priests, to the poorest of peasant. Most active and vocal in the Ukrainian populist newspaper *Batkivshchyna*, were the peasants themselves. In fact, according to Himka’s findings, peasants contributed as much as half of the correspondence to *Batkivshchyna*. In

their reports, peasant correspondents provided comments and criticisms about society in Eastern Galicia and all its various representatives. However, of equal if not even greater historical value, is what peasants had to say about their own class. Throughout the pages of *Batkivshchyna* peasant correspondents, along side other village correspondents, are extremely critical of the Ukrainian peasantry, calling upon it to modernize, nationalize, and thereby take control of its own destiny. This is indicative of an awareness of contemporary trends of the nineteenth century: an era of enlightenment amongst the peasantry throughout the nations of Europe. It also illustrates a greater self-awareness, and self-confidence attained through a significant increase in literacy and an emphasis on education within Ukrainian peasant society. Ukrainian peasants were beginning to see themselves, not as former serfs, but rather as inheritors of a great historical legacy, whose duty it was to raise their nation to its former glory.

Back in the nineteenth century Ukrainians were referred to as Ruthenians. Ruthenian is a historic Latin name for Ukrainians corresponding to the Ukrainian *rusyny*. Even many Ukrainians referred to themselves as *rusyny*, as they do throughout *Batkivshchyna*. Around 1900, Ukrainians began to drop the designation *rusyny* in favour of the modern term *ukraintsi* (Ukrainians) and *Ukraina*, for Ukraine, the land they inhabit.<sup>5</sup> The term *Ukraina* had first come to refer to the notion of an entire Ukrainian national territory back in the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The modern terms “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian” will be used exclusively throughout this study and in all translations from the press.

It can be argued that the Ukrainian-language populist press in Eastern Galicia during the late nineteenth century undoubtedly wielded a prodigious amount of influence on the peasantry. Nevertheless, the intent of this study is not to measure the success of the press in the mobilization of the Ukrainian peasantry: success is relative and virtually impossible to measure. On the other hand, that which is telling of any given society, is the nature of the content and debate which dominates the pages of its popular press. In fact, the most opportune forum for such discussion is often located in a newspaper’s letters to the

editor section. Yet, while its content may on occasion be selective and governed by the discretion of the editor of any particular newspaper (due to such factors as government censorship and editorial bias), even in such instances something can be said about the intelligentsia and its role in society, and the readership the paper served, especially if the newspapers attracts a large readership. One such newspaper was *Batkivshchyna*. That *Batkivshchyna* acquired the attention and support of so many Ukrainian peasants (reflected in the number of subscriptions and contributions) makes it quite conceivable that this top-selling Ukrainian populist newspaper mirrored peasant society in Eastern Galicia during the late nineteenth century. With this in mind, the primary objective of this thesis is to identify the opinions expressed in the press that deal with the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia. The methodology engaged in this pursuit involves the examination, categorization and interpretation of the contents which appeared within four years of letters to the editor of *Batkivshchyna* from 1886-1890. Such topics concerning education, politics, history, language, class, innovation, religion, and cultural beliefs and practices will be examined.

The time frame 1886-1889 was selected for several reasons. Firstly, the period 1886-1889 encompasses a body of correspondence, to which Himka during the period of his study, was not afforded access. Secondly, the years 1888-9 provide insight into the elections to the Seim, and the impression this period made on the peasantry. Finally, the period under study precedes the beginning of the mass emigration out of Eastern Galicia by Ukrainians, and therefore the correspondence remains focused on the effort to address the problems at hand, rather than the movement to escape them.

The second purpose of this study is twofold. It is first of all, to demonstrate that the opinions expressed in the press by the populists writers, from both the peasantry and the intelligentsia, were representative of the modernizing trend which dominated late nineteenth century discourse. Secondly, it is to corroborate that the call for modernization which dominated the pages of the Ukrainian populist press in late-nineteenth century Eastern

Galicia, was reflective of a trend within other societies engaged in the second phase of nationalization (Miroslav Hroch's 'organizational' stage). For the purpose of this comparison, studies on the evolution of the French peasantry into French nationals and the development of national consciousness among the Canadiens will be examined. Finally, the progress of the Ukrainian national movement among the Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia who immigrated to Canada and Brazil (1891-1914), as well as those who remained will be used to illustrate that the progress of modernization and nationalization evident in the Ukrainian language populist press in Eastern Galicia was not a brief phenomenon. Rather, this "populist" movement was only in its early stages and would increase beyond its original, somewhat moderate sphere of influence to embrace a greater part of the population, both within the confines of Eastern Galicia and in the Ukrainian diaspora.

The first chapter of the thesis examines leading theories of nationalism. By determining those elements and processes which provided a basis for emerging nationalism, and for the purposes of this study, Ukrainian nationalism, it is possible to establish a link between the past and those issues in the "News from the Crownland" section of *Batktivshchyna*, concerning the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry. At the beginning of the chapter proto-nationalism is defined and the various elements as identified by E. J. Hobsbawm, which may constitute proto-national identity are outlined and explained in detail. This is followed by a summary of Ukrainian history, focusing on those events and developments over a millennium which created a proto-national basis for Ukrainian national identity. The second half of this chapter presents Benedict Anderson's theory of the imagined community. It explains how the imagined community of nation emerged out of the void left by the decline or disappearance of certain cultural conceptions. In pre-modern times these cultural conceptions, which will be identified, had acted as the glue which held the fabric of societies together. Here it will be demonstrated how the imagined community of nation acted as the most suitable replacement to earlier cultural conceptions, in the event of drastic social, political and ideological

upheaval. This is followed by a discussion on the role of print-capitalism in the fortification of the imagined community. Having established a theoretical basis for examining the transition from pre-modern to modern society, the last part of this chapter identifies those developments (late eighteenth to late nineteenth century) which initiated the transformation of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia from oppressed and unenlightened serfs, to increasingly modern, conscious members of the Ukrainian nation.

Chapter Two begins with an examination of the rise of the populist press in Eastern Galicia and provides important background information on the primary source for this study, the populist Ukrainian language newspaper *Batkivshchyna*. (The appendix will include letters taken from *Dilo* 1887, which serve to demonstrate the inherent similarities between the two main Ukrainian populist newspapers and their mandate for the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry. Examples from *Dilo* also illustrate the difference in style which existed between the two papers. This section then identifies prominent themes within the letters to the editor section of *Batkivshchyna* spanning over the period 1886-1889. Excerpts taken from the press and organized by themes will illustrate that modernism and nationalism shaped the content of the Ukrainian populist press in Eastern Galicia and through this medium intended to place an enormous amount of social pressure on the individual, to act in the interest of the community: the imagined community of the Ukrainian nation. The themes examined can be divided into four main categories. The first among these is referred to as “civic responsibility.” In this section elections, representation, participation and corruption within the political process will be examined. The second theme comprises all that which falls under culture (religion, festivities which promote national identity) and most importantly, those aspects which were regarded with disdain by progressive Ukrainian populists: specifically, extravagant Ukrainian traditions (weddings), drinking, and superstitions.

Chapter three examines the remaining two themes in the populist press to receive a significant amount of space and attention. A third important theme is education, beneath

which lie such concerns as schools, reading clubs, literacy, language and the press. Finally, the fourth theme designated as “innovation” examines all that which was considered to be modern, progressive and in the interest of the nationalist cause. Therefore, this section addresses references in the correspondence made to the establishment and promotion of Ukrainian businesses, cooperatives, insurance, and innovative methods in agriculture. Embodied in the four themes of civic responsibility, education, culture, and innovation are the highly prominent issues of progress, leadership, national loyalty, and ethnic tensions. Consequently, these issues constitute a major element of both the second and third chapters, and will be receive significant consideration throughout.

The fourth chapter will examine some aspects of the modernization and nationalization of French and Canadien peasantry. Eugen Weber’s *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* provides a vivid account of the modernization and nationalization of the French peasantry and the events which mobilized this process. Helen Taft Manning’s *The Revolt of French Canada 1880-1835* examines the role of the press and the intelligentsia in the political education of the Canadiens. These studies will illustrate that despite harsh criticism fueled by the stereotype of the backward Ukrainian peasantry, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian peasant was no less modern, nor lacking a sense of national identity than peasants of other nations struggling to reconcile issues of modernity and national consciousness. The last part of this chapter will examine the effect of the populist movement in securing modernity and national consciousness among the Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia. This will be examined in two ways. First of all, an analysis of the continuation of the Ukrainian national movement within the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada and Brazil prior to 1930 will provided. Finally, the progress of Ukrainian nationalism in Eastern Galicia and its corresponding institutions will be traced. This examination will illustrate that the efforts of the populists prior to 1890 in the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia—as illustrated in the populist press—were not in vain, as the movement continued to accelerate.



The mobilization of the Ukrainian nation prior to, and immediately proceeding the fall of the Austro-Hungarian empire, is a strong example of this. Clearly the populist movement and the discourse engaged in the populist press left a positive imprint on the Ukrainian peasantry. When the moment arrived, Ukrainians were fully convinced of their inherent right to self-determination, even if fate would not grant them this right.

<sup>1</sup> John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies University of Alberta, 1988) 70.

<sup>2</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 68.

<sup>3</sup> "Populism, Western Ukraine," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1984.

<sup>4</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 85.

<sup>5</sup> "Ruthenians," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1984.

<sup>6</sup> "The Name Ukraina," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, 1963 ed.

## CHAPTER ONE

The terms nations and nationalism are pervasive in twentieth century political discourse; so much so that life without them seems virtually unimaginable. As a result, there is a tendency to assume that nations and national sentiment are perennial, and even natural, when studying the histories of pre-modern cultures. This point of departure is erroneous. For while it is true that members of all human societies, for which records exist, have expressed some kind of loyalty and unity towards a group or groups, this does not mean they were nationalists.<sup>7</sup> In fact, it is rather presumptuous to use modern standards to characterize and qualify the past. The modern sense of the word 'nation' is no older than the eighteenth century, and is defined by Benedict Anderson as an imagined political community, that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.<sup>8</sup> This type of imagining, that is the perception of a link between oneself and every single member of the community of nation, is in itself a modern development. This is not to say that pre-modern societies were void of any sense of unity or identity. Before the appearance of nationalism, individuals identified with one another through various proto-national bonds. However, these bonds produced by shared language, religion, or culture, (possibly, although not always occurring together), were not in the past, nor are they even it in modern times, necessary or determinate criteria for nationhood and nationalism. Certain developments needed to occur within a given society, before such bonds assume national connotations. Therefore, when considering early, even ancient indications of collective belonging, it is useful to refer to the theory of proto-nationalism, first proposed by E. J. Hobsbawn.

### **Proto-nationalism**

According to Hobsbawn, proto-national bonds are variants of feeling of collective belonging which, having already existed, could later be mobilized to assist in the creation of modern states and nations.<sup>9</sup> Consider first of all, language, which by itself is a questionable

criterion for nationhood. Hobsbawm argues that national languages are semi-artificial constructs, often derived from several dialects, one of which is ultimately favoured over the others. And what of nations where several languages coexist? Hobsbawm points out that where multilingualism prevails, identification with a particular idiom can be quite arbitrary. He concludes that language was not a central element in the formation of proto-nationalism, but merely acted as one of the ways of distinguishing between cultural communities. Yet, as an element of proto-national cohesion, language would come to play an instrumental part in the modern definition of nationality.<sup>10</sup>

Hobsbawm also explains the close link which can exist between religion and national consciousness. At first it may appear that such a link is incongruent with religious doctrines. This is because the world religions which were invented between sixth century BC and the seventh century AD, are, in theory, universal, and therefore in essence, anti-national.<sup>11</sup> However, the so called “holy icons” which adorn them, often became a crucial component of proto-nationalism, and later, of modern nationalism. Hobsbawm proposes that these holy icons “...represent the symbols and rituals or common collective practices which alone give a palpable reality to otherwise imaginary community.”<sup>12</sup> A holy icon may not be, but often is, tied to religion, as were so many symbols and rituals in pre-modern societies. In effect, they help establish a sense of cultural identity.

What role does ethnicity play in the development of proto-nationalism? Hobsbawm disregards the genetic approach to ethnicity, that is, ethnicity in connection with a notion of common origin and descent. Ethnicity taken from a genetic approach is an entirely modern concept based on the false assumption that ethnic groups are homogenous. Hobsbawm argues that the crucial base of an ethnic group as a form of social organization is cultural rather than biological.<sup>13</sup> It is this cultural base, comprised of “holy icons,” which serves as an element of proto-national cohesion.

Hobsbawm also examines the role played by the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity. He proposes that membership can bestow a

sense of greatness. However, he also argues that membership may not have necessarily applied to all participants in a given society. A sense of belonging would most likely be experienced by those who benefit from the political system. However, for those who were not active participants in the political process, membership would have little meaning. Therefore in a society of lords and peasants it is unlikely that the peasantry would identify with their oppressors.<sup>14</sup> This gap would be even more profound in a situation where the peasantry and the nobility come from two very different cultural backgrounds. Consider those who represent the focus of this study—the Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia—a society predominantly comprised of peasants, and their relations with the Polish noble landowners or “lords,” who ruled above them. Having long since lost the state with which they had in some ways identified, the Ukrainians peasantry also suffered the loss of their aristocratic elite, which was expediently absorbed by the Polish gentry. Thus, the source of their discontent was not a class of people that spoke the same language or shared the same religion and customs, but rather foreign oppressors, which is how they came to be seen. Having lost virtually all its upper class by the nineteenth century, except for the clergy, the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were comprised of enserfed peasants. This reality served to both hamper and enhance the development of Ukrainian national consciousness. However, the lingering memory of a greatness with which no Ukrainian was currently associated, further fueled anxiety and discontent and when the conditions were right sparked nationalism. A series of Austrian reforms in the late eighteenth century provided the infrastructure which allowed for the rebirth of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Eastern Galicia, and thereby set the process of nationalization in motion.

Even when all the various aforementioned elements of proto-nationalism were present in a given society, this did not guarantee necessarily the development of national sentiment and nation. However, Hobsbawn does suggest that in places where proto-nationalism existed, the task of nationalism was simplified exceedingly, as proto-national sentiments could be mobilized behind a modern cause or modern state.<sup>15</sup>

## **Applying the Theory of Proto-nationalism to Ukrainian History**

Ukraine literally means “borderland,” and although it originally referred to the frontier zone of the Dnipro basin (in the late sixteenth century) it is a fitting modern term of reference for the vast, rich, unprotected expanse of ethnic Ukrainian territory, which has always represented a highly susceptible target for foreign invasion. Given the history of Ukraine, it is quite understandable that Ukrainian proto-national identity would become characterized by a sense of vulnerability and a state of perpetual resistance. At the same time, this identity would also be shaped by many great cultural and political achievements. Therefore, a brief summary of major events and developments over the millennia of Ukrainian history prior to the emancipation of the peasantry in Eastern Galicia will provide a framework for identifying elements of Ukrainian proto-national identity, which later evolved into components of modern Ukrainian nationalism. Without this background one cannot fully appreciate those issues and challenges, which, according to the correspondents of the Ukrainian populist press in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian peasantry through the process of modernization and nationalization was working to overcome.

### **Kyivan Rus**

The two millennia of Ukrainian pre-history are characterized by a gradual evolution from a primitive agricultural and nomadic civilization, to more advanced societies with the foundations for a centralized state.<sup>16</sup> The most evident move towards a single economically and politically structured society is widely linked to the arrival of the Varangians of Scandinavia. Varangian Prince Oleh, and his successors Ihor, Olha, and Sviatoslav together with the indigenous land-owning aristocracy and merchant class, established and enhanced the wealth and sphere of influence of the region, thereby laying the foundation for the great

medieval state of Kyivan Rus. Over the next few centuries, as the Varangians became assimilated, the local Slavic population assumed full control.

The first two centuries of Kyivan Rus are also very much characterized by the expansion and consolidation of peoples and territory. Trade routes were solidified, international trade increased and the local economy blossomed. The population also increased, as did the size and number of towns and cities of Kyivan Rus. Society was soon divided into more defined social strata, with a ruling strata of princes, princes' retinues/boyars, and church people, proceeded by a subordinate strata comprised of townspeople, peasants and finally, slaves. The variety of strata in existence during the height of Kyivan Rus certainly stand in marked contrast to the later period of serfdom which prevailed throughout Ukraine from roughly the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. By the time of Volodymyr the Great (978-1015), the term Rus had come to denote the territories and inhabitants living under the ruler of Kyivan Rus and his filial representatives. The foundations for the Ukrainian nation had been laid.

The rulers of Kyivan Rus also embarked on several important ventures in the realm of socioeconomic and cultural development. Kyivan Rus has been described as the cultural child of Byzantium.<sup>17</sup> In 988 Prince Volodymyr, driven by such considerations as trade and diplomacy, established Byzantine Eastern Christianity (Orthodoxy), as the official religion of Kyivan Rus. Consequently, Byzantium would inspire the religious, cultural and architectural development of Kyivan Rus: influences which remain to this very day. However, what also persevered and lingered on are powerful remnants of Ukrainian pagan culture which were subtly incorporated into the exotic and complex rituals of the Eastern Orthodox faith. The high level of culture and civilization which Kyivan Rus attained is perhaps best personified in the best literary work produced in Kyivan times, *The Lay of Ihor's Campaign*. An even greater historical source is the *Primary Chronicle* which essentially documents life in Kyivan Rus.

Another important cultural feature and legacy of Kyivan Rus also worth noting is the existence of two distinct types of languages in Kyivan Rus, that is, the written Church Slavonic and the spoken proto-Ukrainian which existed in numerous dialects and varied according to region. Another distinguishing characteristic of Kyivan Rus society, was that women were afforded certain rights through both customary and written law. This included the right to retain property and administer shops. Women also held important leadership roles in the princely social strata, and in the case of Olha, even that of grand prince.<sup>18</sup> The existence of relative gender-equality guaranteed an important role for women both in the family and in society as a whole. This would persevere through the centuries of national subordination Ukrainians would come to endure. The relatively equal status accorded to women in Kyivan Rus was reflected in *Ruska Pravda* or *Rus Justice*, a legal system which represented a combination of customary law maintained through the oral tradition and practice from pre-Varangian times, and princely decrees which supplemented customary law. A final important feature of Kyivan Rus was the prevalence of inter-princely feuds. Although the problem of infighting contributed to the decline of Kyivan Rus, it also encouraged the development of satellite communities, such as the principalities of Galicia and Volynia, which would maintain and preserve much of the political and cultural structure of Kyivan Rus after the city of Kyiv fell to the Mongols in 1240.

Most historians do not quite regard the Mongol conquest of Kyivan Rus as the apocalyptic event it is portrayed in Ukrainian folklore and history. What preceded the fall of Kyiv was a period of relative stability, accompanied by a process of decentralization which had been in place long before the appearance of the Mongols. Three powerful states arose from within the former Kyivan empire: Galicia-Volynia, Vladimir-Suzdal and Novgorod. It is the breaking off of these satellite communities and their subsequent development in relation to each other and other neighboring states that would determine the fate of Ukraine as a political entity.

### **Galicja-Volynia**

After the fall of Kyiv the principality of Galicja continued to experience growth and prosperity. Consequently fierce competition arose among the princes for control of this rising state. Some of the feuding princes came to rely on the assistance of Hungary, whose invasion of Galicja in 1189 would later be observed by the Austrian Habsburgs as justification for the annexation of Galicja in 1772. Eventually a sense of order and stability was established through the strong leadership of the Roman Mystyslavych and later by his son Danylo. Roman was responsible for the union of Galicja and Volynia in 1199 thus creating, according to Subtelny, "...a new imposing conglomerate on the political map of Europe with an energetic, forceful prince of great ability at its head."<sup>19</sup> His son Danylo also proved to be an outstanding and dynamic ruler who constructed numerous towns, including Lviv, rebuilt and expanded his father's domains, established important diplomatic relations with the Mongols, Hungarians, Poles, and Lithuanians, and raised the social, cultural, and economic level of his territory to among the highest in Eastern Europe.<sup>20</sup> This latter success would leave a lasting imprint on the land, which came to be known as Eastern Galicja.

### **Ukraine Under Poland and Lithuania**

The legacy of order constructed by the Mystyslavych branch (the *Mstyslavychi*) was destroyed when the last leader of Galicja-Volynia was murdered by resentful boyars. Thus, this last vestige of Kyivan Rus inevitably became the target of more secure political entities. Volynia (in 1344) and Galicja (in 1349) were annexed by Lithuania and Poland respectively. By the late sixteenth century serfdom had been introduced throughout both regions. The Polish impact on Galicja was even more detrimental given that the Poles who were extremely intolerant of the religious and cultural differences of Ukrainians,



immediately began a campaign to undermine those features which characterized Ukrainian identity. When Poland and Lithuania entered into union in 1569, this intolerance grew more intense. For members of the Ukrainian elite, Polish discrimination appeared mostly in the form of religious intolerance. However, being of the Eastern Orthodox faith had come to connote much more than religious belief. During the time of Kyivan Rus, Orthodoxy had acted as the primary influence in the shaping of Ukrainian culture. However, according to Magocsi, during the Polish-Lithuanian period the meaning of Orthodoxy expanded even further. What occurred, in essence, was a fusion of religion, culture and territorial identity: "One was of Rus land because one was of the Orthodox faith; and vice-versa."<sup>21</sup>

When the influences of the Counter-reformation reached Poland in the late sixteenth century, the reinvigorated Polish Roman Catholic church intensified the campaign for Ukrainian church union with Rome. However, the actual event of church union was impelled by a combination of forces. First of all there were the Jesuits, who waged a powerful anti-Orthodox campaign stressing the corruption of its hierarchy. For the Ukrainian nobility such questionable behaviour, together with pressure and incentives from the Catholic church and the Polish state, made conversion to Roman Catholicism an increasingly attractive option. Yet, at the same time a large majority attempted to resist Catholic aggression, and as Taras Hunczak observes; "...the closing of churches merely intensified the Orthodox resolution to defend the old calendar, transforming it into a symbol of ethnic tradition."<sup>22</sup> Determined to protect their material and cultural property, the Ukrainian church hierarchy together with the nobility convinced the Polish king to officially recognize the rights of those of the Orthodox faith; a resolution which was subsequently endorsed by the Polish Seim (1585).

With renewed vigour, loyal adherents of Orthodoxy set out to revive the church, and initiate other cultural improvement such as the organization of schools and the printing of books. Instrumental in this process were members of the Lviv Brotherhood. The Patriarch of Antioch recognized the important role of the Brotherhood and in 1586, basically

entrusted it with authority which rivaled the bishops.<sup>23</sup> The move which was later reaffirmed by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople was deeply resented by a number of bishops. This essentially came to resemble a quarrel between the noble church hierarchy and the rising middle class members of the Brotherhood.<sup>24</sup> In an effort to regain their authority, in 1590 a number of Ukrainian bishops secretly met began to entertain the notion of church union with Rome. In 1595 the plan for union was brought before the other bishops. Resistance to union was strong. However, the side with the backing of the state and the powerful Roman Catholic Church took precedence. With the ambiguous guarantee that there would be no change in Eastern practices, such as the Julian calendar, a married clergy and administrative autonomy, the act of union proceeded, and the new Uniate church, later known as Greek-Catholic was formed at Brest in 1596.

Although the Uniates would continue to recognize their Eastern practices as inherent rights, in reality none of them were ever guaranteed by Rome or Poland. In any event, through this act of union, Polish chauvinism received official approval.<sup>25</sup> For most Poles, official recognition of the Uniate church as a branch of the Catholic church was irrelevant. As a result, Uniates were generally regarded as second class citizens. Before long, members of the elite longing to retain their status, were faced with a difficult decision: remain in Polish territory, Polonize, and convert to Roman Catholicism, or flee to Moscow, and face Russification.<sup>26</sup> Either way, this translated into the eventual loss of a Ukrainian elite. This would have serious, negative, and lasting repercussions for Ukrainian national self-identity. Yet, at the same time, as Hunczak observes, the battle over church stirred up sentiment for ancestral tradition: "It was this heightened feeling of identity that provided a sense of cohesion of the Ukrainian masses when, under the leadership and the inspiration of the Cossacks, the first glimmering of national consciousness began to manifest itself in overt political acts."<sup>27</sup>

## **The Cossacks**

The image of the noble Cossack (*kozak*) represents an essential component of Ukrainian national identity. Referring to Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" (which was first used to interpret American history), Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky discusses the role of the Cossacks in the Ukrainian "Wild Fields," a frontier zone with no clear demarcation between itself and the settled country.<sup>28</sup> In the late fifteenth century Ukrainians from the northwest, fleeing the intolerant social (serfdom), religious, and cultural climate of Poland, began to settle this uninhabited expanse of territory south of the Bratslav and Kyiv palatinates; a zone which was referred to as "Ukraine," meaning borderland. From within this frontier society, Cossacks began to rise as a powerful force which acted as an organized military self-defense of the population of the exposed frontier territory. However, their sphere of influence soon extended to affairs of the settled hinterland.<sup>29</sup>

When the entire region of Cossack settlement came under Poland through the Union of Lublin, the town Cossacks (who inhabited fortified towns) soon recognized the benefits of serving the crown in exchange for social and economic privileges. At the same time, the Cossacks challenged Polish authority, demanded protection for the Orthodox church, caused international problems for their employers, and entered into diplomatic relations with other states. Aside from registered Cossacks there were a number of Cossacks who were not registered (because the Polish state refused to register all of them) and this portion of the population also refused to cooperate with the Poles.

For his efforts against the Poles and the creation of the Cossack State, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was proclaimed by the Orthodox hierarchy, as the modern-day Moses of the people of Rus.<sup>30</sup> Later the Hetman entered into an agreement with the Russian tsar which placed the Cossack state under the guardianship of Muscovy (although Khmelnytskyi had viewed this as only an alliance). When Khmelnytskyi and the Cossacks came to recognize the undesirable predicament they were in they entered into an alliance

with Sweden. Although this alliance ended in failure and disappointment, Cossack defiance of Muscovy is a clear indication that the Cossacks had no desire to remain under the protection of any state other than their own. The pattern of simultaneously working with and against the oppressor, was repeated by other hetmans, such as Mazepa, Vyhovskyi, and Doroshenko in their dealings with the Russian Tsar. Through a combination of diplomacy and deception, Ukrainian Cossacks strove to protect Ukrainian interests. Although such efforts were substantially inspired by the quest for personal wealth and status, the Cossacks have gone down in folklore and history as a genuine force and a symbol of resistance against the oppression of foreign powers. Despite the Cossacks' inability to protect Ukrainian ethnic territory from Russian expansionism, under their influence the identity of an independent Ukraine began to take shape, as all territory under Cossack jurisdiction (frontier and hinterland) which evolved into an autonomous, semi-independent Cossack state was popularly referred to as "Ukraine."<sup>31</sup> Although this sense of identity did not encompass the entire territory of modern Ukraine, this first reference to a "Ukrainian" state would serve as an important element in the future shaping of Ukrainian national identity.

### **Eastern Galicia Under Serfdom**

In 1795 Poland was partitioned for the third time, leaving Ukrainian territory divided between the two great multi-national empires of Russia and Austria. Among that territory which was transferred to the authority of Austrian Habsburgs (the ruling family of Austria) was Galicia, the Eastern part of which was inhabited mostly by Ukrainians (whereas the Western half, by Poles.) The serfdom which had begun under old Poland, although still present under the Austrians, evolved into a somewhat less oppressive form. For example, under old Poland, serfs were on occasion forced to perform as many as six days of corvée (unpaid labour to the manor), had to obtain the lord's permission to marry, and could be killed by their lord without retribution. However, it must be added that the Austrian government inflicted its own share of abuses on the downtrodden peasant, given that taxes were four times higher than under prepartition Poland.

Although some abuses were curbed under Austrian rule, the Polish lords were often able to circumvent Habsburg reforms. For example, when a three-day limit on *corvée* was imposed, the manor exploited the system of “auxiliary days” (paid days to be enforced only under special circumstances, such as during harvest or haymaking). Use of auxiliary days was frequent and arbitrary, and as the wages were pitiful and often paid in tokens redeemable at the local tavern, these extra works days were only a detriment to serfs. On occasion, serfs were able to protect themselves from certain instances of abuse. Unfortunately, this sometimes came about only after the Austrians reiterated rights previously in existence. Thus, serfs were shocked when they informed that they had only been required to work a maximum of twelve hours in the winter and eight in the summer, as opposed to the twenty-four hour shifts they were occasionally forced to endure. This realization led to the purchase of watches and a meticulous regard for time-keeping.<sup>32</sup> This practice assisted in the modernization of all peasant societies.

Most of the time serfs felt quite helpless against the oppression of their lords. First of all, most serfs were illiterate. As late as 1842 only fifteen percent of Galicia school-age children attended school.<sup>33</sup> Thus, unable to identify and interpret their rights vis-à-vis the lords, the serfs were forced to rely on the expertise of “corner-scribes,” or self-proclaimed advocates hired to prepare their case to the Austrian authorities. (Himka refers to scribes with questionable credentials as corner-scribes.) However, given that the existence of corner-scribes was outlawed, the efforts of the scribe generally met with little success, and the poor serf spiraled further into debt. Consequently, serfs were not unknown to resort to illegal forms of protest, including refusal to perform feudal obligations (or spending much more than the required amount of time doing them), using inferior tools and animals for *corvée*, strikes, large-scale uprisings, and even violence.<sup>34</sup> Initially such forms of resistance accomplished quite little in reality, but they did provide some immediate gratification for the serf, and over time instilled him with greater political consciousness, which could be mobilized under the right circumstances.

Serfs were also greatly disadvantaged by a lack of a literate, socially mobile leadership. By the time Eastern Galicia was absorbed by the Austrian Empire, the Ukrainian nobility had, for all intents and purposes, ceased to exist. As Sirka observes: "Ukrainian cultural and intellectual life was empty of talent and void of leadership when Galicia passed under the rule of the Habsburgs."<sup>35</sup> This was the result of a process of migration to Russia, or more often, of Polonization, which had gained momentum in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, it is possible to say that Ukrainian society in Eastern Galicia, through the practice of systematic discrimination, was beheaded. This situation would not be rectified until the introduction of Austrian reforms in the late eighteenth century. To appreciate this term of reference, it is useful to examine Michel Brunet's "decapitation" theory.

The theory of "decapitation" was first proposed by Michel Brunet in reference to the loss of the nobility in French Canada in 1759. According to Brunet, after the French lost to the British on the Plains of Abraham, most members of the French upper class returned to their homeland. The peasantry however, could not afford such a luxury and many were not willing to abandon the life they had established in this new land. Consequently, this uneducated, unsophisticated, and leaderless social stratum, was left to the mercy of their British overlords. Thus, stripped of an upper class, and thereafter socially segregated by certain policies enforced by the British government, the modernization of French Canadian society was essentially retarded. Therefore, on the one hand, French language and the traditional peasant lifestyle were preserved (the latter, almost to the point of exaggeration), and on the other, French Canadians were marginalized from the English-speaking population in Upper Canada, and later, the province of Quebec. In practice this translated into the underrepresentation of French Canadians in government and various, even minimally prestigious occupations. Although during the first half of the nineteenth century Canadian populists managed to encourage a substantial degree of modernization among their people, this legacy would be diminished by a century of the laws and governments which served to impede progress in Canadian society. This led to bitter resentment on the

part of French Canadians who would begin to declare in the 1960s, that the time had come for the nation of Quebec to leave the confines of Canada, and fulfill its rightful destiny.

Another term which can be applied to the whole of society in Eastern Galicia is “sociologically incomplete” and it is not difficult to imagine why.<sup>36</sup> First of all, each social strata in Eastern Galicia was dominated by a specific ethnic group. Thus, during the late eighteenth century Polish nobles represented 3.4% of the population (and owned approximately 90 % of the land, townspeople, a class largely comprised of Jews, represented 10%, and finally, there existed a “sprinkling” of German bureaucrats.<sup>37</sup> The remainder of the population consisted of Ukrainians, most of whom were either members of the extremely impoverished peasantry, or the small and equally destitute Greek Catholic clergy. In most cases members of the clergy were hardly better off than peasants. As well, due to inadequate theological training, the result of the previous Polish system which favoured the Roman Catholic church, many Greek Catholic priests could barely read in Church Slavonic liturgical texts.<sup>38</sup> Only during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century would circumstances appear, which provided for greater status and education. This made it possible for the clergy to assume the leadership and guidance of the Ukrainian peasantry.

### **The Birth of the Ukrainian National Movement in Eastern Galicia**

In spite of numerous short-comings, the Austrian Habsburgs attempted to curtail the abuses of serfdom, and initiated numerous reforms which breathed new life into Ukrainian society and regenerated Ukrainian identity. First of all, partly in an effort to subordinate the church to the state and mold clergymen into state officials, in 1774, all three rites of the Catholic church in Galicia (Latin, Greek, and Armenian) were granted equal status. With improved status came a seminary in Lviv which promoted an awareness of Slavic culture among its students, many of whom eventually assumed the leadership of the Greek Catholic hierarchy in Galicia. In 1781 Emperor Joseph II made elementary education compulsory.

Then in 1787, the *Studium Ruthenum*, first Ukrainian school at the university level, was founded.

When one compares serfdom under Austria to that imposed by Russia where the serf was a virtual slave void of any rights and opportunities, it is possible to appreciate the opportunity for growth the Ukrainian national movement was afforded in Eastern Galicia. However, Habsburg support of Ukrainian education was not always consistent. This became especially apparent in 1812, when compulsory education was abolished and the schools were placed under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Not surprisingly, Polish was soon taught in all the village schools.<sup>39</sup> It was only through the efforts of the newly invigorated Greek Catholic hierarchy that in 1818 an imperial decree was issued, allowing for the instruction of Ukrainian language in Greek Catholic schools. Still, higher education was no longer available in Ukrainian so the onus fell upon the small group of Ukrainian intellectual leaders, comprised mostly of seminarians, to promote the use of Ukrainian in intellectual endeavours. It is at this point that the heritage-gathering stage of Ukrainian nationalism begins.<sup>40</sup>

In the earliest days of the Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia, it was the issue of language which preoccupied the young activists. The debate ensued as to whether Ukrainian, the spoken language of the peasantry, could even qualify as a literary language. In the age of Romanticism, with its interest in national cultures and local languages, the nature of this discourse was quite timely.<sup>41</sup> The problem for Ukrainians stemmed from the realization that Slavono-Rusyn or "Church Slavonic", "...was ill suited to and actually incapable of expressing modern concepts and secular ideas."<sup>42</sup> The question arose that if the Galician-Ukrainian vernacular was unsuitable for publication, then perhaps it should be replaced by Russian, or Polish, or even a mixture of Slavonic and the vernacular. Finally, there existed a debate over which alphabet to use; Cyrillic or Latin. Members of a group from the Lviv seminary known as the Ruthenian Trinity (*Ruska triitsia*), attempted to resolve this question. One work in particular, *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Mermaid of the Dniester,



1837), was the first publication to use vernacular Galician-Ukrainian written in the new orthography, comprised of a phonetic and modern Cyrillic alphabet. *Rusalka* came to serve as the orthographic model for the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia.<sup>43</sup>

In the two decades prior to 1848 Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia also received support and input for their heritage-gathering campaign from the Czechs and South Slavs, the Poles, and Ukrainians and Russians living in the Russian Empire, as subjugated Eastern European nationalities attempted to address questions of culture, freedom, social justice, and national identity. This occurred through an exchange of ideas and support for scholarly endeavours (which often required publication outside of Galicia). One talented artist and writer living in the Russian Empire, Taras Shevchenko, would come to serve as the greatest inspiration for Ukrainian under both empires. Through his writing, which synthesized several Ukrainian dialects, the colloquialisms of peasants and townsmen, and the forms and vocabulary of Church Slavonic, Shevchenko also brought a definitive end to the debate over orthography. As Subtelny observes, Shevchenko's poetry became in effect a literary and intellectual declaration of independence.<sup>44</sup>

One important individual to recognize the rising status of the Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia, was Count Franz Stadion, who was appointed governor of Galicia in 1847. Endowed with a keen sense of intuition, Stadion was greatly troubled by the penchant for dissent erupting throughout the empire. Of particular concern was the nationalism of the Poles, and consequently Stadion relied on the loyalty of Ukrainians to provide balance within Galicia. Thus, during the 1848 revolution the Ukrainian community was bombarded with a multitude of important "firsts," such as a first Ukrainian newspaper, its first political and cultural organizations, and finally, they were allowed to participate in their first elections. Demonstrations in Vienna later that year led the Polish nobles to forward a demand for Galician autonomy, and even an end to certain feudal obligations.

Not to be outmaneuvered by the Poles, Stadion brought the request regarding feudal obligations one step further, and on May 15 issued an imperial decree announcing the

official abolition of serfdom throughout the empire. With numerous important issues at stake, including the question of servitudes (the access to pasture and forest through right of servitude), the Supreme Ruthenian Council (*Holovna Ruska Rada*) was formed. Although peasants were unable to participate in this clergy dominated council, they did become quite active in smaller council of the same body, which came to exist at the local level. On 6 June Emperor Ferdinand I, promised to convene a constitutional parliament, however this groundbreaking decision was revoked when the imperial army captured Prague on 12 June. Order was somewhat restored in the empire. However, for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, great change was in the air. Over half a century of important Austrian reforms, ending with emancipation, had cleared the path for the modernization and nationalization of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia.

### **Ukrainian Proto-national Identity**

Although frequently subjected to foreign invasion or domination, it is fair to say that Ukraine enjoyed at least some, if not full freedom, until it was completely absorbed by the Russian and Austrian empires in 1795. Throughout the historical experience of Ukraine, from Kyivan Rus to the emancipation of the serfs in Eastern Galicia, it is possible to identify a myriad of cultural, social and political experiences and values, which were passed down to later generations. These proto-national bonds, preserved in both the written and collective memory, would serve to regenerate a people emerging from the darkest period of their existence. At a time when people began to speak in terms of nation and nationalism, Ukrainians, and in particular, Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia, would draw from their past experience. These links to a past identity, together with a more modern outlook on politics, culture, religion, language, progress, and self-worth, would inform Ukrainians in their quest for freedom and define them as a people.

Ukrainian proto-national bonds may be separated into the categories of culture/religion (“holy icons”), language, and political experience, although in reality they

tend to overlap one another. Before addressing the task of identifying examples of proto-nationalism, one must pose the following question: In what ways would a peasant in the late nineteenth century identify with an ancestor from any given social strata or era of Ukrainian history?

If a peasant were to look back to Kyivan Rus, he or she would find several things of meaning and value. Within this society there can be found an important role for women, Byzantine Christianity and all of its cultural benefits, a rich variety of pagan rituals, and the existence of two separate languages, the written church Slavonic and spoken Ukrainian (the dialects of which varied from region to region). It is possible to say that for the peasant, all of these examples would in practice still represent an essential part of his or her identity and distinguished the Ukrainian peasant from others. As for those aspects which no longer represented a visible part of a peasant's every day existence—they remained alive in the collective memory, through folklore and the oral tradition, and less so through such works as the *Primary Chronicles*, and religious writings, which were studied by literate, educated members of their nationalist intelligentsia. This becomes evident in later references in the populist press (in the 1880s) to the glorious legacy of Kyivan Rus. This legacy includes such details as the important role of a diverse social strata, towns, diplomacy, and international trade in Kyivan Rus, and the preservation of Rus heritage in Galicia, as well as the not so pleasant aspects such as life under the Mongol yoke, and the self-defeating practice of internal rivalry.

Under the Polish-Lithuanian period, one can identify numerous attempts to protect the rites and rituals associated with Eastern Orthodoxy. This is most apparent on both the for and against sides of the church union debate. The issue of union was particularly delicate, given that, as already mentioned, Orthodoxy had come to represent a fusion of religion and territorial identity (the notion that one was of Rus because one was of the Orthodox faith; and vice-versa.) Although Orthodoxy lost its battle to remain the official church of Ukrainians under Poland, the Greek Catholic church was able to retain many

important features of the Eastern rite. Had Roman Catholicism been enforced, Ukrainians would have been forced to abandon a number of features of their religion which they had come to regard as essential components of their identity. Through the Greek Catholic church many of the original rites and rituals of Eastern Orthodoxy (such as a married clergy, church Slavonic, the Julian calendar) were preserved and carried on to the Ukrainian peasantry of late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia. One aspect of particular relevance to the national movement, was that of the married clergy. Without the benefit of a married clergy—with its active spouses and children who often became active members of either the lay or clerical intelligentsia, and its structure of priestly dynasties—the peasantry would most likely have lacked the leadership necessary to provide the national movement with its initial momentum and to encourage the peasantry to educate and better themselves for the sake of the common good.

Apparent during the Cossack era (1550-1772) is first of all, a revival of the same independent spirit which characterized Kyivan-Rus, and secondly, the first signs of identification with the Ukrainian nation. Within Cossack society the desire for freedom, and political and social prestige represented nothing terribly new within Ukrainian history. On the other hand, the manner in which these ambitions were expressed, had begun to take on a whole new meaning. Take for example, the way the Orthodox church hierarchy in no lesser terms proclaimed Hetman Khmelnytskyi as the modern “Moses of the Ukrainian people.”<sup>45</sup> This statement continued to have meaning even when the Cossacks entered into agreement with Muscovy (Treaty of Pereiaslav), for they did so in hope of achieving greater success as an autonomous state under the protection of the Muscovite tsar. As well, even though status and wealth represented major incentives within Cossack society, this in itself did not embody the heart of their inspiration. When the abuses of Muscovy had reached an intolerable level, Mazepa, and other Cossack leaders turned on their comfortable relationship with the tsar and led the Cossacks in an independent direction, albeit unsuccessfully. The historical legacy passed down from the Cossack era to late nineteenth

century Eastern Galicia includes, a rather nationalist outlook on Ukrainian identity, centuries of sustained Ukrainian culture, and perhaps not so apparent but nonetheless crucial, the legacy of a fighting spirit which negotiates at will and frequently defies authority.

Even during the dismal era of serfdom in Eastern Galicia, a spirit of defiance, not dissimilar to that of the Cossacks, penetrated through the darkness. Other links to a more glorious past, embodied in language, culture, religion, and political identity, while yet remaining an integral part of the peasant psyche, lay buried beneath the weight of day to day existence. Only a rare few could afford the luxury of exploring Ukrainian issues, and even then, this was initially only manifested in the form of a heritage -gathering crusade. Still, this activity represented a very important beginning. Also of great significance for the future Ukrainian national movement was the cultural exchange which took place during the last two decades prior to Austrian emancipation, between Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia, Ukrainians under the Russian empire, and representatives from other East European nations struggling for cultural equality. Still, only during the post-emancipation period, an era which simultaneously guaranteed greater personal freedom and a multitude of new battles, would this movement take on populist overtones and begin to embrace the heart of the nation, the peasantry. Only then would the true meaning of these proto-national bonds come to light. However, by then these bonds would have lost their proto-national quality, by the very fact that they had been transformed into genuine components of national sentiment.

### **Proto-national Identity and the Rise of the Imagined Community of Nation**

In proposing the theory of proto-nationalism, it is apparent that Hobsbawn was inspired by Benedict Anderson's notion of the "imagined community" of nation :

The problem before us derives from the fact that the modern nation, either as a state or as a body of people aspiring to form such a state, differs in scale and nature from the actual communities with which human beings have identified over most of history, and makes quite different demands on them. It is, in Benedict Anderson's useful phrase, an 'imagined community', and no doubt this can be made to fill the emotional void left by

the retreat or disintegration, or the unavailability of *real* human communities and networks, but the question still remains why, having lost real communities, people should wish to imagine this particular type of replacement.<sup>46</sup>

Hobsbawm responds to the dilemma raised by Anderson's theory—why does modern man need nations—by introducing the theory of proto-nationalism. Hobsbawm proposes that prior to the entrance of modernity, societies were characterized by proto-national bonds, or variants of feelings of collective belonging. With the decline or loss of certain cultural conceptions (age-old imagined communities), individuals, already in possession of proto-national identity, found a suitable replacement in the imagined community of nation.

### **Cultural Conceptions and the Rise of the Imagined Community of Nation**

Proto-nationalist elements themselves proved subject to various modernizing conditions, and underwent massive transformation into tenets of modern nationalism. Such change arose from three conditions as identified by Boyd Shafer: the growth of the secular state, the weakening of the universal church and local feudal lords, and of particular interest to this study, the development of communication.<sup>47</sup> Benedict Anderson, another theorist of nationalism, though in essential agreement with Shafer, describes the initial changes which paved the road to modernism in terms of a loss of three cultural conceptions of antiquity; the dynastic realm, the religious community, and the pre-modern apprehension of time.

According to Shafer, the growth of the secular state ensued from the desire of monarchs to extend their domains and concomitantly to solidify control over their subjects. Naturally, from this process arose bureaucracies. These bureaucratic systems, comprised of the personal, executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative staffs of officials representing the monarch throughout the kingdom, provided for continuity in government.<sup>48</sup> Such continuity and order lay down the framework for the future nation. This development inevitably drew power away from the monarch, the divinely appointed leader, into the hands of the very bureaucratic agencies created to serve his or her interests, thereby fostering the growth of the secular state. However, according to Anderson, the monarchs of the crumbling

dynastic realm had been for some time “...reaching for a ‘national cachet’ as the old principle of Legitimacy withered silently away.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, monarchs hoped to reestablish a sense of loyalty to his person, by promoting loyalty to the nation of which he was leader. However, in multi-national empires, such as that under the Austrians, decentralization of power was destined to produce a very different effect. Various national groups, especially the Poles and Hungarians, would regard an increase in local authority as the basis for future national independence. These more aggressive national movements would in turn, stimulate the aspirations of other, more downtrodden national groups, such as the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia. Through the move towards decentralization of the state, monarchs also came to recognize, if reluctantly, the social and economic drawbacks of atomistic feudalism.<sup>50</sup> For Ukrainians emancipation would breath further life into a young, rising national movement, as this nation of former serfs began to explore the benefits of new found freedom.

As Anderson observes: “In Western Europe the eighteenth century marks not only a dawn of the age of nationalism but the dusk of religious modes of thought.”<sup>51</sup> The religious community which served as a prominent cultural conception up until this time, consisted of great sacral cultures which incorporated conceptions of immense communities.<sup>52</sup> The secularism of the Enlightenment aided in the decline of the religious community, and with it, its sanctity and solace. However, the pain and suffering of life, once alleviated by membership in this community, remained. The void left behind through the departure of the religious community was filled by the community of nation. This is because, according to Anderson, nation “...transforms fatality into continuity and contingency into meaning.”<sup>53</sup> In other words, nation serves as a link between past, present and future. This line of continuity instills pride and anticipation in the populace.

The decline of the religious community was also enforced by a gradual demotion of sacred languages. Anderson views sacred languages as the medium through which the great global religious communities of the antiquity were imagined.<sup>54</sup> How then was the illiterate

majority affected by sacred languages? He states that the bilingual intelligentsia of the Catholic church, for example, by mediating between the vernacular, the language of the people, and Latin, the language of the church, “mediated between heaven and earth.”<sup>55</sup> However, the role of the sacred language, the language of the clergy, as well as the role of the clergy itself, diminished in relevance with the elevation of the vernacular. Anderson credits this change to the emergence of print-capitalism. The printing press made it possible to produce mass quantities of print materials at a very low cost. However, the market for books and other print materials in Latin was very limited and rapidly saturated. He states that a Europe-wide shortage of money made the idea of “peddling cheap editions in the vernaculars” more attractive to printers.<sup>56</sup> As literacy in the vernaculars increased, the practicality of sacred languages decreased. In most cultures, vernaculars would inevitably replace universal languages of the church, as the medium for interpreting the word of God. Finally, with the publication of Bibles in the vernacular, individuals would now be able to determine, without the assistance of a priest, their relationship with God and their place in the universe.

With the proliferation of the vernacular, literacy increased as did interest in the printed word. In eighteenth century Enlightenment Europe two new forms of imagining, the novel and newspaper, emerged and proceeded to capture the attention of the literate populace. These helped to transform another cultural conception of antiquity, that is, the apprehension of time. According to Anderson, time had been heretofore perceived as the past and future in an instantaneous present.<sup>57</sup> Imagined reality was largely projected through the visual and aural, and presentation of this imagined reality was not altered to reflect a past which held little meaning or relevance.

Figuring the Virgin Mary with ‘Semitic’ features or ‘first-century’ costumes in the restoring spirit of the modern museum was unimaginable because the mediaeval Christian mind had no conception of history as an endless chain of cause and effect or of radical separations between past and present.<sup>58</sup>



Time was now perceived as progressive line progressing comprised of a chain of events intrinsically linked to one another. It is with this change in the apprehension of time, that the modern notion of “history” became possible.

With the authority of the church significantly shaken, people began to search for heaven on earth. This new earthly community took the form, as coined by Benedict Anderson, of the “imagined community” of nation. He argues that this community is imagined because, while most of its members will never know or directly come in contact with one another, “...in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”<sup>59</sup> He describes the imagined community of nation as one imagined as inherently limited and sovereign. It is limited because it is encompassed by finite, even if somewhat tensile boundaries, beyond which lie other imagined communities. It is sovereign because the concept of nation sprang from the age of Enlightenment and Revolution, a period during which the authority of the two cultural systems dominating mankind —the religious community and the dynastic realm—saw the first signs of deterioration. Finally, Anderson proposes that the nation itself is imagined in the form of a community because, despite any prevailing inequalities, “...the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship.”<sup>60</sup> What better means to enforce this horizontal comradeship, than the printed mediums of novel and newspaper which according to Anderson, “...provided the technical means for ‘representing’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation.”<sup>61</sup>

This period of rapid transition (described by Anderson), according to Stuart Hall, “...aggressively embraced ‘the new’— novelty for its own sake—and reveled in challenging and overthrowing the old forms, traditions, theories, institutions and authorities.”<sup>62</sup> This new, accepting approach to change, signified the emergence of an era of modernity. For, as Hall adds, “Essential to the idea of modernity is the belief that everything is destined to be speeded up, dissolved, displaced, transformed, reshaped.”<sup>63</sup> The overwhelming acceptance and even adoration of the modern which emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century, stands in sharp contrast to pre-nineteenth century interpretations,

where modernity was associated with a break in tradition, and essentially, all that which was considered bad, dangerous and in need of justification.<sup>64</sup>

Another prominent characteristic of modern society is the rising role of the individual. Yet this in itself is a paradox, by the very fact that modern individualism breeds homogeneity.<sup>65</sup> How is this possible? Modern individualism places extreme pressure on the individual to act in the interest of the collective, this being society. In so-called “pre-modern” times, this was not the case by the very fact that humanity was accountable to God alone. When the religious community began to unfold and man was forced to seek an alternative in the imagined community of nation, he suddenly became accountable to his peers. With participation in this imagined community comes a multitude of duties and expectations, for which each individual is personally accountable. Suddenly, every aspect of life, encompassing everything from politics to superstition, become qualified in terms of good vs. bad. Such is the stress of conformity placed upon the individual by modern society and membership within the imagined community of nation.

As the imagined community of nation began to unfold as the primary cultural conception of modern society, proto-national elements were simultaneously transformed into tenets of nationalism. Elevated by the decline of the dynastic realm and the religious community, vernaculars gradually gained distinction as languages of the church and administration. However, nothing quite lent dignity and authority to vernaculars, as the “revolutionary vernacularizing thrust” of print capitalism.<sup>66</sup> As more print materials were produced in the vernacular, vernacular languages were developed into more refined, standardized forms. As a result, language rapidly became a major component of nation and national sentiment. Print-capitalism served to connect readers, increased the level of communication and fortified a sense of community. Most of all, Anderson notes, it gave a new fixity to language, building an image of antiquity so central to the idea of nation.<sup>67</sup>

With the decline of the religious community as a cultural system, religion was also assigned a new role. Rather than disappearing, religion, increasingly interpreted and

communicated in the vernacular, became more popular and national in appearance. Also, the holy icons, so intrinsically linked with religious belief in the past, now became of growing cultural importance. Tradition and custom increasingly served to define a people and to shape a sense of history and identity. That which had always been practiced or communicated, and never really questioned, was now recognized with pride as peculiar and unique to one's national identity. However, even this required categorization in terms of good and bad culture, and consequently that which the intelligentsia considered to be undesirable was ultimately subject to attack. Finally, the role played by the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to a lasting political entity, acquired an immense level of importance. This imagined community of the past, fashions the framework for national identity. It interprets the past, sheds light on present dilemmas, and offers direction for the future. Thus, for the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, the former glory of the conquered Ukrainian state emphasized the wrongs and injustices, both past and present, and proposed the remedy for this: the rebirth of the Ukrainian state.

### **The Structure of Post-emancipation Eastern Galicia**

As Himka observes: "Without the personal emancipation and mobility and without the weakening of the manor's power in the village, the national movement could never have penetrated among the peasantry."<sup>68</sup> Following the emancipation of the serfs in the Austrian Empire, it is possible to identify certain monumental changes within Ukrainian society. Such changes were manifested through the decline of cultural conceptions which had previously dictated the relationship of the Ukrainian peasantry with the church and state. The disappearance of feudalism, and decline of the cultural conceptions of the religious community and the dynastic realm, together with their corresponding institutions would serve to reshape Ukrainian peasant society.

## The Challenges of Freedom

The various problems which arose after the elimination of serfdom and the manner in which they were dealt, proved highly instrumental in the rise of national consciousness among the Ukrainian peasantry of Eastern Galicia. The most imperative issue to arise during the post-emancipation period was that pertaining to "servitudes." Lords throughout Eastern Galicia had long since assumed the position that access to forest and pasture by the peasantry was only a right of servitude, meaning so long as they were serfs, access would be permitted. In actuality, the forests and pastures in question, had always been perceived by the peasantry to be the property of the village community. That is, until they were cleverly appropriated by the manor, during the 1789 and 1820 Austrian land surveys.

With emancipation the lords proceeded to bar peasants from freely accessing the forests and pastures which had been in their possession for centuries. The peasant reaction to this, aside from complete outrage, was also expressed through an outbreak of illegal mass action. As many as one in five communes was engaged in some form of illegal activity related to the servitudes issue.<sup>69</sup> Finally on July 5, 1853 through an imperial patent, a servitudes commission was formed. Once officially activated in 26 November, 1855, this commission remained in existence until 24 March, 1895, when its duties were passed on to the courts and political authorities. The decisions passed by the servitudes commission, were rarely, if ever, completely satisfying to the Ukrainian peasantry. A lack of evidence, even further hindered by a lack of experience and knowledge pertaining to such matters, rendered the peasantry virtually incapable of defending their right to these lands. In the end, the peasants received much less in rustic, primarily arable land, than that which the lords had appropriated from 1789-1820. This translates into 278, 374 *morg* of forest and pasture for the peasantry, as opposed to the 3.6 million *morg* essentially stolen throughout those three decades.<sup>70</sup>

What was the response of Ukrainian nationalists during this period of significant financial loss? As Himka suggests, once the Supreme Ruthenian Council was dissolved by

the government in 1851, during the period of reaction and neo-absolutism which followed the revolution, the Ukrainian national movement slipped into hibernation.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the real battle was waged on the part of peasants, who fought to protect that which they considered to be rightfully theirs. Although their efforts were largely unsuccessful, even when proper legal channels were employed, this exercise in futility did provide certain long-term benefits. First of all, it brought peasants face to face with the tangible disadvantages of ignorance and illiteracy. Above all else, it served to politicize the peasantry, who began to recognize the inherent benefits of the Ukrainian unity. Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia had begun to realize that real freedom lay not simply in their emancipation, but in their ability to interpret and defend their rights vis-à-vis other groups within society, which, as it were, were represented by other nationalities (the Poles and the Jews). Thus, such issues as servitudes, political representation, language and educational rights, were not simply viewed as rights belonging to a particular social class, but rather, the inherent rights of the Ukrainian people. Still, the Ukrainians as a national group were not nearly as organized, nor nationally cohesive, as the Poles, who already at the time of the partition, were a historic national group which did not need to be revived.<sup>72</sup>

### **Changes in the Power of the Monarch**

The political environment which immediately preceded the 1848 revolution in Austria, was hardly conducive to activity even remotely political in nature. Having regained control of his fragile empire, the Habsburg monarch was most unwilling to re-entertain any experiments in democracy. The decade which followed the revolution is characterized by a return to the blatant political intolerance exhibited by the Austrian authorities in previous years. Initially, rule was placed in the hands of the imperial court. However, in 1854 this was replaced by an imperial civil administration headed by a viceroy. A step toward the decentralization of power of the monarch came with the introduction of constitutionalism and representative government in 1861. That year a central parliament (*Reichstag*) was

organized in Vienna. The Austria central parliament consisted of a House of Lords (appointees of the emperor), and a exceedingly more influential House of Deputies with representatives from every province, elected by voters according to the curia system. At this time, each province was designated a diet (Seim in Galicia), with elected deputies. Each diet was presided over by a marshall and vice-marshall, appointed by the emperor. With the introduction of these measures Ukrainians became involved in the political process at both the provincial and imperial levels.<sup>73</sup>

The move by the Habsburg monarch to a more democratic framework came in response to renewed threats of internal instability. In 1859 Austria went to war with Sardinia in which it lost Lombardy and was expelled from Tuscony, Modena and Parma. This poor performance on the military front was partly attributable to the poor relations the Empire fostered with its numerous nationalities, especially the Hungarians. Thus, lacking the support of the people in both their internal and external endeavours, the Austrian state had little choice but to forfeit much of the rigid control it held over the population.<sup>74</sup> However, by this time such a gesture was essentially of little consequence to the Hungarians, who proceeded to map out their road to greater autonomy. Finally, in 1867, the Austrians conceded to the Hungarians through a compromise known as the *Ausgleich*. However, when it came time for the *Reichstag* to ratify the agreement, it lacked the support required. To gain Polish parliamentary support, the Emperor Franz Josef promised considerable concession to the Galician Poles.<sup>75</sup> Through the *Ausgleich*, Hungary was rendered virtually autonomous, except with respect to foreign affairs and some economic matters. Thus was established the Habsburg Dual Monarchy, or Austria-Hungary.

### **Polish Administrative Homerule in Eastern Galicia**

In 1867 the Austrian Empire forfeited much of the centralized control it had previously maintained, especially in regard to the internal affairs of its provinces. This reality had both positive and negative repercussions for Ukrainians and the Ukrainian

national movement. The most prominent feature of post-1867 Eastern Galicia, is that of Polish administrative homerule in Eastern Galicia. This was granted to the Poles for several reasons. First of all, it fulfilled the concession promised to Polish parliamentarians when their support had been desperately required to ratify the *Ausgleich*. Secondly, this was done in the hope of pacifying the Poles and their drive for autonomy. Finally, the Polish administrative monopoly was implemented to temper Ukrainian political aspirations, which the Austrians feared, were inspired by Moscow. The Poles were most eager to diffuse this myth. In years past Ukrainians nationalist proclamations had incited great suspicion:

When the Ukrainians declared in 1848 the unity of the Ukrainian nation under Austria with Ukrainians living under the tsar, they themselves were not aware of the intellectual implications of such an assertion, although the other Slavs at the Prague Slav Congress quickly grasped this.<sup>76</sup>

This proclamation of national unity with Ukrainians under the Russian empire alarmed the Austrians and strengthened the belief that Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were Russophiles and thus potentially loyal to the Russians. Russophiles were those adherents of a sociopolitical current that appeared in the 19th century among Ukrainians in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovyna, who saw themselves as part of the Russian nation, and vied for political union with the Russian Empire.<sup>77</sup>

For the minority of Ukrainians living in Eastern Galicia who were Russophiles, support for Russophilism stemmed from the effects of Slavophile propaganda (the idea of all Slavs as a part of one brotherly union), disillusionment with the Habsburgs, and the belief that the only way to escape Polonization and Polish dominance was to turn to Russia.<sup>78</sup> Although Russophilism did represent a sizable movement among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia during the 1860s, it was by no means embraced by the majority of Ukrainians, and made the least impact on the peasantry. Ukrainian populists, in an attempt to separate themselves from the Russophiles and to unite themselves specifically with those involved in the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire, often referred to themselves as “Ukrainophiles.” Consequently, Ukrainophilism (*ukrainofilstvo*) became synonymous with the term populism (*narodovstvo*).

Although Russophilism lacked the popularity of Ukrainophilism, the Austrians feared the power of Russia and the decision was made to appease the Poles at the expense of the Ukrainian majority. Consequently, Polish became the official language of the internal administration, secondary schools, and the university in Lviv. Less official, though nevertheless redundant, was Polish occupation of most important government positions from 1871 right through to 1914. Thus, during that period all the viceroys, marshalls, and captains in Galicia were of Polish origin.<sup>79</sup> The same was the case with the Ministry of Galicia Affairs.

Quite to the dismay of Ukrainians, was the enduring presence of Polish count Agenor Goluchowski. An aggressive proponent of Polish chauvinism, Goluchowski served as viceroy of Galicia on three occasions between 1849 and 1875, as well as the Austrian imperial minister of internal affairs from 1859 to 1875. The prodigious amount of influence this viceroy wielded in relation to the structural composition of Galicia is almost inconceivable. As Magosci observes, Goluchowski "...was able to advance the Polish cause and transform Galicia into an area in which Poles monopolized the upper echelons of the administration, the educational system, and economic life—a state of affairs that was to last until the outbreak of World War I in 1914."<sup>80</sup>

The level of control Poles exerted over Galician society would hinder the progress of the Ukrainian national movement and its dissemination to the masses. However, where persistence prevailed, such discrimination induced individuals to action, whether by joining a reading club, writing a letter to the press, or publicly endorsing the Ukrainian candidate in an election. The irony is that such activity had only been made possible through the same system of reforms which had granted the Poles greater power. Thus, inspired by both the injustices and benefits of the new system, the Ukrainian national movement would acquire unprecedented gains during the post-constitutional era under Austria.



### **Changes in the Role of the Church**

All Greek Catholics in Galicia were subordinate to the Galician metropolitanate in Lviv. Through the resurrection of the metropolitanate back in 1808 the Greek Catholic church was granted the opportunity for growth and development for which it would prove eternally grateful. In fact, as Himka observes, the loyalty of the Greek Catholic church to Austrian state which emerged shortly thereafter "...went well beyond a formal compliance with legitimate authority(.)"<sup>81</sup> Such loyalty often manifested itself through a lack of intervention on matters directly related to the fate of the Greek Catholic parishioners. At the same time, the peasantry was also guilty of the same blind loyalty and naive monarchism, espoused by Greek Catholic clergy. Such patriotism was a natural extension of the relief and gratitude which came with emancipation. However, after the bitter lessons of the servitudes struggle, the original sense of indebtedness experienced by the newly liberated peasantry was destined to fade.

In the decades following emancipation, the clergy would begin to take a more proactive, hands on approach when dealing with the social plight of its parishioners, and the promotion of Ukrainian national identity. Ukrainian priests would come to represent avid supporters of enlightenment through their encouragement of literacy, the Ukrainian language, education, sobriety, the press, cooperatives, new farming methods, political participation, and much more. Above all, the clergy became a devote proponent of the national movement. In fact as numerous historians observe, the Greek Catholic church did the most to accelerate the maturation of the Galician Ukrainians into nationhood.<sup>82</sup> For example the clergy often founded and initially ran numerous cultural, political, and economic organizations in the villages. Thus, for many priests the national movement eventually began to take precedence over spiritual matters, to the extent where they began to see themselves "...more as village activists, than ministers of God."<sup>83</sup> Consequently, when the village lay intelligentsia (which, to a large extent was comprised of children of the

clergy), finally began to assume a role of leadership in the national movement, "...the period of the church's protectorate over the national movement had come to a close."<sup>84</sup>

With the 1848 revolution, the legitimacy of absolute central authority was strongly called into question. This ultimately resulted in the decentralization of Austrian authority, heretofore solely embodied in the figure of the monarch. Out of this era of change came peasant emancipation, constitutionalism, and a relaxation on censorship. These developments allowed the intelligentsia to explore the potential of the peasantry and added great momentum to nationalist movement. The church was also unable to escape the nineteenth century unaltered, as the clergy began to take on the role of village activist. Through its promotion of secular enlightenment in the village, the clergy bridged the intellectual gap between priest and peasant, so that the village intelligentsia came to embody Ukrainian populists from all walks of life.

### **Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia and the Imagined Community of Nation**

The nineteenth century in Eastern Galicia, as in most other part of Europe, marked a decline in significance of authority in both the monarchy and the church. The decline of these two major cultural conceptions, the dynastic realm and the religious community, necessitated that Ukrainians redirect their loyalty elsewhere. Rather than explore outside of themselves for a suitable alternative, the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, like all other nationalities subjected to this process of change, began to look inward. What they found was a community of people who shared the same history, language, religion, culture, traditions and social plight. All these elements of their identity had been in existence for many centuries, and in some cases, even a millennium. What made a connection to the past even remotely conceivable was a change in the apprehension of time, which had essentially occurred at the very moment when the peasant first felt compelled to purchase a timepiece (to keep track of the time spent on the lord's estate). Ukrainian peasants could now fully appreciate the concepts of past, present and future, and perceive the historical connection

which united Ukrainians as a people for infinity. At the same time, as in the past, the individual peasant could not realistically maintain an actual relationship with every member of this community. However, in his mind, this community was imagined to be quite real. As well, according to the pressures of this increasingly modern society, every individual member of the imagined community of nation had an obligation to his peers. When such obligations were not fulfilled, the transgressor could potentially be held accountable before his peers through a venue, which in itself called for a modern approach to processing information —this being the press.

<sup>7</sup> Boyd Shafer, Faces of Nationalism: New Realities and Old Myths (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972) 8.

<sup>8</sup> Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991) 6.

<sup>9</sup> E. J. Hobsbawn, Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality (Cambridge University Press, 1990) 46.

<sup>10</sup> Hobsbawn 59.

<sup>11</sup> Hobsbawn 68.

<sup>12</sup> Hobsbawn 71.

<sup>13</sup> Hobsbawn 63.

<sup>14</sup> Anderson 74.

<sup>15</sup> Hobsbawn 78.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Robert Magosci, A History of Ukraine (Seattle: University of Washington, 1996) 25.

<sup>17</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 95.

<sup>18</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 84.

<sup>19</sup> Orest Subtelny, Ukraine: A History (University of Toronto Press, 1988) 60.

<sup>20</sup> Subtelny 63.

<sup>21</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 151.

<sup>22</sup> Taras Hunczak, 98.

<sup>23</sup> Hunczak 99.

<sup>24</sup> Hunczak 100.

<sup>25</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 169.

<sup>26</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 154.

<sup>27</sup> Hunczak 106.

<sup>28</sup> Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Ukraine between East and West." Essays in Modern Ukrainian History, ed. Peter L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1987) 4.

<sup>29</sup> Rudnytsky, "Ukraine between East and West" 6.

<sup>30</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 203.

<sup>31</sup> Rudnytsky, "Ukraine between East and West" 6.

<sup>32</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 5.

<sup>33</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 15.

<sup>34</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 22.

<sup>35</sup> Ann Sirka, The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of the Ukrainians in Galicia 1867-1914 (Frankfurt, Peter Lang Ltd., 1980) 3.

- <sup>36</sup> Subtelny 215.
- <sup>37</sup> Subtelny 214.
- <sup>38</sup> Subtelny 215.
- <sup>39</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 399.
- <sup>40</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 400.
- <sup>41</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 401.
- <sup>42</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 401.
- <sup>43</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 403.
- <sup>44</sup> Subtelny 234.
- <sup>45</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 203.
- <sup>46</sup> Hobsbawn 46.
- <sup>47</sup> Shafer 29.
- <sup>48</sup> Shafer 33.
- <sup>49</sup> Anderson 22.
- <sup>50</sup> Shafer 46.
- <sup>51</sup> Anderson 11.
- <sup>52</sup> Anderson 12.
- <sup>53</sup> Anderson 11.
- <sup>54</sup> Anderson 14.
- <sup>55</sup> Anderson 15/16.
- <sup>56</sup> Anderson 38.
- <sup>57</sup> Anderson 24.
- <sup>58</sup> Anderson 23.
- <sup>59</sup> Anderson 6.
- <sup>60</sup> Anderson 7.
- <sup>61</sup> Anderson 25.
- <sup>62</sup> Stuart Hall, 15.
- <sup>63</sup> Hall, 15.
- <sup>64</sup> Hall, 14.
- <sup>65</sup> Colin E. Gunton, The One, The Three And The Many: God, Creation and the Culture of Modernity (Cambridge University Press, 1992) 30.
- <sup>66</sup> Anderson 39.
- <sup>67</sup> Anderson 44.
- <sup>68</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 27.
- <sup>69</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 49.
- <sup>70</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 40.
- <sup>71</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 53.
- <sup>72</sup> Sirka 3.
- <sup>73</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 420-421.
- <sup>74</sup> Sirka 52.
- <sup>75</sup> Sirka 54.
- <sup>76</sup> Sirka 24.
- <sup>77</sup> "Russophiles," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1984.
- <sup>78</sup> Subtelny 317.
- <sup>79</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 421.
- <sup>80</sup> Magosci, A History of Ukraine 418.
- <sup>81</sup> John-Paul Himka, The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Eastern Galicia (Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1986) 428.
- <sup>82</sup> Himka, The Greek Catholic Church 452.
- <sup>83</sup> Himka, The Greek Catholic Church 444.
- <sup>84</sup> Himka, The Greek Catholic Church 451.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **The Rise of the Press and its Role in Modern Society**

Eugen Weber, in his study of the modernization of rural France, places the printing press at the entrance to the modern world. The invention of the printing press was an entirely modern innovation. However, in association with new cultural conceptions, it would itself serve as a tool of modernization. With a complete change in the apprehension of time, a fascination with history emerged. The printed word, produced in the vernacular in mass quantities, served as the medium to articulate interpretations of antiquity. It also promoted language, religion, culture and history as central elements of national identity, and national identity as requisite to membership within the imagined community of nation. Books, while quite popular, were not nearly as affordable, nor accessible as newspapers. In fact, a single newspaper could be circulated around an entire village and read aloud from by the literate for the benefit of those who could not read.

The press provided brief, condensed accounts of news and events, a platform for opinions and connected individuals separated by vast distances as members of the imagined community. This growing sense of connectedness, facilitated by the press, served to diminish the relevance and even existence of regional differences. This was largely due to the tendency of the cultural tradition reflected in the press to lean towards generalities and to favour national themes, over local ones.<sup>85</sup> As products of an age of nationalism, editorial boards unabashedly forwarded a nationalist agenda, and with it, a recipe for the modernization of the peasantry. This call for modernization was articulated with a sense of urgency, for it was rightly believed that without a modern peasantry, there could be no nation.

### **The Rise of the Press in Eastern Galicia**

The Austrian reforms of the late 1860s, aside from the introduction of constitutional government also included compulsory education and relative freedom of press and association. Although none of these reforms were ever thoroughly implemented largely owing to the extent of Polish domination over all facets of life in Eastern Galicia, their very existence would have a major impact on Ukrainian peasant society.<sup>86</sup> The school system, which will later be examined in greater detail, was overwhelmingly in favour of a Polish education. On the other hand, while Ukrainian education was allowed to some extent (only at the primary level), it remained shamefully underdeveloped. Also problematic was the regressive law enacted on May 2, 1883 which reduced the number of years of compulsory education for Galicians from eight years, down to six. To the poor peasant who required his or her child to work the land, the natural choice was to remove the child from school as early as possible. However, in the long term, the elementary level of education received by children was rarely retained into adulthood. Thus, the cycle of illiteracy and under-education tended to perpetuate itself. For many adult peasants the only hope of alleviating this process came through reading clubs (referred to by many correspondents as the school for adults) and the press. Through these channels of information, even the peasant who could not read, was afforded the opportunity to learn and to apprise himself of issues which affected him (when others read aloud from the press).

The Ukrainian language press first emerged in Galicia in 1848 in conjunction with the revolutionary period in Austria. Likewise, the press disappeared during the reactionary period which followed. During the 1860s, the press was resurrected and the newspapers which appeared began to demonstrate more defined political affiliations. For the next two decades the Russophile press appeared to be gaining a considerable following among members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Eastern Galicia. The spread of Russophilism among Ukrainian intellectuals occurred for several reasons, the most important of which included, the insult of Polish home-rule in Galicia (whereas Poles were being punished by

the Russian tsar for the 1863-64 Polish Insurrection in Right-Bank Ukraine), and the sense of inferiority Ukrainians experienced in the face of Polish culture (they believed that adopting Russian culture would raise the status of the Ukrainians living in Eastern Galicia.)<sup>87</sup> However, as previously elaborated on, this tendency faded relative to its inability to relate to the general populace and to provide tangible solutions to neither their social or cultural concerns. On the other hand, the needs of the peasantry were more adequately addressed through such papers as *Dom i Shkola* (Home and School, 1863-4), *Pysmo do hromady* (Letter to the Community, 1864-5, 1867-8). However, most of the early papers never gained much influence and acquired minimal participation from their limited readership. In fact, the editor of *Pysmo do hromady* lamented that the only contributions he ever received were from his relatives.<sup>88</sup>

The real turning point for the Ukrainian periodical press came with founding of the national populist society Prosvita in 1868. Prosvita, which means enlightenment, from its inception was mandated to publish booklets designed for the peasant audience, and to assist and promote the foundation of village reading clubs. In 1877 the society's sphere of interest was extended to the populist press, with the founding of a monthly newspaper entitled *Pysmo z Prosvity* (Letter from Prosvita). This national-populist paper ran until the summer of 1879, when it was replaced by *Batkivshchyna*. Himka surmises that when selecting the title *Batkivshchyna*, its founders took into consideration its double-meaning of "patrimony" and "fatherland."<sup>89</sup> This was undoubtedly to send a message to all that the promotion of national loyalty was to be a primary focus of this literary watchdog. Thus, such national embarrassments as the parliamentary elections of 1879 (which reduced the number of Ukrainian deputies from sixteen to three) would be raised and dissected before and for the benefit of the public eye.<sup>90</sup> Though closely associated with and supportive of Prosvita, *Batkivshchyna* was to remain separate from the society, as the statutes of Prosvita barred it from any political activity. In practice however, *Batkivshchyna*, represents a natural extension of the aims and ambitions of the enlightenment society, evident in the paper's

promotion of the reading club (Prosvita at the village level) and the Ukrainian national movement.

**Table 1 Press Run and Frequency of Ukrainian Political Periodicals in Galicia, 1880-1885**

Periodical	1880		1885	
	Issues per year	Press Run	Issues per Year	Press Run
Batktivshchyna	24	600	52	1500
Dilo	104	550	156	1300
Myr	—	—	156	1000
Nauka	12	100	12	600
Nove zerkalo	—	—	24	450
Novyi Prolom	—	—	104	600
Ruska Rada	24	800	24	800
Slovo	156	850	156	600
Strakhopud	24	500	—	—

Source: John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in Nineteenth Century (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies University of Alberta, 1988) table 6.

By 1880, the number of Ukrainian periodicals in Galicia had reached eighteen. One newspaper ideologically linked to *Batktivshchyna*, was *Dilo*. Founded in 1880 (and shut down by the Soviets in 1939), *Dilo* first appeared as a twice-weekly and by 1888, was circulated on a daily basis. However, most popular by far was *Batktivshchyna*. Having first appeared in October of 1879 on a fortnightly basis, the paper would switch to a weekly (1883-92), and finally to a fortnightly alternating with another fortnightly, *Chytalnia* (Reading Club, 1893-96). Although *Batktivshchyna* appeared less frequently than *Dilo*, it



was a favourite among the peasantry. At its height in 1885, the press run of the paper was around fifteen hundred (see Table 1). It is difficult to estimate the actual readership of this national-populist paper, as one copy had the potential of reaching several dozen readers.<sup>91</sup>

In the long run, *Dilo* proved to have the most staying power; it lasted until 1939, whereas *Batkivshchyna* completed its press run in 1896. What happened to this popular newspaper? Himka alleges the conservative, anti-radical approach of the paper's editors led directly to its demise: "The expulsion of Pavlyk [a radical who served as the unannounced and acting editor for 24 issues in 1889] proved to be the turning point in the fortunes of *Batkivshchyna*. In the view of many, the national populists had behaved incorrectly."<sup>92</sup> Himka also claims that during the 1890s radicalism came into serious competition with national populism at the village level, as indicated by the success of the 'radical versions of *Batkivshchyna*,' *Khliborob* (Agriculturalist, 1891-4) and *Hromadskyi Holos* (Community Voice, 1895-1939), the latter of which had a press run of 1000 in 1895. However, another source indicates that *Hromadskyi Holos* merged with the Chernivtsi weekly *Pratsia* in (Labour) in 1897.<sup>93</sup> It seems unlikely that a paper with the title "Labour", would have great success among the peasantry.

Still, the question remains; did a rise in radicalism destroy *Batkivshchyna*? It appears that radicalism in itself did not bring an end to *Batkivshchyna* so much as the bickering which occurred within and between the two opposing political camps of radicalism and national populism. In the process neither side appeared to be working in the interest of the average peasant. Pure radicalism was hardly acceptable at the village level. Yet, on the other hand, the leadership of the populist movement during the early 1890s, in an attempt to demonstrate loyalty to the Austrian government (in return for more cultural and political concessions), abandoned its previous element of social radicalism.<sup>94</sup> However, by 1894 a schism emerged among the populists and the majority (led by the former editor of *Batkivshchyna*, Romanchuk), together with the right wing of the Ukrainian Radical party joined to form the Ukrainian National Democratic party. Through this compromise, national

populism evolved into a more modern and dynamic movement. The newspaper *Dilo* became associated with the intellectual component of the new party, while the official organ of the Ukrainian Democratic Party, *Svoboda* (Liberty, 1897-1939) came to serve the rural population. That the more moderate *Dilo* managed to outlive this era of discord, may lay in the fact that it never manifested its dilemma over radicalism the way *Batkivshchyna* did when it fired Pavlyk as its editor, but quietly adapted over the years.

**Table 2 Reasons Given for Confiscation of *Batkivshchyna*, 1879-1881**

Confiscated Issue	Preaching Hatred or Contempt for			
	Government Officials	Jews	Poles	Nobility
1879: no. 5	X	X		
no. 6	X	X	X	
1880: no. 1	X	X		
no. 2	X	X		
no. 4	X			
no. 13	X			
no. 15	X			
no. 19		X		
1881: no. 1	X			
no. 4	X			
no. 4 (2nd edition)	X			
no. 11	X			
no. 16	X			X
no. 17	X			
no. 19	X		X	implied

Source: Himka, Galician Villagers table 9

### **The Editors of *Batkivshchyna***

One highly interesting dynamic of *Batkivshchyna* was its policy of announced and unannounced editors. This meant that at any given time, the paper actually had two editors. The editor known to the public, usually did work on the paper, however, it was the one whose identity was concealed, who actually determined the editorial policy. At a time when freedom of the press was fickle at best, this practice was not in the least bit curious. Confiscation of the press by authorities was not unknown, and *Batkivshchyna* was hardly an exception to the rule. With this in mind, for a paper with only 26 issues (in 1882), the confiscation of ten issues in one year, and one issue twice over, was of the utmost concern. Table 2 indicates the official reasons provided for such confiscations. Most commonly cited was the preaching of hatred of and contempt for government and officials, and less so, for Jews, Poles, and finally the nobility.

The founder and editor of *Batkivshchyna* until mid 1887, was the prominent national-populist Yulian Romanchuk. The son of a elementary school teacher, Romanchuk, aside from teaching at the gymnasium in Lviv from 1863-1900, and acting as one of the founding members of Prosvita, and the academic Shevchenko Society (1873), was also actively involved in politics. Even during his time as the actual, though unannounced editor of *Batkivshchyna*, Romanchuk served as a deputy to the Galician Seim (1883-95). According to Himka, while serving as editor, Romanchuk belonged to the more socially radical wing of the national populists. He thus used the paper to develop and display a policy highly dependent of his more conservative and clerically oriented rival within the national-populist group, Volodymyr Barvinskyi, the editor of *Dilo*.<sup>95</sup> After Romanchuk left the role of editor, his career a politician extended to the Austrian parliament, where he served as a deputy from 1891-7, and 1901-1918. In 1899 he also helped found the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, of which he was head until 1907.

The list of editors of *Batkivshchyna* who proceeded Romanchuk, is as follows: Vasyl Nahirnyi, before late July 1887; Ivan Levytskyi, approximately late July and August 1887; Oleksander Borkovskiy, at least from September 1888; Mykhailo Pavlyk, 1889, nos. 1-24; Vasyl Nahirnyi, at least to the end of 1889, though probably most of 1890. Two editors who inevitably went head to head were Nahirnyi and Pavlyk (see Table 3).

**Table 3 Editors of *Batkivshchyna*, 1879-96**

Announce Editor	Issues Edited	Actual Editor
Markil Zhelekhivsky	1879-1880, no. 3	Yulian Romanchuk 1879-87
Volodymyr Podliashetskyi	1880, no. 4-1885, no. 40	
Vasyl Nahirnyi	1885, no. 41-1890, no. 35	Vasyl Nahirnyi, before late July 1887; Ivan Levytskyi, late July and August 1887; Oleksander Borkovskiy, at least from September 1888, nos. 1-24; Vasyl Nahirnyi, at least through the end of 1889
Volodymyr Levytskyi	1890, nos. 36-52	
Kost Levytskyi	1891-1892, no. 1	
Kost Pankivskyi	1892, nos. 2-51	
Mykhailo Holeiko	1893-1895, no. 12	
Mykhailo Strusevych	1895, no. 13-1896	

Source: Himka, Galician Villagers table 10

Of most humble peasant origins, the disabled Nahirnyi managed to escape the military draft and acquired a topnotch education. A man of the people, Nahirnyi was responsible for the founding of the wholesale cooperative *Narodna torhivlia* (People's Commerce) in 1883, and served as the leader of the second Ukrainian artisan association in Lviv, *Zoria* (founded in 1884). Aside from this, Nahirnyi was also a highly talented church designer. Consequently, Nahirnyi used his meetings with clergy, cantors and church

brotherhoods, as an opportunity to recruit correspondents to *Batkivshchyna*.<sup>96</sup> Although his role as actual editor of the paper was some what sporadic, it appears that Nahirnyi was often brought in during times of trouble, especially in 1889, after the forced resignation of Pavlyk.

When Oleksander Borkovskyi (unannounced editor during part of 1888 and 1889), became too overwhelmed by the responsibilities of the leading national-populist journal, *Zoria*, he turned to the well-known radical Mykhailo Pavlyk assumed his role as the unannounced editor of *Batkivshchyna*. The radicals had long been at odds with the national-populists. Although the two groups were usually able to recognize their mutual desire for the dissemination of enlightenment to peasantry, what this entailed, and the manner in which this was to be executed, was often a point of contention. The national-populists were extremely wary of the radicals, and discouraged any sort of far-reaching alliance between the two parties. Yet, as Himka contends, at the same time the less radical group was most interested in tapping into the resources of this group of talented and dedicated individuals, which aside from Pavlyk, included Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Drahomaniv (prominent socialists who founded the Ukrainian Radical party in 1890).

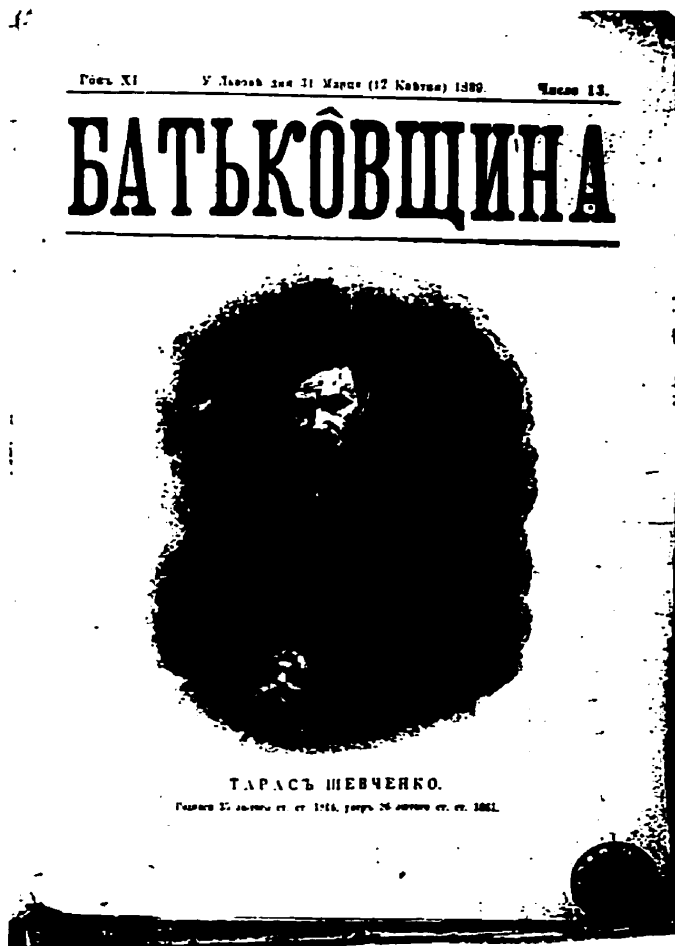
### **Paper Politics**

The national-populists and the radicals in Eastern Galicia, were mutually suspicious of one another. However, both parties recognized the importance of cooperation. Having discerned in *Batkivshchyna*, some sort of evolution towards a more compatible ideology, Pavlyk and Franko began to contribute to the paper. Talk ensued of the two radicals as potential candidates for editorial positions at this national-populist paper. Finally, in 1889, Pavlyk was offered the position of unannounced editor of *Batkivshchyna*. This arrangement was to be extremely short-live. The socialism, anti-clericalism, and feminism which infiltrated the content of the paper through Pavlyk, horrified the national-populists.<sup>97</sup> Nahirnyi as announced editor was most perplexed, as his reputation was at stake. What erupted was a struggle between Pavlyk's defiance and Nahirnyi's censorship. In the end,

Pavlyk was handed an ultimatum, to either tone down his radicalism to a level acceptable to the national-populists, or resign. Not willing to compromise his beliefs, the principled radical stepped down.

As this examination clearly indicates, the editors of *Batkivshchyna* were not always of one mind. Undoubtedly, the political bias of individual editors in many respects shaped the editorial policy of the paper. Still, in the correspondence to the paper's letters to the editor section, entitled "News from the Crownland" (*Visti z kraiu*), the issues remain consistent in nature, despite change in editors. Also, while submissions were edited to conform to the paper's political profile (i.e., anti-clericalism was toned down), nothing was ever added. When the paper was first founded, submissions were low. However, once contact was formed with the public, letters began to flood in from the countryside at an overwhelming pace. In spite of this, the editor of *Batkivshchyna* promised to publish all submissions signed by an author known to them. Consequently, while numerous correspondents wrote under a pseudonym, they were still familiar to the editors, who themselves were accountable to the laws of the state.<sup>98</sup>

As already indicated, the national-populists held firm control over the editorial policy of the paper. However, this reality does not diminish the historical value of the paper. For as Himka states, "...the correspondence reflects authentic attitudes of local activists of the Ukrainian movement, even if one-sidedly."<sup>99</sup> To this should be added that during the time *Batkivshchyna* was prominent, this "side" of the Ukrainian movement was by far the most popular and acceptable to the people. For although the peasantry was clearly emerging into a modern era in its history, the fast pace dictated by the radicals was, at least well towards the end of the century, too much too soon. This is most apparent, when one considers that it was at times virtually impossible to convince certain peasants of the benefits of literacy, let alone that they should welcome public criticism and even condemnation of the clergy.



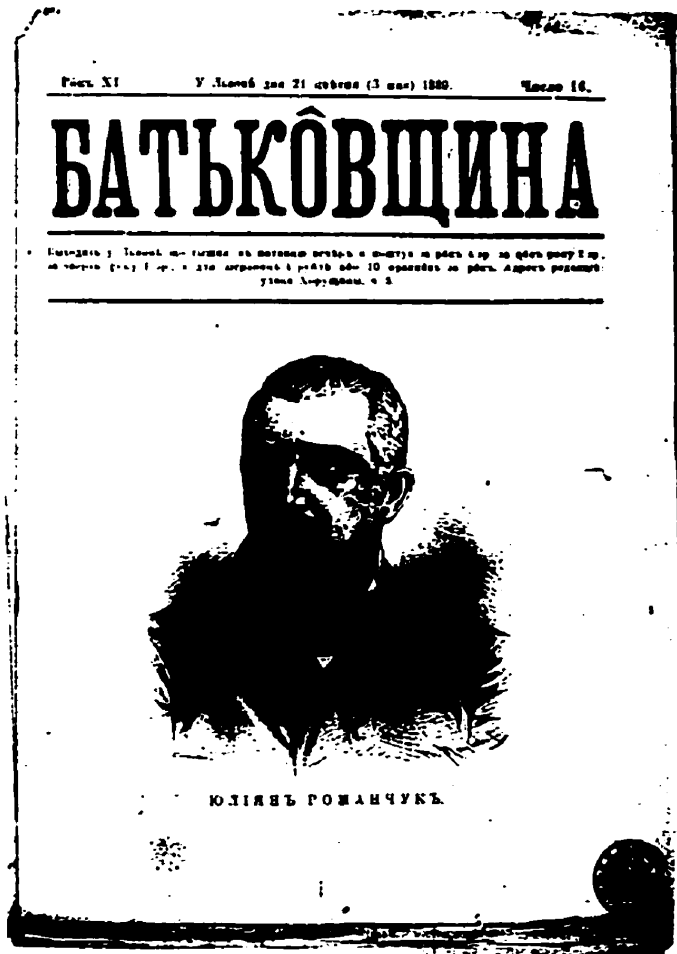
(1) Front Page of *Batkivshchyna*,

March 31 (April 12) 1889,

Year XI, No. 13.

(With a picture of

Taras Shevchenko)



(2) Front Page of *Batkivshchyna*,

April 21 (May 3) 1889,

Year XI, No. 13.

(With a picture of

Yulian Romanchuk)

## The Correspondents

Himka's study of the Galician villagers, provides great insight into the nature of those correspondents who contributed most frequently to *Batkivshchyna*. Included in this study is a breakdown of correspondents by occupation. Through this it can be discerned that peasants, who almost as a rule preferred anonymity, contributed at least half of the correspondents, and at least half of the identified correspondents held office in reading clubs during the years 1884-85.<sup>100</sup> That the participation of the peasantry was so essential to the success of the section (News from the Crownland), indicates that the national movement among the Ukrainian peasantry had passed well beyond the stage of minimal interest.

The section "News from the Crownland," in many respects served as the who's who of the Ukrainian community of Eastern Galicia. Numerous exposés of villages and even individuals struck fear into the heart of the transgressing party. As can easily be imagined, nothing was more shameful than having one's name or village literally dragged through the mud. All who valued their reputation, had to beware of the wrath of the correspondent.

As Himka observes, "The correspondent, especially the peasant correspondent, was an intellectual pioneer."<sup>101</sup> The correspondent despised all that which was deemed as backward and inherently unprogressive. Electoral corruption, illiteracy, drunkenness, debauchery, superstition, disloyalty to your people (which took so many forms) —the list of unmodern, unflattering anti-national behavior is seemingly without end. The role of the correspondent was to identify and condemn such behavior and at the same time, to provide desirable and often innovative alternatives. In this same regard, wherever praise was due, the correspondent was certain to bring this to light.

Finally, "News from the Crownland," through the participation of numerous, bright, progressive correspondents from all corners of the province, acted as the bridge of



the Ukrainian community in Eastern Galicia. This, bridge as Weber suggests in his study of the French peasantry, breaks down isolation, as well as the barriers formed by regional differences. This fundamental section of *Batkivshchyna*, also informed the intelligentsia in the city, of the real mood of the countryside.<sup>102</sup> Such insight rendered a better understanding of the problems, priorities, and progress of the peasantry. A greater knowledge of the peasantry was absolutely essential, for it was they who represented the heart of the nation, and the essential link to the success of the Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **(A) THE THEME OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY IN THE POPULIST PRESS**

Under the heading of civic responsibility certain common issues arise in the correspondence which pertain to the specific actions and attitudes of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia to the electoral process, government, and leadership in general. These issues, which include corruption, bribery, national loyalty, apathy, and individual responsibility, raise a number of questions pertinent to the Ukrainian national movement in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia. Such questions arise as the following: What is the purpose of the democratic process? What course of action can be taken in the face of high level corruption? What specific actions and attitudes comprise good/bad representation? What is the duty of the governmental representative, and equally, what is the duty of the voter? What makes one a "pig" (traitor) versus a patriot? What are the consequences of bad election choices? How do such consequences affect the Ukrainian nation as a whole? Various correspondents from virtually every district in Eastern Galicia, through a combination of horror and disgust, joy and hope, sadness and regret, humour and sarcasm, not only succeed in addressing these questions, but bring to the life the very human aspect to the process of modernization and nationalization of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia during the late nineteenth century; insight which dry statistics and government documents alone simply cannot provide.

In order to appreciate the various observations and complaints made in the Ukrainian populist press during the later part of the nineteenth century in reference to the political system in Galicia, a brief description of that system is essential.

## **The Political System in Eastern Galicia after 1867**

### **The Crownland Government**

In 1861, when the central parliament was established in Vienna, the diet (hereafter Seim, as it was known as in Galicia) was also introduced in Galicia. The Seim represented the legislative body of the crownland, with jurisdiction in agriculture, forestry, aspects of community government, sanitary conditions, primary and secondary education, ecclesiastical buildings and benefices, the organization of land registration books, the quartering of soldiers and propination. Elections to the one hundred and fifty seats in the Seim were held every six years. Closer to World War I, the number of seats rose to 161.<sup>103</sup> As Himka observes the electoral arrangement to the Seim, which is outlined below, was heavily weighted in favour of the Polish nobility. For, although Ukrainians made up over 40 percent of the population in Galicia (and around 90% in Eastern Galicia), they never represented more than 15 percent of the deputies in the Seim.<sup>104</sup>

During the period examined in this study of the press (1896-1890), those who could hold a seat in the Seim were as follows: (1) Catholic bishops from all rites (by virtue of their office.) (2) Rectors of universities (by virtue of their office.) (3) Forty-four representatives of the large landowners (those who paid over 100 *gulden* or *zoloti rynski* [zr.] in tax annually.) In 1876 there was one deputy for every 47 electors. (This is the nearest date listed—the next date mentioned is 1908.) (4) Three representatives of trade and industry, selected by the Lviv, Cracow, and Brody chambers of commerce. Each deputy represented approximately 39 electors or 8,700 constituents. (5) The larger cities were entitled to 23 deputies. Those eligible to vote were male taxpayers of the highest tax bracket (paying two-thirds of the taxes). The number of electors varied from 22,005 (1876) to 64,084 (1908). One deputy, who was elected in a direct fashion, represented from 1100 to 2264 electors.

(6) The remaining deputies were elected by other smaller municipalities, such as villages or towns, in both open and indirect elections. Only those from among the highest taxpayers could vote. In primary elections one elector was selected to represent 500 citizens. Small estate owners (paying 25-100), were added to the electors. The number of primary electors ran from 508,617 (1876), to 650,586 (1908), or one deputy to every 6879-8792 primary electors. This encompassed only approximately 9-10 percent of the population not represented by the other curiae.

### **The District Government**

With the establishment of Austria-Hungary, the administration of the province of Galicia was reorganized into districts (*povity*)—each with its own captain (*starosta*), who was in charge of the administration of the district. Thus, as of 1867 there were forty-eight districts in Eastern Galicia, with the cities of Lviv and Cracow designated as self-governing. The actual office of the district captain was referred to as the captaincy (*starostvo*).

The district captain held a quite powerful role, in that he was the highest official of the district, and determined all administrative matters, except those pertaining to other branches of authority. The captain was the supervisor of community government. He could nullify or change communal decrees that were incompatible with the law and punish community authorities who were in breach of their obligations. He also oversaw elections to governmental bodies for the community, district, diet and parliament. Finally, he managed the school district council and was responsible for the collection of direct taxes.<sup>105</sup> The aforementioned duties, represented the official mandate of the district captain. However, in

an unofficial capacity the jurisdiction of the captain often saw no boundaries in terms of interference and corruption, and Ukrainians were no strangers to this reality.

The district council itself, was a deliberative and legislative body, elected on the basis of a six year term. The council dealt with matters directly related to the district, such as district roads, health, district banking, and the supervision of communal government. As a body, it fell under the supervision of the crownland administration and viceroy. Councillors were essentially elected by those citizens who paid the most *złoti rynski* or *zr.* in taxes. Those who were eligible to cast votes were landowners (over 100 *zr.*), owners of industrial and commercial enterprises (over 100 *zr.*), the community councils of cities and towns of the district and the mayors and delegations of the community councils of villages together with the owners of demesnal lands (from 25 to 100 *zr.*). Thus, representation was proportional to the amount of taxes paid. The final role of the district council was to select from among its own members a district administration, with a term also lasting around six years. The role of the district administration was that of an administrative and executive organ. The head of the district administration, the appointment of whom had to be confirmed by the emperor, was known as the marshall of the district.<sup>106</sup>

### **The Community (Municipal) Government**

Although some historians use the term “commune” to describe the structure of the village community (*hromada*), such a usage is neither suitable nor representative of the workings of the village and its peripheral territory. Such words as “commune” and “communal” conveys a lack of ownership and implicitly, a lack of individualism. In reality, Ukrainians throughout history and even under serfdom, had functioned in family units which sought to provide for their own basic needs, while still expected to fulfill the requirements and duties placed upon them, often by foreign occupiers. Such was even more so the case in Eastern Galicia during the later part of the nineteenth century, given the growing sense of individualism in Ukrainian society. For this reason, the village and

associated outlying areas will be referred to as the village community, and the words community or municipal will be used in reference to the local government.

Besides Bukovyna, Galicia was the only other province in Austria where the manor was administrated separately from the neighboring village community. According to this arrangement, those living on manorial territory were denied participation in the self-government of the village community, or municipal council. The municipal council acted as a decision-making and supervisory body. Its chief responsibility concerned the community finances, however it also supervised roads and bridges, appointed citizens to perform municipal duties (such as road work [*sharvarok*], or transport duties [*forshpan*]), issued municipal ordinances, cared for the poor, and acted as a mediator in community disputes. The municipal council also elected from among its members a mayor and other members of a municipal directorate (executive). The directorate acted as an administrative and executive body. As Himka describes, and numerous examples from the press will illustrate, the mayor dominated both the directorate and to a lesser degree, the council.<sup>107</sup> Members of both the council and the directorate were elected for a six year term. A final, though extremely important figure in municipal politics was the scribe. Hired by the council to run the chancery, this literate individual, next to the usually illiterate mayor, often came to play a highly influential role in operations of the local government.<sup>108</sup>

In principle, eligible voters to the municipal government included male taxpayers over the age of 24. In reality, the elections were, as at all other levels in the crownland, heavily weighted in favour of the highest taxpayers. The election process went as follows. Around election time, the mayor and scribe would put together a list of voters. First on the list were those who had completed higher education (clergymen, teachers and imperial and crownland civil servants), regardless of whether they paid taxes. Next, they compiled a list of all the taxpayers, arranged from highest to lowest. This list was then divided into electoral circles, with fifty or less voters divided into two circles, and those with more than fifty divided into three. These circles were established by adding up all the taxes and dividing the

total by two (or three), and then the list of electors was divided so that an equal amount of taxes was paid by each electoral circle. Finally, if a voter's taxes fell in between circles, he was placed in the circle where most of his taxes landed. Obviously, after the math was done, the first circle had the least, but wealthiest electors, while the second, was comprised of the most, but poorest electors.<sup>109</sup>

With the circles determined, a separate list of electors for each circle was posted in the chancery four weeks prior to the elections. At this time, an electoral commission, comprised of the mayor and four councilors, was selected by the outgoing council. Citizens were given eight days to challenge the list, and the commission in turn, had three days to respond. Appeals were delivered to the office of the district captain. Three weeks after the lists were posted, the mayor announced the elections. The scribe was then to inform the captaincy of the set dates of the election. If this did not occur, the elections were to be regarded as invalid. The captain was permitted to designate a commissioner to observe the election process. Eight days later, the elections began, with a separate day and a half set aside for each electoral circle to vote.

The election to the municipal council went as follows. The mayor presented one of the four commissioners a list of electors, which he proceeded to read out before the room of voters. A second commissioner recorded the names of all the voters, and more importantly, for whom they voted. Voting could take place either verbally (open voting) or in writing. A third recorded the names of those for whom votes were cast, and tallied the votes. Depending on the size of the village community, the number of councilors elected could range from twelve to a maximum of thirty-six. During the election, deputy councilors were also elected, representing one half less the number of councilors. Aside from those elected to council, there were also some who automatically became a member if he paid one sixth of the municipal taxes.

Once the election within a particular circle was completed, the votes were tallied. In the event of a tie, the mayor drew lots. The results from that circle were announced by the

mayor even before the next circle voted. The voting began with the third or second circle and ended with the first. In the event that a vote during the election from the subsequent circle was cast in support of a candidate previously elected by another circle, the vote would be rendered invalid. Finally, the election papers were signed by the various commissioners and passed on to the mayor, who then posted the results in the chancery. The following day, the same was provided to the captaincy, who had fourteen days to declare the validity of the elections.

### **The Political Climate in Eastern Galicia after 1867**

From the induction of reforms in 1867, right up to the collapse of the Empire in 1918, the political climate in Eastern Galician would remain plagued by deep-rooted ethnic tension. For Ukrainians, there existed two main rivalries, these being the Poles and the Jews. To understand the complex triangle of relations within which these three nationalities operated, one must begin with the group with most social and political power. Strongest among the three was clearly the Poles, or more specifically the Polish landowning class. Their relationship with Ukrainians had been soured by centuries of Polish domination, struggle and a complete unwillingness to compromise. Both nations over the centuries in their stubborn contempt for one another remained blind to numerous opportunities and contributed to their own decline. However, as Rudnytsky asserts, the burden of responsibility remains with the stronger of the two sides. Thus, while he does not exonerate the Ukrainians for their part in the saga of Ukrainian-Polish relations, he holds the Poles most responsible. According to Rudnytsky, the Poles' unwillingness to compromise with the Ukrainians ultimately led to the loss of an independent Poland: "A free Ukraine—either completely independent, or federated with Poland and Lithuania on a footing of genuine equality—would have energetically and perhaps successfully, opposed Russia's westward expansion."<sup>10</sup> Centuries later, Polish treatment of Ukrainians serfs forged such bitter hatred between the two nationalities, that cooperation during the 1848 revolution proved



impossible. Instead, the Ukrainians and Poles in their eagerness to undermine each other's political aspirations, both alternately served as pawns of the crumbling Austrian monarchy. In the end, neither group obtained national independence.

The Polish landowning class, despite financial losses incurred through the emancipation of their serfs, retained much prestige and authority in Eastern Galicia. Their dominance of Eastern Galicia was made official in 1868 with the granting of Polish administrative homerule in Eastern Galicia. When one considers this, together with the tax system, the electoral process, and the non-existence of laws and guidelines to protect the so-called guarantees embodied by the new Austrian constitution, it becomes quite obvious which nationality retained the upper hand in Eastern Galicia. Still, what the socially and politically privileged nationality chooses to do with this power rests entirely upon its own conscience and free will. In the case of Eastern Galicia, it may be declared without hesitation, that the Polish lords utilized their favourable position to the utmost degree to maintain control over other nationalities, most of all the Ukrainians, and in this pursuit strayed well beyond the boundaries of that to which they were legally guaranteed. This reality is most effectively projected through a seemingly endless stream of letters by Ukrainian correspondents to the populist press which poured in from all over the Eastern Galician countryside.

Polish political and economic control of Eastern Galicia could not have been maintained without the presence of another national group: the Jews. The expulsions of Jews from the states and cities of Western and Central Europe from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, brought this persecuted nationality East to Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland as well as to the Ottoman Empire. Prevented from settling in most established cities, the Jews found a haven in newly founded towns and villages. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Jewish settlement expanded into historic Ukrainian territory, with the encouragement of the Polish and Lithuanian magnates. Unlike in the larger, more restrictive cities, where Jews tended to live in special quarters, Jews in Ukraine became

involved participants in the frontier life, even participating in the defense of town walls.<sup>111</sup> Initially, the major occupations of Jews in Ukraine involved money transactions and commerce. More Jews were “arendars” (renters), a term which came to be used for those who took lease for exploitation of a single branch of the estate, such as the fish-pond, the mill, or the inn for selling spirits.<sup>112</sup> Liquor was among one of the few items not subject to heavy direct taxation. Ownership of taverns in Galicia was a hereditary privilege of the Polish nobility (the right of propination), however beginning back in the seventeenth century nobles began to rent out this right to Jews. In 1900 Jews comprised over 80 per cent of all Galicians engaged in any way in the trade of liquor.<sup>113</sup> Thus, Ukrainian resentment fueled by the Polish nobility’s monopoly over the sale of liquor, was channeled in the direction of the Jewish tavern-keepers.

Throughout the period of serfdom in Eastern Galicia, Jews acted as middlemen between Poles and Ukrainians. This is because, despite the prevalence of a feudal economy, there were still interstices where exchange of money was requisite; “And it was in these interstices (as well as the often coincident interstices between lord and peasant) that the Jews of old Poland, including Galicia, clustered.”<sup>114</sup> The population of Jews continued to increase to the end of the eighteenth century. However, under Emperor Joseph II of Austria, all Jews who were not registered as farmers were forbidden to live in the countryside. Consequently, Jewish numbers in Eastern Galicia did see a decline throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, only to rise again with the emancipation of the Austrian Jews in the 1860s.

The return of Jews to rural Eastern Galicia coincided with a most financially ruinous period for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, who although emancipated, found themselves practically landless, without free access to servitudes, and forced to reconcile with the modern challenges of a money economy. Consequently, as in pre-emancipation times, many peasants engaged in numerous transactions with Jews, from acquiring a loan to purchasing a drink to drown their sorrows. Even for assistance in organizing elaborate, traditional

celebrations, the Ukrainian often turned to Jews. Ukrainians also encountered Jews in the form as agitators and advisories in the elections, during which some were known to cooperate with the Polish candidate to preserve their monopoly over certain aspects of village life (as in money lending, tavern keeping, store owning). Jewish political agitators were known to bribe, threaten, and even steal the legitimization cards from Ukrainians voters, which were absolutely essential if one expected to vote.<sup>115</sup> For their support of Polish election candidates, Jews were also sometimes able to secure a prominent role in municipal government. This was highly resented by Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian perception of Jews as abusers and opportunists remained quite consistent from their arrival in Ukraine in the late sixteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. This stereotype was not necessarily discouraged by Ukrainian intellectuals. Himka also contends that the editorial policy of the populist newspaper *Batkivshchyna* certainly did not discourage the anti-Jewish tone of the correspondence, and even finds the editorial policy itself to have been anti-Jewish in nature. The editors were especially guilty of this in the earliest issues of *Batkivshchyna*; issues, which were consequently suppressed by the Galician authorities for propagating hatred of Jews. Still, violence was not encouraged as a solution to the perceived economic overlordship of Jews over Ukrainians. In an 1881 issue, *Batkivshchyna*, while sympathizing with pogromists in Dnipro Ukraine (who were viewed as victims of exploitation), discouraged against this immoral, illegal, ineffective practice in Galicia.<sup>116</sup> Finally, Himka suspects that the editors may have censored correspondence which provided a positive portrayal of Jews, as on one proven occasion in the spring of 1889 where such lines were deleted from a correspondent's letter. However, Himka is uncertain as to whether 'such tampering' was actually part of the general policy, for at the time of the letter's submission, the editor Nahimyi was quite disturbed by the anti-clericalism and social radicalism introduced to the paper by Pavlyk and may have been 'unusually interventionist in his editing'.<sup>117</sup>

As Rudnytsky observes, on many occasions prominent Ukrainians did attempt to reconcile the question of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. Mykola Kostomarov, for example, supported Jewish emancipation (from existing legal restrictions), but then virtually in the same breath reproved them for their treatment of Ukrainians. Mykhailo Drahomaniv, even more so than his predecessors, strove to find a solution to the problems between Ukrainians and Jews: "Drahomaniv maintained rightly that the normalization of Ukrainian-Jewish relations depended on the socio-economic restructuring of both the Jewish community and Ukrainian society at large(.)"<sup>118</sup> Ivan Franko took this even one step further and pondered the benefits of an independent Jewish nation.

In many regards the Jews were as much victims as they were perpetrators of the warped economic system in Eastern Galicia. In late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia, while Ukrainians were overrepresented in the agricultural sphere, Jews, as for centuries before, remained trapped within the increasingly competitive confines of the money economy. Even as late as the turn of the century, seven out of ten commercially active Galicians were Jewish, or three out of five Jews. On the other hand, only one in fifty agriculturalists was Jewish, or only one in seven Jews.<sup>119</sup> Dominance of the commercial sector of the economy did not guarantee Jews prosperity. In fact, the image of the wealthy Jew represented a common misperception among Ukrainians. For example, for those Jews occupied in tavern-keeping, the leases on propination were extremely high, and the over abundance of taverns provided great competition in an industry which serviced an extremely poor and large segment of the population—the peasantry. Consequently, such village innovations as the reading club and the sobriety movement, threatened the already precarious livelihood of Jewish tavern-keepers.<sup>120</sup> Finally, the opening of Ukrainian stores and the campaign to boycott those run by Jews, represented an obstacle to Jewish shopkeepers who already paid higher income tax than their non-Jewish competitors.<sup>121</sup>

The role of Jews as merchant and lenders was encouraged and very much preserved by the Poles who dominated the administration of Eastern Galicia, from the Seim,

right down to the village government. Unfamiliar with and uncertain of their potential in other occupations in Eastern Galicia (such as farmer), Jews clung to the ways of life they had engaged in for centuries. Thus, any move on the part of Ukrainians to infiltrate areas of the economy previously dominated by Jews, was viewed as a direct threat to the only livelihood they had known, and at most times, been legally permitted to pursue.

More and more, the Jew represented a menacing figure in a modernizing society, a society which the Ukrainian peasantry was initially quite reluctant to embrace. At the same time, the Pole represented a constant reminder of the Ukrainian's own lack of political sophistication: a problem which invaded all spheres of Ukrainian society. Thus, for Ukrainians, the only solution lay in their acceptance of the demands of modern society and a desire to become competitive in those areas dominated by Poles and Jews. If Ukrainians were going to prosper and advance as a national group, they would have to re-examine their role in and approach to education, culture, commerce, and especially, politics, for development in these areas was often highly dependent upon which national group had the upper hand in Eastern Galicia.

The relationship between Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, and the Poles and the Jews had been extremely contentious for centuries. Despite the introduction of constitutionalism in the Austrian Empire, the political climate for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia remained extremely volatile. An added factor was the fact that the electoral process implemented was even more complex than the prescribed procedures and formulas allude to. Bribery, deception, corruption, and ethnic tension are only a few among many factors which influenced the outcome of elections pertaining to all levels of government. In addition, even once elected Ukrainian representatives were deliberately discriminated against. As Ann Sirka observes, as a rule it was only those Ukrainian deputies who could not converse in German, who were chosen from the Seim to serve in the Reichstag (prior to 1873, when they were appointed by the Seim).<sup>122</sup> Naturally, the inability of Ukrainian deputies to communicate in the parliament, rendered them ineffective. Provincial administrators and

bureaucrats also had significant role to play in the political process. However, in this regard the numbers were also stacked. According to common practice, any lower ranking Ukrainian administrator or bureaucrat who expressed a sense of loyalty or solidarity with Ukrainians, was transferred to Western Galicia with expedience.<sup>123</sup>

The statistics on Galician politics and the political process paint a picture of mass inequality. However, most relevant to this study is the issue of perception, and for this we turn to the critic and watch dog of Ukrainian society in Eastern Galicia: the village correspondent. Even in the case of anonymity, the correspondent represents a radical and a revolutionary at the village level. Both an observer and an assessor, it was he who dared to hold up a looking glass to his community: a community which he, as a Ukrainian patriot, perceived to exist on both a local and national scale. The reflection produced is the correspondence itself. Through the correspondence we are able to gain insight into the workings of various communities, and more specifically, the actions and attitudes of both individuals and groups, and how these were perceived to affect the Ukrainian nation as a whole.

Aside from cries alleging the general lack of enlightenment among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, the most popular among complaints on the pages of the populist press, were those concerning bad leadership and representation: for it was from this point that all problems in Ukrainian society began and ended. Centuries of negligent and abusive Polish governmental policies both perpetuated and increased the decline of the Ukrainian people of Eastern Galicia. The consequence of such government was poverty and a low standard of education among Ukrainians, and peasants in particular. This condition could not be simply remedied by the act of emancipation, nor by the later introduction of constitutional government. Therefore, the poverty and a low level of education which remained ultimately led to a poor understanding of the electoral process. Bad election choices in turn led to bad government. Finally, bad government failed to address the very conditions which originally set this process back in motion: poverty and ignorance.

As the electoral process suggests, the impoverished Ukrainian population received little voting power. The numbers also reflect this: although Ukrainians made up almost half the province's population, by 1918 they had never elected more than one-third of the deputies in the Galician Seim. (The highest representation even attained was 49 of 150 deputies in 1861, followed by 66 of 228 deputies in 1914.)<sup>124</sup> Yet, although the system was heavily weighted in favour of the already rich and powerful Poles in Eastern Galicia, every vote and every seat counted. Municipal elections were also extremely important given that the potential for political power and reform was more of a reality than at the higher levels of government. Thus, if Ukrainians, due to their sheer lack of numbers in the parliament, could not bring about educational reforms, they could still introduce such local initiatives as the reading club; but with an uncooperative local government this could prove extremely difficult.

When addressing the problem of leadership and representation in Ukrainian society in Eastern Galicia, one must pose the question: What did the role of leader or representative imply? Above all else, anyone who occupied some position of authority in Eastern Galicia, especially a person of Ukrainian descent, elected or non-elected, whether that of a mayor, councillor, teacher, priest, or deputy to the Seim, was considered by Ukrainian populists (among whom could be found many peasants) to be a role model in society, and therefore accountable to the people he was expected to serve and represent. Thus, while in the case of elections many Ukrainians did not understand or involve themselves in the process (or were systematically excluded), their high expectations of representatives once elected indicate an important and rapid transformation within the Ukrainian peasantry. This is most apparent when one considers that emancipation had only become a reality in 1848, and prior to this event, any defiance of authority by the Ukrainian peasantry was sporadic, disorganized and in the long run terribly unproductive.

Although most acts of defiance prior to introduction of constitutional government, such as refusing to perform *corvée* to spite the lord, or occupying the forests during the

servitudes conflict, rendered little immediate, tangible benefit to the Ukrainian peasantry, such resistance nevertheless endowed them with the confidence to explore the benefits of post-1848 Austrian reforms. Consequently, in the decades following emancipation, Ukrainian peasants in Eastern Galicia became more able and willing to challenge authority and the status quo through the more lawful, intelligent avenues provided to them. If this failed, evidence of neglect or wrong doing on the part of leaders or representatives could be brought to light on the pages of the press. With time such negative exposure could have serious consequences for the perpetrator. The written word is a powerful tool, and since its inception, the press has served as a highly influential medium for change in all societies. In fact, the process of demobilizing a specific leader or government, usually finds its first expression in words, and only later after arousing public support, rises to the level of action.

### **The Perception of Leadership in the Populist Press**

The examination of the notion of civic responsibility within the Ukrainian populist press in Eastern Galicia 1886-1890, begins with a discussion of bad vs. good community leadership as portrayed in the correspondence. As observations on representation and leadership occur throughout the correspondence and relate to all the themes considered in this study (civic responsibility, education, culture and innovation), the issue of leadership will serve as a central point of discussion throughout this and the next chapter. Therefore, the following section on leadership will consider only those observations made by correspondents in the Ukrainian populist press in Eastern Galicia which refer to elected representatives.

### **Mayors and Councillors**

That which appears to have most occupied the thoughts of the correspondents, is the issue of poor community leadership. For any corruption, interference or even indifference which occurred at the local level, inevitably tainted matters which extended beyond the



sphere of the community (such as elections to the Seim). The following letter, which is sent from Rohatyn district is quite typical of the complaints which cry out from the pages of the "News from the Crownland" section of *Batkivshchyna*, regarding poor community leadership. Like most other passionate letters on this subject, the correspondent from Rohatyn exhibits a great variety of emotions, ranging from joy to outrage. The letter actually begins on a most positive note. The correspondent expresses how his heart rejoices to see people throughout the land becoming excited about and involved in the enlightenment movement, and the establishment of reading clubs. However, he goes on to explain with regret, how the reading club in Zalukva, which displayed such initial promise, began to decline: "The elected elders began to withdraw; the head (the mayor) in particular did not contribute anything to the reading club...besides this could be found those, who for some unknown reason began to exhibit hostility toward the reading club, so that the reading club began to fall further and completely died off. The books which were scattered throughout the village were lost, because there was no one to lay claim to them; and the rest were thrown into the corner for the mice to enjoy."<sup>125</sup> As for the mayor himself, he was not only guilty of apathy towards this endeavour, but even strove to shut the reading club down, "...during the winter he attempted with all his might, to lease out a place to sell liquor in the room designated for the reading club. But it is true, that he did not completely succeed in this; although he gathered enough shame and received a complimentary drink from the Jew."

The correspondent goes on to the lament how the Ukrainian-run store in the village of Zalukva is bound to meet a fate similar to that of the reading club. "From the beginning the store had begun to develop beautifully; that is until it found itself an enemy in the current mayor. Although himself a member of the store, he strives to harm it in every way possible." He goes on to reflect on some of the contributions the mayor with the assistance of his brother, the community scribe, has made to the village of Zalukva: "When he first obtained the position of mayor, he promised to establish a community lending treasury. Instead he leased out a not so little piece of community land overlooking the river, so that

now the geese have nowhere to run, and there is not any place to water the cattle. But the treasury —as it was, it still remains; and as for the revenue from the lease of the field, God only knows where it has disappeared. His second service, but in cooperation with his brother the community scribe, is that all the community governmental correspondence is being conducted in Polish...as if Ukrainian writing was forbidden under penalty...and both [the mayor and his brother] are Ukrainians from generations back!” Aside from the aforementioned complaints, the mayor’s proclivity for lawsuits against the community is also discussed in detail.

Finally the correspondent condemns the mayor for his disloyalty to the Ukrainian people, “...no one follows a man, who supports not his community, but the Jews and Karaim Jews, who have already drunk enough of our blood; no one will support a mayor who renounces his own nationality. So we say to the mayor and his brother the scribe: Abandon your prior conduct; because it is a shame and disgrace that you are doing harm to the people to which you yourself belong—that you are doing harm to your own children!”

A variety of complaints which span across Eastern Galicia document similar patterns of undesirable behaviour among municipal representatives. Scarcely an issue of *Batkivshchyna* was published, without mention of some degree of dissatisfaction with the behaviour of a leader and/or leadership. Most complaints address the problems closest to home. From Peremyshliany district: “I say candidly that this mayor will not allow for anyone to be literate in the village besides him....He wants to govern peasants who moo and bleat....He has governed from way, way back, like the tsar in Russia, or the sultan in Turkey, and disdains all that leads to the consciousness and enlightenment of our peasants.”<sup>126</sup> From another village in Stanyslaviv district: “Misfortune has pressed hard upon our poor town for nine years now and has stuck to us like a burr on a coat. This misfortune is [personified by] our community government representatives....”<sup>127</sup> Terebovlia district: “In other villages it is possible to spot the community leader with respected farmers and young people by the church or in the reading club, but here on the biggest of saint days he [the

mayor] is found at the tavern.”<sup>128</sup> Chortkiv district: “The community scribe writes and accounts only in Polish—despite the fact that he is a Ukrainian peasant himself—and looks upon a peasant in a peasant’s blouse with the evil eye.”<sup>129</sup>

Correspondents frequently chastised the Ukrainian peasantry for their perpetual indifference to corruption. A correspondent from Yezupil tells of a scribe who pocketed most of the community’s tax money and committed a variety of other offenses. Yet in spite of this everyone sits in silence: “And the mayor also made himself look real good, when he retracted a letter (about the scribe) in the 18th issue of *Batkivshchyna* in the year 1888.”<sup>130</sup> The correspondent adds that there were other farmstead owners who originally intended to complain, but for some reason, became quiet. “Did he not promise them something? Oh would it not be wonderful, citizens, to be such flattering serfs to keep silent...and not just one farmstead owner says: ‘What can I do, since I am blind?’ It is high time to recover your sight and to complain for yourself, and to not give away the skin off your back. And you, from the community government, do not be so capricious, do not threaten us with prison, because there is still place there to be found for you.”

### **Deputies and Candidates to the Seim**

Although the community government was most often the subject of scrutiny, deputies and election candidates to the Seim, did not escape criticism. Ukrainians peasants often felt extremely isolated and underrepresented by their elected envoys to this highly instrumental body of government. A correspondent from Rohatyn uses sarcasm to express his disappointment with the deputies: “God forbid the lords of the Seim would have to occupy themselves with such an affair [as the plight of Ukrainian deacons].”<sup>131</sup> In 1889, a correspondent from Zbarazh district comments on the general dissatisfaction of the peasantry with the newly instated road statute, which dictated that peasants sacrifice a certain amount of time annually for the upkeep of roads. While such an obligation was not new to Ukrainian peasants, many felt victimized by impositions of this statute. The correspondent

observes the while initially very few understood the implications of the road statute. it did not take long for most to feel the impact.

While the correspondent from Zbarazh district is not in any way against road maintenance, the discrepancy between the maintenance of community vs. manorial roads infuriates him: "You, peasants, hardly finish field work in the spring, because road work is pressing, but the big lords laughs at you in his 'kulak' estate, because he does nothing and refuses to pay." The correspondent would also like to know where the money is going (received from those who opt for payment instead of labour), because it appears that no improvements have been to the road to Zbarazh: "Along the way there is a hole by a hole—two pigs could lie down in one...the road is hard as a rock...when some old man or some sick *baba* comes by, then they immediately have to come down from the wagon and go by foot."<sup>132</sup>

In his closing remarks, the correspondent from Zbarazh observes that the people have wised up regarding this issue, "...now people everywhere recognize what the new road statute is and by this have also come to recognize how the envoys care for them in the Seim; they also recognize the importance of the words of Father Sichynskyi which he used to defend them for several hours and demanded a change to this statute. But he was not able to soften the stone hearts of the lords. For this reason, the entire district of Zbarazh is so attuned [to this issue], that at the first session of the new Seim every village sent a petition for a change to this statute, and they hope that it will not remain much longer." At the end of this letter the editor of *Batkivshchyna* offers his take on this issue. Basically, he views the sudden mobilization of the peasantry is too little too late, for the elections to the Seim would not be held again for another six years. "[The statute] will no longer remain when our citizens elect for themselves such envoys as Father Sichynskyi, who stand up for them in the Seim. Otherwise all hope is in vain."

## **Model Leaders**

While correspondents to the Ukrainian populist press in Eastern Galicia were quick to point out the faults of various elected representatives, they were enthusiastic in their praise for those who stood for the peasantry, progress and the Ukrainian nationalist cause. A correspondent from Kosiv district honours the life of Mykhailo Nahirmiak, a former mayor and servant of the community of Kobaka. Of Nahirmiak, the correspondent writes: “The deceased was known in the whole of the Kobaka foothills, not only as a capable proprietor, but as a man of great intelligence, dignity and truth of character....In his early years he choose one path: to honestly serve the community, church, and his people, and to his death he never strayed from this path.”<sup>133</sup> A high priority among correspondents, as with this writer from Kosiv, was national loyalty: “He [the deceased] was fully in touch with his nationality, and zealously occupied himself with Ukrainian issues and stood up for his people on every occasion. During every election he boldly protected the rights of Ukrainians and more than once experienced difficulties from the enemies of the Ukrainian people. He delighted in every progress of the Ukrainian people, and still this year, rushed to the public meeting in Kosiv.”

Another former community leader from Peratyn is praised for efforts toward community improvements. For as long as it could be remembered a particular pasture to which members of the community had access had experienced problems with flooding. In this swampy expanse cattle and sheep would drown, or catch fatal disease. Finally, the community leader took action. Soon ditches, a dam, and a series of bridges remedied the situation. Even the local count provided financial assistance. The correspondent observes that the former mayor set a positive example for future leaders: “Thanks be to God that the present community leader, Mykyta Hul, a literate man, follows in the footsteps of his predecessor and endeavours to complete the wonderful order already embarked upon for the good of the community.”<sup>134</sup> For the correspondent, one important indication of the new leader’s sincere intentions, is his support for the new reading club.

A correspondent from Ternopil district provides an interesting account of what a difference proper community leadership can render. Years before, while in the army and stationed in Zolochiv, the correspondent became familiar with the status of two neighbouring villages. For one village, Elykhovych, many conditions run in its favour, such wonderful fields, pastures and gardens, "...in a word, the village lies in the middle of paradise."<sup>135</sup> However this was not enough to guarantee its inhabitants success; "...there is no church in the village, but there are three taverns(.)" The correspondent saw the destruction for himself: "Misery longed for me to go to this party [in one of the taverns]....I went once, went again, but the third and tenth time I forbade myself. When they had drunk their fill, the Elykhovych bachelors, took a hold of one man and began to beat him badly; how I wanted to defend him. They threw him, and came up to me and I barely escaped with my soul under my hat; and the other man, my friend, lay for two weeks in the hospital."

In direct contrast, in the village of Horodyliv which possessed hardly any natural amenities, calm and order prevailed. For example, its beautiful brick church was filled with people and singing. Other indications of community pride included a beautiful school, a granary, a lending treasury and a cross of freedom commemorating the abolition of serfdom. The correspondent even regards this village as more like some kind of town. The credit for such order, was due to the former mayor of twenty-nine years, who, although illiterate, governed in such a way that he received a silver cross from the Emperor. Upon, leaving the village the correspondent 'peeked' into the tavern, and could hardly believe his eyes...it was empty. When he returned home to his village, he shared the story of the two villages, Elykhovych and Horodyliv. His parents were amazed, because once Elykhovych had been a prosperous village, while Horodyliv had been famous for its extreme poverty. From this the correspondent draws the following conclusion: "So you see!" the correspondent concludes, " This is what drunkenness and community disorder lead to, and what sobriety, an intelligent mayor and good community management can accomplish!"

## **Elections to the Seim**

While the correspondence during the years 1886-1889 is filled with many interesting observations and comments regarding politics and civic responsibility, it is those letters which appear before, during and after the 1888-1889 elections to the Seim, which are most passionate in substance. As the correspondence indicates, for the Ukrainian peasantry and their loyal supporters among the clergy and secular intelligentsia, this period was filled with mixed emotions, ranging from extreme pride to total disillusionment. More so than during the three previous years combined, individuals and entire communities were branded for their conduct, as correspondents assessed how their actions either helped or hindered the progress of the Ukrainian national movement. Evidently, the editor of *Batkivshchyna* viewed the dialogue which the elections to the Seim sparked as so vital that a new section was added to the paper, entitled "Election News." Here correspondents share stories and offer perspective on the elections. However, throughout the election period, even in the "News from the Crownland" section, the correspondence is heavily focused on events surrounding the elections.

## **Election Preparations**

For many correspondents, the election period was a time when the national struggle became most apparent. Election choices were always categorized in terms of "us," Ukrainians, and "them," Poles and Jews. Thus, Ukrainians were unequivocally expected to vote for the Ukrainian candidate. However, being of Ukrainian descent was not enough to qualify one as Seim material. Throughout the period leading up to the 1888/1889 elections to the Seim, the editor and correspondents to *Batkivshchyna* declare their support for only those election candidates whom they were certain possessed the right qualifications. A correspondent from Borshchiv discusses the attributes of candidate Father Emilian Hlibovytskyi: "The people see in Father Hlibovytskyi, their protector and representative in issues current, and so urgent for the people...we beg and implore all of our educated

Ukrainians, like our priests and members of the secular intelligentsia, to be so kind as to listen to the voice of the people and support Father Hlibovytskyi.”<sup>136</sup>

A correspondent describes how he stumbled upon one of the Ukrainian candidates of choice to the Seim, Father Sichynskyi, “...he was surrounded by eighty peasants and they begged him not to withdraw his candidacy, because they still wanted him as their deputy. Further, they met in one house and decided to form an election committee and declared unanimously that all electors from the village would vote for Father Sichynskyi. And further they said that Father Sichynskyi will serve us best in the Seim, because he know our needs, he knows the kind of problems which squeeze us from all sides.”<sup>137</sup> In regard to those who do not support Father Sichynskyi the correspondent declares, “...it is a disgrace to us peasants that you, serve the lord, first of all from hatred and secondly from greediness! Have you benefited from it? It all goes in vain, and only sin remains. Do not dig a hole under yourself and your own brothers!” To this, the editor himself is compelled to add: “We praise these honest peasants who are for Father Sichynskyi, and as for those who are for Mr. Fedorovych, we ask them to vote for Father Sichynskyi, then all will be forgotten. We call on Mr. Fedorovych, in the name of the national good, withdraw your candidacy in Zbarazh district, because it is already so sad that you intentionally stood against Father Sichynskyi. Ukrainian populists do not do such things.” The editor says that Mr. Fedorovych can run in another county if he likes, however it is unlikely that he would make a very effective deputy, “...you will surely sing in the Seim, that which the great lords tell you to!” He concludes that Mr. Fedorovych can only expect support from the people if he decides to mend his ways, “...we will of course support you, when you declare in advance that you will defend the business of peasants and Ukrainians in the Seim.”

When discussing the importance of the impending elections to the Seim, correspondents often place the burden of responsibility on the Ukrainian populace. As one correspondent observes: “The preliminary elections play no small role in the elections, because the community chooses those electors who in turn vote for an envoy...our



community must know who has the right to vote during the preliminary elections.”<sup>138</sup> The correspondent goes on to describe in detail who legitimate electors are, how they are chosen, and who to complain to in the event that the legal process is overlooked. Around the Christmas season of 1889 (January), a correspondent from Rudky implored the people of the town of Komarno to mobilize themselves well in advance of the election period: “Prepare frequent evenings (get-togethers) and do as I say and you will certainly succeed in rousing sleepy Komarno. Then before long it will not be difficult for you to establish an elections committee, and to bring the entire region to agree on an intelligent and sincere Ukrainian candidate to the Seim and to stand with him against every opposing endeavour. Otherwise you will end up with the kind of envoy you would not dare to dream of. Therefore quickly take on this matter before it is too late! Show that you are able to care for your national honour and good!”<sup>139</sup>

### **The Pigs (*Khruni*)**

As already alluded to, another aspect which complicated the Seim election process was that communities also had to select designates to vote for candidates to the Seim. Thus, the issue naturally arose as to which electors could be relied on to act on the will of the community, and essentially, the will of the Ukrainian people of Eastern Galicia. In discussing this problem, the correspondent introduces the reader to a most interesting phenomenon in Ukrainian peasant society in Eastern Galicia: the legend of “Mykyta the Pig” (*Mykyta khrun*).

Mykyta the Pig, was a figure which could be found in virtually every town and village in Eastern Galicia. Sometimes, although less often referred to as Danylo the Pig, Mykyta represented those Ukrainian opportunists (usually electors) who betrayed the cause of their people. The transformation from elector to Pig (traitor) occurred when the elector accepted some sort of bribe, and in exchange voted and/or agitated for the candidate who was deemed by many Ukrainians, and especially by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, to be

against progress and the enlightenment of the Ukrainian peasantry. In the eye of the correspondent, Mykyta was viewed as a traitor who sold his soul and the welfare of his people for a shot of vodka and a piece of garlic sausage (or a whole ring, if one was really lucky) Mykyta the Pig was a creature governed by appetite alone. In his pursuit of instant gratification, he failed to perceive the gravity of the decision at hand and the negative, long-term repercussions of his actions. Indeed, his role was serious, for he played an instrumental part in the outcome of the elections. Thus, while correspondents held great contempt for Polish and Jewish election agitators, they entirely loathed Mykyta the Pig; for in their opinion there was no greater crime, than the betrayal of your own people.

A correspondent from Zbarazh is extremely bold in his criticism of the activity of the Pigs who ran rampant throughout his district: "Our little area of Zbarazh is not a very good one, because there are seven or eight villages which are Mazur (inhabited by Poles), and besides this there are a lot of Pigs....When the elections are to occur, then the voters start to drink three weeks in advance."<sup>140</sup> The correspondent refers to one Pig in particular, Zaluskyi, whom he accuses of having sold out his faith. He adds: "But this faith is such that during the time of the election the Jews said, he would have become a Jew for money....He went about the villages and slighted and lied about our Father Sichynskyi...his bones would have been crushed if he had not hid in a small box in the mill." However, even worse than Zaluskyi, was one Danylo Kernychyi from Chernykhovets, "...the rabbi of all Pigs...he took a sum of money for agitation and promised that no elector from Chernykhovets would give his vote for Father Sichynskyi." "That Danylo belonged to the lords' committee, and went about the villages, and uttered such bad things about Father Sichynskyi and agitated for Borkowski, and moreover obtained for himself a rank of nobleman, because the local Pigs are no longer called Mykyta, but Danylo."

A correspondent reports on how the local scribe from one village tampered with the election results, and committed other crimes against the Ukrainian people: "And this interesting Mr. Secretary is yet a son of a local farmer."<sup>141</sup> The correspondent mocks the

scribe for acting as though he were a Pole, and displaying shame for his national heritage: “When the reading club was founded, then he wrote in the membership book in his own hands—Mikolaj Mackiewicz, nauczyciel w Bodnarowie—[meaning ‘teacher in Bodnarow’ in Polish] although all the other signatures were in Ukrainian. It is understood, that now Mr. Secretary conducts ‘w urzedowym jezuku’ [in the official language.] Hey, panie Mikolaj, may you not recall too late that Ukrainian bread reared you and that you still eat Ukrainian bread now!” A correspondent from Kaminka Strumylova district describes how one mayor agitated for the Polish candidate, “...during the elections to the Seim and state parliament [the mayor] agitated relentlessly, so that the electors were Pigs and later they in turn, persuaded the [once] honest electors, and even gave them money to vote for the Polish candidate.”<sup>142</sup>

Peasant electors often became the target of political agitators who possessed a higher degree of cunning and political savvy. When peasants came to the larger centres to cast their vote, they were much like sheep among a pack of wolves. One correspondent describes how on the sixth of June, when the peasant electors came to Zbarazh, the Zbarazh burghers seized them, took them to the taverns and persuaded them to vote for Mr. Borkowski. This was achieved through every manner possible, and when necessary, even by force, with the help of the police and sausage makers.”<sup>143</sup> According to the correspondent, some peasants were arrested, some caved in, while others did not vote for the Ukrainian deputy purely out of fear of reprisal. He goes on to lament: “It was just terrible what happened!” However, not all of the peasants of the county were mere victims, “...some villages also sold out and all the more cheaply [lists them], because those from one village only received a quart of beer. The correspondent goes on to describe the composition of the Zbarazh electors, “... in Zbarazh there are very few populists among the burghers, but mostly flatterers and praisers of the lords...the Zbarazh burghers sold their vote, and moreover, they drank and ate for a whole week.” Worst of all, in the eyes of the correspondent, the more sophisticated burghers acted as poor role models for the peasants,

and even deliberately led them astray: “Those and other villages that went for the Zbarazh pigs, became polluted by them, as though by the plague.”

### **The Rewards**

A gathering of the “Pigs” is described as a humorous, yet tragic affair. A correspondent remarks on the wild behavior which was observed in the town of Ternopil, “...at the treat table, were not only those who were there to vote, but even more of those, that did not belong there....Thanks to deputy Borkowski dishes and glasses were smashed on the ground, and spoons and forks were taken away in the leg of a boot....One crawled on to a table and began to scream ‘hurray!’—but only opened his eyes wide to the ceiling, because sausage was stuck in his throat...”<sup>144</sup> The correspondent goes on to observe how these “betrothed of count Borkowski,” rejoiced on kovbasa and beer and said: “You see, my good man, it is obvious that this one is a good man, since he pleases us so! Vote for him!” From the village of Domamorych in Ternopil region, a correspondent provides a shameful account of their mayor Mykola Rudyi, who sold his reputation for a piece of sausage: “Before voting the mayor went to the Pigs, and looked into the barn where an evening, a ‘piggish hell,’ was being held, and at this gathering was a trough of kovbasa.”<sup>145</sup> He goes on to describe how badly the mayor longed for a taste of the kovbasa, which the Jew only provided once the mayor declared whom he was voting for. Having, eaten only a portion of the kovbasa, the mayor hid the rest in the leg of his boot, and went to vote. However, when he later returned to the party and removed the remainder from his boot to snack on, the Jew snatched it out of his hands, claiming that he had eaten enough [in other words, the mayor had served his purpose and was no longer required]: “The people who saw this laughed and the mayor looked sadly after his kovbasa.”

A correspondent from Ternopil lists some of the financial benefits which came with piggish behaviour: “Count Borkowski for three votes from Dolzhynka presented nine oaks for a church fence, which equals 150 *zr.*, and 400 in ready money towards a brick church

and 10 *zr.* for beer—560 *zr.* altogether, and he presented six wagons of firewood to those three who voted for him. And again for two votes from Domamorych, the neighboring village, he presented four oaks, which are worth 50 *zr.*, and four wagons of wood. And this is merely what two villages cost....”<sup>146</sup> Many equated such gestures on the part of Polish lords to mere pocket change. On the problem of bribery and the lords, one correspondent shares his observations: “...the lords know what they are doing; they threw thousands away, so as to approve millions in the Seim for themselves, for example, for assistance to the distillery 23 million ...”<sup>147</sup>

### **The Consequences**

Such “piggish” behaviour rendered immediate, shameful reprisal for the culprits, and severe, long term effects on the moral condition of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. A correspondent from Dolyna district is shocked by the self-destructive behavior of the electors from his region, where the Polish candidate won: “It is surprising that our people are either still so ignorant, or so greedy, that they would cheat themselves —and it is surprising, that our own children help foreigners to trample on their own native mother Ukraine...then the degenerate children go drink and party on her cadaver, and rejoice that they have grown poorer, because they tortured their own mother to death.”<sup>148</sup> The consequence of their actions translated into six more years of the Polish lord Mazarski: “He will serve the interests of his own Poles and lords, as he already gave proof, because he sat for two years completely stupid and useless in the Seim, and moreover withdrew his signature for the Ukrainian gymnasium in Przemysl...”

The correspondent from Dolyna recognizes the value in exposing such behavior: “It is appropriate to brand such degenerates and to place them before the scrutiny of the entire Ukrainian nation, so as to abhor them —and to beware of them....How will they face their people now, after standing as a hindrance in these elections to the Seim?” A correspondent from Chortkiv also finds great benefit in such exposés of election Pigs: “Highly esteemed

Editor....I am sending two *zr.* for a half year's subscription to *Batkivshchyna*, and although I myself cannot read, it is sweet for me to hear what is new in the world, and especially about the Mykyta Pigs, of whom there is no shortage....I intentionally subscribe to your newspaper so that it may circulate throughout the entire village for the younger and more educated people to read, so that they may know how to behave, because from such Pigs only mayors and scribes benefit, and because of such Pigs, the villages and the entire country are collapsing."<sup>149</sup>

Most communities were not in the least bit hesitant to hold Pigs accountable for their behaviour. According to one correspondent, in various villages throughout Zbarazh the people advise their electors, prepare them for the elections, and when they return from the election, the community asks them whom they voted for. He adds that in some cases the people do not apprehend the truth and have to question their neighbors. However, the truth is often painful for all involved: "It is not a happy time when a rumour follows that the elector has made a Pig of himself."<sup>150</sup> Still, the correspondent applauds the practice of shaming the elector, because it really does have effect: "This is why this time from Novoselytsia, count Borkowski received only seven votes, and our Father Sichynskyi 51. In our healthy flock only [the villages of]Lysychyntsi and Holotky are mangy." From Skalat the correspondent lists some of the methods used to shame Pigs into submission, "...perhaps God will better provide in the spring elections, because as we hear, they will disgrace, dishonour and deride the most current Danylo Pigs throughout the villages. For example in Orikhovets they received photographs with pig snouts, and with kovbasa, cigars and flasks with vodka they enunciate, 'Hail to the snout! Hail to the pig!' And in Zadnyshivka and Mysliv they received very important letters, about which it is even a disgrace to write; and in Dorfivka they received piggish photographs."<sup>151</sup>

The following submissions illustrate how there are always two sides to a story. A correspondent from Skalat is disgusted by the election shenanigans and writes: "Therefore I have come to the opinion, that here in Skalat there are a lot of people, who,

even in broad daylight, crawl into the swamp, and others, still more ignorant than they, see those who stand in the swamp with such dignity, and all the more quickly enter themselves, so that they all unite in one society.”<sup>152</sup> He goes on to share his perspective:

“I, you see, am still a young man. I have not been with people very much and I have not been able to distinguish who here in Skalat is most guilty, and why it is so terribly stupid here—until this year, when the elections were to be held—when I went with interest on that day to Skalat to see, who would be in the swamp, and who would be dry....” Once in Skalat, he received an education, “...truly I found out who is a cheat, and a big enemy, and who is a good, honest man. But here there is very little of honesty. Here the priest shakes the rattle—like our Father Luzhnytskyi from Soroshchok—who himself did not appear at the elections and took four of his own electors to the swamp.” To this he adds: “So let them not vote for the Ukrainian candidate...if only they were not such terrible persecutors of our voters, like A. Oleksiuk from Kolodiivka there are many such Oleksiuks here, but their reign will not be for long, because with time the people are becoming enlightened and more able to recognize their enemies....” In the end he warns people to be careful of whom they trust, “...do not let those Danylo Pigs go to the elections, who moreover, stuff their own belly and sell out the whole community. And you priest, we beg you with tears in our eyes: help those ignorant people, who wait solely for your help .”

In late nineteenth- century Eastern Galicia, the criticism of the clergy was handled with much care and caution, and even more so when any accusations turned out to be unfounded. A month later the other side to the story from Skalat emerged and the editor of *Batkivshchyna* was compelled to print a retraction and warning to correspondents, “...we ask our correspondents to investigate everything in advance and to write to us only the truth, because we have to answer to the authorities ....”<sup>153</sup> Then, in a letter by a different correspondent it is revealed that Father Luzhnytskyi did not drag the peasant electors into the “swamp.” In reality, it was actually the peasants electors who deceived the priest. From the beginning Father Luzhnytskyi had regarded these people as upright and not prone to

bribery. During the election the priest was called away to a funeral. When he returned, he was most distraught to learn how his parishioners had voted, "...one for money, one for a place for his horses to pasture...only one, of the Latin rite, voted for the Ukrainian candidate."<sup>154</sup> Thus, while the priest was innocent of any corruption, the end result was still the same; the electors sold out their people. In closing, the correspondent remarks: "Now people in the village are saying, that it is better to choose as elector, one who lives in a hut, rather than a wealthy man because the one living in a hut does not have horses which he must pasture at the lord's place, and the wealthy man for such an insignificant thing hands over his children and wife, his community, his people...to the care of his enemy."

Another consequence of unacceptable behaviour during the elections, was the disillusionment of the peasantry and a lack of faith in leadership. According to a correspondent from Lviv, the peasantry of one village lost all inspiration for enlightenment when their priest sold himself to the Polish side. In the beginning the priest had made a huge and positive impact in the village: "There came here several years ago a new priest, a great populist. He began to introduce, as is proper, various improvements in the church and community. There appeared a church brotherhood, a reading club, and singing. The reading club attracted about forty members —and in the beginning it went very well. The reading club over time developed wonderfully, and the singing served as no little glory to God and joy to the people."<sup>155</sup> However, all these fine efforts came crashing down: "All was good and well done, until there came the elections to the Seim." At this time it became necessary to choose electors. The correspondent says, "...who to elect, if not our benefactor, the priest, who so zealously occupied himself with the church and our ignorant minds?" So the people chose the priest and two other honest electors. When election day arrived these two went to consult with the priest, with the intent that they would all vote for the Ukrainian candidate. However, the priest told them to vote as they saw fit, but he was obligated to vote for the lord, or else risk losing all the privileges he currently enjoyed. The people were aghast! They could not believe that the same person who had nurtured their enlightenment, had sold



them out: "From that time everything turned around; the singing stopped and the reading club is collapsing."

### **Other Agitators**

As many correspondents observed, not all electoral agitation was tied directly to the "Pigs." The original source of the problem lay in the dysfunctionality of the entire political system. As one correspondent, commenting on the elections as a whole, states: "Ukrainians would not have the right to complain, that they had so few of their candidates for deputy were elected, if these elections had been conducted with sincerity and free will, because then they would themselves be guilty that their leading people lost significance and esteem among the people."<sup>156</sup> He goes on to say that when the district captain, police and tax inspector get involved (and introduce fear of reprisals), then an entirely different story unfolds, "...then Ukrainians have the full right to point out their injury...." He blames the government and the Poles, and targets the most fundamental problem to plague Eastern Galicia in the late nineteenth century, "...there is no agreement between Poles and Ukrainians...."

The "Election News" of March of 1889, contained an account based on a letter from Ternopil which had appeared in an earlier edition of *Dilo* (Issue 38). As the story goes, on the evening of the 31st January, two policemen came to take care of the preliminary elections. The policemen proceeded to go with the mayor and other members of the community government to the home of the deacon, where singers were gathered for singing lessons: "The girls who were assembled there were petrified and began to flee, and one policeman said: 'We will come here later and sing for you!' Certainly this terrified all those who were assembled."<sup>157</sup> The correspondent goes on to condemn the behaviour of the captain: "During the elections in Ternopil the captain did not invite a single bright Ukrainian to sit on the election commission, which hitherto had not occurred. And during the preliminary elections the Ternopil captain did what he wanted: he arranged them as he

thought, and when they did not go so well, then he canceled the old lists and sent new ones.” “ In general,” says the correspondent, “such injury to Ukrainians had never occurred before —is this the ‘new season’ for Ukrainians promised by the viceroy?”

### **The Patriots**

The election reports provided by the correspondents were not entirely negative in content. For, alongside frequent accounts of betrayal, are found words of praise for individuals and communities who were considered to have stood firmly by the principles of truth and honour. From Pishaitsi district a correspondent congratulates the people of his district for electing a peasant son and zealous advocate of peasant issues, Damian Savchak. He proclaims that the hearts of the people rejoice all the more that the citizens of neighboring Berezhany did the same. To all this he adds: “It is obvious from this, that our Ukrainian peasantry is not so ignorant and ungrateful as it is portrayed...It is true that there were found among us Judases, that from greed for a wagon of firewood, for a heap of hay, or for empty Jewish money, sold their Ukrainian conscience. But all the same, thanks to our district patriots, there were fewer such Judases among us than in other regions of our country.”<sup>158</sup>

A correspondent from Stanyslaviv writes that they were most pleasantly surprised by the actions on one elector Yatsko Verhun, of whom they were initially quite wary. On the day of the election, he headed over at daybreak to the ‘Polish gathering’ in honour of Pigs, where kovbasa, various other meats, rum and vodka were provided for. Upon entering, Yatsko was intercepted by a ‘chubby-faced lord,’ who offered him 10 *zr.* to vote for the candidate Polianovskyi. Yatsko told the lord the offer was too low, so the lord proceeded to raise the stakes. The bartering continued, until finally, the lord offered the peasant voter 100 *zr.* to take himself and the other electors, and to go home. Yatsko said he himself would have to think it over, but he declared that the others are cunning people and unlikely to be persuaded. The lord told him where he could go, and stormed off. “Thank you for your

honourable words,' said our Yatsko and he proceeded to mingle with a group of electors to encourage them to vote for the Ukrainian candidate. Indeed on that day the people of Tsebliv, like the neighboring villages of Tuzhyliv, Peremysliv and Oserdiv did not bring shame to Mother Ukraine."<sup>159</sup>

One correspondent, when writing about the elections in Ternopil stated that he was hardly surprised that Count Borkowski received more votes than the Ukrainian candidate because a vote was paid for with 50 to 100 *zr.* What did surprise him however, was the strength of character displayed by many from among the peasantry. He notes how the poorest were not enticed by money, but stood firm, voted for the Ukrainian candidate and in the end, often suffered persecution. He then adds with pride: "Hey, even in Zbarazh there are already whole villages and regions, where no tricks help. Here and there are already some peasant-Latins [Poles or Ukrainians who have converted to Roman Catholicism] who voted for the Ukrainian."<sup>160</sup>

Another correspondent while in the city of Ternopil was apprised of an interesting incident which had taken place during the election, "...I met up with a few peasants... and we began to converse about the elections and lamented that Father Sichynskyi was not elected. Although they were saddened by the outcome, it could be said that many individuals throughout the region demonstrated that they had come a long way and now understood with whom their destiny lies. For example, in the village of Kozivka the people did not allow themselves to be influenced by Pigs, and the Pigs simply took it for granted that they would be victorious....The Pigs had barely opened their eyes, and themselves did not know what had happened— not one vote had been cast for them. They drank up their sorrows in the tavern and in their drunkenness debated what they were to do now."<sup>161</sup> According to the correspondent the "Pigs" went and complained to the captain, but he laughed at them and said that the elections were legitimate. The correspondent goes on to describe an incident where which one elector was given 10 *zr.* to vote for Borkowski, "...he took the money but voted for Father Sichynskyi. But having turned back to his own village, he then said:

‘Citizens of the community! You chose me to be your representative and you ordered me to give my vote to Father Sichynskyi, and I did such; nevertheless, I confess, that the agents of the lords gave me 10 *zr.* and I took it so as to convince you, citizens, that it is true that the lords pay people to vote for theirs.’

One correspondent provides a list of those who did not leave their spot during the pre-elections in Sniatyn (as the agitators for the Polish candidate could have exploited any period of absence). Consequently, these brave patriots went without food for the entire day. This is mentioned to contrast the actions of a local priest: “I also send you, Mr. Editor, a collection of little songs, that we sing over here to the pigs and Father Fylymon.”<sup>162</sup> According to the correspondent, Father Fylymon, after falling under the influence of agitators, reneged on his original support for Father Hamorokh, candidate to the Seim. Thus, he ceased referring to Father Hamorokh as a sincere Ukrainian and a quiet patriot, and began to slander him as an obscure man, void of merit.

### **Other Lessons**

Some correspondents noted that the peasantry had come out of the election period feeling quite jaded and abandoned by the intelligentsia which claimed to advocate for them. Yet this experience taught many of them to look out for their own interests. The same correspondent from Sniatyn observes: “Although we lost our cause during the recently held elections, we still carried away from them quite a bit of knowledge and the desire for further work. We saw that our people have already advanced far in the understanding of their own good, and our labours are not in vain.” He adds that in the future the peasantry will fend for itself: “Our hope will rest foremost on our own selves, on the peasants. We are not intimidated and will look after our own affairs; a parish with an unwell priest will not entrap us.”

One correspondent displays profound insight into the problems which plagued Ukrainian peasant society in Eastern Galicia during the late nineteenth century, and how all

these were linked to problems of enlightenment, national unity and the inherent flaws in the entire bureaucratic system. He also commends the populist press for its important role in Ukrainian peasant society. The correspondent declares at the beginning of his letter that he is but a simple farmstead owner, and besides this, illiterate, so he relies on his student son to record his thoughts on paper. He then proceeds to express his appreciation for the newspaper *Batkivshchyna*: “Having heard your very fine pieces about the election and other issues, I have something to say. Nothing brings such joy to us, poor and ignorant peasants, as when you carefully present all the truth in the open, only to defend national business and amend the misfortune of the peasant fate. Your newspaper wrote wonderfully last year, but this year it has already been so wonderful, that it simply cannot be any better. It is obvious, that you understand very well, what we peasants need, and how to write to us. Therefore *Batkivshchyna* is the guard of not just that which goes on in the reading club, but in every Ukrainian household. The only misery is that not all Ukrainians love the truth, and it was certainly at the beginning a little unpleasant for you when certain people, as I know, were angry at your paper.”<sup>163</sup> He encourages the editor not to worry because he says not all people in the world love the truth.

The correspondent goes on to relate his own unfortunate experience during the election period. It all began when he, having witnessed horrible behaviour during the elections to the Seim, dictated a letter to his son in Polish about some of the injustices and had it published in a Polish paper in Lviv, *Kurjer Lwowski*, “...which the people say is less in keeping with the lords.” His intent was to both inform the authorities of some of the electoral injustices (so they would hopefully put an end to them), and to humiliate the lords. The lords did not know how to deal with him so they decided to tell the police he was an alcoholic and he was promptly thrown in prison. When it became obvious in court that the correspondent’s alleged alcoholism was a mere fabrication, he was released. Still, this is the ordeal he suffered through, simply for expressing his opinion.

The correspondent moves on to criticize the people for their inactivity and the leaders for their lack of guidance. Above all, he complains about the lack of national unity among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. He uses the analogy of an ant hill and how the ants of the colony work in harmony to protect the mound: "Oh my dear brothers, more than once I, an old, grey-haired grandfather, have cried with bitter tears, when I looked at the ant hill and thought about our communities, about our poor disjointed country. And I was ashamed that among the unintelligent, poor ants there is such unity, such order, and here, among the most intelligent of God's creatures—there is such disorder, such disjointedness! We do not love our neighbors, we do not love ourselves and our closest family, our children...and lay on them difficult chains of infallible misery and slavery....Bitter, bloody tears of our offspring reach into our breasts, hearts, and unmercifully gnaw away at our sinful whole, and God punishes us terribly because we still do not defend ourselves and let fall from our hands, our brotherly good, and our own native land, for which our forefathers shed their blood. We must support ourselves, dear brothers, in our own affairs, we must defend our national honour and good because we are falling, like sand into the sea. We look at the Czechs and the Hungarians, and how they protect their own truths. Must we be last? Do not expose ourselves to the shame and mockery of the whole world." Having made such observations, the correspondent declares that the Ukrainians must rise up and unite, especially during the elections, if they want to secure a better future for themselves and their children.

### **Politics, Nation and the Role of the Individual**

As the correspondence to *Batktivshchyna* clearly indicates, Ukrainian populists in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia regarded politics and all that it encompassed with great seriousness. It was their belief, and rightly so, that most of the problems which plagued the day to day life of Ukrainians, stemmed from their lack of political power. Problems rising from such issues as language rights, education, discrimination, and taxation could only hope to be rectified through adequate representation. However, the

electoral system even in itself, was strongly biased in favour of those who already possessed power and wealth. Thus, with the odds already stacked against them, there was no room for betrayal. Consequently, Ukrainian participation in the electoral process was regarded as a sacred duty to the nation. The elector had a moral obligation act on behalf of his people: both locally and federally.

Only through national unity could the condition of the peasantry, and the Ukrainian nation as a whole, be remedied. All Ukrainians had a role to play in this process. While, intellectual and political leaders were expected to set a positive example for the people, in reality all members of the nation were personally accountable for their beliefs and actions: mayor to councillor, voter to voter, priest to parishioner, teacher to student, parent to child. Any one who hindered progress, and interfered with the electoral process was labeled a "Pig," and exposed for his anti-national behaviour. At the same time, apathy and inaction were also held with great contempt. In this increasingly modern society, indifference to the fate of the Ukrainian nation was held with the same disregard as any act of betrayal. When questioned as to where he stood in terms of national loyalty, the individual was forced to choose a side: there was no grey area. Thus, a person, or even an entire village was either ignorant, mangy, greedy, and disloyal, or intelligent, upright, brave, and patriotic. Packaging was a common practice among correspondents to *Batkivshchyna*, as it is within all modern societies. While, such a high level of expectation placed extreme pressure on the individual, in such extreme times, no alternate means would have proved nearly as effective. As for those who existed outside of the nation, the message to them is also quite clear: leave us alone.

## **(B) THE THEME OF CULTURE IN THE POPULIST PRESS**

In their desire to raise to standard of living and national status of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, the populist correspondents frequently called attention to certain aspects of Ukrainian culture. The following section begins with an examination of those aspects of Ukrainian culture which correspondents considered to be undesirable. It first deals with superstition, drinking, and other practices which correspondents perceived to be reckless and indulgent, then looks at those practices deemed to be progressive and in the interest of the Ukrainian nation; specifically, the temperance movement, cultural activities such as singing, acting, or the reciting of poetry, and holy days and other commemorative holidays which were celebrated in a cultured and civilized fashion.

### **A Background on Ukrainian Culture**

As members of a non-industrialized, predominantly peasant society, Ukrainians in late nineteenth -century Eastern Galicia remained devote practitioners of ancient folk customs. In fact, most religious holidays and practices were intermingled with rites and rituals which date back to pre-Christian times. Some of these rituals have been retained to this very day, such as the decorating of *pysanky* (Easter eggs), and the tossing of *kutia* (a ritual dish consisting of cooked grains, poppyseed and honey, served during the Christmas Eve meal) to foretell of the future harvest, or prosperity in general.

*The Land They Left Behind: Canada's Ukrainians in the Homeland*, by Stella Hryniuk and Jeffrey Picknicki, provides a vivid account of Ukrainian folk culture, as it was practiced in nineteenth-century Eastern Galicia. The chapters authored by Picknicki, especially depict the strong prevalence of superstition even throughout basic, day to day practices. When choosing a location to build a home, numerous factors were taken in to consideration. A home could not be erected on sacred ground, on a place where certain trees grew, where people had been overtaken by disease, where lightning had struck, or at a



crossroads. Even the actual construction of the house was restricted to certain days, thus the unlucky days of Monday, Wednesday, or any day during a leap year, were specifically avoided.<sup>164</sup> When it came time to commence any kind of agricultural work, days to avoid were Tuesday, Saturday, or any day during a full moon.<sup>165</sup> The notion of unlucky days also affected the performance of household tasks, such as the washing of clothes, which according to folk custom, was strictly prohibited on Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>166</sup>

Aside from the practice of planting on certain days, some of the more superstitious farmers abstained from eating meat and did not bring any food along with them to field (to prevent the consumption of the future grain by birds.) The Hutsuls also believed that the stepping over a tool foretold of rain or hail damage.<sup>167</sup> Beekeepers on the other hand, were guided by the notion that bees were incited by the close presence of garlic, wet laundry, and barking dogs.<sup>168</sup> Superstition also accompanied Ukrainians to the market where, for example, the sighting of a dog wearing a muzzle foretold of a reward for temperance, while underwear predicted a future quarrel with one's wife.<sup>169</sup>

Other rituals were associated with more specific, holy days of the year. Certain herbs were gathered by peasant women, and made into wreaths for the celebration of "Corpus Christi (*Bozhe tilo*), and later used throughout the year to heal the sick and to ward off evil spirits.<sup>170</sup> On Holy Saturday, it was customary for young men to recite a prayer and then jump through the flames of a big bonfire, to cleanse themselves of evil spirits. On Easter Sunday, *paska* (Easter bread) was fed to the farm animals, and salt was sprinkled at entrance ways to keep the evil spirits away. At the feast of Yordan water and especially wells, received blessing from the priest. Aside from this, the peasant also tossed a piece of bread into the well to prevent the witch from stealing the cow's milk.<sup>171</sup> At the ceremony of the "Holy Supper," on Christmas Eve, all work and any quarreling was strictly forbidden, while use of spells to deter evil spirits was permissible.<sup>172</sup> When funerals took place, the body of the deceased was sure to be buried deep beneath the ground, and the grave was sprinkled with poppy seeds —both measures to prevent the spirit from walking

the earth.<sup>173</sup> The dead were also remembered at a ceremony known as *Provody* which means "sending off." The priest performed a special service in honour of the departed, which was followed by a gravesite meal, where bits of Easter food and even liquor left for the placation enjoyment of the spirits.

Most aspects of this "double-faith" (*dvoievirria*) were not called in the question by the correspondents, because they were such an essential part of Ukrainian culture, that it was impossible to separate the Christian from the pagan. In addition, most customs were essentially harmless in character and did not generally incur great financial loss. However, any custom that involved great expense was generally considered by the correspondents to be unnecessary, unprogressive, and thereby, in need of elimination. Thus, for example, a correspondent would have had no problem with the *korovai* (ritual wedding bread), but strongly questioned the necessity and significance of a week-long wedding celebration complete with an endless supply of strong alcohol. Or perhaps, while a particular correspondent might have thought the practice of jumping through a fire on Holy Saturday to be rather absurd, he would have found this harmless in comparison to the costly dependence of some peasants on the magic of gypsies and hail-makers. Based on the nature of the correspondence which concerns issues of culture, it is clear that those customs which peasants practiced without external assistance, and which were relatively free of expense, were not generally discouraged by the correspondents (regardless of whether they disapproved). However, any custom involving excessive drinking, or which involved the assistance of a hired "professional" such as a gypsy, witch or hail-maker, is subject to extreme criticism in the Ukrainian populist press. On the other hand, simplified customs (shorter weddings), the temperance movement, such cultural activities as poetry readings, theatre, choirs, and the proper observance of church holy days and other special days, such as the anniversary of emancipation, receive the support and applause of correspondents.

### **Alcohol Abuse and the Ukrainian Peasantry**

Most historians agree that drinking was a problem for Ukrainian in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia. However, the extent of this problem remains a contentious issue. As Himka observes, the problem of drinking among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia went back to serfdom, when peasants were forced to buy huge quantities of liquor from their landlords, thereby fulfilling their feudal obligation.<sup>174</sup> By the seventeenth century, the right of propination (the right to sell alcohol) was rented out by the nobility exclusively to the Jews. By then, alcoholism was already a significant problem among Ukrainians and consequently many became frequent customers of the almost twenty thousand taverns in Galicia, or one tavern for every two or three hundred inhabitants (1850-1870).<sup>175</sup> The majority of these taverns were owned by Jews. Himka quotes Mahler who noted the “exceptionally large” number of taverns and the “frightful extent of alcoholism in the country side.”<sup>176</sup> Another source states that in 1876 the per-capita whisky consumption was 26L, and 54 million *zr.* were spent on alcohol annually.<sup>177</sup> Hryniuk, on the other hand, suggests that the picture of alcohol abuse among Ukrainians has been “overdrawn” and that the image of the “extraordinarily bibulous” Ukrainian peasant was a myth.<sup>178</sup>

Yet, while there is no consensus as to how much of a problem it was, it is generally agreed that the alcohol abuse had somewhat abated by the end of the nineteenth century. Both Himka and Hryniuk cite the decrease in the number of taverns. Himka states that the number of taverns had declined to 17, 277, by the end of the century, or one for every 420 inhabitants.<sup>179</sup> Hryniuk’s numbers are actually higher; from 19,104 to 19, 248, or 1: 302, down to 1:328.<sup>180</sup> Hryniuk also cites the decline in the number of convictions for the crime of “habitual drunkenness” in Galicia, from 26,814 in 1887, to 16,580 in 1899, as indicative of a decline in the over-consumption of alcohol.<sup>181</sup> Both Himka and Hryniuk credit these declining numbers to the success of church brotherhoods, reading clubs, and the temperance movement in Eastern Galicia.

In order to appreciate the impact of the temperance movement among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, the very root of the problem must be examined. The most common complaint among correspondents involved drinking. As the correspondence indicates, drinking pervaded all aspects of life for Ukrainian in Eastern Galicia; from politics, to the observance of Christmas traditions. It also raised issues of enlightenment, and exacerbated ethnic tensions. By raising awareness of the issue in the populist press correspondents hoped to shame the population and turn their attention towards more progressive venues of entertainment. This was not the most pleasant task for correspondents. In fact, the need to present such examples of lewd, humiliating behavior for public consumption, brought great distress to the populist writers. However, it was believed that the end justified the means; shame raised awareness and encouraged reform. Any progress which emerged from such actions, raised the status of the Ukrainian nation.

## **Undesirable Cultural Traits**

### **Alcohol Abuse**

According to the correspondence, drinking was a problem that affected Ukrainians of all ages. However, this problem appears to have been especially prevalent among young, single men. A correspondent who spend a holiday in Skalat complains about the initiation customs among young men in the village of Tovste. As the correspondent explains, when all the young, single men come of age, they are expected to join a local brotherhood. When his time arrives, the initiation occurs in such a way: "They apprehend the lad, drag him to the tavern, and having locked the door, order for themselves every kind of treat imaginable and charge it to the freshy...it often occurs that the freshy does not have the means to cover such lordish entertainment and steals from his father, so as not to embarrass himself and to attain the honour of belonging to this society of drunken bachelors."<sup>182</sup> However, as the correspondent explains, it occasionally occurs that one is not interested in keeping such

company: "One boy, the son of an honest worker, having just returned from the army, did not have the desire to join the bachelors' club, but to work and to eagerly help his family and the farmstead." The bachelors did not take to kindly to this rejection: "One night they lay in wait. Having apprehended him, they began to beat him, cracked his head and tied his hands. It amazes me very much that those to whom the moral direction of the youth belong, do not strive for the removal of such a terrible custom." The editor also provides commentary: "It is nice when the youth belong to some kind of society: but their society must have honest and useful aims....It is a shame that the age of youth is being wasted."

A correspondent from Zbarazh laments on the state of order in the village of Klebanivka, and the example which is currently being set by the parents and elders of the community: "The tavern is never empty —whether it be a workday or Saint day, morning or night, the place is packed to capacity. Every Sunday, the music plays, and the whole village shoves into the tavern: old and young, big and small, even mothers with children at their breast fill a place at the table."<sup>183</sup> A similar complaint comes from a correspondent in the district of Bibrka: "One would consider that since the people have forgotten about the church, then they would at least care about their earthly good, and save up some money; but this is not the case, because the money goes to noisy parties and occasions, which they celebrate on a weekly basis...."<sup>184</sup> The correspondent goes on to explain how the people think that they are better off because they have sworn themselves off vodka and only drink quarts of beer. However, he says that this is hardly the case, because they spend more money on beer. Although the correspondent is essentially opposed to the consumption of alcohol, he emphasizes that it is not his desire to ban drinking in its entirety, "...gentlemen farmers, no one opposes you: drink beer freely, but you must use your discretion, as you are the type who, forgive me, have been known to cross over to barbarianism. How can your youth and children gain any morals, when you do not set a good example." A correspondent from Tovmach district depicts the former state of affairs in one village before massive reforms were implemented: "The church was small and old, the school, decrepit,

although the children still studied well. The people said that they did not have the money to fix the school, but they always found money for drinking without end, and through the nights there was such clamour, singing and fighting. Every day something new was heard." The correspondent then lists some of the injuries incurred during such binges.<sup>185</sup>

A correspondent from Sokal district writes: "In the village of Perevodova, Sokal district, weddings still last a whole week long and village men are known to sell cattle or their pants just to buy whiskey."<sup>186</sup> The correspondent also goes on to relate the details of wedding celebration which ended (even before it began) in tragedy; all of course due to excessive drinking: "Old Lady Masliuk, the mother of the groom, worked for three days, baking the breads and preparing the food for the wedding. As she was working, she was drinking. On Saturday night the wedding was supposed to begin. The elders arrived...and then the drinking really began. The groom's mother went to the granary and did not return to the party for a long time. When the people went out to look for her they found her out cold. Beside her was an empty bottle. They touched her but she was already stiff. Great confusion ensued."

Peasants often succumbed to the temptation of drinking on their travels. A correspondent reports on how people from the surrounding villages flock to the Sunday market in Hlyniany. He observes that many have no reason to come, but cannot pass up the opportunity to socialize and search for an excuse to go. Finally, dragging along a basket of eggs and a chicken, the peasant declares his reason for the trip: "Well,' he says, 'I will go to the city to buy salt and pepper, because there is no time to go on a working day.' But when they meet up with the their *kum* [relation through a god-child] they blow so much, that sometimes there is nothing left to buy the salt, and they return home totally drunk."<sup>187</sup> A correspondent from Sokal writes about the unfortunate death of one bachelor who, while returning home one night drunk, lost his way in the field and froze to death. The writer concludes that although the young man came from a good family, he allowed himself to be overcome by laziness and drunkenness, and therefore as he lived, so to he died.<sup>188</sup> Another

correspondent from Peremyshliany district describes how one drunk man returning from the tavern, mistook a hedge for a cross, crossed himself, bowed down to pray and finally, kissed and embraced it.<sup>189</sup>

Weddings in their current form were regarded by correspondents as wasteful expenditures. A correspondent from Bohorodchany district sets out to illustrate this to the readers: "God gave us the pre-Lenten season, and with it comes weddings. Therefore I ask you, farmstead owners, can we afford such clamorous weddings as hitherto? Oh no! Now is not the time to waste time and money in vain, and to have partying and drunkenness without gain."<sup>190</sup> He recommends that people abstain from drinking and move away from the traditional seven-day wedding. He then goes on to illustrate how other nations celebrate marriage in a more productive and modern fashion: "Our people in the army have been to other countries...and did they see the farmstead owners from among the Germans, Czechs, and other nations produce such long weddings as us? Although they are three or four times richer than us, they celebrate a day and a night, and after each returns to his own work. But because of this the farmstead owners produce a better dowry for their children than ours do." He proceeds to give an example of a village where the priest brought in a new order by reducing the wedding celebration to one day. He rationalizes this action by pointing out the money saved: "It is easy to count, that for the guests, music, and wasted time it comes to at least 60 *zr.* for one house, and therefore 120 *zr.* for both. And what kind of profit do the young married couple get from this? With their wedding customs our farmstead owners contribute not to the dowries of their own children, but to those of the Jew; and our newly married usually start out with a noisy wedding and a difficult and hungry household...." The correspondents goes on to explain how this money could be better spend on a pair of steers and one milking cow and concludes: "Therefore in today's difficult times we must put an end to old wedding customs." Some village communities took this advice to heart. A correspondent from Horodenka writes about a highly progressive motion passed at a meeting of one village's reading club: "It was presented in a committee proposal that all

members pledge from this day to celebrate family christenings, weddings, funerals and other occasions over only one day, or for example, one lunch or dinner, and that during this no one dares to drink more than a small tumbler of vodka. All assembled accepted this proposal unanimously.”<sup>191</sup>

The Christmas season was hardly exempt from bouts of excessive drinking. A correspondent from Sokal district, depicts a three-day binge which occurred during the caroling season. The group of drunk carolers from the villages of Moshkiv and Shlytkiv, first began to party and sing in the tavern in Shlytkiv, and once they had drunk all the beer and vodka, resolved to go back to the tavern where they had finished caroling the previous year. So they rounded up the deacon’s team of horses and sped off to their final destination, and once there, they proceed to sing and drink the night away. The following evening, which was a Monday, they partied until they were interrupted by the cantor’s wife who had come to yell at the cantor because a baby was waiting to be christened in the church. The cantor responded by hitting his wife on the head so hard that she bled. Later that night, the situation became even more out of control: “During the night, when they had already entertained themselves with dance and sound of their voices, they began to bicker, and further, to fight, and two farmstead owners were so finely beaten, that they had to go early Tuesday to the hospital in Sokal.”<sup>192</sup> In closing, the correspondent provides his own commentary: “So gloriously finished caroling in our famous villages of Moshkiv and Shlytkiv. While in other villages there are reading clubs and newspapers, here, to this day, there is no enlightenment; there is no one inclined to subscribe to even one newspaper, such as *Batkivshchyna*, for example, but [if they did] then by God they would know, how other villages are enlightening themselves.”

A correspondent from Stryi paints a similar picture of holiday disorder. He describes how the church brotherhood honours the birth of Jesus, by initiating new members into the brotherhood: “The newly elected members of the brotherhood kiss the hands of the older brothers and present one or two litres of vodka or beer....The



drunkenness goes on sometimes until daylight, hey and even into the second day. Again in the new year they come together to consider the carolers; and this is not a dry event. And so part of the revenue goes to drinking, and the remainder goes to the money-chest and they administer the money without any supervision.”<sup>193</sup> According to the correspondent, such celebrating is hardly restricted to the Christmas season alone: “On the first day of Great Lent a divine service is held for the deceased members of the brotherhood. For the service, the trustees withdraw two or three zr. from the money-chest to rinse out their teeth a little; and again the day lingers on in drunkenness. Because of this [their love for drink] these trustees run away from the reading club, like evil from blessed water.”

A correspondent from Skalat describes how the people regard saint days as an excuse to indulge themselves: “There is nothing good to tell about Skalat, because here terrible ignorance still governs and besides this there is also drunkenness. For example, on the day of St. Peter and Paul there occurred a great church holiday in the village of Krasne, so still the day before people from the surrounding villages rushed there for the evening supper, and to confess their sins later that evening....On Sunday, I was also there for the holy day. Around five o'clock I entered the village...and encountered such a clamour....I came closer, maybe sixty steps from the church, and there stood an enormous tavern, and before it a crowd of people...I arrived at the church...the supper was going, but the church was empty...they had rushed to the tavern to serve the Jews and the devil.”<sup>194</sup> The correspondent later meets a lonely old man in the cemetery who blames the state of disorder in the village on the people of the Latin rite [meaning Polish peasants], “...every Sunday and saint day our priest gives beautiful sermons in church, but nothing helps because the majority of the people in the village are of the Latin rite, and it is most of all they who perpetuate drunkenness, and the Ukrainians see them and do so themselves.” In closing the correspondent blames both sides for the disorder and drunkenness. He instructs the Ukrainians to value their freedom, and warns the Latins to leave the Ukrainians alone.

A correspondent from Stanyslaviv district is distressed by the behaviour of one mayor. The correspondent reports on how, on a recent trip to Stanyslaviv, he met up with a group of angry peasants who were entirely disillusioned with their mayor. Perplexed by a culmination of intolerable behavior, they had decided to turn to the priest for assistance (instead of the captain, as the correspondent advised). Clearly moved by their plight, the correspondent relates their story. According to the peasants, their mayor is an opponent to sobriety. Earlier that year a number of people had formed a church brotherhood and managed to become sober. As a consequence of their decision, the group was black-listed by the community government. For example, in the past, this same group had always gone caroling in support of the church. However, when the holiday season arrived the mayor forbade them to go and found a new group of disorderly bachelors, who were sent to carol for his own benefit. They went out and screamed about the village, and later caroused at the house of a proprietor with music, drink and dancing, and sank about 20 *zr.* (money that had in the past been collected for the church).

The correspondent also reports how the mayor further demonstrated his total disregard for the efforts of the church brotherhood. After the passing of Semen Ambroziak, the most honest, sober and prudent man in the village, the following occurred: "The enemies of sobriety and enlightenment, instead of showing gratitude for the contribution he made during his life, scorned and mistreated him in death."<sup>195</sup> The mayor reported to the authorities that the death had followed some beating and required a post-mortem examination. During the night they dug up the body, removed it from the grave and investigated the cause of death. The cause of death was soon confirmed to be an inflammation. The audience which had gathered responded with violent anger: "A drunk and savage mob, having surrounded the coffin, jeered: 'See what good sobriety does!'—And other things." Then, as the correspondent describes, without even reburying the coffin, the group proceeded to drink away their anger.

Drinking was regarded by most correspondents as the primary vice holding back the growth of the Ukrainian nation. Some were less sympathetic to the social cause of alcoholism among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, and instead preferred to focus on the present need for change. One correspondent from Rudky recalls the injustices of serfdom, and the reason for its fall, "... the wisest ruler of the world, God, did not give a separate law for lords and another for peasants. This most wise Creator and Ruler of the world gave one law (the Ten Commandments) for all the people of the world: lords and peasants. The injustice could not continue any longer. The benign Kaiser Fredrick realized this and abolished serfdom."<sup>196</sup> Yet, as the correspondent explains, the peasants did not know how to value their own freedom and succumbed to another master: "When our people heard about this [the end of serfdom], they fervently prayed and cried for joy. Well, having prayed and cried for joy, they went on to rejoice in the tavern, and now for our many stupid people there has arisen another slavery —a slavery, pardon me, to stinking vodka, and a slavery to the Jew....Then there arose another misfortune of loans from Jews and later, banks, the auctioning of land, and the ejection of people from their forefathers' land...."

### **Other Bad Customs and Behaviour**

The following letter is typical example of what correspondents regarded as a backward village society, entirely lacking in sophistication. In his complaint about the Hutsuls the correspondent begins: "It has been a long time since it has been as bad as it is now."<sup>197</sup> He goes on to describe the bad situation with their cattle (diseased) and the problem of poor animal husbandry. As for the people themselves, they too are diseased: "The people are almost healthy, but many are suffering terribly from a bad disease, which results from a contagion of shameful parts of the body." He blames this affliction on the wild customs of the people and their disregard for the innocence of young girls. However, in his eyes the blame begins with the parents, "...there is no one to stop the repugnance because this would mean standing up against the various customs of their parents —it is

terribly disheartening.” On the drinking problem, the correspondent provides the following “...although there are sobriety brotherhoods and they have a group of members who often leave vodka alone, they take up beer instead and came out worse, because before they only needed a few *kr.* for vodka, and now one must spend several *zr.*” He also complains of the horrible manner by which the people customarily treat the sick and dying: “They behave very badly with sick people. Several days before death, they bathe and dress the sick for death! A number of these sick people would still get well, but it often occurs that they place a lit candle in his hands and wait until he begins to die. There are no words of consolation, only interrogation...” Finally, he laments that the people do not care about the education of their children.

Some correspondents were disturbed by the prevalence of some customs which had only recently become a part of Ukrainian culture. This is largely because such customs relied on the assistance of outsiders (non-Ukrainians), and were not affordable, nor necessary for the betterment of the Ukrainian peasantry. Thus, for example, a correspondent writes from Skalat about the replacement of handmade Ukrainian clothing, for the perhaps more stylish, though less durable store bought items: “Our forefathers...gave less money for unnecessary things. They went around in their own shirts...and they dressed in light peasant coats, and sheep skin coats, made from their own sheep, which were raised in their stables. And all other necessary things were delivered to them either through their own efforts or from their tradesman brother who came from their own village. And now whether for a shirt, skirt, boots, or a coat of wool —for all they go to the market, to the fair, to the Jews.”<sup>198</sup>

### **Superstition**

Less prevalent in the correspondence in comparison to discussion on drinking, though no less interesting, are those letters which concern belief in the spirit world. Specifically, in their correspondence the populist writers regard this as a horrible waste of

money and an obstacle to enlightenment. A correspondent from Stryi writes, "...besides the endeavors of the church, school, and reading club, the light of knowledge has scarcely begun to shine here. For example, when someone here is ill, they do not go seek the advice of a doctor, who has studied to recognize and cure illnesses, but instead run sometimes several miles to the deceptive fortune-tellers, and waste more money than they would have given for the doctor and the medicine. So come to your senses people!"<sup>199</sup>

When one correspondent from Bohorodchany wrote about the problems associated with superstition, this appeared to spark a flood of letter from that district. "In our corner the people believe in sorcerers, fortune-tellers, and hail-sorcerers. Sometimes someone is cunning and ingenious enough to announce himself to be a hail-sorcerer: and if fortune goes his way, and he is able to deceive well, then the news spreads throughout the surrounding area, that he knows something about hail; and consequently this one no longer has to worry about anything...bread, grain, produce, butter, eggs...so much that he needs two or three wagons to haul it away."<sup>200</sup> The correspondent tells of one old self-proclaimed hail-sorcerer who had gained little notoriety until one fateful day: "One time when the local people were anxious about a terrible, dark cloud which was drawing near, he took advantage of the moment and announced, 'Do not be afraid people, for I am here.' He ran into the middle of the grain fields and began to wave a stick at the clouds and muttered some words. There was no hail and the grateful farmstead owners inebriated him so, that he lay drunk like a log for two days, but all the same the locals say that he know something about hail."

The correspondent also describes how in another part of the district, the people decided that their own priest was a hail-sorcerer: "And when his son, also a priest, acquired a parish in Hrabivka, several miles from Yasen, then the people said that Hrabivka does not know hail, because the son intercepted that strength from his father. Then it occurred, that terrible hail knocked down one year's crop in the villages that lay between Yasen and Hrabivka. 'See!' - the people of Yasen pondered to themselves, 'From here the old one pushed the clouds away, and the young one pushed them away from Hrabivka, and they

carried all the clouds to the middle.' Today they do not believe as much in hail-sorcerer, as before; but all still believe. When hail falls, the old women come out from every house into the middle of the courtyard and set down a shoulder bone and an oven poker in the sign of the cross."

One correspondent from Bohorodchany district complains about the people's reliance on the presumed power of witches and fortune-tellers. This sometimes proved fatal: "Old sorceresses call on the sick children, and give them some kind of mixture and say that by this drink the child could go either here or there, but will no longer suffer. And they guess rightly; because usually after an hour the child goes 'there.'" The correspondent goes on to describe another incident where a witch, instead of a doctor, was called upon to treat a very sick youth. The old witch gave the young boy some kind of a drink, which she instructed him to drink over three days and then prepared to leave: "Upon departing the witch did not forget about herself, the farmstead owner paid her properly and gave her money for the trip, but this was not enough for her; she asked for a hen for the trip, and some flour and beans...."<sup>201</sup> However, as the correspondent explains when the witch and her driver (the brother of the sick boy), stopped at a tavern, the police questioned her. The police soon had a doctor examine the concoction which she had prescribed, and found it to be only water: "The son died several days later, perhaps because there was already no way out for him; unless perhaps, if a doctor had been brought in on time."

The same correspondent from Bohorodchany district shares one more story of a fortune-teller, who read some woman's cards. In the reading the gypsy foretold of a sick heifer and referred to the image of a knot in a wooden plank under a window, wolf-like in appearance, from where all evil flows. All this was to be found in the woman's house. However, she declared that it was too late for the woman, because she was destined to die in seven years: "By wondrous chance she found in the house a sick heifer, and in a trunk under the window was a knot —because where was there ever a trunk without a knot?...She grew sullen, did not take to food, nor work, nor sun, and paced the corners and mourned.

She grew thin and withered away....She brought despair to her husband and children. the household went to pieces, she became very sick and did not want to speak to anyone, she avoided her own children, and only wailed and shed tears.” The correspondent goes on to describe how, when the time came for her to confess (because she felt close to death), the husband used this opportunity to ask the priest the reason for her illness. The truth was finally drawn out of her, and the priest attempted to convince her that all this was in her head. Soon the doctor confirmed this, and the women gathered hope and in several months returned to full health. In conclusion, the writer raises the question: “Should not the Kaiser’s authorities bring an end to such terrible fraud?”

Strong belief in the powers of sorcery could bring great shame to a village. Another writer from Bohorodchany sets out to bring shame to the entire region. He writes that he has no quarrel with the content of previous letters, except for one minor detail, “...the mistake was made that hail-sorcerers are disappearing. That is not so; they are not disappearing, but deceive our ignorant people as they always have.”<sup>202</sup> He goes on to describe the fury and ignorance of the people of one village who had paid out four litres of grain annually to one hail-sorcerer and in the end, did not get their money’s worth: “A day or two before the hail he harvested his wheat, put it together in sheaves, and having taken it from the field to his home he said: ‘Well, let there be hail already -I am indifferent!’ The people say, that he intentionally caused misfortune, that he himself called on misery, and they wrote this in a complaint [to the authorities]. At the bottom of the complaint signed the mayor, the councillors, and they even added an official seal; throughout the surrounding area the great intellectuals are laughing. The hail-sorcerer is already standing before the court; but of course, it is not because he caused the hail, but simply because he cheated the community and committed fraud.”

Some of the correspondents call upon the populists to combat superstition through the promotion of enlightenment. A correspondent from Beskyd Mountains writes: “In this year falls the 900th anniversary of our people’s acceptance of Christianity. Nine hundred

years! That is not a short time; but still to this day a lot of superstitions from pagan times are hidden away among our people; all sorts of believes in various spirits, vampires, sorcerers....Through the help of God and with the untiring efforts and leadership of our bright populists we can boast a little of some of the great gains in the field of our national enlightenment renaissance. But there still remains, very, very, much to do."<sup>203</sup> He goes on to describe the state of enlightenment in the region and the over abundance of practitioners of the occult: "In this year's Prosvita calendar it was announced that there were 20 reading clubs in Stryi county. But really there are only 12 altogether; the others are stunted. Instead, we would be able to distribute all of our fortune tellers and witches throughout the whole world, and there would still remain enough of them for us!...And our brother goes 15 miles to them for advice, either concerning the weakness of people or animals, or when a crop does not mature, or when a beehive does not thrive, or any other kind of misfortune. Fortune-tellers have advice for everything." The correspondent finds this ridiculous when there are credible and educated doctors, veterinarians, lawyers, priests and teachers.

The correspondent elaborates on the problem of superstition and fraud in the region: "Besides fortune tellers, a lot of vagrants are bustling around the villages; for a tooth pain they sell some kind of splinter for five or ten *zr.* for other maladies they sell other medicines, like weeds and herbs. It even occurs that a fortune-teller instructs someone to burn down his house! Do not laugh! I will relate to you the details of one true mishap." He begins to describe a situation in one village where the people perceived a devil: "What was not said about this devil in the village! What excess and misfortune did he not bring about, and even hung up a girl by her braids! When there is such misfortune who to turn to if not to the fortune teller?" According to the correspondent the fortune-teller instructed them to burn a certain area behind some old woman's fence. When the fence was broken, just as the fortune-teller said, there appeared some lord who then disappeared into the field. Later that same night people reported two lordish apparitions chasing them. The correspondent wonders if these people were not returning from the tavern. Finally, he recommends



enlightenment as the only solution for this embarrassing behavior and blames the community leadership: “If only there was a mayor who was a bit better; because as they say, the fish stinks from the head.”

While correspondents were shamed and discouraged by the thriving belief in superstitions, their main concern lay in the fact that this preoccupation served as an impediment to the enlightenment of the peasantry. A correspondent from Kolomyia writes: “In all our misfortune we [turn to] fortune-tellers and sorcerers (and for every misfortune we are overflowing with fortune tellers and sorcerers)—this means we are advising ignorance with ignorance —we are driving a wedge with a wedge!”<sup>204</sup> Sometimes, the people did not fear the hail-sorcerer and instead of bringing him gifts, send the authorities after him. In one such case, the self-proclaimed hail-sorcerer swore bitter revenge: “Exactly a couple days later, on the 28th of July of this year there occurred hail in Liakhovytzi. If the people had been superstitious, his reputation would have been strengthened by this freak of chance.” However, in the correspondence this reaction appears to the exception. A Bohorodchany correspondent tells of a hail-sorcerer whose own field did not escape damage from hail, and still the people continued to believe. He calls on the populist to educate the people: “The people are ignorant and believe in the strength of hail-sorcerers, and support them through their blood shedding work, and they themselves grow poor and hungry....And where are our patriots, what are they doing? Why do they not bring the light of knowledge to those poor creature who are their brethren?”<sup>205</sup>

## **Positive Cultural Initiatives and Celebrations**

### **The Temperance Movement**

Although excessive drinking would remain a problem for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, the temperance movement had a profound impact on the Ukrainian peasantry. First appearing in Galicia in the 1840s, the temperance movement would begin to experience

substantial gains with the publication of Father S. Kachala's pamphlet *What is Destroying Us and What Can Help Us*. This was followed by two pastoral letters from the primate of the Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Y. Sembratovych which declared strong support for the movement.<sup>206</sup> Priests, teachers, and other members of the village intelligentsia, were often those who initiated the movement, however some members of the peasantry, even those who were illiterate and uneducated, eventually became strong supporters of sobriety. Sometimes hundreds of people would gather and pledge sobriety. Crosses were often erected in commemoration of this momentous event. While some only managed to abstain from spirits, and still others returned to their former ways, such pledges could later be renewed through the persistence of the local populist intelligentsia. The populist press was naturally a major advocate of this cause, as well as the populist Prosvita society, and the Russophile Kachkovsky society, both of which were involved in the distribution of brochures in support of temperance. Partial success of the temperance movement was reflected in a decline in the number of taverns in Galicia, and the rise in popularity of institutions associated with the enlightenment movement, such as reading clubs and cooperative stores.

The correspondence also illustrates that the movement towards sobriety was taking root throughout Eastern Galicia. Amidst a seemingly endless stream of complaints about drunkenness and debauchery can be found examples of village societies in which temperance had become an important priority. The correspondence also describes how the shift in peasant society to sobriety, was followed by a rise in support for other populist initiatives, such as cooperatives, local choirs, and reading clubs. The negative reaction of "enemies of enlightenment" to the movement depicted in the correspondence, also serves as a strong indication that sobriety was spreading throughout the countryside.

As the correspondence illustrates, it was difficult to bring about sobriety without good leadership. If the leadership of a particular village was against the temperance movement, life could become very difficult for advocates of sobriety (as in the case of a

brotherhood in Stanyslaviv, which were excluded from caroling and whose deceased member was removed from the grave and ridiculed). On the other hand, a supportive and even aggressive leader could initiate positive changes among his people. A correspondent from Skalat reports on one such leader: "For two years now a sincere, sober and hardworking community leader Ilko Karkul has been governing over us. The government leader is looking after our good, and principally occupies himself with those, that love to peep into the tavern; when he catches one that goes to the tavern for vodka, then he takes away their flask. He has already declared that a fine will be imposed from 50 *kr.* to 5 *zr.*"<sup>207</sup> According to the correspondent, the mayor had recognized the vital need for sobriety based on the desperate situation of the people and the great amount of income which feeds the habit of drinking: "He [the peasant] does not consider that this Volko [the tavern keeper] and his children and servants are dressed and shoed so beautifully, while he, his wife and children are miserable and barefoot...."

Priests were also instrumental figures in the temperance movement among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. A correspondent from Pidhaitsi describes the efforts of one priest: "During the last 30 years our parish priest Dmytro Husar has tirelessly worked for the enlightenment and sobriety of our citizens. The holy spirit has blessed his labour, because up to 800 souls have pledged sobriety and up to 200 farmstead owners are able to read and write. Nevertheless the evil spirit does not sleep. Little by little a handful of these gathered, and attempted to crush the love of sobriety. It became necessary to reconsider this, so to renew sobriety. As a result, 1000 souls have entered into the brotherhood of sobriety....The elders applied themselves to the deed and with the help of God, in a very short time four taverns became vacant."<sup>208</sup> The correspondent goes on to explain how the tavern keepers, overcome with rage, reported to the authorities that all this had been brought about by force. The complaint was investigated and proven to be unfounded. Consequently, the arendar dropped his lease and now the citizens have decided to turn the four empty taverns into hotels for travelers.

A correspondent from the village of Peratyn writes about the change which has unfolded due to the efforts of the local priest: "There is a zealous, labour-loving priest here, who has remained with us for twenty-five years and cares for the good of the parishioners: principally he endeavours with all his strength to sober them up and to turn them away from the tavern. Under his influence the entire village has sobered up, and those that did not have the inclination for sobriety, drink very little or do not drink at all. From the time of the establishment of temperance here, the citizens have eagerly applied themselves to work and education and through this they are slowly moving towards prosperity. Land has been bought off from the Jews and some of the people are introducing beautiful order."<sup>209</sup>

A correspondent from Zbarazh district takes special offense to a letter which had appeared in the previous issue of *Batkivshchyna*, accusing his village of drunkenness and disorder: "In the news of the 48th issue of *Batkivshchyna* appeared a letter from Zbarazh, in which it was said that in Medyna, 'the reading club —is a tavern, the choir —a tavern, hey even the community government office —a tavern.' In defense of the truth I must altogether object to this. My predecessor Father Mykhailo Kulytskyi, a priest for 22 years, yet upon his arrival here, introduced temperance, and it is still preserved to this very day. There are two or three drunks in the village, but even these do not drink already, because they do not have the means to; and if they were to drink, there is no reason to cast shame on the entire community because of two or three. If this were the truth [that everyone here drinks], then I would not at all be against exposing our domestic faults before the entire world; this would be a good remedy for these faults. But it is bad when someone defiles his own nest."<sup>210</sup>

Naturally, sobriety was seen as positive development by the correspondents, but many believed that this initiative on its own, was not enough to raise the national status of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. However, they strongly believed that together with other efforts such as improved education, cooperative initiations, and good solid leadership, the people would eventually rise above their problems. A correspondent from Ternopil district remarks on some of the changes he witnessed in one village: "In January I passed through

the village of Slovoda and came upon a big empty tavern.”<sup>211</sup> He wondered what had transpired, “...several years ago I saw this same tavern on a work day, overflowing with people.” A friend invited him for tea and related what had transpired. According to the correspondent’s friend, in the old days the priest used to drink with everyone. Because he not only condoned, but even encouraged such behavior, the people behaved very badly, “...five years ago, the farmstead owners and their wives passed their days and nights in the tavern, and even drank at home and beat each other until blood was drawn. A few times the husband knocked his wife’s eye out , or beat her so, that she died within two weeks! And the orphaned children then went to serve the Jew, because the father and mother drank away the land to the local Jew or pawned it to Leyba, or Kaça....”

The correspondent goes on to remark on the change in the village. He explains how through the assistance of the mayor the temperance movement began to find success in the village. This also occurred partly due to the fact that the people themselves had become embarrassed of their reputation: “Having looked intently upon the fine order in neighboring villages, for example Kupchyntsi and Denysiv —the people of Slovoda began to send their children to school, which had until then been vacant; in 1885 they stopped drinking, in 1886 they established a reading club, and in 1887 a community store....Now the people are already sober, but poor, because the Jew has all the land, so there is not much to live by. All the same, in this small and poor village there is good enough order, and it will certainly be better if the honest community leader continues to care for the peasants, as he hitherto now has.” A correspondent from Ternopil also reports on how the successful introduction of sobriety in one village provided incentive for other progressive endeavours: “When our priest, who is also the head of the reading club, successfully brings all of our citizens to sobriety, then it is God’s hope, that prosperity will pay us a visit...for several years now we have completely rid our village of alcohol. And now we are enduring a great battle for 80 *morgs* of land, which is now found in Jewish hands! Having now rid ourselves of vodka, we can now acquire our land back. May God grant this as soon as possible!”<sup>212</sup>

### **Readings, Choirs and Theatre**

The existence of a thriving local choir invoked a sense of community and national pride, and was regarded as a sign of high culture. A correspondent from Ternopil district describes with great pride, the accomplishments of the local choir: “Three years ago a four part choral group was established here, and it has developed very nicely, so that even in the bigger cities it would not be ashamed to sing the divine service or folk songs. Our people delight in this very much, and all the more given that in some other places where such groups were established, there was no one to sustain them, and they fell. But here they are striving so that there will always be a deacon who is able to support singing and further, to instruct the youth.”<sup>213</sup> The building of, or renovations to a church often provided the incentive to organize a local choir. From Kaminka Strumylova: “In 1879, through the endeavours of its parish priest Father Mykhailo Svystun, the community, together with its patron Count Stanislaw Badeni built a great wooden church (with a stone foundation) which was beautifully painted three years later. [He then adds] For four years now a mixed choir has performed so beautifully and sweetly, that even the soul rejoices, and from the beginning this singing has accrued some enemies.”<sup>214</sup>

Dedicated teachers also taught the local people how to sing. From Ternopil district: “Through the efforts of our teacher, also the son of our priest, Mr. N. Chemerynskyi a choir was established here, which certainly does not put itself to shame next to the Denysiv choir. Last year when we received the terrible news of the fires in Stryi district, and the announcement was made of the need to hurry with some kind of charity, our teacher, with the permission of the local leadership, arranged a music concert, at which new compositions were sung in male and mixed choirs.”<sup>215</sup> The correspondent goes on to express how disappointed the people were when mention of their fine choir was omitted in the press: “We read in *Batkivshchyna* and other newspapers, that the choir in Denysiv sang before Archduke Rudoph...and yet the singes form Denysiv did not sing alone. I was among the

singers and there were about nine choirs altogether....” A correspondent from Kalush also commends the effort of one teacher: “In all the communities in which Mr. Dubyna was once a teacher, they sing in church in four parts; and they welcome him gladly whenever he appears.... Once there occurred a glorious day of absolution in the city of Hoshiv, and the Boykos and Lemkos said: “If only we had such a deacon! Move here, and we will build you a house, give you a garden, if only you could teach us how to sing like that!”<sup>216</sup>

Special evenings organized by the executive committees of local reading clubs would usually include the combined entertainment of singing and the reciting of poetry. A correspondent from Sniatyn recalls the cultural program of one such evening: “Known throughout the whole region, the beloved mixed choir under the direct of deacon Ivan Hoiv, sang the songs [lists them]....The assembled guests were not able to express enough admiration for these songs, and liked them all very much.”<sup>217</sup> He goes on to list the individuals who recited poetry, and the poems which were recited. A correspondent from Rohatyn describes how such cultural evenings take place in his village every Sunday after church: “Every Sunday and saint day after divine worship, the reading club is completely full. About 30 or 40 people assemble, and one reads aloud and all the others listen; among them are old men who still remember serfdom. The heart rejoices to see the young people read, then listen, then sing national songs, then carol, then engage in intelligent conversation.” The correspondent also appears to take pride in the sense of intrigue such innocent activity rouses: “The enemies of the reading club even creep under the window in order to take a look at what is happening there; but in vain! There is nothing to see there besides the obvious —intelligent and permissible fun and learning. The Jews with jealous eyes look upon the reading club, because they understand well, the their governance is ending with the growth of the reading club.”<sup>218</sup>

Another letter from Rohatyn District describes the events of one cultural evening which was particularly nationalist in content. As the correspondent reports one person present recited a piece about the Cossacks: “The piece was about the Khmelnytskyi

period...it recalled the sad fate of Ukraine after the Khmelnytskyi period and also about the famous ukase (Russian imperial order) from the year 1876.”<sup>219</sup> The correspondent relates how one priest rose up and denied the existence of Ukraine: “He said, ‘It is nonsense to speak of some dream of Cossackdom.’” Later on when a call was raised to sing the Ukrainian national anthem “Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished,” the priest began to protest: “He attempted to demonstrate that there was no Ukraine and that there is nothing to speak of. To preserve the peace, and in order not to raise further argument, this was silently accepted. But not long after this when this enemy of Ukraine had left the building, then Mr. Serbyn began to explain about Ukraine and the Cossacks and all passionately listened to his fine words. In the end our song ‘Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished’ thundered and we parted with joy in our souls wishing that more would experience such evenings.”

Ukrainian cultural events which promoted enlightenment were often regarded as suspect by the opponents of peasant enlightenment such as certain owners of the local taverns (Jews) and various members of government who favoured Polish domination (Jews, Poles and Ukrainian ‘betrayers’ to the cause of their people). This is because anything which raised enlightenment and national consciousness threatened to destroy drunkenness and apathy among Ukrainian peasants. A correspondent from Dolyna explains how the organization of one cultural evening roused great suspicion: “Early on the 28th of July, while passing through the village of Turia Velyka in Dolyna district, I noticed from a distance one village house with a tall triumphant gate adorned with blue and yellow church banners [representing the Ukrainian national flag] and greenery and on the gate were two plates with the inscriptions, ‘Welcome’ and ‘Glory to God!’ These gates interested me very much, so I came down from my wagon and went to inquire as to what this all meant.”<sup>220</sup> The correspondent goes on to describe how he met up with a local farmstead owner who led him to a newly built barn, beautifully painted and decorated and with a picture of the Kaiser Joseph. He was promptly informed that a wonderful cultural evening was going to be held in that barn, and that guests would soon be arriving from throughout the surrounding



region. He then received a warm invitation from the stranger to pass the rest of the day before the event, at the church, and later at his home.

The correspondent explains how later, at the home of his host, he and the other guests were informed that the mayor, the scribe, the teacher and some local Jews had reported to the district captain that a theatrical group was arriving. The captain relied on the 'false information of the enemies,' instead of the prior notification provided by the organizers of the cultural event: "At six o'clock in the evening two policemen from Dolyna appeared in the village with a warrant from the captain that in the event that it were necessary, to disperse the people, and to arrest them—even in the case where music was played in a private location. To avoid any possible unpleasantness it was announced that the evening would not occur and the peasants were begged to quietly turn homeward. The local peasantry and those from nearby villages quietly, with great sorrow in their hearts, parted ways, complaining that throughout our villages there cannot be found such ignorant people as the mayor, scribe, and teacher from Turia Velyka, who hand in hand with the Jews hold back the spread of enlightenment among the peasantry. Guests from more remote locations were invited to the home of Mr. Nakonechnyi, where there occurred patriot conversations, a mixed choir sang, and there were recitations of the poetry of Taras Shevchenko...and like one family, we entertained ourselves almost until the light of day." In closing, the correspondent congratulates the people of Turia Velyka for their persistence and for honouring their culture: "Honour to you citizens of Turia Velyka, that you do not pay attention to impediments, but strive to enlighten your unenlightened brothers — honour and glory to you, the townspeople of Kalush and to you, young Marika, pearl of the Kalush, that with the song and poetry of Taras Shevchenko on your lips you dauntlessly carry enlightenment under the poorest of peasant roofs.

While there are not very many references in the correspondence made to theatre, the very mention of this important cultural activity cannot be ignored. Perhaps the lack of mention is best explained in part by the incident in Dolyna, where even the rumour of a

theatrical performance coming to town, warranted the interference of the district authorities. However, another reason for absence of such letters about the theatre is provided by the following letter from Lviv, for as the correspondent describes, the accommodation of theatrical groups was a real problem for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. The title of the letter is "A Call to Ukrainian Peasant Women." It is also important to mention that the correspondent is a woman (for nearly all of the correspondents are men): "Dear Sisters! Every nation cares about enlightening itself. To the enlightenment of people contribute: the church, school, social life and the reading of books and newspapers and therefore, reading clubs. Besides this, the theatre contributes considerably to the enlightenment of the people. In the theatre they portray beautiful events from family life and society, for example, from our history when we still had our own princes, when our great-grandfathers fought for their freedom, or from our present family and community life. When someone watches these performances, he is shown what is happening now and what happened not so long ago, because the people who perform a certain event, perhaps a wedding, or a betrothal, or a holy day, are dressed like they dressed then and talk like they talked then. And when they sing, it is so beautiful, that the soul even rejoices....They give such performances in the theatre not to cheat money out of the people, but so that they learn to recognize various customs, good and bad, to love our Ukrainian language and our Ukrainian nation. Among us there is already a theatre that goes from city to city and gives such performances, but here and there they are already giving such theatrical performances throughout the villages and reading clubs—however, we do not have such a building where it would be possible to arrange such performances." <sup>221</sup>

The correspondent goes on to relate how other nationalities have the resources to maintain their own theatrical groups: "Poles, Czechs, Germans and other nationalities have such theatres in the bigger cities and honour them, but our theatre must cling to Jewish inns and other rented places. Sorrow presses the heart, when we consider that such a beneficial thing must cling to foreign homes and throughout Jewish vestibules and that there is no

home for us anywhere.” The correspondent goes on to explain how the funds for such a theatre should be raised (by the sale of various wares by village women), and where the proceeds should be sent (to the Prosvita society in Lviv). In closing, she boasts how such an effort on the part of Ukrainian women will raise the status of the nation: “Our mother Rus will exalt her Ukrainian women, because they remembered their national obligation.”

Some theatrical initiatives originated at the local level. A correspondent from Pidhaitsi district describes the activity of a local theatrical group: “Last year, through the endeavours of our local priest and amiable teacher, the theatrical play *Arendar* was presented in three acts, and they amazed all the distinguished guests who were invited from Pidhaitsi. And so word got out, and those that still had not seen the ‘peasant theatre’ greatly desired that we present the same play again. Consequently, this year, during the Christmas holidays, we presented *Arendar* for the second time, and on two occasions *Yak kozaky rohy vyrpravliaiut*. The correspondent goes on to describe how well the performances were received by the assembled guests. He credits this success to the local teacher; “And all this we owe to our teacher. Because it has been already ten years since he came to us and started to work on our enlightenment. And the children are drawn to him, as to their own father.”<sup>222</sup>

### **Holy Days and other Cultural Celebrations**

Most holidays were not discussed in the press, unless such important days were somehow connected with bad behavior (most often drinking). One special day however, did receive special mention, due to its recent impact on peasant society. This highly honoured day, was the one which marked the anniversary of the abolition of serfdom. A correspondent from Kolomyia depicts the typical events of that day. “In remembrance of the abolition of serfdom we gathered early on the third of May of this year for a celebration of divine mass in the local church, followed by a procession to the cross, erected in remembrance of that event. That day the reading club arranged an evening with recitals and

singing. Also at the evening were guests from the neighboring villages of Trynia and Stremylche. On the building of the reading club wave two church banners, one blue and yellow and one black and yellow. At six o'clock, when the reading club was adorned with green wreaths and boughs, and already filled with guests...our old priest D. Taniakevych arrived and opened the evening with a speech, explaining what a great day of remembrance the third of May is for us, and encouraging the peasants to show loyalty and gratitude to the Kaiser and the most eminent reigning family, for freeing the peasants from the yoke of slavery and for the abolition of serfdom. After this speech the choir of local singers sang the national anthem and 'Mnohaya Lita' to the Kaiser and his eminent family."<sup>223</sup>

The correspondent also relates how the singing was proceeded by a special lecture 'suitable for the day,' recitals, and more singing. He also explains that while most people were highly satisfied with the evening, the local teacher had nothing positive to say, "...the guests celebrated and finally close to midnight the all dispersed, happy and satisfied. Only our teacher Yakuvoskyi was not satisfied with the evening....It is not known if the teacher arranges such cultural evenings as the ones which occur when they happen in the tavern with sticks on the head and knees in the ribs...Certainly, the teacher would not complain about such evenings and could perhaps laugh at his own dumb peasant intelligence."

Correspondents viewed the blessing of a new church as an important cultural event. This often occurred in conjunction with the celebration of a certain saint day. A correspondent from Rohatyn describes this momentous occasion: "On the eighth of May occurred the blessing of a newly painted church in Vyshniv...with the participation of people from the neighboring parishes, who arrived in procession with their priests for this blessing and to celebrate the Feast Day of St. Gregory. The church is not very big, because the village of Vyshniv is not very big; but it is very finely arranged with new icons and newly painted walls...and an altar decorated with carvings. I dare say that there is scarcely another sanctuary in all of Rohatyn district."<sup>224</sup> Another correspondent mentions the blessing of a new church in Kalush district: "On the 26th of June of this year the village of Khutyn held

the blessing of its new church. The not so very big village of Khutyn is among the poorest of villages in Kalush district, nevertheless it can boast before the whole world of such a great, fine, wooden church with five domes, and can boldly serve as a model for other communities."<sup>225</sup>

Also of great importance to all Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia was the right to celebrate holy days according to their own church calendar, based on the Julian calendar. As one correspondent in a letter addressed to the editor illustrates, this presumed inherent right did not receive full recognition at one base of the Austrian Imperial Army, where over a thousand Ukrainians were stationed. The correspondent also questions why the church hierarchy did not intervene in this matter, "...when in a constitutional state such things are occurring with us Ukrainians."<sup>226</sup> He goes on to explain what transpired when three battalions were summoned to an exercise on the 23rd of August: "There were about 1600 soldiers in all, and of the Poles and Jews there were no more than 200; all the others were Ukrainians." The correspondent states that the exercise lasted until 19 September and that one holy day of each national group fell during this period. However, on their holy day, the Ukrainian soldiers were not afforded the opportunity to go to church: "On the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, the bells rang to summon the faithful to divine worship, and we, learning military discipline on the hills of Lviv, could only listen with a saddened heart, and look down and contemplate on the church of God and that hill where our metropolitan lives." However, as the correspondent complains, on the Polish holy day the Ukrainians were forced to go the Roman Catholic church and observe this day. When the Jewish holy day arrived, all the Jewish soldiers headed off the synagogue: "Hey, hey! So the rabbi cares about his believers!—We pondered—and our metropolitan should be worse than the Jewish rabbi? Why a Roman pope, why a metropolitan, why a bishop, why the clergy and our churches, when we have to be worse off than the Jews." The correspondent goes on to request that the deputies who represent them in the Seim, express this grievance on their behalf, and that the metropolitan place a request to the war squadron, that, "...our Ukrainian

soldiers in a constitutional state have the same rights as the Jews; because it is a sorrow and shame to us, the rabbi cares better for the Jews, than our church authority cares for our Greek Catholic faith.”

The correspondents display a great love and appreciation for traditional Ukrainian culture. Consequently, it was not at all their intention to reshape it, but rather to refine it. This essentially entailed a reduction in drinking, and if necessary, a new approach to those cultural events, which extended and encouraged this expensive and undesirable activity. Thus, weddings needed to be simplified and male-bonding affairs either altered, or eliminated in their entirety (such as the initiation of village youth and members of the church brotherhood). Additional bad customs also bred disorder; promiscuity, disrespect for the dying, abuse of animals, decadence, wastefulness, and especially an over reliance on superstition. In the eyes of the correspondent, superstition led to a waste of intelligence and precious income. It also represented a substantial obstacle on the road to enlightenment. The people needed to trust modern medicine, and not the spells of the local witch. In addition, a charge against the local hail-sorcerer by the community government for destroying their crops, threatened the credibility of such a leadership in the eyes of the state, and perpetuated the stereotype of the ignorant Ukrainian.

Along side these criticisms comes ample direction from correspondents. The temperance movement is praised and encouraged, as are other cultural initiatives such as readings, choirs and theatre. However, as the correspondents explain, all such events should be conducted in the Ukrainian language, and with the intent of fostering Ukrainian national identity and love for Ukrainian culture. Celebration of church holy days, and other special days such as the abolition of serfdom, the blessing of a church, and the opening of a reading club, or school, were to occur in a fun-loving, sober fashion. Individuals are encouraged to support and participate in these events, as they are considered to represent the core of their cultural heritage. Thus, they are expected to remember Ukrainian history, especially the dark days of serfdom, and respect their recently acquired freedoms and rights.

As the correspondents remind the reader, Ukrainians must also defend their cultural rights, such as the right to observe church holy days according to the Julian calendar.

Thus, according to the correspondence, Ukrainians should be willing to accept change, to dispose of the bad, but at the same time, they must also defend that which is absolutely an integral, positive component of Ukrainian national identity, and therefore worth saving. Through the writing of letters the correspondent sought to provide guidance in the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry. At the same time he was also encouraged by the belief that Ukrainians were ready to accept and support these pro-modern, pro-nationalist improvements, based on the reality so many already had.

### **(C) THE THEME OF EDUCATION IN THE POPULIST PRESS**

#### **A Background on Education in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Galicia**

The question of the education of Ukrainians in late nineteenth-century Eastern Galicia, is not simply one of whether Ukrainians had come to recognize and promote the value of an formal education, but also whether the bureaucratic system which governed this institution made education accessible, attainable, and desirable. Ann Sirka in her study *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867-1914*, sheds light on this dilemma. Sirka determines that the Galician case in particular illustrates that "...constitutional guarantees have a slow effect promulgating equality unless they are backed by legislative guidelines....[The Austro-Hungarian empire] had provided legal safeguards for language rights, especially in education, but ...had not provided the means to attain these rights."<sup>227</sup> In other words, according to the constitution, Ukrainians were guaranteed the right to be educated in their mother tongue, however in reality no mechanism existed to adequately carry out these measures. In fact, the 22 June 1867 school resolution, sanctioned by the Emperor himself, legally stood in violation of the constitution

of 21 December 1867. This is because the resolution stipulated that Polish was to be the official language in all secondary and primary schools. Another major contradiction in the system lay in the fact that when education became compulsory (1869 throughout the empire, 1873 in Galicia), Ukrainians were by law expected to send their children to school; whether a school existed within a reasonable radius, was an entirely different matter.

For many Poles, Galicia was regarded as the foundation upon which pre-partition Poland would be resurrected; any toleration of rising Ukrainian aspirations was simply out of the question. At the same time, the Austrians had initiated the process of allocating much authority in the province over to the Poles (this was made official in 1868). It is thus, hardly surprising that as soon as Goluchowski (a strong advocate for the resurrection of old Poland) became Minister of the Interior in 1859, the only Ukrainian representative in the central government, Rev. Hryhoriy Shashkevych, was removed from the Ministry of Education.<sup>228</sup> In Goluchowski's mind, and others, Ukrainian language had no purpose in the future Polish state, nor did educated Ukrainians for that matter; this attitude directly translated into the type and quality of education of Ukrainians throughout Eastern Galicia.

Prior to 1867 the establishment of schools had been a matter left to the consideration of the individual community. The schools themselves, divided into lower and upper elementary (with a separate school for girls), had been maintained and funded either by the community or the parish. However, in 1868 the Provincial Board of Education was established, and the responsibility for elementary education was removed from the hands of private initiative. From this time elementary education became a provincial priority. With ethnic Poles in charge of the province little attention would be placed on the needs of the Ukrainian majority. Legally, Ukrainians in Galicia had the right to primary schools in the native tongue, and the right to use Ukrainian as the language of instruction in secondary schools. Whether this arrangement played out in reality is an entirely different issue. As a direct result of the pro-Polish policies in Galicia, in many of the "Ukrainian" schools Polish was used for most of the lesson, and consequently pupils spent their first year



learning Polish instead of learning to read and write.<sup>229</sup> In many cases those who were educated in the Ukrainian language received a lower quality of education. One clear example of the discrepancy between the quality of education for Ukrainian children versus Polish, lay in the fact that Ukrainian schools were almost exclusively one grade schools, whereas Polish ones had two or three grades. One grade, or two years of education, hardly met the compulsory requirement of eight years throughout the empire. In 1885, at the urging of Polish deputies, the number of years of compulsory education was lowered to six, (although this was to be followed by two or three years of auxiliary lessons which were held a minimum of four hours a week).<sup>230</sup>

Students spent from three to twenty-five hours a week in classes during the first three grades and about thirty hours a week for grade four.<sup>231</sup> If a school in Galicia had four grades it was considered to be a “town school” (students spent two years in each grade.) If the school went up to grade six, it was called a “citizen school.” After the completion of five or six grades of citizen school a student could go directly to the gymnasium. One real drawback of a village education was that an eight year education in a village school, was not deemed equivalent to three grades of a town school. Given that very few Ukrainians lived in towns (or could afford the luxury of sending their children to a residential school), this represented a great obstacle on the road to higher education.<sup>232</sup> Another obstacle to elementary education existed in the very fact that communities which attempted to found their own Ukrainian schools experienced resistance from the authorities.<sup>233</sup> As well, requests made by Ukrainian communities for four grade schools were frequently turned down; even in cases where the community had the required funding. Some of these were even informed that a fourth grade would be added only if that school became Polish.<sup>234</sup>

Sirka isolates several other problems affecting the education of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. One problem is a sheer lack of schools. First of all, the funding of education in the Galicia was obviously not a high priority of the state, when one considers that even as late as 1897, thirty-six to forty million *zr.* were spent for alcohol in Galicia, as

opposed to eight million on education.<sup>235</sup> This problem of under funding (by both the state and the province in their respective jurisdictions) would certainly have less affected the children of the more affluent Polish population, a considerable portion of whom could afford a private education for their children. Those who could not, such the approximately 2.5 million Ukrainian peasants, were left to cope with a deficit of schools. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century as many as 2000 villages remained without schools.<sup>236</sup> Also, the number of Polish schools clearly surpassed the number of Ukrainian ones. Secondary education was equally subject to neglect. As Sirka observes the answer to the disproportionately large number of Polish secondary schools as compared to Ukrainian schools lay in the procedure for founding secondary schools in Galicia. While, for all other provinces the requirement for a secondary school was determined by the central government, the founding of a secondary school in Galicia required the approval of the Galician Seim; even though secondary schools were funded by the central government.

Aside from the general lack of schools, and a lack of schools which taught in Ukrainian, there also existed a deficit of teachers qualified to conduct lessons in Ukrainian. This problem can be traced back to the teaching seminary. First of all, less Ukrainian and Jewish applicants were accepted than Polish ones. Poles were accepted to the bilingual seminaries regardless of whether they knew Ukrainian. On the other hand, for the applicants from the other ethnic groups, knowledge of Polish was requisite.<sup>237</sup> In all cases, Ukrainian was only an elective which did not require a passing grade for graduation.<sup>238</sup> Final exams were given either exclusively in Polish, or in both languages, but never in Ukrainian alone.<sup>239</sup> Those that came out of the seminary capable and eager to teach Ukrainian, were subject to systematic discrimination. As Sirka observes: “[Those that] dared to become minimally active in Ukrainian cultural life, not to speak of politics, faced the unenviable prospect of being reprimanded, harassed, or transferred to Western Ukraine.” On the other hand, “...morally unfit teachers were kept in their positions as long as they taught in a patriotic Polish spirit.”<sup>240</sup>

For these and other reasons, despite the existence and occasional enforcement of compulsory education, Galicia had one of the lowest school attendance in the empire. In 1880 only half of the school-age children in Galicia attended school, as opposed to 95 percent in the rest of Austria (see table 4).<sup>241</sup> In those districts in Eastern Galicia with the highest Ukrainian population, attendance was lowest. Poverty, was also an essential factor which limited the education of Ukrainian peasant children in Galicia; many simply could not afford to send their child, who represented an additional source of labour, off to a school which often provided a limited education and promoted the use of the Polish language. On the other hand, many peasants, damaged from past experience where ignorance had cost them their land and resources, realized that only through a proper education could their children hope to achieve a better future. Such an attitude was applauded by populist correspondents. As the correspondence indicates numerous attempts were made by Ukrainian villagers to take back their schools. Sometimes this first required the actual construction of a school. However, the initiative for education did not end with the schools. Many Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were also beginning to recognized the vital need for adult education. Such education came through participation in reading clubs and through the reading of books and newspapers.

**Table 4 Percentage of School-Age Galician Children Actually Attending****School 1830-1900**

Year	Percentage of School-Age Children Attending School
1830	9.7
1835	12.7
1840	13.1
1845	16.8
1850	14.0
1855	15.4
1863	25.1
1869	43.1
1875	40.9
1880	49.1
1885	54.2
1890	57.9
1895	65.6
1900	71.0

Source: Himka, Galician Villagers table 4

The following section examines the correspondence with deals with schools, reading clubs, language and the press. A summary of the history of the reading club movement and its association with enlightenment societies will also be provided.

### **Schools**

One difficulty which Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia continually came up against was how to enforce the use of the Ukrainian language in schools. A correspondent from Zolochiv district encountered such a situation in his village, the village of Novosiltsi. As the

correspondent explains, there are two schools in the village of Novosiltsi. One school is a boarding school, which the girls attend, and the other is a regular school which the boys attend. More than half the people in the village are of the Latin rite, and so the lessons are often conducted in Polish, despite the fact that the remaining villagers do not identify with the language: “So because all the local villagers do not understand Polish and have no desire to understand, every local ‘Latin’ says that only the Poles are lords, and us Ukrainians are peasants.”<sup>242</sup> He goes on to describe how only the boys’ school reluctantly offers instruction in the Ukrainian language, and that only recently the girls were allowed a mere afternoon a week for this purpose. This so-called privilege was obtained with great difficulty by a persistent school councillor. The situation began in the fall of 1884, when the councillor, Andriy Moroz refused to send his daughters to school. Moroz had complained to the teacher that even the baby had forgotten how to recite her prayers in her native tongue. The teacher responded with indifference and informed the frustrated parent that he could teach her the prayer at home. Moroz decided to do more than this: he removed his girls from the school and began to teach them at home. When he was informed that he would have to face the authorities for his actions, Moroz threatened to send his daughters to the boys’ school. Other farmstead owners responded with laughter, but some thirty of them agreed to back their fellow Ukrainian in his crusade against the system.

Andriy Moroz took his case to the school inspector. The inspector calmly responded: “Rest easy, in the convent the lessons are conducted in a very moral fashion, and the prayer may be taught at home.” In the end, the inspector finally agreed to come to Novosiltsi to observe the lessons, and Moroz departed with hope in his heart; “...he returned home, continued to send his girls to the convent and expected a better future, thinking: Mr. Inspector will come and bring about a new order....” The school inspector eventually arrived to assess the situation in the village of Novosiltsi. However, when the school councillors came to observe the class with the inspector, the teacher refused to let them into the room. As the inspector was leaving he told the councillors to ‘rest easy’ and

'go home.' The people did not hold out much hope. A year passed and nothing transpired. Finally Moroz paid another visits to the inspector, and was greeted by a sharp, 'Well Mr. Farmer, who is rebelling now?' To this the angry parent and councillor answered: "It is my nature to desire that my child be able to read in her own native language and to recite a prayer from a book.' Then Mr. Inspector babbled his; the prayer can be taught at home [and Moroz asked], 'So why am I giving money to the school?'" Finally, as the correspondent explains, the inspector advised Moroz to petition the school board: "To this the farmstead owner responded: 'When I give it to the school board, many of us will sign, perhaps thirty or more, and then they must allow us to teach the girls in our language.'" This, according to the correspondent from Zolochiv district, is how the village of Novosiltsi brought one afternoon a week of Ukrainian into the girls' school.

Another problem for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, was that in a significant number of cases, the school in a particular village did not provide a suitable learning environment. Due to a lack of funding and the low priority given to the founding of elementary village schools by the Galician Seim, some villages did not even have a school to speak of. Thus, the decision to build a school, often followed by a campaign to raise the funds for such a project, was, indeed, a highly commendable endeavour. At the same time the Ukrainian peasants had to beware of those who would take advantage of their inexperience in this situation. A correspondent from Buchach district reports on such an occurrence in the village of Nahorianka. As the correspondent explains, because the village of Nahorianka did not have its own school, the people were forced to send their children to the village of Buchach. Consequently, very few children were sent to walk the distance. Yet, because a great number of parents sincerely valued the education of their children, they raised this issue at the community council. This occurred persistently over a period of several years, however nothing was accomplished. Finally, the council agreed to erect a new school in the village of Nahorianka. As the correspondent explains, this is when the problems began: "Meanwhile, one part of the community council, having in their eyes and thoughts, the

interest of one family and not the whole community, did not want to build the school, but only to buy some old damp real estate belonging to one family living outside of town [probably on an estate], for which the community with the restoration costs would have paid over 8000 *zr*. But more than half of the councillors understood that the real estate was not suitable for a school because, in the first place, there was the distance, and secondly, it was not healthy, thus on the 12th of March of this year it was definitively decided at the meeting of the community council to build a school, which would cost 2000-3000 *zr*, so that already in March of this year lessons were able to begin.”<sup>243</sup>

Sometimes a village community would receive some much welcomed assistance from a kind benefactor. As a correspondent from Zhydachiv reports, how a big landowner/bank director in Lviv/mayor of Balychi provided all the hard and soft materials for a school and school grounds, and in addition to this donated 100 *zr*. in cash and other additional gifts. According to the correspondent the same benefactor also assisted other neighboring villages, in which the school was previously located in the community office. To one such village, he presented 12 metres of wood for the building of new community office. The correspondent also boasts that education has long since been a great priority in the village of Balychi: “In Balychi lessons have been occurring in the school without break since 1847. The school was established through the efforts of the former church elder Bronevskyi and the priest Toma Havryshevych (one very attentive to enlightenment), by whose efforts a lending treasury and community were also established here.”<sup>244</sup>

Sometimes the combination of ambition and resources in the campaign to build a new school proved insufficient when other factors intervened in the process. A correspondent reports on such a mishap in the district of Rohatyn: “In the village of Korostovychi school instruction has not been a priority for already three and a half years, because there is no one to properly advise and make demands on the people’s behalf. The school there is in decent shape except that there are too few rooms for the students and no one wants to teach the children. Yet until there is a new school, they could add on some

rooms to the old school, and the children would then be accommodated in the meantime....[For if not], who will answer to the children who have already missed three years of lessons, because they are already eleven years old, and there are around eighty of them? It is for this reason that the leader set out to erect a new school, but did not seek the counsel of the priest [and others] but went straight to the Jew and quietly bought wood for the school."<sup>245</sup> As the correspondent explains, some way or another the Jew managed to take the leader to court over this wood (over the legitimacy of this purchase). Consequently, the wood lay in a pile in the forest and rotted away to nothing. This unfortunate turn of events more or less put an end to the community's pursuit of a new school.

The October 1887 letter from Rohatyn, may have possibly inspired a second letter from the district, which appeared in the following issue of *Batkivshchyna*. In this letter, the correspondent displays great intuition for some of the major obstacles to education in the village throughout Eastern Galicia. He begins by quoting government statistics on the number of public schools in Galicia. He states that according to the statistics, the number of schools in Galicia in 1873 was 2639, and that by 1883 this number had increased by only 226, or 23 schools a year: "It can be established from this that if the number of schools continued to increase in the same measure, then after ninety years every village will have a school. This is hardly a fine prospect! Therefore I want to touch on some reasons for the slow increase in our schools, which is all the more astonishing when the reading clubs in the villages, despite great obstacles from opposing parties, are multiplying like mushrooms in the rain."<sup>246</sup>

The correspondent proceeds to identify what he believes to be the essential causes behind all the problems associated with the education of Ukrainian children in Eastern Galicia. Above all else, he blames the lack of schools and teachers on the system which removed the responsibility of education from the church and allocated it to the state. The correspondent feels that in the past these deacons who served as educators recognized the importance of their duty in the village and strove to enlighten their people: "They were on



the most part people who themselves were not very skilled. But for their entire lives they grew up with the people, they were blood of our blood, bone of our bone; they knew the life and needs of the community, and endeavoured with all their strength to help fulfill their needs; they did not care about anyone else, and they did not need to care —only for the community; and wherever they taught they usually worked closely with the parent of their pupils.”

The correspondent from Rohatyn laments that education in the village school has been transformed since the introduction of public schools: “Today the teacher comes from schools stored with all kinds of knowledge; he knows Polish very well, and some German, but has a very bad knowledge of Ukrainian (and a considerable portion of these do not know Ukrainian at all); he is not able to read the Cyrillic alphabet and handwriting, books written in Church Slavonic are completely foreign to him, and for the most part, he does not have a clue about church singing. Even Ukrainians that come from the current schools are not able to teach children in Ukrainian, never mind the Poles!” The correspondent goes on to explain how once Polish lessons are introduced in the classroom, the use of Polish becomes fully entrenched and the community itself has little recourse to remedy the situation: “Once Polish lessons are established within a school, then usually orders from the community do not help to bring back Ukrainian....No one cares about their rights and no one asks, and the teacher himself does exactly the same. He cares about the district authority; and this is a well documented thing (because in our newspapers it has and is still often written, and not so long ago our deputies demonstrated this), that most often the teacher does not preoccupy himself with something so fully as the favour of the district authority and the inspector, and in an effort to neglect the Ukrainian language, brings Polish even to places where, according to the law, is has no right to be.”

The correspondents considers the disregard for education on the part of the community and district authorities to be a real injustice to the communities. He also adds that the current system had led to a frequent turnover of teachers in villages so that, for

example, in the case of one village the children received five different teachers over the period five years: "How can a community profit from the best teacher, when he does not have enough time to become acquainted with his pupils and their level of knowledge, because they are shipping him off to another city?!" The correspondent goes on to propose that with such fundamental problems in the school system, it is hardly surprising that people have no desire to send their children to school: "If you gather together all which I have superficially touched upon here, is it quite conceivable to awaken the desire of the communities to establish new schools? These schools are the type that people do not desire to send their children to, and even prefer on many occasions to pay fines. And it occurs that the teacher begins to teach and fill their post by the authority of the police. It also occurs that the district powers punish people for having their children taught in private schools, in the house of a peasant." The correspondent concludes that drastic changes must occur in education and that legislation must be introduced which abides by the will and the needs of the people.

An 1888 letter from Zhydachiv district once again spells out the problems associated with teachers and the educational system in Eastern Galicia. The correspondent complains how most contemporary teachers do not care to teach the children how to sing: "There are few such villages where the teacher is able and willing to instruct the children in song and stands together with the children in the choir; where there is such a teacher, the people most lovingly sent their children to school. Now for their money the communities receive such teachers who not only do not go with the children to church, but themselves appear there barely twice a year."<sup>247</sup> The correspondent goes on to complain about the state of the gymnasium in Eastern Galicia: "They are saying that when the Minister of Education was in Stryi last autumn, he had asked the director how many students there are in the gymnasium; and when he learned that there are 400, he became so frightened that he harshly instructed him to shake things up, so as not to encourage the same number of students, because there would not be anywhere to put them when they finish school. I do not know if

this is true [that this conversation took place]; but I do know that the dues for school are very high and because of this, we poor Ukrainians cannot send our children to gymnasium. We equally pay high taxes and we are poor, but [they feel] that we have enough for education! The rich study without schools, and the poor where? Are we really destined to be ignorant for all eternity? ...They are afraid, that there will not be a way to place the students. Then why do they find a place for all the foreign people who descend on Galicia?" In closing the frustrated correspondent pleads for the people to assist in the raising of funds for a bursary in Stryi.

A correspondent from Ternopil is also nostalgic in his recollection of the state of village schools prior to the introduction of the public education system in Eastern Galicia. Yet at the same time the correspondent is a realist in his recognition of the importance of modern education: "More than once the idea has occurred to me to compare our present state-run schools with the former church-run schools [with deacons as instructors]. I have not been able to reconcile this. There is no way to deny that the current schools are quite more intelligent; what do they not teach in them these days! About the earth and the stars, and about the sun and the moon, the clouds and subterranean things, about electricity and magnets, about cows and mammoths, about Maria Teresa....The church-run school was not in the least bit capable of this!...And yet somehow I cannot persuade myself that today's schools are better; on the contrary—I believe the church-run schools were better. And this is not because I am from among those old men, who always praise the old days and blame the current times and say, 'Before everything was better.' No! I am a modern man, and see that which is better for what it is. But enough: the current intelligent state-run schools are no match for the former church-run schools. The church-run schools were not so intellectual, but by God they were truly national; they were fruit of the fruit, bone of the bone, blood of the blood of our people. The people had faith in them, saw advantage in them, loved them; and through this they really did bring benefit to the people. And the current schools...it appears that this educated lord [who teaches there] is unable to speak to the simple man: he

is full of knowledge, but he measures the peasant with his standard and his method and want to forcibly educate him; and the peasant listen to him, consents, but them turns away and ignores everything which this one has said.”<sup>248</sup>

The correspondent from Ternopil moves on to provide examples as to why the current system is of no added benefit to the Ukrainian people. In his description of a number of opulent villages which achieved such status before the introduction of modern schools, the correspondent projects the image of a populist’s ideal, model Ukrainian village: “Consider Terbylivka in the district of Zbarazh. In this village there was no modern school until this year. But crossing the village, we can scarcely find a house, where there is not a book; we find a passion for the reading club, sobriety, industriousness, good housekeeping, progress, the unfolding of community consciousness. We see the orderly homes....the farm yard enclosed with picket fences, the horses are almost manorial in appearance; among the most well-to-do farmstead owners there are threshing machines and straw cutters...the granary is opulent, there is a lending treasury and community store. Sobriety is customary, drunkenness is a rarity, in the village there are no Jews on the people’s land, although half of the manorial tract belongs to a Jewish proprietor. The farmers do not sell off their land...The citizens live in harmony and do not sue, and they do not bury the courts with summons, and during every election they always vote for the Ukrainian people....In Hnylychok there was not a school until this year; but we see that the people there are passionate about the reading of books and newspapers....”

The correspondent moves on to list the disadvantages of the new school system: “Do we have any benefit from the modern school...that’s business is the oppression of the Ukrainian people?...In modern schools the main goal is something entirely different from that of true learning in the national spirit, and for this you perhaps do not need any evidence: each, who has eyes and ears, sees and hears this everywhere they go. If someone wanted to take it upon himself the task of extracting from newspapers alone, all the justified sorrows...a huge volume would materialize....Is it possible to direct the national

enlightenment of the Ukrainian population, when in purely Ukrainian schools it is completely illegal to carry out lessons in any language other than Polish? So it is no surprise, that such schools do not provide us with any such Terbylivka, Lubianok or Hnylychok...for which we credit church-run schools...And that our enlightenment is not yet falling and is moving ahead—merit is owing not to the present schools, but to our national patriotic intelligentsia, the secular as much as the clerical, and above all else, our national enlightenment societies.”

Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia did not only resent the interference of provincial authorities in education. A correspondent from Sniatyn mocks the attempt by the Jesuits to promote their own educational ideals and religion throughout the villages of the region: “There have flown to us new, never heretofore seen among us, birds, something like young crows...these have settled among us...and are attempting to persuade people to give up their children for some kind of education...Fellow citizens, be careful!”<sup>249</sup> The correspondent cannot comprehend why these meddlers have chosen his people to bother. He feels that his people are doing just fine on their own, and suggests their talent would be better spent on the Mazurs (Poles from Mazovia): “Why do these ones not look after their own place? Is it perhaps that there is already no place for them? Are we foreign people dearer to them than their own?”

The correspondent goes on to share his impression of a recent encounter with one of these missionaries: “It happened that I had to go on business from Stanyslaviv to Lviv. In one wagon I met up with a Jesuit monk.” The correspondent explains that when the two fellow travelers began to converse, he deliberately withheld from the monk the fact that he was a Ukrainian, “...having learned that the monk was coming somewhere from a mission, I began to make inquiries of him about the missions. And I heard a lot of interesting things. Among other things the monk said that the people here are very pious, very supportive of the clergy, obedient; but the Mazurs! If you could only see what is going on down there! ‘We go’ — he says— ‘To a village on a mission. The people crowd into the church; but

they are not eager about confession, and it is clear they came more out of interest. After divine service we announce that we will now go about visiting the houses, and after lunch there will be another divine service in the church. We did this with the following intention: to take a look from up close and see how these people live; to protect their behavior with advice; to see whether the children are able to pray, etc....And what do you think? I arrive at on house: it is closed. Only a child answered from the house that they had all gone away and did not tell anyone where they went....I go to another, exactly the same.” I heard this, among other things about the Mazur people. Then is this not wonderful ground for all these? Why do they love us so? This only tells us to distrust them and their good intentions. Our children go to school without them; and without them they learn prayers and catechism....And we do not need rosary beads for prayers....”

Sometimes, even the positive efforts of populist educators saw resistance from those who regarded enlightenment with suspicion and contempt. A correspondent describes the resistance one such teacher experienced in one village, “...there was in the village a teacher, who will be remembered to his death; he laboured so sincerely for the good of the children of the community. By his efforts he sobered up the entire village; and in the whole region there was not one teacher who taught so well, as he.”<sup>250</sup> The correspondent explains how suddenly the people began to regard him and his efforts towards education with suspicion and contempt. “The people were known to say: ‘Why does he torment the children so? Will my boy be a priest, or will my daughter go for a priest?’” “When a girl becomes the wife of a farmstead owner, she will be able to count eggs (those placed in a hen’s nest for breeding), without education.” Such abuse drove the teacher to greener pastures: “An opportunity arose for our teacher for a more convenient position and for better pay, and he moved.” The correspondent declares that the departure of the teacher equates a substantial loss to the community: “With that former teacher no one drank in the entire village; and now although some are sworn off of vodka, they instead drink rum. And the children leave the school as the same blockheads, as they were when they entered. And who is guilty for

that? It is a shame to say!" He adds that all must work to enlighten the people. "...then you are preserving for the poor, ragged Mother Ukraine; and by this it will be better for you; and if not for you, then your children, and grandchildren [on the other hand]....A bad example spoils the best lesson."

Numerous letters from village correspondents indicate a growing recognition among the Ukrainian peasantry of the value of education. In a letter from a correspondents reporting on the status of a number of villages in the district of Horodok, reports how his coachman responded when asked if a particular village had a school: "On no! Here they are as afraid of a school as a Jew is of a cross! Letters have arrived here on many occasions, stating that they should have a school, but they replied that they do not need a school because their Grandfathers and Grandmothers did not study, so they do not need to! This is how they spoke at the beginning,'—said the good-natured coachman, a Kamenobrid farmstead owner—'But today they understand, that writing and learning are of some use to everyone. There is some deacon here and he teaches the children to read and they give him 50 *zr.* and some grain."<sup>251</sup> This letter illustrates what sort of attitude the peasantry had in the past maintained towards formal education, and more importantly, how they were beginning to grasp a more modern approach to education. In other words, they were less concerned with the immediate benefits of schooling, and more focused on the long term effect enlightenment would have on Ukrainian society. It also provides yet another example of a village that preferred to supervise the instruction of their children over the option of state control.

### **Reading Clubs**

One highly instrumental component in the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia was the reading club (*chytal'nia*). In a myriad of ways the reading club fulfilled the social, educational, cultural and political needs of the Ukrainian village. It served as a centre for entertainment, education, and political debate; it

was a place to complain, strategize, or even to simply discuss the impending harvest.

Correspondents to *Batkivshchyna* refer to the reading club as the 'fountain of our national enlightenment' and a 'school for the old.' The reading club brought literacy to the illiterate; and if not literacy then a knowledge and understanding of the wider world. This is because learning was disseminated to the literate in reading clubs through public readings in the reading clubs, where generally priests, teachers, and cantors read out to those assembled.<sup>252</sup>

Given the extent to which the clergy was involved, this is perhaps the reason why this activity was also carried out in the church yard after the service, where a crowd of people would gather to listen to the news as it was read aloud from a recent copy of the press.<sup>253</sup>

That a real need was being filled through this process is obvious when one consider that around a quarter of the members of the reading club were illiterate.<sup>254</sup> A successful reading club would often provide momentum for other initiatives, such as the building of a school, or the founding of a cooperative store, or a community granary. Above all else, it promoted modernity, promulgated the ideals of the national-populists and heightened Ukrainian national consciousness.

As Himka observes: "If the Ukrainian national movement had had to rely entirely on the education provided by the crownland school council, it would have had great difficulties penetrating the village."<sup>255</sup> Guided by the awareness that the educational system in Eastern Galicia had thus so far proved terribly insufficient, and discouraged by the level of enlightenment among the Ukrainian peasantry, in 1868 a group of young national populists led by Stefan Kachala, founded the Prosvita society in Lviv. Initially most of the members were priests, however in the late 1870s the Prosvita membership began to embrace the peasantry, and consequently peasants and peasant institutions began to represent the majority of recruits.<sup>256</sup> This was accomplished through the abolition of the admission fee, a significant reduction in annual dues, and the added benefit that all members would receive a free popular book each month.<sup>257</sup> The smaller branches of Prosvita outside of Lviv served the reading clubs regionally, by distributing printed drafts of reading club statutes,



counselling peasants on how to set up reading clubs, encouraging the establishment of economic cooperatives and sending various educated speakers to reading club events.<sup>258</sup> On a political level, Prosvita devoted a considerable amount of time lobbying the government for the establishment and development of genuinely Ukrainian schools. Prosvita also published various textbooks, books, magazines and brochure; all with the aim to enlighten, modernize and nationalize the Ukrainian peasantry. By 1914 over half the reading clubs had their own libraries, and these consisted largely of Prosvita's publications.<sup>259</sup> Finally, it was through the initiative of Prosvita that *Batkivshchyna* was formed in 1879.

Reading clubs were also connected to the Kachkovskyi Society (*Obshchestvo im. Myhkaila Kachkovskoho*), a cultural-educational society founded by the Galician Russophiles in 1874. Although this society never had its own newspaper or journal, several newspapers, including *Chervonaia Rus* (Red Rus, 1888-91) reported on its activity.<sup>260</sup> The Kachkovskyi Society represented Prosvita's main rival. Initially the Russophile organization was able to gather a considerable following, and threatened to outshine the Ukrainophile, national-populist organization. This is because the younger society placed its focus at the village level. However, when Prosvita became more peasant-based in the late 1870s, and as the mood of the countryside made a decisive and permanent shift from Russophilism, the Kachkovskyi Society began to experience decline. By 1914 the Kachkovskyi Society was only a tenth the size of Prosvita.<sup>261</sup> Thus, although numerous reading clubs throughout the Eastern Galician countryside still retained dual memberships (with both Prosvita and the Kachkovskyi Society), by the 1880s the reading club had essentially come to represent an extension of Prosvita at the village level.

Where it was warranted, correspondents to the national-populist press attempted to shame villages communities to action. A correspondent makes a desperate plea for the establishment of a reading club in the village of Ivanivka, a place, which he feels is in dire need of enlightenment, "...when you consider our enlightenment here it is an enormous misfortune! It is a disgrace that in a village with over 2000 inhabitants there is no reading

club. Elsewhere in other villages people are somehow on the move, reading, enlightening themselves, learning something about God's world and about order and its organization; but here it is so quiet it is unbelievable. Why have a reading club when, thank God, there is a large enough tavern! The beer is not half bad; and if there is beer there is enlightenment!...The old, experienced people say that there is no other village where that type of enlightenment spreads so quickly: there is no other place where the beer vanishes as quickly as it does in our village. And this is the degree of culture among us!"<sup>262</sup> The correspondent prescribes a remedy for this situation: "Hey you, farmstead owners and community leaders, winter is coming, the nights are long, there are Sundays and saint days, there is more time to take on this deed, to unify yourselves, and perhaps it will become a little bit better and happier for you. And among us are several sincere farmstead owners who can help you, and with whom it is possible to accomplish a lot! One of them is Semko Verbovetskyi who subscribes to *Batkivshchyna* and has a lot of books from the Kachkovsky and Prosvita societies and would not begrudge a house for the reading club — only you must take on the deed eagerly and without compulsion because those who must be forced are those who completely do not know why they are living!"

The same village which had successfully resisted the effort to build the school on swampy ground (Nahorianka in the district of Buchach), during that same year also set up a reading club. According to the correspondent, this task was embraced by the same individuals who had been instrumental in the decision to build the school: "Simultaneously Nykolai Kosarchuk and his sons planned to establish in Nahorianka a school for the old, that is, a reading club. In January seventeen founders were brought together and they presented the statute to the viceroy, and at this time the farmstead owner, Ivan Mervtsiakh, offered up free of charge, his spacious front room to the reading club. With the ratification of the statutes the founders called for the first general meetings for the 13th of March. At these meetings they spoke on the aims of the reading club and the means to attain them, explained the statutes, and later around approximately thirty members signed up...."<sup>263</sup> The

correspondent explains that among the new members were included many local farmstead owners, the teacher from the local gymnasium, the local parish priest, the assistant priest and his wife, and several burghers, one of whom, "...zealously promised to occupy himself with the affairs of the reading club and to acquire most of its members from among the burghers." An election followed (for the positions of president, vice-president, secretary, librarian, treasurer and executive members at large). Finally, the decision was made to register the reading club with Prosvita, and to purchase popular books, and to subscribe to *Dilo*, *Batkivshchyna*, *Hospodar* (The Farmstead Owner), *Zoria* (Star), and *Promyshlenyk* (The Labourer).

Once a reading club had been established the problem of attracting and retaining membership remained. Correspondents devoted a great deal of discussion to this concern: "It has been quite some time since we provided any information on our reading club. We are existing well enough, although we have few members. Elsewhere in other villages, such as in Bukovyna, in Rostaky, for example, they say that there are more than 200 members; and here there is scarcely 30, and then not all of them go to the reading club. God willing, people may later recognize the benefit from it and will not forsake this good; but perhaps ingrates will reject this good; a practice which is occurring in other villages. For this we would not have to look far; for example near us in Potychysky the reading club has already died. Only it is surprising to me that it occurred in this manner; the people there are indeed well-to-do and very many are literate; the only misfortune is that a few are arrogant and very many depend on their own wisdom."<sup>264</sup> The correspondent observes how reading clubs have also failed in certain villages where intelligence once prevailed. He refers specifically to the village which should be setting a better example given they are descendants of the Cossacks: "Exactly the same its reading club had some 200 members in its day; and today no one drops in, it is as if it never was. But it is too bad; because there are a lot of literate and free people there, who never performed statute-labour- as they story goes, they are

descendants of the Cossacks from Ukraine...and there are a lot of intellectuals from that village.”

Correspondents were also eager to boast of the success of reading clubs and would not hesitate to publicize their enrollment numbers: “I have almost never come upon another reading club which has so many members and such order as the one in Komarno. The register shows that the reading club, which was founded in 1882, had in its first year, 66 members, second-76, third-85, fourth-90, fifth-91, and seventh-94. In each year there occurred no less than five or six meetings with reasonable motions, through which several fine evenings and holidays were organized with great participation of guests from other remote villages and from Lviv.”<sup>265</sup> The correspondent also mentions the club’s list of subscriptions, which include *Dilo* and *Batkivshchyna*. He then goes on to isolate some of the critical problems facing the reading club, central among which is the apathy of the assistant priest: “As reliable people told me, the club would be able to stand even better, if the local clergy cared more about it. True, the parish priest is very old and ill, but the assistant priest, as they said, does not peek into the reading club, although from his own window he can see into the window of the reading club. This is even more shameful when the Poles do not reject the Ukrainian reading club....The other shame is this: most of the members who belong to the reading club are from the outskirts of town, and it is they who established it....This unnecessary difference must end as quick as possible; and then the reading club would be able to have three times the membership. It was told to me, that this difference is very much a detriment to community business, as with every election.” This is because, he explains, those who purposefully remain uninvolved often “...link up with all the enemies of Ukrainian issues.”

The correspondent explains why it is necessary that all members of the community declare full support for the reading club: “Such a fine reading club, like the one in Komarno, could do a lot of good in the entire surrounding region. And the people from the Komarno area are especially in need of that! The enlightenment movement is almost non-

apparent. The clergy somehow either does not understand or is not able or within its strength to awaken the people to found a reading club; as everywhere else, the school council reprimands the reading club and every truth; and the ignorant people sleep in a solid sleep. For that reason, none of the elections succeed.” The way the writer sees it, the reading club is the initial forces which mobilizes other positive, progressive endeavours: “In order to make amendments, enlightenment is necessary; and enlightenment is best spread by reading clubs. And to found reading clubs throughout villages requires fine leadership.” Enlightenment spreads enlightenment: “From this enlightenment appears reading clubs, stores, lending treasuries, choirs etc., throughout the villages; from this is dispersed an understanding of community and national issues and of one’s personal good....” The correspondent is convinced that only the education and organization of the masses will undermine the domination of other nationalities (especially during the elections): “Enemies must take into consideration such people! However, in the Komarno area there are no such people.”

That women participated to some degree in the local reading clubs is evident from the correspondence (their names are included among the members, of those who participated in reading club activities). However, in some areas attracting and retaining female members appears to have been a challenge. A correspondent from Horodok district briefly considers this problem: “It is interesting that not a single woman ever goes to the reading club, it is as if it would not be appropriate for women to go to a place where ‘they read letters’ ...in the whole village there is only one wife of a farmstead owner, Fedorovychky, who is able to read in Ukrainian.”<sup>266</sup> The correspondent moves on to criticize all who deny the potential of the reading club: the school for adults: “Here in the entire district of Horodok, there is only one solitary reading club: this is a school for the old, do not contribute to its fall, be careful that your enemies do not deprive you; and for your children you must strive for a school where an educated Ukrainian may enlighten your children.”

A correspondent from Rohatyn reflects on the positive activity in one particular reading club. He is especially delighted by the fact that the young people are learning about their history and celebrating their national culture with pride and honour: “Every Sunday and saint day after divine worship the reading club is completely full. About 30 or 40 people assemble, and one reads aloud and the others listen; among them are the old grandfathers who still remember serfdom. The heart rejoices when the youth now read, and then listen, and other times sing national songs, or carol, or engage in intelligent conversation.”<sup>267</sup> The correspondent also delights in the amount of jealous attention such innocent activity has roused: “The enemies of the reading club even creep under the window in order to have a peek at what is happening there; but in vain! There is nothing to see there besides the obvious, intelligent, permissible fun and learning. The Jews look upon the reading club with jealous eyes, because they understand well, with the growth of the reading club approaches the end of their governance.”

A correspondent from Brody district reflects on how books and newspapers act as food for the soul. For this reason, a reading club was founded: “How difficult it is for a literate man to live without newspapers and books. Especially during those long winter evenings —when there is a deficiency of social life—there can be found in a good book a unique diversion and comfort. Hey, but not everyone is in a position to immediately bring in a good book from Brody or Lviv. Not even every lord can and wants to; but what of the peasant landholder who takes delight in books? In order to fill the need of the entire surrounding region, we decided to open a reading club. And how beautifully it is unfolding! From small beginnings and provisions we already have 631 books, in around 700 volumes; Ukrainian, Polish, and German; religious, educational, agricultural, fiction....”<sup>268</sup> The correspondent also boasts that among the 60 members can be found priests, teachers, peasants, merchants, and members of government of all ethnic backgrounds. Subscriptions to *Batkivshchyna*, and *Rusko-ukrainska Biblioteka*, and memberships to Prosvita and Kachkovsky societies are also mentioned.

As the correspondent observes, this local reading club continued to grow and prosper. Consequently, other formally popular venues of entertainment have experienced decline: “Even the heart rejoices to see how every Sunday after dinner the people happily gather at the reading club, instead of falling to ruin at the taverns! The success of this endeavour is apparent, when I say that among the 62 readers there are 1676 books in circulation, and therefore to each member coincides 27 books, for a lending period of four months....” However, as the correspondent points out, as in many reading clubs, not all the members are necessarily literate: “There are those peasants, like members Oleksa Kuzyk and Feliks Drozd, that read over 100 books, and Yatsko Somomliak, already an old man, who though unable to read, invited a young man to read over 50 books to him....”

### **Language**

One important issue which receives frequent attention in the press, is that of language. Although the topic of language arises throughout the correspondence (in terms of culture, politics, and the school system), this issue receives enough attention in the press to warrant further observation.

Without exception, the main message of correspondents is consistent: all Ukrainians must speak Ukrainian. A correspondent mocks those who would profess to be too great or too proud to speak in their native tongue, “...Poles are not ashamed to speak everywhere and with everyone in Polish, nor is a Jew ashamed to speak his bad mixture, hey even the gypsy-vagrant, that does not have neither a corner, nor a home, dares to speak in his own tongue; only our ignorant Ukrainians are ashamed of their own language which was once spoken by our princes and even the Poles. Only our ignorant Ukrainians, to a regular lazy lordling, a myrmidon of some lord, or a homeless vagrant, scrambles as it were, to speak in Polish; even when that one [the one being addressed] is dressed in a torn coat.”<sup>269</sup> The correspondent commends the intelligentsia for admonishing the peasantry in this regard, however, he adds that they themselves owe it to the people to set a proper example: “How

many are found either in the clergy or among our secular teachers, that come to the government and speak in Polish? How many are found among you that having met up with a land steward or a bailiff in the village, render honour to the Ukrainian language?...Do not our educated patriots and visiting students do exactly the same? Do you think that we and on more than one occasion, while standing underneath the window of your rooms to listen to the music, do not see, do not hear the shame? And where are your lessons? Where is the example?"

The correspondent moves on to share his own personal experience with such behaviour while in the army, "...there [in the army] there are Germans, Czechs, Romanians, Poles, and there are Ukrainians. Above all else they speak in German, because this is the language of the service, but in casual settings they all speak in their own tongue— even the Jews; only the Ukrainians speak either in Polish—when one is able —or most often some kind of mutilated Ukrainian-Polish-Czech gibberish, as if they are mocking themselves for this gift from God. And if anyone asks one [from among the non-Ukrainians] his background, then each proudly replies: 'I am a German or Czech,' or whatever. Only the Ukrainians call themselves Poles. There once served with me a son of a priest, and this one called himself a Pole. There came laughter when someone asked him who his father was, and he answered, that he is a Roman Catholic priest: 'A Pole, a son of a priest!'" The correspondent cannot believe that this is the level to which some would stoop, in an attempt to disassociate themselves from their people.

Another letter portrays the devastation of parents to a son who had written home from the army in completely unintelligible gibberish. The correspondent finds this entirely reprehensible: "Young men! If you serve in the army, do not forget to write in Ukrainian to your father and mother, do not be embarrassed of your own language...but write and speak in the proper language in which you were reared."<sup>270</sup> The correspondent feels it is necessary, albeit unpleasant, to come down on his people: "Do not be angry with me because everyone else will say to you that it is not nice to forget your own language, or to be



ashamed of it. On the contrary, you must love and honour your language, whether at home, or in the army, or wherever; Ukrainians throughout must speak and write in Ukrainian, and not in God only knows what else.”

A correspondent from Chortkiv district refers to a village where the Ukrainians addressed him in Polish, as Chornobozhnytsia, as opposed to Bilobozhnytsia. The correspondent found this very disconcerting given that he knows fully well that there are no Poles living in that particular village. He also goes on to complain how this backwards cluster of people have an ugly church, poorly cared for fields, and a low level of education. As for the problem with schooling, he places blame directly on the villagers. The community had been blessed with an ambitious teacher. However, they began to denounce him and eventually sent him elsewhere. His replacement also set out to instruct the children in their mother tongue, but apparently received some opposition: “In his place came a teacher, it is true, who initially promised to set about teaching the children in Ukrainian; but now it is said, that the Ukrainian children should begin learning through Polish books, and then learning Ukrainian will come more smoothly. How can it be so! Perhaps it would be easier to begin in German?”<sup>271</sup>

Correspondents were convinced that it was up to the community leadership to set an example, and to show love for the Ukrainian language. A correspondent from Ternopil district complains how the community government composes all of its correspondence in Polish, “...even a useless invitation to a local government meeting [is written in Polish]. But in the village there is not even one Pole.”<sup>272</sup> A correspondent from Sniatyn district complains that the former leader was corrupt, and the current leader is embarrassed to be a Ukrainian: “Now is not going entirely well with the new leader: he does all his governing in Polish....Hey you gentlemen leaders of the community! Are you ashamed that God made you Ukrainians? Why do you not make use of the Kaiser’s laws? Why do you not follow the example of our heir to the throne archduke Rudolph, who himself signed his name to us in Ukrainian? Do not bring shame to the name of Ukraine!”<sup>273</sup>

## The Press

Throughout the period of study correspondents to *Batkivshchyna* provide words of encouragement, support, and gratitude for the press, its contributors and editors. A correspondent from Kalush district praises the contribution of *Batkivshchyna*: “It would be unfortunate not to spread the truth to people of the what great work and progress *Batkivshchyna* has made among our people. Here and everywhere throughout the country the people happily read your newspaper and love it because it speaks God’s truth to each; ...it praises good, but reasonably scorns evil, so that it improves and does not bring shame to its people...it consoles, advises, leads people on a good path, teaches us peasants how to care for our own good, encourages enlightenment and all that is useful, and it awakens us from our age old slumber of unfreedom. It tells us that if we do not care for ourselves, then there will be no prosperity among us.”<sup>274</sup>

A correspondent from Mostyska district comments on the important information which the press provides: “From newspapers and our own information we know that the largest landowners in our country are declining in wealth and that they are being forced to sell their own property for any price.”<sup>275</sup> A correspondent from Rohatyn district writes: “In our dear *Batkivshchyna* it is possible to read news, good and bad, not only from our entire country, but from the entire world. Only from the former capital of the Ukrainian princes nothing is revealed. One would think that in our Halych, Ukraine lives no more, that is has died; meanwhile, thank God, it is not so.”<sup>276</sup> A correspondent from Stryi district expresses how the press has raised the self-esteem of the people: “We present to you, Dear. Editor, our sincere-hearted thanks for your labour; that you take the pains to open our eyes and to lead us down a good path, that you utter before the world our injuries and grief...and before those that lowered and jeered us, you raise us to honour and glory and endeavour to place us on the level with other enlightened peoples of our country and state....”<sup>277</sup> A correspondent from Ternopil complains that few recognize the value of the

press: "Among 170 there is one who subscribes to *Batkivshchyna*, and they call this one a smart ass."<sup>278</sup>

A correspondent from Chortkiv district writes that he is so pleased with the content of *Batkivshchyna* that he has decided to renew his subscription. This resolution is all the more impressive, given that the correspondent is illiterate: "Dear Editor! I am sending you 2 *zr.*, a half year's subscription to *Batkivshchyna*, and although I myself cannot read, it is sweet for me to hear what is new in the world, and especially about the Mykyta Pigs of which there is no shortage of here. I intentionally subscribe to your newspaper so that it may circulate throughout the entire village, for the younger and more educated, so that they may know what thanks we owe to the Mykyta Pigs, so that during the elections they will know how to behave, because only mayors and scribes benefit from such Pigs, and because of such Pigs the villages and the entire country are fallings."<sup>279</sup>

A correspondent from Sokal district commends the editor for his tireless work in the field of enlightenment: "Thank you Dear Editor for your efforts in the enlightenment of our people! Although evil fate has snatched from us our princes and boyars, the Almighty has looked down upon our grief and bestowed us glorious knights who...battle against the enemy's oppression and the darkness of our unfortunate Ukrainian people."<sup>280</sup> The correspondent proceeds to apologize profusely for his elementary writing skills: "Forgive me, Dear Editor, that I dare write about such important things, which are written to the newspaper, for I do not have a higher education, and I am only a self-taught man; so important is your undervalued *Batkivshchyna*. But I am certain that you will burden yourself with the labour of editing my awkward letter, so to honour the columns of *Batkivshchyna*." Here the editor responds with words of encouragement: "We almost always print the entire letter without modification, because, first of all they do not require alterations and corrections, and secondly, we want to show by example that there are already self-educated people throughout our villages, who know how to write so well."

In the pages of the Ukrainian populist press discussion was also devoted to press politics. A 1889 letter from the editor, discusses the war of words between the newspaper *Chervonaia Rus* (Red Rus) and *Batkivshchyna*: “As the elections to the Seim draw nearer, so too does the rage of those people who would like to rise to the top. Most enraged are the Polish newspapers because evidently the cities and the Mazur peasants have broken away from the Polish nobility, and want to elect to the Seim such people who would defend the entire country, the entire population; not like the majority of the present deputies who only look after the affairs of the nobility.”<sup>281</sup> The editor proceeds to explain the nature of the conflict: “The Polish aristocratic press are most enraged at their own, as it were ‘turn-coats’ who are giving a hand to the Ukrainians. Chief among the offenders is *Kurjer Lwowski* (Lviv Courier), which they call a Ukrainian newspapers written in Polish letters, which, they allege, is stirring up the Ukrainian peasantry.” The editor goes on to comment that the potential alliance between Polish and Ukrainian peasants is a good thing. The editor accuses *Chervonaia Rus* of blind arrogance: “In its opinion all Ukrainian newspapers are essentially bad, and it alone is wonderful.” He then proceeds to counter-attack *Chervonaia Rus* for its insulting comments about *Batkivshchyna*. In particular, he finds it ridiculous that *Chervonaia Rus* accuses *Batkivshchyna* of acting out against the church, because it encourages people to set aside religious differences during the elections: “This really was not the issue. *Chervonaia Rus* is not concerned about the church and faith, only about *Batkivshchyna*.” The editor claims that the real issue at hand is that populist Ukrainians must set aside their religious disputes and unite in the cause of the advancement and enlightenment of the people. On the other hand, *Chervonaia Rus* only aims to breed discord: “*Chervonaia Rus* feels differently...they [from the editorial staff] evidently feel that with such harmony there would not be anything for them to do, therefore they support discord. Such people are of the type, that in the middle of a religious dispute among Ukrainians, are certain to catch a fish in the muddy water.” The editor also adds that it was quite low on the part of the paper to launch a personal attack against the editor of

*Batkivshchyna*, Mr. Nahirnyi [this was probably written by the unannounced editor at that time]: “We will not respond to the attack of *Chervonaia Rus* on our editor Mr. Nahirnyi—for fear that it would blacken our paper.” Finally, the editor also mocks the notion that *Chervonaia Rus* sees ‘genuine evil spirits’ among the honest and populist endeavours of the Sniatyn peasantry, who they accuse of revoking God: “It is wrong in general to deceive, but all the more deceitful on the part of *Chervonaia Rus* to pull in God....”

Another newspaper to rouse the agitation of the editors and correspondents of *Batkivshchyna*, was *Ruska Pravda* (Rus Truth; a newspaper with a Russophile orientation). The comments the Russophile paper made in one of its early issues evoked a most interesting response from the editor of *Batkivshchyna*. First of all the editor attacks the first issue of this new paper for its elitist approach, talking about the average Ukrainian man in one breath, and then praising the merits of Vienna hotels, coffee houses, and theatres, in another. However, what really bothered the editor was the pro-Russian content in the second and subsequent issues of the professed pro-Ukrainian newspaper: “And so the editor calls us Russians and numbers us at more than sixty million. Meanwhile we always speak of ourselves in such a way: ‘We are Ukrainians’ and not ‘We are Russians,’ and we number ourselves at around 20 million. It immediately comes to mind, that these which call themselves Russians, or still more often, Muscovites, call themselves [descendants of Rus] and number themselves around sixty million. From this it would follow that the editor of *Ruska Pravda* counts himself in with the Muscovites. We do not want to be Poles, but we also do not want to be Muscovites; and Ukrainians who have heard a Muscovite speak, know well that they only understood him as well as they would a Czech or a Serb, so he does not deceive us to think that Ukrainian and Russian are one identical language.”<sup>282</sup> In the same issue a correspondent from Horodenka expresses an opinion very similar to that of the editor of *Batkivshchyna*: “We read in the newspapers that at the beginning of this year a newspaper for the Ukrainian peasants had come out in Vienna: *Ruska Pravda*...however, already in the second issue it was written that the Ukrainians number

over 60 million—this surprised us very much. Because even the barely educated among us know well that we Ukrainians have been counted around 20 million; as we read everywhere in books.”<sup>283</sup>

The statistics and historical data on the education of Ukrainians in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia speak for themselves: the enlightenment of Ukrainians was not a major priority of the state, and certainly not the aim of its Polish officials. However, as the correspondence illustrates, the education of Ukrainians, through schools, reading clubs, and the press, represented an increasing priority among Ukrainian populists and the Ukrainian population as a whole. In terms of educating their children, Ukrainians faced numerous obstacles. First of all, there was the issue of language. However, as Mr. Moroz illustrates, certain individuals were willing to challenge the neglect and abuse of the constitutional rights of Ukrainians, to the point where the authorities were forced to cave (as did the school inspector). There also existed the problem of a lack of facilities and funding. However, as the correspondence demonstrates with enough perseverance this too could be overcome. A final problem lay with the educators themselves. As a number of correspondents argue, the new, state-run school system, produce teachers who are unqualified, anti-Ukrainian, and pro-Polish to an alarming degree. The correspondents also illustrate that they and other Ukrainians understood and valued the need for a modern education (one which teaches about the sun and stars). However, they are strongly opposed to an education which seeks to annihilate Ukrainian culture, language, and national identity; in their eyes there is nothing modern in this.

As the correspondence illustrates, the reading club aimed to rectify the many shortcomings of the school system. It promoted literacy and disseminated enlightenment. Through its libraries, lectures and readings, it introduced Ukrainians, especially peasants, to whole new world. It demonstrated to its membership that such initiatives as those occurring among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, were related to a larger process which was sweeping across Europe. It promoted love of language and Ukrainian culture. Aside from acting as an

essential source of education, this school for the adults also fulfilled social, cultural and political functions within the village community. It provided an interesting, and relatively inexpensive alternative to the tavern, and led to other initiatives, including the founding of stores, community granaries, loan funds, and choirs. Through all its activities and benefits, the reading club promoted modernity and national identity. It produced such individuals as those correspondents who disclosed a number of embarrassing examples of members of the intelligentsia and members of the population at large, shunning and even mocking their native tongue. This leads one correspondent to ask: "Are you ashamed that God made you Ukrainian?"

Correspondents also praise the populist press for its vital contribution to the Ukrainian people, through its promotion of modernity and national identity. They list numerous benefits of this powerful medium; it is seen as an educator, a guide, an inspiration, and the vanguard of Ukrainian national identity. As the correspondence illustrates the populist press provides a window to the outside world, meaning all that beyond the borders of Galicia, and at the same time it provides an accurate picture of the internal workings of the Ukrainian community at a local and national level. Thus, the press is credited for exposing the activities of the Mykyta Pigs, while simultaneously, publicizing the positive activities and initiatives of villages all over Eastern Galicia, thereby providing a positive example for others to follow. For all these reasons, the populist press is labeled an educator in its own right; one which the Ukrainian population treasured, respected and aimed to please.

#### **(D)THE THEME OF INNOVATION IN THE POPULIST PRESS**

Despite the abolition of serfdom and the introduction of constitutional government, the status of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia did not to see substantial improvement. Ukrainians were continually forced to struggle for their cultural, educational and political rights. This is in part because, in the eyes of other nationalities Ukrainians were considered to be inferior. Even more of a hindrance to progress was the reality that many Ukrainians themselves lacked self-esteem. Another substantial problem facing Ukrainians was their low economic status and poverty. Agriculture remained the primary economic focus in Galicia. Consequently, the poorer, less modern Galicia, continued to serve as a prominent source of raw materials for other more advanced and industrialized provinces throughout the empire. This over emphasis on agricultural activity permitted few other occupations to thrive in Eastern Galicia. Thus, one could say that, like Brunet's Canadiens, Ukrainians remained bound to the land by state policy. The few occupations which did experience relative success in Eastern Galicia such as shopkeeping and money-lending, were already monopolized by other nationalities; most often, by Jews. In fact, as late as 1900 seven out of ten commercially active Galicians were Jewish. However, only one in fifty Jews were agriculturalists. On the other hand, as much as 93.7 percent of Ukrainian-speakers (as they were referred to in the statistics) were engaged in the agriculture and forestry sector of the Galician economy.<sup>284</sup> However, agriculture was not the most profitable enterprise, and it was extremely difficult for the average farmer to increase his holdings when the land itself was so expensive and often unavailable. Simultaneously, agricultural methods saw little improvement and new, progressive alternatives were initially challenged or ignored.

Another major obstacle facing Ukrainians was the limitations of the money economy. According to Himka: "To some extent from the abolition of serfdom in 1848, but



much more intensively after the 1860s, the peasantry suffered above all else from the penetration from the money economy and the concomitant destruction of the traditional natural economy.”<sup>285</sup> Accustomed to the natural economy (a system of self-sustaining producers who pay for rents in labour and kind to their feudal lords), most Ukrainians initially found the concept of currency utterly foreign. With the passage of time this unfamiliarity changed. However, in comparison to the Poles and the Jews, Ukrainians proved naive and greatly inexperienced in matters related to money. It is therefore, no surprise that the financial question arises quite frequently on the pages of the Ukrainian populist press throughout the 1880s. Some of the issues addressed include lack of capital, rising debt, and subdivision of land. Thus, the greatest challenge facing Ukrainian peasants living in Eastern Galicia in 1880s was, simply put, poverty. Without the proper resources and political clout as a nationality within the province and empire, Ukrainians could scarcely hope to achieve modernity and status as a nationality.

Having isolated the problems obstructing economic success among Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, correspondents also attempt to provide viable solutions. Most of all, they indicate great support for the cooperative movement which was beginning to achieve substantial success among the Ukrainian population. This includes, among other things, support for Ukrainian-run stores, and community granaries and lending treasuries. In all cases, whatever path the individual Ukrainian chose in pursuit of economic gain, he was expected to act in the interest of his people. This expectation implies exclusive support for Ukrainian businesses, ranging from stores, to insurance agencies. It also includes a love for the land, nature, one’s neighbour, and the need to protect them from harm. Consequently, correspondents also proclaim their support for insurance, fire watches, and protection of the environment. Frugality is encouraged, whereas decadence is abhorred. In the eyes of the correspondent, the money economy was one of the primary issues facing Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. Therefore, by raising their own financial status Ukrainians would also be raising the status of the Ukrainian nation. In order to achieve this high aim, Ukrainians

would have to save their income, protect their assets, cooperate with other Ukrainians, and support only those initiatives —whether political, cultural, educational, or economical — which served in the interest of the Ukrainian nation.

### **Order versus Disorder: A Summary**

Once a correspondent made the decision to complain about lack of order and modernity in a particular place, he did not withhold any details. The following letter from Terebovlia is representative of most complaints in the press about a lack of order and innovation within Ukrainian village society in Eastern Galicia. “There where people profit from reading clubs, they proceed in enlightenment, establish stores, loan funds, strive for the well-being of the entire community - and here it is as difficult as crawling out from under a rock. There was an old mayor and nothing new happened: now there is a new one and this one is a little bit better, but still he is much like the sun in March from behind the clouds, because all the enemies play topsy-turvy with him, like clouds with the sun; and so darkness is fighting with light...Towards the store and loan fund the people here are worse than dumb animals...Instead of having a store in the village, they ride or go by foot to the nearest city, although it is only necessary to buy something for a few *kr.*, like salt, pepper, stones, or matches. Are not many peasants coming from such a distance, that the journey costs more than the purchase?”<sup>286</sup>

The correspondent also criticizes people for their naive Russophilism: “Not just a few say: ‘If only I were the tsar! If only he would order them to make money, so that each would have!’ He does not know, the miserable fellow, that then the money would not have any value. Or again more than one has been known to say on more than one occasion: ‘There is misfortune now in God’s world! It is difficult for a poor man to live—where did those old days go?!’ The poor wretch forgot...that his father and grandfather were still worse off. Nevertheless, this poor one is beaten from all sides, and does not see a way out.” The correspondent then complains that a father says that he wants things to be better for his

children but then proceed to do the opposite, "...after all he himself needs them for help, and pulls them out of school, and instead pays several times over [in fines] and sits under arrest! Still to a hungry man it is difficult to think about enlightenment and politics...." Finally the correspondent complains that these same people are the ones who go and elect the deputy who does not care for their interests in the Seim.

The following letter from Skalat depicts a typical backward village society which proved able to rise above its numerous shortcomings and introduce the essential reforms needed to become modern. The correspondent describes the village in earlier times: "They [the peasants] carried to the tavern hemp, sheep, hay, eggs, grain, and their children, following at the heels of their mother and father did exactly the same. On Sundays and saint days not only men and women, but small children who had to go to school, passed the entire night in the tavern to get their education; even mothers with infants, lead the other little ones by the hand. And what order in the village! The houses were not sealed up, the windows were filled with straw or rags, the farm yard was not enclosed; for 140 houses there was one well and this one was not a spring; the granary had been drained to the bottom; the loan fund was empty and therefore unable to lend to the poor; the church which served two villages was wooden, small, and on a feast day scarcely held a third of the people; there is no place to keep the poor deceased in times of epidemic, because there was no undertaker. The local school and the teacher were the greatest enemies of the community, despite the fact that the teacher is a sincere Ukrainian."<sup>287</sup>

The correspondent goes on to explain how the teacher was eventually forced to retire, by this society of ingrates. However, as the correspondent explains, change emerged when a powerful wave of enlightenment spread throughout the village: "And now? The church and school are covered with shingles, the clergy is new, the houses are orderly, the farmyards fenced-in, the tavern vacant, the church full, the Jew is growing poor and wants to sell his land, only he does not have a buyer. And why is all this so? The teacher, the former enemy of the community, having remained in the village, teaches not the children, but the

elders; he gives them *Batkivshchyna*, and also, together with a group of farmstead owners, subscribes to *Hospodar* and *Promyshlenyk*, and registered this group to the Prosvita society." An additional sign of innovation in the village is the new choir: "The young men and women sing the Divine Liturgy in four voices from sheet music."

### **Shopkeeping**

A correspondent from Sniatyn describes how reading clubs have provided the Ukrainian peasantry with the initiative to found their own stores. "The Ukrainian nation capable although oppressed from all sides, is organizing reading clubs, hotbeds of enlightenment, and is enlightening itself and attaining self-awareness. Through the reading club people are coming to a more precise recognition of their economic state and are striving to bring themselves out of poverty. Materially undermined by foreigners on their own native soil, Ukrainian peasants are beginning, either on their own or through the compulsion of zealous people from the intelligentsia, to found stores throughout their communities."<sup>288</sup> The correspondent goes on to provide a history of the store movement in Sniatyn district: "The first of the Christian stores in the region, the store in Karliv, belonged to Mr. Makarevych, the local teacher. It held up very well in its day because it was in the hands of an educated man, and secondly, because there were no Jewish stores in Karliv, therefore there was not the competition which usually exists in other communities in our region. The convenience which this Karliv store provided, was very great, not just for the people of Karliv themselves but for neighboring communities as well: the goods were of high quality. There was not any deception, and it was possible to send children to the store. The store owner made a considerable profit, because it was full of people. The Jews looked upon the Karliv store with jealous eyes. People related that on many occasions it was possible to see the Jew passing by the store, pulling his curls in anger. There were even occurrences where people came from quite distant regions to avoid the Jewish store in the city and went for the

goods in this store.” However, as the correspondent explains, after the owner fell ill, the store eventually closed, and no one stepped forward to fill the void.

The correspondent goes on to describe the outcome of another local initiative, “...under the leadership of the enlightened head of the church brotherhood, Pavlo Aronets (also the current head of the reading club), they [a group of farmstead owners] undertook the purchase of eggs in their village and in the surrounding area, and they sent them out west, and even to London. Then unfortunately on one occasion quite a bit of the purchased eggs somehow stood for a long time and spoiled; this obviously resulted in a loss. Frightened by this, the citizens abandoned this business, and other communities which had intended to follow the example of Vydyniv, dropped the notion.” However, as the correspondent explains, with the right leadership and a glimmer of hope, the people began to regain their entrepreneurial spirit: “After the fall of the store in Karliv and the business with the eggs in Vydyniv, there occurred for a certain period of time, stagnation in Sniatyn region. Throughout the region the Jews all more relentlessly leaped into shopkeeping and their presence began to swell. But luckily new work began in the district. Under the leadership of brilliant, sincere people, especially Father Hamorok in Stetsiv, and Miss Hanna Hamorakova and Mr. Kyrylo Trylovskyi, reading clubs were established throughout the villages. The people began to come back to life in spirit and with time, in body.” The correspondent explains that the consequence of such great leadership was a multitude of reading clubs and six stores throughout the district. He then provides an update on the status of these six stores such as the store in Tuchapy: “The store in Tuchapy was established by a woman, a widow of a teacher. And for the store brings in a decent profit for this proprietress.”

The last issue this correspondent addresses regarding stores is one concerning the *Narodna torhivlia* (National Commerce), a central commercial cooperative organization which was founded in Lviv in 1883: “On 10 January of this year [the people] established a committee for the foundation of the *Narodna torhivlia* in Sniatyn, so to snatch the Sniatyn

townspeople out of the Jew's claws, and to facilitate the growth of stores throughout the villages." As the correspondent explains, this endeavour did not meet their original expectations: "The reasons for this were various, but chief among them were these...." The correspondent list four reasons. The fourth, and main reason was a follows: "Most importantly, in the *Narodna torhivlia* peasants did not perceive benefits corresponding to them. The people need, as they call them, goods [merchandise] and there are not any in the *Narodna torhivlia*. For that reason the peasants withdrew, and it is unfortunate that they did not disclose the reasons. Not so long ago I went down and met with most of the intelligent farmstead owners and shopkeepers and they expressed their opinions: 'We would happily' — they said — 'Join as members of the *Narodna torhivlia* in Sniatyn and we would instruct other to so, but what for?— The present ones are not so much for us peasants as for the lords. We go to the *Narodna torhivlia* in Kolomyia and we ask for kerchiefs, or yarn, or blankets...or embroidery thread, or other such things which we need....Whether you like it or not, you must nevertheless go to the Jew...' Still, in spite of this, 60 peasants have hitherto now joined the *Narodna torhivlia*, all the same these highly important opinions must be taken into consideration by the committee. It seems to us, that they have their own merit, and that it is not appropriate to kill them with silence, but is instead necessary to clarify them publicly in the newspapers and in meetings."

A correspondent defends the virtue of the *Narodna torhivlia*, from various attacks, "...for a long time now false rumours have been circulating, alleging, that the *Narodna torhivlia* does not bring in goods from the original source [the peasants], but gets them from local wholesalers, in other words, undoubtedly from Jews....I must stand up for the *Narodna torhivlia* and declare, that this is false because I have seen it with my own eyes, and although the *Narodna torhivlia* is more expensive by half a *kr.*, there is a big difference in the goods. When I opened a store in 1880, I had to bring in goods from the Jews because there were not any Ukrainian sellers; these Jews took from me and pushed on me whatever they wanted....In 1887 I went to the director of the Ternopil *Narodna torhivlia*,

Mardarovych, and he encouraged me to accept goods from the *Narodna torhivlia*. Since then I have continually received goods from the *Narodna torhivlia*, and I am satisfied with them and each who buys from me says that the merchandise is good and the price is more favourable than the poorer goods the Jew sells. This winter, due to a storm, I was only able to receive goods from [the Jew] and the people began to demand the better goods from the *Narodna torhivlia*. To prove that the one in Ternopil does not take goods from the local wholesalers, the director Mardarovych himself showed me invoices and the goods in his own warehouses, and convinced me that the rumours were false.”<sup>289</sup>

In closing the correspondent reprehends people for spreading such vicious lies about such an honourable endeavour: “It is to our detriment, that our people—both educated and uneducated (intelligentsia!) — immediately believe any kind of vagrant, who instead of taking care of himself, takes care of others and spreads lies for their own benefit, and our Ukrainian, like a blade of grass in the field—bends according to which ever way the wind blows, and it is not enough, that he himself does not believe in such fictions, but agrees with them, and shuns his own good, his own store, and goes to the Jews. And those who are especially guilty are those enlightened people, who themselves on Sundays and saint days go and crawl among the Jews. What a shame to Christians!”

The editor also defends the integrity of the *Narodna torhivlia*: “They have convinced us at the *Narodna torhivlia*...that the goods are not brought in from local wholesalers, but from manufacturing warehouses. Our stores must only accept goods from the *Narodna torhivlia* all the more because they are good and besides this they are cheaper than the same goods from the Jews. We also learned that every month the Lviv *Narodna torhivlia* sends out to the stores, price lists of its own goods; perhaps those retailers who before now have not accepted goods from the *Narodna torhivlia*, should make a request for these price lists and order the goods, and see where it is better to buy.”<sup>290</sup> The need for both the correspondent and the editor to dispel rumours about the *Narodna torhivlia* indicates how important it was to the people that a so-called Ukrainian store work in the

interest of Ukrainians, and the rumours themselves suggest that Ukrainian-run stores represented a significant threat to the livelihood of their Jewish competitors.

A correspondent from Ternopil district criticizes the people there for not agreeing to establish a store: “People have stores everywhere, but here they have already been talking about it for three years, and with no agreement. The poor say: ‘If you do not make it accessible to us [meaning, low cost], then we will not buy from you,’ and it ends up like that. From all this can someone guess what happened? The Jew came, rented a house for himself for 15 *zr.*, and established a store to the shame and disgrace of all the people of the community! Was the community not able to rent a house and establish a store?”<sup>291</sup> A correspondent from Halych in Stanyslaviv districts also laments over lost opportunities: “Elsewhere village communities have already established community stores for themselves, and have profited from them, but really the greatest gain is that our money does not go into the Jew’s pocket, but only to the pocket of our own Ukrainian. But we Ukrainians in Halych, do not need our own store —we prefer to entrust the Jews. But fellow readers you must know, that here in Halych many townsmen drink coffee and no longer speak about tea; each burns kerosene, and everyone needs salt. Therefore calculate how much oil, salt, coffee, tea, tobacco, iron, leather, linen for skirts, shirt and handkerchiefs, for example, that you must buy in a year. How many hundred, even thousands of *zr.* do the people give? And all this goes to the Jew’s pocket! Would a community store not some how sustain itself and the profit go into our pockets?! Would not only the inhabitants of Halych, but people from the surrounding village, come for products? But we do not want a community store, and we would need several in a union to establish such a store. But every town and village must have its own store—not just Halych.”<sup>292</sup>

A community store in the district of Mostyska suffers set backs in the face of fierce competition from the local Jews: “Dear Brothers! A year has already passed since I wrote about the store in Stariava, which is under the property of our church and stands under the charge of the church curator. The profits from that store, as it was decided, had to go to the



beautification of the church, to the reparation of the parish buildings, and to the purchase of pasture for the community of Stariava. A wonderful aim, and therefore liked by all, and almost all turned to our store for the purchase of goods. It is true, that the difficulties and obstacles which later appeared, were not little ones. Six Jewish families, who also work in the shopkeeping trade in our town, hindered the development of our store. They lowered the price of all the goods and sold them without profit. Our people are still ignorant, and more than just a few abandoned the store and turned back to the Jews for goods.”<sup>293</sup>

The correspondent feels that turning away from the Ukrainian store was a rash decision, and before long people will see that this maneuver on the part of the local Jews was of temporary benefit, “...we have the hope and this is for certain, that our people will turn back to their own store. And this is because the Jews cannot sell for long without profit, or be content with the small amount of profit which our store takes in. For example, before the opening of our store here salt cost at the very least 12 or 13 *kr*...now we sell salt at our store for only 11 *kr*....Therefore, we are not losing heart entirely because of this small disappointment, because we have the hope, that we will achieve great profits from this store and that God willing, we will eventually be able to pay for the entire village of Stariava, which the landowner Mieczyslaw Pavlykovskyi promised to sell to us.” Such aims were indeed attainable as a correspondent from Stanyslaviv district illustrates: “From the revenue from the store the community has already hitherto now purchased for itself 42 *morgs* of community land and had established a fund of ready money for the building of a new church.”<sup>294</sup>

A correspondent from Stanyslaviv blames the lack of success of one local store on the community leadership: “Several years ago, still under the previous community leader, the community of Yezupil established a store, for which it was approved a fund of nearly 300 *zr*, which nevertheless fell to the Jews. From the beginning it went so-so, but now there is no indication of this store. True the store is under one roof with the community office, so the store is even under watch, but the community mayor and all the councillors love hot tea,

strong whiskey and every delicacy and sweetmeats, more than they do occupying themselves with the store.”<sup>295</sup> On the other hand a store in Ternopil district also experienced its share of trouble, but the correspondent is grateful for its loyal adherents: “Our village had already had a lending treasury and a community granary and a few years back around ten farmstead owners put together 10 *zr.* to establish a store, and the original investment has already doubled for them. Nevertheless the Jew has also established a store and to the loss of the Christian, sells things all the more cheaply; all the same people cling to their own store, because they are convinced that all that is sold there is better and sold more honestly.”<sup>296</sup>

### **Insurance and Fire Departments**

A correspondent reports on a fire in the city of Hlyniany, its impact, and the kindness of a local count: “Last year Hlyniany endured a fire which appeared in various parts of the city and sent up 101 homes in smoke. The people complain that someone set the fire...a burning cigar fell from someone’s mouth and he did not put it out and the fire started. Now it is winter and the victims of the fire have neither accommodations nor anything to eat, and commit themselves to the grace of God and the people. Only a few new homes are visible and these are hardly covered with clay, and here the children have nothing to eat. Day after day they go throughout the neighboring villages to beg for straw or whatever. Most of all they are grateful to count Potulitskyi, who immediately after the fire took in all the children, and gave all the victims of the fire some kind of temporary provisions, and gave all the children dairy products. He himself went around and consoled the children who cried a lot.”<sup>297</sup> The correspondent moves on to illustrate how simple it would be to prevent such a tragedy: “Here it would be very easy to set up a fire watch, following the statutes composed by director Nahirnyi, because there are enough young Ukrainians, and the community has a fire engine...the problem is they are not organized and there is some how no desire to commit to this fire watch.”

Aside from setting up some sort of fire patrol, correspondents also believed it was high time the people protected their belongings through the purchase of insurance. A correspondent who writes “from the village,” recognizes a strong need for insurance but has some reservations regarding the process: “Not long ago I read in *Batkivshchyna*, that the Galician Seim is going to create a law making the insurance of village farm buildings compulsory; then every farmstead owner will have to insure his buildings against fire. This would certainly be good; because we have time and time again read about fires in various places, and all with the appendage: unfortunately they were not insured. I am only afraid of one thing; that farmstead owners can only purchase insurance from a specific agency.”<sup>298</sup>

The correspondent proceeds to discuss the benefits of competition and freedom of choice, and explains why insuring in the one specific agency which would most likely be selected by the government is bad: “If all must insure with one agency, then they [the government] would probably enforce the Cracow agency; and this concerns me for two reasons. I do not like that, according to the statutes of the agency, any dispute between the agency and the insured which may arise from the insurance claim, is peacefully resolved by the court without any room for appeal.” The correspondent complains that the peasant can not rely on the court, and would prefer to deal directly with the Kaiser’s court or at least have the option to appeal to it. However, his main concern lies in his second complaint: “The second thing that I do not like is even more important. When a man insures a building in the Cracow agency, no one actually sees the building; the man says the buildings are such and such long and such and such wide, and are worth this and that; they write the sum, calculate a premium from it, put together a policy, and that is the end of that. But when it burns the liquidation commission enters, looks around, assesses every pitch, every post; inquires when the building was built, and arrives at the authentic value of the building...Therefore it occurs that someone has insured his building for a premium of 500 *zr.* and pays on the basis of this sum for several years; and then it burns. In comes the commission; it shows that these buildings were worth only 300 *zr.*, and the candle-ends /

cigarette butts [perhaps a potential source of the fire] at 30 *zr.*, therefore they pay out 270 *zr.* Such a process seems unfair to me because if the building was only worth 300 *zr.*, then it was not necessary to pay a premium of 500 *zr.*; if they sold the premium for 500 *zr.*, then they must pay it. Therefore an agency must at the very beginning, before determining a policy, strive in the most suitable manner to assess the true worth of the buildings and in the case of a fire, send a commission only for verification and estimation of the damage.”

The correspondent feels that the manner in which the Cracow agency insures, encourages insurance fraud: “It is natural to value your property for more than it is worth; but the present policy of this agency lends the impulse for deception and villainy. More than a few intentionally insure themselves for a higher sum with the hope that in a time of misfortune he will receive more, and instead cheats himself twice over; once, for the great sum he paid, and in many instances for many years; and the second time, when in his difficult time of misfortune he is deceived by all his hopes. And others having insured themselves for a lot of money, and driven by greed commit crimes by setting fire to his buildings, so to later build better ones; meanwhile, when he is not thrown into prison, then he is cheated.”

A correspondent from Rudky district illustrates through example, that while insurance is a great necessity, the policy of the Cracow agency is indeed problematic: “During the night on the 27th and 28th of May, around midnight, in the village of Verbizh, explosion and fire destroyed eight farm yards, five farmstead owners lost their barns, and all the buildings of three others were burnt to ashes; people awoke from their slumber and barely escaped with their lives, [and it is a wonder] that they did not burn in their beds. Two cows, chickens and farm equipment burned, and all the damage to the eight farms totaled around 6000 *zr.* Diakiv, founder and secretary of the reading club in Verbizh, had given up a room in his home free of charge to accommodate the reading club, and although the fire destroyed his home, the library with its shelves of books and newspapers, was rescued by Diakiv himself and the mayor Yakiv Senyshyn. There was not great assistance because the

people were sleeping. Diakiv lost over 2500 kilos of grain, chickens, all his farm equipment, all the buildings— all together over 1500 *zr.* reduced to ashes; the buildings were insured for 800 *zr.*”<sup>299</sup>

The correspondent explains that it is likely that the fire was set deliberately: “Suspicion has fallen on one weak farmstead owner Kyrylo Pylypovyi, who they believe set fire to his neighbor’s place and wanted his own buildings to burn, because they were worth 150 *zr.*, and were insured for 400 *zr.* He had also cleared all of his possessions from his building and buried them in his own farmyard. During the investigation they dug this up and arrested him and he sits in Komarno awaiting trial.” The correspondent provides a history of this man’s unfortunate past, and presumes that in the belief that the agency would pay out the full 400 *zr.*, he committed this horrible crime, “...he thought that he would receive 400 *zr.* from the Cracow agency. All that burned was insured by the Cracow agency.”

Several months later another letter from Rudky district appears in *Batkivshchyna* informing the public of yet another tragedy, and encouraging communities to insure themselves accurately, and above all else, to be responsible for their children: “On the first of September Ivan Hnativ in Susyliv went to work with his wife in the field, leaving his small children at home. These children, having obtained matches from somewhere, began to play with them and started a fire, which not only ruined the building belonging to Ivan, but an additional 17 farms. The school, only insured for 300 *zr.*, stood at around 8000 *zr.* in value. Therefore, people, look after your children, and do not leave them at home alone, but only under the ever present supervision of some older person. In our district there have already been two fires caused by children, namely in Lypets, Andrianiv, and now Susyliv. No one can recall such a fire in ten years.”<sup>300</sup>

A letter from Ternopil district illustrates that a number of villages in the region were making a sincere effort to protect themselves and their property against loss resulting from fire: “We have come to recognizes the benefits of insurance. We have paid an insurance

premium and do not have to be afraid of loss due to fire, because in times of such misfortune the bank “Slaviya” will protect us from great potential loss, and even unexpectedly sent us a fire engine worth 500 *zr.* Neighboring villages like Tsebriv and Kuryvets recognizing the great benefits derived from insurance, are following our example, and God willing, they will all be insured and will receive a fire engine. I hear that the village of Hlubychok also intends to buy a fire engine for itself. Would it not be better to come to some arrangement with the bank “Slaviya,” or with some other insurance agency and insurance their property, and for protecting their insured property, to receive a fire engine?”<sup>301</sup> The correspondent also mentions the effort to organize a local fire brigade: “Now that we have a fire engine, our teacher is putting together a fire brigade according to the statutes in Sokal and already has twenty eager and capable bachelors who every week perform various exercises with the fire engine, hooks and ladders, so that when, God forbid, there occurs an explosion or fire, they may execute a successful rescue.” At the end of the letter the editor congratulates the community and wishes them much success: “Good luck to all of you and all the efforts of your upright community! God helps those who help themselves!

### **Community Granaries and Lending Treasuries**

Overwhelmed by the unmerciful grip of the money economy, Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia often found themselves short of grain and money. This often led them to the doorstep of the money lender, who was more often than not, a Jew. Interest accumulated at a rapid pace, and many peasants, unable to pay their debts, were either forced to further extend their loan payments, hire themselves out for extra income, or even sell their property and land. Consequently, populists soon came to recognize the dire need for community lending treasuries and granaries.

A correspondent from Ternopil complains that the people of Domamorych rely too heavily on the Jew in times of need. He suggests that they make a serious effort to establish

a community granary: "I beg you to kindly print this letter about the village of Domamorych, in the district of Ternopil. When reading in *Batkivshchyna* about other villages, where they are establishing stores, organizing various evenings, and have reading clubs which are developing quite nicely, the thought came to me: when will our village, poor Domamorych, wake up from its ignorant sleep, when will a reading club be established here, a store, etc.? There is just granary here and a lending treasury, and what of it? People say: 'Why would I go to the granary when the Jew's is better.' And I tell the sincere truth. But he who takes a quart of grain from the granary and then must return it two years later, hardly feels the impact, but with the Jew it only takes a day or two for interest to accumulate."<sup>302</sup> A correspondent who brands the Hutsuls as backward, also criticizes them for their reliance on the Jewish lenders: "In March it came to the point where there was not any feed, and anyone who was fortunate enough to receive it had to pay 10 *zr.* for a wagon of hay and it was not even full! People went up to six or seven miles for feed to the blessed Jew Zhabie."<sup>303</sup>

A correspondent from Terebovlia demonstrates the potential benefits of a village loan fund: "There is certain misfortune for those who do not belong to a loan fund. Because it occurs often enough, that one must borrow a couple *zr.* Or still, and it occurs here, many do not just borrow a couple, but 30 or 40....And many do not have any way to pay it back, and are forced to make additional payments...Now and again there are those who must borrow a couple of *zr.*, or 10 or 20, and must go to the Jew in Terebovlia...and for every *zr.*, you pay two *kr.* a day, and when this goes on for an extended period, then from one *zr.* one must pay either 76 *kr.* to 100 *kr.* annually. But if you had your own loan fund, this would not be the case. However, it is true that it is not easy to establish it here, because those that need to borrow cannot set it up because they are poor...."<sup>304</sup>

Along side calls for the foundation of community cooperative efforts in terms of the lending of grain or money, came reports of successful initiatives. A correspondent from Ternopil district praises a former mayor for his ingenuity and frugality: "Through him

there still remains a several hundred *zr.* surplus in the community treasury; not like another community we know which still has several thousand in dues to the tax treasury....In the community there is a lending treasury; it is not very big, but it is sufficient enough that in bad times no one need go to the Jew or the bank."<sup>305</sup> From Ivanivka: "Earlier there was very little in the community granary; now the leader recalled the grain which was owing, and there is enough to help out in the spring."<sup>306</sup> Another letter from Ternopil district : "Our village has had a community lending treasury and a community granary for a long time now."<sup>307</sup> From the district of Zhovkva: "Through the sincere efforts of Panko Derkach ...and through the help of our patriot Dr. Sylvester Drymachyk, a reading club, lending treasury and community granary were established there [in the village of Vynyky]."<sup>308</sup>

### **Other Innovations**

A correspondent extols the benefits of horticulture. He begins the letter by providing an account of a recent discussion he had with several peasants in the front room of the village store. Having introduced himself, he sat down and joined the group. One from the group, Panko Tarchan, was complaining about how annoyed he had felt when he saw soldiers planting trees along the road: "I think to myself, what a waste of time and money! Did they not plant the same last year? And what of it? A year later there did not remain a trace of those small trees."<sup>309</sup> Then, as the writer explains, another man seated among the men intervened: "A young man with a black moustache got involved in this. It became obvious that this one was not a block head and had been a little bit further in the world than our friend, Panko Tarchan. He began: 'Pardon me neighbor, but I must tell you that what you said is not true. Just the day before yesterday I was at the home of our teacher and we spoke among ourselves on this subject. If you please, I ask you to listen to what the teacher said: planting trees along a road is a very good and beneficial thing for all of us and for our country, and this is why: (1) This work does not cost us anything (2) It is a mater of fact when we must go to the city during the winter, the road is covered with snow, and if it were



not for these trees, then many a person would have strayed from the road and would have wandered off into obscure regions and potentially lost his life! (3) It is true that in the summer it is pleasant to go along such a treed road; some how it is not quite so tedious, and is perhaps even faster to walk or travel down: but then again along a road where there are no trees...it is even sad. (4) It provides shade in the heat of summer. [Five was some how omitted] (6) What you said Panko, that these trees will throw a shadow on the field, is true, but that is not a bad thing, but is even better for the field. (See for yourself): such a shadow, which moves from place to place, which does not stand in one place, does not harm anything, but during a dry summer it even helps, because it protects a small part of the field from the burning sun. The only kind of shadow that can do harm, is the kind that always stands in one place, such as, for example, between buildings, or under some kind of covering. (7) It is even better for the entire country, because the inhabitants have comfort in the summer and winter, and in a country where there are a lot of trees, there are more orchards, more fields, and then the inhabitants have more income, and in such a country more rain falls.”

The speaker closes his speech by encouraging the group to embrace this cause: “Therefore you see, my neighbors, what kind of benefit we can get from those little trees. Therefore, we must protect those little trees from saboteurs, to honour and cultivate them and endeavour with all of our strength to ensure their growth.” Panko was convinced: “You have really said it well neighbor....Tomorrow I will have to go to the oak forest and request a few saplings, then I will even plant them around my home.” The speaker replied: “Certainly go and ask, but if you do not receive anything, then I will lend you the teacher’s booklet from Prosvita on orchard-culture, and in it is written on how to grow a tree, how to cultivate it, and all that you need to cultivate for yourself a beautiful orchard.” The correspondent concludes the story: “Not only Panko himself, but all the other farmstead owners went immediately the following day and I myself saw how they planted those little

trees and wrapped them for the winter. Gentlemen farmstead owners, plant trees wherever you can, and neither you nor your children will ever regret it.”

A correspondent boasts of the industrious nature of the people living in the town of Komarno: “With regard to industry there is scarcely a city or town in Galicia, which can be compared to Komarno....Komarno may be counted as the biggest commercial town in Galicia. The difference lies in the fact that other towns in Galicia for the most part employ Jews, or other people who came down (for example the Mazurs, Slovaks, and others...), and here there are almost only Ukrainian Christians, and in part, peasants from the surrounding area. Here in the best market it is possible to see various fine products made from wood...leather, every type of footwear...products made of clay...beautiful products made from various skins, like coats, goods made from various bulrushes, like baskets; products from metal....All this, with very little exception, comes from the Ukrainian Christians, burghers and peasants —because among the Jews there are only two or three furriers, and a few tailors and shoemakers.”<sup>310</sup> The correspondent goes on to discuss the beautiful, famous hats produced by the people, the wonderful local orchards, the production of tobacco and the describes the activities and prosperity of the masons and weavers.

The correspondent then proceeds to illustrate a number of other reasons why the people of Komarno are so affluent. The main reason is that they are not lazy or decadent: “In every house from the very poorest to the most wealthy one can find, in addition to the main occupation, such as agriculture of animal husbandry, an additional occupation and trade, and even in many cases, several trades. I learned that one of the richest burghers, who owns a lot of land, and is a big lease-holder, has salaried employees in the city, owns several of his own buildings, and despite this, does not forsake his trade. During the day he sits at his post and manages his property, and in the evenings and mornings he engages in his trade.” The correspondent illustrates how in terms of their industriousness and frugality, the inhabitants of Komarno stand in direct contrast to other lazy, unmotivated Ukrainians: “Winter in Komarno never passes in vain. Every resident of Komarno remains busy...and

often in one household several trades are carried out....It has been calculated that every household earns at least 200 *zr.* during the winter. What does the person from Pokuttia do during this time? Stuffs his face with corn...and manages to haul several wagons of manure so to somehow pass the day, because, as they say, winter is a vacation. Spring arrives and there is no money or bread. You sell what you can from the house, and buy bread, or hire yourself out to the lord or some other kind of rich man. And later when the harvest is not good, you fall into debt and descend into misery. Still, where there is sobriety, where there are few Jews, then it is still so-so; but where there is ignorance, as for example, in our mountains, then there is great misery. If in Komarno —together with such practical work—the people drank less, if they went less often to “Hell” (as the tavern is referred to), where most of the peasants, and in part, burghers, drink— then certainly prosperity would blossom here all the more quickly.”

A correspondent praises those people from Kalush and Dolyna districts for their display of enterprise: “I have been told that those from the Kalush and Dolyna regions are not too lazy to go in the middle of the fierce winter 15 to some 20, and even beyond 20 miles to the market [to trade oxen]...They always do the following with the oxen: they buy where they are cheapest ...and henceforth sell them either at home or somewhere else at the first of market. In such trading they make good money and grow wealthier...and they do not waste their money on drinking and partying, but honour it...and then go to another market where they again buy oxen. All of the villages in Kalush and Dolyna districts live with this profit. And one must also know that none of them drink away this profit; instead of drinks, they buy meat, rice and other advantageous things for the home. I am presenting this for public knowledge intentionally; let farmstead owners and other villages and regions learn how it is possible to manage money well.”<sup>311</sup>

The correspondent continues to praise these entrepreneurs for their thriftiness: “Consider the farmstead owner from Nebyliv, who bought eight pairs of oxen at the Vazhnytske market, and carried from home around 1000 *zr.* and perhaps more in ready

money. Another in his place would boast that he is rich, and sit at home in his warm house by the stove, or party in the bar to the point where all his money had disappeared (in Nebyliv this happens very often), but this Nebyliv farmstead owner, despite his wealth, makes his week-long journey through the winter and perhaps does not even stop one night to stay in a warm house, and perhaps for an entire twenty-four hour period does not eat warm food, and exerts himself, so to improve his situation, so to live in comfort in his old age, or to provide his children with a good start....Pray God that many more of these farmstead owners are born in our Ukrainian nation!"

The major economic challenge facing Ukrainians in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia was their low participation in the money economy. Even when they did participate it was usually as consumer and borrower; this placed them at an extreme disadvantage vis-à-vis other nationalities who dominated major trades and occupations in the province. Thus, Ukrainians desperately needed to establish their presence in all sectors of the economy. Heretofore, Ukrainians had only occupied and essentially dominated the agricultural sector. Thus, the attempt by Ukrainians to infiltrate such professions as store-keeping, or money / grain lending, should be regarded as highly innovative and reflective of a growing sense of modernity. Good leadership was usually requisite to the success of such endeavours, however, nothing could thrive without the support of the peasantry. In addition, every initiative embraced, from shopkeeping to tree-planting, had to serve a practical purpose and to fill the needs of the population. Thus, fashionable, over-priced items at the local village store, or questionable insurance policies did not receive the approval of the populist correspondents, whereas affordable salt and free fire-engines did.

In the eyes of the populist Ukrainian correspondent, innovation and order went hand in hand. Through such innovations as Ukrainian-run stores, granaries, lending treasuries, fire departments, insurance agencies, and reading clubs, came profit, resources, knowledge, self-confidence, independence, status, and hope for a better future. Innovations also encouraged other improvements which comprised of village 'order'; fences, windows,

shingled roofs, white-washed homes, tidy yards, treed roads, and schools, community offices and churches made of brick. In a modern society the physical presence of order, often establishes a sense of mental order. Consequently, individuals come to better value themselves and become more accountable to their families, environment, community, and nation. This notion of personal responsibility, is perhaps the most essential component of modernity, the imagined community of nation, and hence, national identity. As both the correspondence and the historical record indicate, in the pursuit of all the aforementioned innovations, and many more, Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were well on the road to achieving national consciousness and a modern outlook on life. The journey would still be a difficult one, however with the support of their populist intelligentsia—the community activists and correspondents—a Ukrainian national identity would be well-entrenched as Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia entered the twentieth century.

### Notes

<sup>85</sup> Eugen Weber, Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914 (Stanford University Press, 1976) 469.

<sup>86</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 59.

<sup>87</sup> “Russophiles,” Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 473.

<sup>88</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 68.

<sup>89</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 69.

<sup>90</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 70.

<sup>91</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 71.

<sup>92</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 78.

<sup>93</sup> “The Press,” Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, 1971 ed.

<sup>94</sup> “Populism, Western Ukrainian,” Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1984.

<sup>95</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 73.

<sup>96</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 74.

<sup>97</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 78.

<sup>98</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 80.

<sup>99</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 80,81.

<sup>100</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 86.

<sup>101</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 82.

<sup>102</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 81.

<sup>103</sup> John-Paul Himka, Galicia and Bukovina: A Research Handbook About Western Ukraine, Late 19th-20th Centuries (Alberta Culture & Multiculturalism Historical Research Division, 1990) 41/42.

<sup>104</sup> Himka, Galicia and Bukovina 42.

<sup>105</sup> Himka, Galicia and Bukovina 44.

<sup>106</sup> Himka, Galicia and Bukovina 45.

- <sup>107</sup> Himka, Galicja and Bukovina 48.
- <sup>108</sup> Himka, Galicja and Bukovina 49.
- <sup>109</sup> Himka, Galicja and Bukovina 46.
- <sup>110</sup> Rudnytsky, "Polish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burden of History," Essays in Modern Ukrainian History 59.
- <sup>111</sup> Shmuel Ettinger, "Jewish Participation in the Settlement of Ukraine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988) 25.
- <sup>112</sup> Ettinger 27/28.
- <sup>113</sup> Himka, 136.
- <sup>114</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective 117.
- <sup>115</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 143.
- <sup>116</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 113.
- <sup>117</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 13-14.
- <sup>118</sup> Rudnytsky, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Nineteenth Century Ukrainian Political Thought," Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective 77.
- <sup>119</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 114
- <sup>120</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 137/138.
- <sup>121</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 135.
- <sup>122</sup> Sirka, 26.
- <sup>123</sup> Sirka, 31.
- <sup>124</sup> Magosci A History of Ukraine 421.
- <sup>125</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 35 (August 19 [31] 1888): 214-215
- <sup>126</sup> "Letter from Peremyshliany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 31 (August 4 [16] 1889): 379-380
- <sup>127</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 37 (September 16 [28] 1889): 450.
- <sup>128</sup> "Letter from Terebovlia (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 20 (May 18 [6] 1888): 125-126.
- <sup>129</sup> "Letter from Chortkiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 2 (January 15 [3] 1886): 4.
- <sup>130</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 4 (January 27 [February 8] 1889): 48-49.
- <sup>131</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 1 (January 6 [December 26] 1887): 4.
- <sup>132</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 22 (June 2 [14] 1889): 277-279.
- <sup>133</sup> "Letter from Kosiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 10 (March 11 [February 27] 1887): 58-59.
- <sup>134</sup> "Letter from Kaminka Strumylova (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 31 (August 5 [July 24] 1887): 184.
- <sup>135</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 59 (December 16 [4] 1887): 298-299.
- <sup>136</sup> "Letter from Borshchiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 24 (June 17 [29] 1889): 310-311.
- <sup>137</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 10 (March 10 [22] 1889): 126-127.
- <sup>138</sup> "Election News," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 11 (March 19 [29] 1889): 136-137.
- <sup>139</sup> "Letter from Rudky (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 52 (December 23 [January 4] 1889): 319-320.
- <sup>140</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 7 (February 17 [March 1] 1889): 84.
- <sup>141</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 53 (December 23 [January 4] 1888/1889): p.319-320.
- <sup>142</sup> "Letter from Kaminka Strumylova (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 44 (October 21 [November 2] 1888): 270.
- <sup>143</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 5 (February 3 [15] 1889): 59-60.
- <sup>144</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 10 (March 10 [22] 1889): 123.
- <sup>145</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 51&52 (December 21 [January 2] 1888/1889): p.623-624.
- <sup>146</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 10 (March 10 [22] 1889): 123.
- <sup>147</sup> "Election News," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 11 (March 19 [29] 1889): 136-137.

- <sup>148</sup> "Letter from Dolyna (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 26 (June 30 [July 12] 1889): 326-328.
- <sup>149</sup> "Letter from Chortkiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 41 (October 13 [25] 1889): 500.
- <sup>150</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 7 (February 17 [March 1] 1889): 83-85.
- <sup>151</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 10 (March 10 [22] 1889): 123-124.
- <sup>152</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 12 (March 24 [April 5] 1889): 150-151.
- <sup>153</sup> "The editor," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 16 (April 21 [May 3] 1889): 204-205.
- <sup>154</sup> No place provided, *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 16 (April 21 [May 3] 1889): 205.
- <sup>155</sup> "Letter from Lviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 44 (October 21 [November 2] 1888): 270.
- <sup>156</sup> "Election News," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 16 (April 21 [May 3] 1889): 203-204.
- <sup>157</sup> "Election News (Ternopil district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 10 (March 10 [22] 1889): 123.
- <sup>158</sup> "Letter from Pidhaitsi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 31 (August 4 [16] 1889): 375-377.
- <sup>159</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 38 (September 22 [October 4] 1889): 464-465.
- <sup>160</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 7 (February 17 [March 1] 1889): 83.
- <sup>161</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 13 (March 31 [April 12] 1889): 165-167.
- <sup>162</sup> "Letter from Sniatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 40 (September 23 [5] 1888): 246.
- <sup>163</sup> "Letter from Sniatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 14 (April 6 [18] 1889): 181-184.
- <sup>164</sup> Stella Hryniuk and Jeff Picknicki, The Land They Left Behind: Canada's Ukrainians in the Homeland (Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd, 1995) 9.
- <sup>165</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 23.
- <sup>166</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 47.
- <sup>167</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 23.
- <sup>168</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 39.
- <sup>169</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 51.
- <sup>170</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 83.
- <sup>171</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 19.
- <sup>172</sup> "Folk customs and rites," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, 1971 ed.
- <sup>173</sup> Hryniuk and Picknicki 101.
- <sup>174</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 136.
- <sup>175</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 136. (Eastern and Western Galician statistics not separated therefore, the number of taverns in Eastern Galicia was likely higher than this.)
- <sup>176</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 137.
- <sup>177</sup> "Alcohol Consumption and Alcoholism," Encyclopedia of Ukraine 1984.
- <sup>178</sup> Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol Consumption in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Note," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 11 (1986): 75.
- <sup>179</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 173.
- <sup>180</sup> Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol" 78.
- <sup>181</sup> Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol" 79.
- <sup>182</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 49 (December 8 [20] 1887): 600-601.
- <sup>183</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 9 (March 4 [February 20] 1887): 52-53.
- <sup>184</sup> "Letter from Bibrka (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, nos. 43 & 44 (October 28 [16] & November 4 [October 23] 1887): 262.
- <sup>185</sup> "Letter from Tovmach (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 11 (March 18 [6] 1887): 65-66.
- <sup>186</sup> "Letter from Sokal (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 46 (November 18 [6] 1887): 276
- <sup>187</sup> "Letter from Hlyniany (village, district unknown)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 11 (March 19 [29] 1889): 138-140.
- <sup>188</sup> "Letter from Sokal (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 1 (January 5 [December 24] 1886): 4-5.
- <sup>189</sup> "Letter from Peremyshliany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 36 (September 16 [4] 1887): 219-220.
- <sup>190</sup> "Letter from Bohorodchany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 4 (January 27 [15] 1888): 25-26.
- <sup>191</sup> "Letter from Horodenka (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 27 (July 5 [June 23] 1888): 167-168.
- <sup>192</sup> "Letter from Sokal (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 15 (April 14 [26] 1889): 190-191.

- <sup>193</sup> "Letter from Stryi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 10 (March 9 [February 26] 1888): 62.
- <sup>194</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 36 (September 9 [August 28] 1887: 211-212.
- <sup>195</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 4 (February 25 [13] 1887): 23.
- <sup>196</sup> "Letter from Rudky (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 31 (August 12 [July 24] 1887): 183-184.
- <sup>197</sup> No place listed, *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 22 (June 2 [14] 1889): 279-280.
- <sup>198</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 46 (November 16 [8] 1887): 274.
- <sup>199</sup> "Letter from Stryi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 10 (March 9 [February 26] 1888): 62.
- <sup>200</sup> "Letter from Bohorodchany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 35 (August 19 [31] 1888): 214.
- <sup>201</sup> "Letter from Bohorodchany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 34 (August 24 [12] 1888): 210-211.
- <sup>202</sup> "Letter from Bohorodchany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 37 (September 2 [14] 1888): 236.
- <sup>203</sup> "Letter from the Beskyd Mountains," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 18 (May 3 [April: 21] 1888): 112.
- <sup>204</sup> "Letter from Kolomyia (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 23 (June 8 [May 27] 1888): 143-144.
- <sup>205</sup> "Letter form Bohorodchany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 39 (September 16 [28] 1888): 241-242.
- <sup>206</sup> "Propination," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* 1984.
- <sup>207</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 15 (April 13 [1] 1888): 92.
- <sup>208</sup> "Letter from Pidhaitsi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 8 (February 24 [12] 1888): 50-51.
- <sup>209</sup> "Letter from Kaminka Strumyl'ova (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 31 (August 5 [July 24] 1887): 184.
- <sup>210</sup> "Letter from Zbarazh (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 49 (December 2 [14] 1888): 302-303.
- <sup>211</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 8 (February 24 [March 8] 1889): 93.
- <sup>212</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 11 (March 16 [4] 1888): 68-69.
- <sup>213</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 11 (March 16 [4] 1888): 68-69.
- <sup>214</sup> "Letter from Kaminka Strumyl'ova (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 31 (August 15 [July 24] 1887): 184.
- <sup>215</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 34 (August 26 [14] 1887): 202-203.
- <sup>216</sup> "Letter from Kalush (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 42 (October 21 [9] 1887): 251.
- <sup>217</sup> "Letter from Sniatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 43 (October 14 [26] 1888): 265-266.
- <sup>218</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 52 (December 23 [January 4] 1888/1889): 319-320.
- <sup>219</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 39 (September 9 [21] 1888): 241.
- <sup>220</sup> "Letter from Dolyina (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 34 (August 25 [September 6] 1889): 414-416.
- <sup>221</sup> "Letter from Lviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 39 (September 30 [October 12] 1889): 474-475.
- <sup>222</sup> "Letter from Pidhaitsi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 14 (March 27 [April 8] 1887): 82-83.
- <sup>223</sup> "Letter from Brody (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 22 (June 1 [May 20] 1888): 134-135.
- <sup>224</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 20 (May 20 [8] 1887): 119.
- <sup>225</sup> "Letter from Kalush (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 25 (June 23 [July 5] 1889): 318-320.
- <sup>226</sup> "To the editor," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 41 (September 10 [October 12] 1888): 252.
- <sup>227</sup> Sirka v/vi.
- <sup>228</sup> Sirka 12.
- <sup>229</sup> Sirka 28.
- <sup>230</sup> Himka, *Galician Villagers* 63.
- <sup>231</sup> Sirka 77.
- <sup>232</sup> Sirka 77.
- <sup>233</sup> Sirka 83.
- <sup>234</sup> Sirka 93.
- <sup>235</sup> Sirka 78.
- <sup>236</sup> Sirka 79.
- <sup>237</sup> Sirka 87.



- <sup>238</sup> Sirka 63.
- <sup>239</sup> Sirka 86.
- <sup>240</sup> Sirka 81.
- <sup>241</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 63.
- <sup>242</sup> "Letter from Zolochiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 18 (May 6 [April 24] 1887): 106-107.
- <sup>243</sup> "Letter from Buchach (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 13 (April 1 [March 20] 1887): 76.
- <sup>244</sup> "Letter from Zhydachiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 33 (August 19 [7] 1887): 196-197.
- <sup>245</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, nos. 43&44 (October 16 [28] & October 23 [November 4] 1887): 257.
- <sup>246</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 45 (November 11 [October 30] 1887): 268-269.
- <sup>247</sup> "Letter from Zhydachiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 20 (May 18 [6] 1888): 125-126.
- <sup>248</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 28 (July 1 [13] 1888): 174-175.
- <sup>249</sup> "Letter from Sniatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 43 (October 14 [26] 1888): 265-266.
- <sup>250</sup> "Letter from the Dniester River area," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 41 (September 30 [October 12] 1888): 252-254.
- <sup>251</sup> "Letter from Horodok (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 31 (August 12 [July 31] 1887): 185-186.
- <sup>252</sup> This practice also observed in Galician Villagers 87 (Himka), A History of Ukraine 323 (Subtelny), The Land They Left Behind 5 (Hryniuk and Picknicki), and in a book by Jeffrey Picknicki Morski, Under the Southern Cross: A Collection of Accounts and Reminiscences about the Ukrainian Immigration in Brazil, 1891-1914 (Watson & Dywer Publishing Ltd, 2000) 15.
- <sup>253</sup> "Letter from Zolochiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 16 (April 23 [11] 1886): 98.
- <sup>254</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 88.
- <sup>255</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 86.
- <sup>256</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 91.
- <sup>257</sup> "Prosvita societies," Encyclopedia of Ukraine 1984.
- <sup>258</sup> "Prosvita societies"
- <sup>259</sup> "Prosvita societies"
- <sup>260</sup> Paul Robert Magosci, "The Kachkov'skyi Society and the National Revival in Nineteenth-Century East Galicia," Harvard Ukrainian Studies XV (1991): 51/52.
- <sup>261</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 92.
- <sup>262</sup> "Letter from the villager of Ivanivka (district unclear)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 42 (October 21 [November 2] 1889): 514-515.
- <sup>263</sup> "Letter from Buchach (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 13 (April 1 [March 20] 1887): 76.
- <sup>264</sup> "Letter from Horodenka (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 49 (December 2 [14] 1888): 302.
- <sup>265</sup> "Letter from Rudky (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 52 (December 23 [January 4] 1889/1890): 317-319.
- <sup>266</sup> "Letter from Horodok (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 40 (October 7 [September 25] 1887): 239.
- <sup>267</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 53 (December 23 [January 4] 1888/1889): 319-320.
- <sup>268</sup> "Letter from Brody (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 8 (February 26 [14] 1886): 49-50.
- <sup>269</sup> "Letter from the Dniester River area," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 41 (September 30 [October 12] 1888): 252-254)
- <sup>270</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 44 (November 3 [15] 1889): 541.
- <sup>271</sup> "Letter from Chortkiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 10 (March 12 [February 28] 1886): 57-58.
- <sup>272</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 44 (November 3 [15] 1889): 540.
- <sup>273</sup> "Letter from Sniatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 46 (February 17 [5] 1888): 46.
- <sup>274</sup> "Letter from Kalush (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 39 (September 30 [October 12] 1889): 473-474.
- <sup>275</sup> "Letter from Mostyska (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 1 (January 5 [December 24] 1886): 3-4.

- <sup>276</sup> "Letter from Rohatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 7 (February 29 [7] 1886): 40-41.
- <sup>277</sup> "Letter from Stryi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 13 (April 1 [March 20] 1887): 75.
- <sup>278</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 44 (November 3 [15] 1889): 540.
- <sup>279</sup> "Letter from Chortkiv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 41 (October 13 [25] 1889): 500.
- <sup>280</sup> "Letter from Sokal (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 17 (April 29 [17] 1887): 100.
- <sup>281</sup> "Letter from the editor," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 20 (May 19 [31] 1889): 256-258.
- <sup>282</sup> "Letter from the editor," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 13 (March 30 [18] 1888): 77.
- <sup>283</sup> "Letter from Horodenka (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 20 (March 30 [18] 1889): 82.
- <sup>284</sup> Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism" 114.
- <sup>285</sup> Himka, Galician Villagers 159.
- <sup>286</sup> "Letter from Terebovlia (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 2 (January 14 [26] 1889): 18-20.
- <sup>287</sup> "Letter from Skalat (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 1 (January 4 [December 23] 1887): 4.
- <sup>288</sup> "Letter from Sniatyn (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 50 (December 8 [20] 1888): 305-307.
- <sup>289</sup> "Letter from Stryi (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 6 (February 10 [22] 1889): 73-74.
- <sup>290</sup> "Letter from the editor," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 6 (February 10 [22] 1889): 74.
- <sup>291</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 44 (November 3 [15] 1889): 540.
- <sup>292</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 7 (February 19 [7] 1886): 40-41.
- <sup>293</sup> "Letter from Mostyska (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 8, no. 5 (February 5 [January 24] 1886): 29.
- <sup>294</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 11 (March 19 [29] 1889): 140-141.
- <sup>295</sup> "Letter from Stanyslaviv (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 42 (October 21 [9] 1887): 250-251.
- <sup>296</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 11 (March 16 [4] 1888): 68-69.
- <sup>297</sup> "Letter from the village of Hlyniany (district unknown)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 11 (March 19 [29] 1889): 138-140.
- <sup>298</sup> "Letter from the village," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 51 (December 23 [11] 1887): 306.
- <sup>299</sup> "Letter from Rudky (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 29 (June 17 [5] 1887): 142.
- <sup>300</sup> "Letter from Rudky (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 37 (September 16 [4] 1887): 221-222.
- <sup>301</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 34 (August 26 [14] 1887): 202-203.
- <sup>302</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 44 (November 3 [15] 1889): 540.
- <sup>303</sup> "Letter from Sokal (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 22 (June 2 [14] 1889): 279-280.
- <sup>304</sup> "Letter from Terebovlia (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 2 (January 14 [26] 1889): 18-20.
- <sup>305</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 50 (December 16 [4] 1887): 298-299.
- <sup>306</sup> "Letter from the village of Ivanivka (district unknown)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 52 (December 30 [18] 1887): 311.
- <sup>307</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 11 (March 16 [4] 1888): 68-69.
- <sup>308</sup> "Letter from Zhovkva (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 9, no. 14 (April 6 [March 25] 1888): 85-86.
- <sup>309</sup> "Letter from Ternopil (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, nos. 46/47 (November 24 [December 6] 1889): 566-568.
- <sup>310</sup> "Letter from Rudky (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 11, no. 53 (December 30 [January 11] 1888/18889): 322-323.
- <sup>311</sup> "Letter from Bohorodchany (district)," *Batkivshchyna* 10, no. 5 (February 3 [January 22] 1888): 43.

## CHAPTER FOUR

Correspondents to the Ukrainian populist press operated on the notion that they possessed the legitimate right to diagnose the ailments of the Ukrainian nation, and provide the necessary prescription for recovery. If this meant exposing the dark side of Ukrainian politics and culture, and damaging a few reputations, it was an unfortunate, though necessary sacrifice which correspondents were willing to make. It would not even be presumptuous to suggest that some correspondents deliberately exaggerated the image of the dark, simple, drunk, selfish Ukrainian peasant. However, such a negative stereotype was deemed necessary if the populist movement hoped to achieve great success among even the most backward of village societies .

The shameful exposés which appear in *Batkivshchyna*, provided a rude awakening for many individuals and communities. As the press indicates, pride was wounded in this process, as competition between villages and even entire regions was fierce. Yet, on the other hand, the glowing examples of those who espoused modernist, nationalist tendencies, provided incentive for reform. It is for this reason that an entire section entitled “innovation” is dedicated to the many letters of correspondents to *Batkivshchyna* which intended to praise and inspire the Ukrainian peasantry of Eastern Galicia. Therefore, the overall picture was hardly bleak, and the central message of the correspondents resonates with great clarity: the Ukrainian peasantry, in spite of its various shortcomings, was well on the road to achieving modernity and Ukrainian national identity.

### Peasants into Frenchmen

In their quest for modernity and national identity Ukrainians in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia were hardly a unique example unto themselves. In fact, when one considers the French example, a number of important parallels exist between the experiences of the French peasantry in France and Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia. Naturally, at the same time there do exist certain fundamental differences between the

French and Eastern Galician Ukrainian experiences; the French peasant did not encounter the challenge of attaining modernity and national identity as a conquered people. Still, as Eugen Weber's highly acclaimed study *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* illustrates, the movement to overcome the pre-modern peasant psychology in order to achieve enlightenment, status, prosperity and a shared identity, was as alive in France as it was among the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia. The example of the modernization and nationalization of the French peasantry also demonstrates that Ukrainians, in terms of timeliness and approach, were aspiring to keep pace with other European nationalities, which, unlike the Ukrainians, had the backing of their respective states; a vital reality which has too frequently been overlooked.

As with the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, the movement to modernize and nationalize the French peasantry began as an initiative from the top. It was expediently embraced and promoted by peasants indoctrinated into the populist movement. This is not to say that the French Revolution did have a strong impact on the French peasantry. As Weber observes: "About the only historical event that served as a chronological milestone for all French people of the fin-de-siecle was the Revolution, the great dividing point that separated the present from the past....Stories often begin with reference to a time when things were utterly different from the present; the Revolution sets the limits of that time."<sup>312</sup> However, as Weber argues, the effects of this cataclysmic event, were not necessarily as immediate, nor as extensive as many have assumed; "...over great parts of France the process of politicization was slower than we think...though many regions did indeed move at the pace historians indicate, others took more time."<sup>313</sup>

Weber credits various forces of modernization (education, industry, communication) for the nationalization of the French peasantry. Anthony Smith, in his study on the ethnic origins of nations, agrees with Weber: "Eugen Weber's study of French political and social development in this period [the late nineteenth century] shows how it was only with the growth of mass conscription and mass education that most

Frenchmen came to feel their 'Frenchness' and began to place loyalty to the state—or rather the nation-state—above their various local and regional allegiances."<sup>314</sup> It must be emphasized that despite his emphasis on the role of the state in the modernization and nationalization of the French peasantry, Weber does not portray the peasantry as a passive victim of state intervention. As Weber illustrates, the French peasantry was very much in control of their destiny. For while initially the modernization of French society received the most support from the state itself, the peasantry also became a willing participant in this process, once the benefits of modernity became apparent to them.

Initially, members of the French elite and intelligentsia were extremely critical of the French peasant. For example, having observed the local population, an officer wrote in the 1860s that the peasant was 'ignorant, full of prejudices.' As Weber observes such opinions were common among those who aimed for drastic over all reform: "Ignorance, apathy, slackness, sloth, inertia, a brutal grasping, dissembling, and hypocritical nature, are variously attributed to malice, poverty, and undernourishment...[in the eyes of his critics] the peasant did not reason; he was selfish and superstitious. He was insensitive to beauty, indifferent to his surrounding. He was envious and detested anyone who tried to better himself."<sup>315</sup> Thus, in the effort to reform the peasantry its critics recommended "...manners, morals, literacy, a knowledge of French, and of France, a sense of the legal and institutional structure beyond their immediate community."<sup>316</sup> On the other hand, as Weber writes, the peasants were beginning to see their critics as justified: "The peasant was ashamed to be a peasant; he was ashamed to be uncivilized; he agreed with his judges that there was something valuable and vastly superior that he lacked, that French civilization, and notably anything from Paris was clearly superior and clearly desirable...."<sup>317</sup>

As Weber's study indicates, some of the major obstacles on the road to the modernization and nationalization of the French peasantry included unfamiliarity with the money economy, deep-rooted superstition, insobriety, ignorance, isolation, illiteracy, and political immaturity. Like the Ukrainians, members of the French peasantry had been

accustomed to a feudal economy (labour in kind). The penetration of the money economy into rural France in the late nineteenth century, overwhelmed the peasantry; landowners initially experienced great difficulty convincing the peasants to accept payment in cash. However, as the usage of currency prevailed peasants found themselves at a clear disadvantage. From time immemorial, agriculture had simply been a way of life, and not a profit-making enterprise.<sup>318</sup> It was not that peasants did not work hard: "Peasants in Upper Quercy began work at dawn, ended late at night, [and] often went to work their own plot by moonlight after having worked another's land by day."<sup>319</sup> The real obstacles facing the French peasantry at the dawn of the modernization of France were poverty and an unfamiliarity with financial management. Many peasants turned to money-lenders and came to resent these representatives of the money economy: "Usuries, notaries, the village bloodsuckers Balzac has painted, were part of a landscape all peasants knew well."<sup>320</sup> As the lending increased, hostility towards the Jews in the rural areas also increased towards those money-handlers who were Jewish.<sup>321</sup> Without the know-how, the French peasantry could not play an active part in the new economy. Only enlightenment could hope to revolutionize French peasant society and bring progress and prosperity to its members.

The belief in the supernatural is a strong component of pre-modern peasant culture, which in fact outlived its modernist opponents and thrives in many forms to this very day(although arguably to a lesser degree, or perhaps less openly). Nineteenth century critics of the French peasantry criticize their strong belief in witches, demons, spirits, and chosen people, such as priests who, they alleged, could cast charms on storms and defy hail. Such beliefs were countered by the emergence of modern thought: "Modern thought isolated and segregated objects and beings....A linear vision of space and time replaced the maze of privileged places (trees, rocks, springs) and moments (solstice or All-Saints) that concentrated in themselves the very forces of life....Experience now taught, and school taught too, that magic specificity and totalism was misleading. They would be replaced by abstractions far, far removed from limited everyday experience. But only when everyday

experience ceased to be so limited."<sup>322</sup> Weber's observations on the nature of modern thought are completely in line with Anderson's theory on the transformation of the pre-modern apprehension of time from a past and future in an instantaneous present, to a linear perception.

Other criticisms voiced about the French peasantry during the latter part of the nineteenth century by their intelligentsia concerned their treatment of the sick and dying, their love for feasting, drinking and partying, and their attitude that pre-marital pregnancy was a indication of fruitfulness.<sup>323</sup> Such customs were perceived by critics to interfere with work and progress, however as Weber observes, the old way of life was difficult to abandon: "Civilization meant measure, limits; but prenatal wilderness kept breaking through."<sup>324</sup> However through enlightenment, literacy, evidence of the benefits of progress, and a decline in fatalism, many 'undesirable' customs and attitudes became less prevalent or disappeared altogether.

In order to conquer the ignorance, isolation and illiteracy of the French peasantry, certain innovations and developments had to occur from within the village community, while others had to be introduced at the national level. One important improvement which broke village isolation, was the construction of better roads and roads that led to rail centres. This new mobility transformed peasant society, for prior to the improvement of roads, many peasants had never went as far as the next village. By venturing out into the world, that is, experiencing other parts of France, French peasants began to recognize the similar culture, language, and experience they shared with one another. This realization began to forge a sense of national identity. Access to the outside world, through improved transportation and communication, also provided economic opportunities and delivered modern techniques and tools from the larger cities to the surrounding countryside. Better roads together with an improved postal service also solidified national identity by providing a link between village notables and the outside world, through delivery of the periodical press.<sup>325</sup>

Standardization of the French language was also a vital component in the process of the modernization and nationalization of the French peasantry. The state, schools, books and newspapers promoted and delivered one French language to the peasantry, and also aided in the battle against ignorance and illiteracy. The introduction of free and compulsory schools in the 1880s brought national education to the youth, and print material to their parents. Reading rooms and libraries also filled an important educational purpose for adults. Although many older peasants would remain illiterate, a significant portion benefited from such innovations as 'saving societies' for collective subscriptions to newspapers, as well as the practice of reading aloud from the press at the *veillée* (winter evening gatherings).<sup>326</sup>

In order for the French peasantry to feel connected to the larger nation, it had to perceive the relevancy of national issues. Initially, most peasants simply could not relate to such abstract ideas as international trade and educational policy. Nor did they understand the significance of competing political views and agendas. If the benefits of political participation were not immediate and tangible, then they were of little consequence to them: "...selling one's vote or giving in to one's master was seen as the trade of an empty right for concrete advantage."<sup>327</sup> The bigger picture had to be brought home, and this task was initially accepted by members of the village intelligentsia such as mayors, teachers, priest, and merchants; persons who often possessed the benefits of literacy and education, and could articulate their experience with the outside world. The press was also a very important tool in this process: "Newspapers established a unanimity of readership in which regional peculiarities no longer counted. As with the schools, as with politics, the press advanced both the process of homogenization and the level of abstract thought."<sup>328</sup> Additional factors also aided in the political education of the French peasantry; "...clubs, appeals, speeches...and broadsheets, propaganda of every sort, news eagerly awaited and discussed with passion by groups once oblivious to anything but their immediate world..."<sup>329</sup> Yet while many forces were at work which transformed the life of the average peasant, it would be completely inaccurate to suggest that peasants were merely pliable objects to be molded



according to the will of the intelligentsia and the state (or cause of the state) they served. Peasants longed for a better life for their children, and it is thus through their own aspirations together with the influence of such forces as education, industrialization, and communication, that peasants began to perceive the importance of enlightenment and how the consequences of their actions operated on both a local and national level. Consequently they began to call for laws on taxes, credit, protection and health insurance, and to observe holidays which celebrated national accomplishments. In doing so, French peasants exhibited a sense of individual responsibility to the imagined community of nation; the peasants had evolved into Frenchmen.

In the late nineteenth century, the French peasantry underwent a process of modernization and nationalization. The French experience illustrates that the problems and challenges Ukrainians faced and their methods of overcoming such seemingly insurmountable obstacles, were hardly unique unto themselves. Members of the Ukrainian and French peasant societies were all a part of a greater process sweeping Europe; one which forged modernity and national identity. It is also important to recognize that this process, once unleashed, was transported to other parts of the world through the emigration of people and the exchange of ideas. As Helen Taft Manning in *The Revolt of French Canada 1800-1835* illustrates, the Canadiens of early nineteenth Lower Canada, although loyal British subjects, also began to express a distinct national identity.

### **French Canada and *Le Canadien*.**

Initially, members of the Canadien intelligentsia (especially those members of the popular party) experienced difficulty indoctrinating the peasantry into the populist movement. The Canadiens were disadvantaged by their lack of modernity, illiteracy, and an education system which had experienced great decline after the Catholic church in French Canada had come under English rule: "The greatest shortcoming of the church under English rule, as viewed by the bishop and his close advisers, was that those parish schools

...[by 1750] had declined almost to the point of disappearance.”<sup>330</sup> As Taft Manning observes, the attempt on the part of the British government to rectify the situation proved rather ineffective: “The British government was not without qualms of conscience on the subject, but the steps taken were unfortunately partisan in character and were totally ineffective.”<sup>331</sup> A conquered people like the Ukrainians, the Canadien peasantry also encountered discrimination and the frustrations of extreme electoral corruption, involving agitation, deception and bribery from politicians from both the English and French camps.

The following is a description of the 1817 election in Lower Town Quebec:

John MacCallum was a distiller and manufacturer who had plenty of money to spend and no scruples about the observance of the provincial statutes against bribery and ‘treating’. Carriages to bring in voters were provided, more than there was any need for; beer flowed freely, bread and cheese were handed out. Thomas Lee, on the other hand, a French notary, who had his own political machine, chiefly in the form of bands of hired ruffians—described in both languages as ‘bullies’—who seized the polling booth and prevented the MacCallum voters from voting.<sup>332</sup>

That which would most effectively attract the masses into the nationalist movement is the display of compassion and understanding from the populist leaders. Sir James Craig, the Governor of Lower Canada from 1807-1811, underestimated the potential power these leaders could exert on the masses. Craig even insinuated that they did not really understand the mentality of the habitant (peasant), and consequently would not be able to build a reliable political organization:

If this was his belief he was totally mistaken for the achievement of the early leaders, next in importance to their mastery of parliamentary techniques, lay in making their organization penetrate into the country parishes, and in convincing the habitants that the popular party in the assembly had their true interests at heart and that they could safely vote against governmental candidates.<sup>333</sup>

Clearly, the Governor himself was out of touch with the political reality in Lower Canada. He also underestimated the potential of the peasantry which he described as "...immersed in Ignorance and Superstition."<sup>334</sup>

In order to gather the support of the Canadien peasantry, instill them with more aggressive patriotism, and educate them on their constitutional rights, in 1806 a French journal, *Le Canadien* was founded.<sup>335</sup> Another major purpose of the journal was to refute the calumnies of the Quebec *Mercury*. As the official political organ of British merchants, the Quebec *Mercury*, among other things, attempted to cast doubt on the loyalty of the Canadiens to the British Crown, and accused them of having a preference for Napoleon. On the other hand, the correspondents and editors of *Le Canadien*, through the use of veiled language, accused the British merchants involved in the North West Company of being pro-American in sentiment.<sup>336</sup> Above all else, the new journal aspired to teach the Canadiens to respect that which provided a link to their past, this being their culture and history, but encouraged them to firmly embrace the benefits of modernity: "...the really great work of the new journal was not in teaching the Canadians to admire their own way of life, but in instructing them patiently in the use of the new weapons available for its defense."<sup>337</sup>

The brains behind the endeavour to educate the Canadiens on how to recognize and protect their rights was Pierre Bédard, for it was Bédard who guided the strategy of the popular party in the assembly. Bédard was convinced that the Canadien members of the assembly required a thorough knowledge of the underlying principles of the English constitution, especially those precedents in the history of the British Empire which would strengthen the assembly's claim to a control over the government.<sup>338</sup> Governor Craig, who Taft Manning describes as an 'autocrat,' unleashed a 'reign of terror' on members of the popular party. In 1808 he dismissed all proprietors of the *Le Canadien* from their post in the militia and any other jobs they held under the government. Bédard, as an editor of *Le Canadien*, together with other members of the assembly responded with a campaign to remove two members of the assembly, one of whom was a Canadien judge who was viewed

as an agent of the British. An attempt was made to pass a bill disqualifying judges from participation in the assembly. Governor Craig intervened and dissolved the assembly.

Driven by the firm belief that the Canadiens were stepping out of line, Craig went after the paper of the popular party, the *Le Canadien*, accusing its main proprietors and contributors of treason for printing a verse inviting the populace to tweak the noses of the 'gens en place.'<sup>339</sup> Agents of the government raided the press office, seized the printer and imprisoned three of its main associates, including Bédard. The popular members of the assembly responded with an intent to pass a resolution condemning Craig for Bédard's unjust imprisonment (he was never brought to trial). However, overcome by fear of further arrests, concern for Bédard's health, and the desire to appear effective in the eyes of their constituents, the members backed down. Soon after, Bédard was released and Craig returned to England validated in the eyes of the British government. However Craig's oppressive measures, as Taft Manning observes, did not destroy the seedlings of French Canadian nationalism.<sup>340</sup> The Canadiens were coming more assertive of their constitutional rights and the revolt of French Canada was beginning to take form.

The French examples, both at home and in the emigration bear a striking resemblance to the Ukrainian experience in Eastern Galicia during the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, it should be emphasized that the Canadiens did not receive the influence to modernize from the French revolution (as they no longer possessed a nobility from which such ideas could have been potentially passed down) but in fact, turned to the British example for their source of inspiration. Taft Manning's study of the Canadiens also illustrates the important role of the populist press as a modernizing and nationalizing tool among the Canadiens of French Canada in the face of oppression. Such comparative studies support the argument that the criticisms and recommendations of the populist writers were compatible with those of the populist intelligentsia of other nations. In other words, the views of the Ukrainian populists were representative of the modernizing trend which dominated late nineteenth century discourse. The French and Canadien examples also

illustrate that those efforts which the Ukrainian populist intelligentsia was prescribing and the Ukrainian peasantry was actively pursuing, were virtually identical to those of other societies engaged in the second phase of nationalization (the organizational stage). Finally the observation should be made that virtually all peasant societies in the nineteenth century shared a common plight. The peasantry represented the poorest, least educated and most downtrodden component of European nations, however their desire to raise their status through the achievement of modernity and national consciousness was as profound as the centuries of oppression they had endured.

### **Ukrainian Identity in the Diaspora prior to 1925**

Another important consideration which warrants examination is whether the populist movement among the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, which was governed by the principles of modernity and Ukrainian national identity, had a lasting impact on the Ukrainian peasantry. When one considers the successful progression of this movement in lands where Eastern Galician Ukrainians emigrated to, such as Canada and Brazil, the response is clearly in the affirmative. Whether in the jungles of Brazil, or on the harsh, open prairie of Canada, Ukrainian immigrants wasted no time setting up the cultural, political and religious institutions which either in principle or in reality, had been initiated back in the 'old country.'

In this study of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, Jaroslav Petryshyn writes: "Ukrainian immigrants in the period to 1905 were preoccupied with the quest for economic stability, but the adjustment and establishment of basic Ukrainian institutions was also a primary concern. Immigrants need the security offered by familiar institutions to counteract the trauma of dealing with the foreign social organization of the new land." One obstacle Ukrainians encountered in Canada was a shortage of priests. Still many Ukrainian communities in Canada managed to honour and preserve their culture and traditions: "On Sundays, early in the morning, everyone hurried off to church,' and then, led by a cantor,

they sang the customary parts of the Mass. Carolers roamed the countryside at Christmas, and Easter was celebrated with all the traditions.”<sup>341</sup>

The absence of a Ukrainian clergy in Canada was also potentially problematic in the sense that Ukrainians back in Eastern Galicia had relied heavily on these members of the intelligentsia, for cultural and political leadership. Consequently, Ukrainian peasant-immigrants from Eastern Galicia were in many respects, forced to assume the initial leadership of the Ukrainian national movement in Canada. Eventually, the pioneer settlers, together with the clergy from both the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Canada, would work together to maintain and enhance the institutional framework of Ukrainian national identity on the Canadian prairies. By 1925 there were about 250 cultural/educational organizations in Canada (Prosvita societies, reading clubs, and community centers). To fulfill the needs of rural Ukrainian Canadian school in Manitoba a Ruthenian Training School was established in 1907. As Subtelny observes the schools produced members for the secular component of Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia: “Well-versed in both English and Ukrainian, its graduates formed a core of secular, educated community leaders.”<sup>342</sup> Subsequent waves of immigration would breath new life into the movement, through ideas and institutions also transported from the homeland.

Ukrainian national identity and modernity also continued to increase and thrive among Ukrainians who began emigrating to Brazil in 1891. Petro Karmanskyi, an emissary from the Western Ukrainian National Republic, first arrived in Brazil in 1919. These are some of the observations he recorded in this diary: “Little houses are located on even clearing in the middle of the forest-in disorder and disarray....A wonderful new pavilion, the monastery of the Basilian Fathers, is located on the hill abreast of which stands our Ukrainian church, flanked with palms, and a nice National Home with the trident symbol....Elections for their political leader were held on the very day of my arrival with their candidate winning by a majority of 170 votes...[despite the display of rowdy mirth] I was nonetheless, touched by their national consciousness and how much concern and value

they placed in their own issues....Their children and grandchildren, also dressed in traditional Galician clothing, play on the wide streets, speaking Ukrainian, reading from the prayer books in church and growing up to be Ukrainians themselves.”<sup>343</sup>

### **The Ukrainian National Movement in Eastern Galicia 1890-1920**

That Ukrainians in the Diaspora were able to retain and promote Ukrainian national identity and its various institutions, is certainly a strong indication of the success of the populist movement in Eastern Galicia prior to 1890 in the modernization and nationalization of Ukrainians. For those who remained in Eastern Galicia, Ukrainian national identity spread and grew stronger. Already in 1885, the populists had made a formal break with the conservative *Ruska Rada* by founding their own political organization, the *Narodna Rada*. Led by such prominent populists as the founder and frequent editor of *Batkivshchyna*, Yulian Romanchuk, the group called for the division of Galician into two parts: Ukrainian in the east, with its own self-government, and Polish in the west. The movement became even more advanced when a group of new leaders joined the populist movement, including the Kyivan historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi.

The environment in Eastern Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire was quite conducive to political work and national growth, in comparison to the highly repressive conditions in Dnipro Ukraine under the intolerant Russian autocracy. Consequently, as the turn of the century neared, the local Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia thrived and moved to the forefront of the general Ukrainian national movement. Populist leaders began to regard Eastern Galicia as the “Piedmont” upon which would emerge a reunified Ukrainian state. Hrushevskyi later made the following observation:

Struggle and competition kept the national spirit alive in Galicia in the 1890s and the 1900's. The national and political self-consciousness which had been aroused originally by a handful of people now permeated the whole population; the people learned how to safeguard their rights and came to appreciate the value of organization and their own strength. The new movement differed from the policy of 1848 because the people did not wait and hope that the government would do something for them; they learned to build up their own future, to rely on their own resources, and to go forward regardless of what their enemies said about them: they learned to be self-reliant. All that the Ukrainians gained during the last decade before the World War they won by means of organization and a struggle against the Polish rulers. The Poles, with the Austrian government supporting them and the political control of Galicia and ownership of the large landed estates in their hands, utilized these resources against Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia, but could not stop the forward march of the Ukrainian masses.<sup>344</sup>

Subtelny and other historians have referred to Eastern Galicia as a 'bastion of Ukrainianism.' As the quote from Hrushevskyi indicates, within this bastion of Ukrainianism, modernity and national identity continued to develop as Ukrainian peasants in Eastern Galicia came to view themselves as part of a struggle for independence.

Numerous examples which attest to the lasting impact of the Ukrainian populist movement itself, can be cited. First of all, by 1914 the Prosvita society had 77 regional branches, nearly 3000 reading clubs and libraries, over 36,000 members in its Lviv branch, and around 200,000 members in the village reading clubs. Village youth were also organized in gymnastic and firefighting societies called *Sokal* and *Sich*, established in 1894. By 1914 these youth societies, which encouraged discipline, cooperation, patriotism, and education, numbered 974 local branches with over 33,000 members. In terms of the cooperative movement, many other cooperatives followed the positive example of the *Narodna torhivlia*. In 1899 the *Silskyi Hospodar* was founded to teach peasants modern farming methods; by 1913 it had attracted over 32,000 members. The most numerous of



cooperatives were the credit unions, which, although first appearing in 1873, did not achieve great success until 1894, with the establishment of *Vira* union. In 1895 a Ukrainian insurance company, Dniester, was established in Lviv. By 1907, its policyholders numbered at 213,000.<sup>345</sup> It should be mentioned that although the populist movement was not the only movement active in the pursuit of the education and betterment of the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia, its impact, particularly through its close ties with Prosvita, was most profound.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Eastern Galicia campaigned intensively for a Ukrainian university in Lviv. What they ended up with was a mere gesture in the form of an additional Ukrainian professorship at Lviv University. The successful candidate for this post was Mykhailo Hrushevskiy. The intellectual and political impact Hrushevskiy would have on the Ukrainian national movement almost defies description. Aside from writing his monumental *History of Ukraine-Rus*, and reorganizing the Shevchenko Society into an academy of arts and science under the name of the "Shevchenko Scientific Society," Hrushevskiy through his strength of reputation and ties with Dnipro Ukraine, forged a link between the Ukrainian national movements operating in both the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

In the two decades prior to the Great War, Ukrainian and Polish ethnic tensions reached extremely high levels. Students at the Lviv University were known to beat one another in the lecture halls with clubs. Class tensions were superseded by ethnic tensions, and in this climate members of the Ukrainian and Polish intelligentsia succeeded in diminishing any solidarity which had previously existed between the Polish and Ukrainian peasantry. However, the strong display of national unity among the various Ukrainian parties drew the most peasant support. The Ukrainian parties in Eastern Galicia in an effort to appeal to the largest segment of the population, adopted a more modern tone and worked towards greater cooperation. Given that they were all focused on the cause of a united, independent Ukrainian nation, this did not prove to be a difficult task.<sup>346</sup>

The First World War would place Ukrainians under the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires on opposite ends of the battlefield. However, the terror and destruction which accompanied the war, and the brutality inflicted upon all Ukrainians by both empires, left many Ukrainians hostile to political fate of their oppressors. Instead, their focus remained specifically on their plight as a stateless nation. Perceiving an opportunity, Ukrainian nationalists took advantage of the political instability which war between the empires rendered. As Ukrainian ethnic territory was shuffled between the two empires, Ukrainians managed to secure temporary independence for Ukraine. With the collapse of the tsarist regime in 1917, Ukrainians of all ideological persuasions united in a single representative body in Kiev, the Central Rada. Nine hundred delegates from all over Ukraine, met and elected 150 delegates to Rada, and reaffirmed Hrushevsky as its president (he had been elected by the parties in advance). This representative body declared independence and attempted to secure the German protection, however in April of 1918, the Rada was disbanded by the Germans and replaced with a conservative Ukrainian government headed by Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi.

The relations of the new Hetmanate government with other Ukrainian political parties, as well as the masses, were extremely poor. Consequently, in November the Ukrainian opposition led by Vynnychenko and Petliura, formed an insurrectionary government, overthrew Skoropadskyi and shortly after, announced the re-establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. Meanwhile in West, well before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were preparing for an independent Ukrainian state. However, their efforts towards this aim differed extremely from Eastern Ukrainians. Most of all, unlike in their Eastern counterparts, Ukrainians in the West were undaunted by the dilemma of socialism, and remained entirely focused on their national goals and their conflict with the Poles over Eastern Galician territory.<sup>347</sup> As the collapse of Austria became eminent, on 18 October 1918 parliamentarians, party leaders and church hierarchs from both Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna came together to form a Ukrainian

National Council. At this time the Council articulated its desire to unite all Western Ukrainian lands. However, at the same time the Poles were also preparing to take over Lviv and the rest of Eastern Galicia. In an effort to speed up the process a group of Ukrainian officers quickly gathered as many Ukrainian soldiers serving in the Austrian units in the vicinity of Lviv as they could, and by the morning of 1 November, the city was adorned with Ukrainian flags, and all the major offices were under Ukrainian control. The response of the Ukrainian population was ecstatic. On 9 November all the parties came to agreement and formed a government, and four days later the new state of the West Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) was formally declared.<sup>348</sup> On 22 January, 1919 East and West united through the joining of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) with the newly formed West Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR), "...a union that the Ukrainian intelligentsia, in both east and west, had dreamed of for generations."<sup>349</sup>

The dream of an independent and united Ukraine was rather short-lived. On 5 February the Bolsheviks marched into Kiev, and by mid-July the Poles had occupied almost all of Eastern Galicia. The Galician army in its quest for statehood, crossed over to Eastern Ukraine to assist the Directory of the UNR in their war against the Bolsheviks. However, the war was ending, and as the Entente considered the borders of Eastern Europe, Ukrainian aspirations were entirely ignored. Once again Ukraine would remain fractured and denied the right to statehood, with the East under the Soviet Union (1921), and the West, Bukovyna under Romania, Carpatho-Rus under Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Galicia and Volynia under the Poles (1919, but not officially until 1923).

The reasons behind the Ukraine's failure to maintain independence are so complex and numerous that they require another study altogether. However, for the purpose of this study of the modernization and nationalization of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia several important observations can be made. First of all, when one considers the many accomplishments of the Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia through to the end of the Great War, it becomes quite apparent the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were

becoming more modern and nationally conscious with the passage of time. This observation corresponds to the image projected by the Ukrainian populist newspaper *Batkivshchyna*, of a peasantry striving for modernity and national self-determination. When one considers the status of the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galician prior to 1848, the efforts recorded by the populist correspondents are rather astounding. Certainly there were serious problems and struggles within village communities which were detrimental to the cause of the Ukrainian national movement. Yet even the negative correspondence does not overshadow the positive, for despite the numerous references by correspondents to the backwardness and corruption of some Ukrainian peasants, the message of innovation shines through.

### Notes

<sup>312</sup> Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914 (Stanford University Press, 1976) 109.

<sup>313</sup> Weber 242.

<sup>314</sup> Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) 134.

<sup>315</sup> Weber 6.

<sup>316</sup> Weber 5.

<sup>317</sup> Weber 7.

<sup>318</sup> Weber 99.

<sup>319</sup> Weber 14.

<sup>320</sup> Weber 37.

<sup>321</sup> Weber, 39.

<sup>322</sup> Weber 29.

<sup>323</sup> Weber 175, 177, 368.

<sup>324</sup> Weber 386.

<sup>325</sup> Weber 219.

<sup>326</sup> Weber 452, 468.

<sup>327</sup> Weber 265.

<sup>328</sup> Weber 469.

<sup>329</sup> Weber 98.

<sup>330</sup> Helen Taft Manning, The Revolt of French Canada 1800-1835: A Chapter in the History of the British Commonwealth (Toronto: Macmillan, 1962) 18.

<sup>331</sup> Taft Manning 19.

<sup>332</sup> Taft Manning 50.

<sup>333</sup> Taft Manning 57.

<sup>334</sup> Taft Manning 55.

<sup>335</sup> Taft Manning 61.

<sup>336</sup> Taft Manning 62.

<sup>337</sup> Taft Manning 64.

<sup>338</sup> Taft Manning 64.

<sup>139</sup> Taft Manning 88.

<sup>140</sup> Taft Manning 94.

<sup>141</sup> Jaroslav Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians 1891-1914 (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985) 131.

<sup>142</sup> Subtelny 550.

<sup>143</sup> Picknicki Morski 56.

<sup>144</sup> Mykhailo Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, ed. O. J. Frederiksen (Archon Books, 1970) 509.

<sup>145</sup> Subtelny 324-325.

<sup>146</sup> Subtelny 327.

<sup>147</sup> Subtelny 367.

<sup>148</sup> Subtelny 367-368.

<sup>149</sup> Subtelny 362

## CONCLUSION

National identity in late nineteenth century Europe was comprised of many elements. It was acknowledgment and pride in one's cultural and historical legacy. It was respect, loyalty and accountability to all members of one's nation: past, present and future. Finally, it was based on a willingness to change and strive for the good of the whole, embracing all that which equated progress, enlightenment and modernity. Finally, the nationalism of late nineteenth century Europe acted as a liberating force which inspired societies of oppressed peoples to articulate and often manifest their will for national self-determination; a dream which had never before seemed so attainable. Advancements in science, technology and communication, and improved standards in education added further fuel to the great optimism of the late nineteenth century which was embodied in the notion that nothing was impossible and the future had never looked brighter. Ukrainians in late nineteenth century Eastern Galicia were also inspired by the optimism of the period and the promise of a better future. The 1886-1889 correspondence to the Ukrainian populist press illustrates that Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were on the road to attaining modernity and Ukrainian national consciousness. The historical record supports this claim.

Over the centuries Ukrainians had suffered countless encroachments on their desire for cultural and political independence. The lowest point for Ukrainians would be the period of serfdom which left Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia (as well as those Ukrainians living under the Russian empire) economically and culturally impoverished. What they did manage to retain during centuries of hardship, was a sense of proto-national identity embodied in the knowledge of their language, culture, and certain aspects of their history, often passed down through the oral tradition. However, the end to their bondage was in sight; European society was on the cusp of great change. The role of the churches was being transformed, the authority of monarchs was diminishing, and the entire notion of time was revolutionized by this thrust of change. Through a series of important Austrian reforms,

the most monumental of which, were the emancipation of the serfs and the introduction of constitutional government, the Ukrainian peasantry was finally equipped with some of the tools necessary to carve out a better existence. However, reforms without enforcement were not enough, especially when certain constitutional guarantees, such as the right to Ukrainian education, only existed on paper. Ukrainians would have to have political powers. At the same time it was not enough that the populist intelligentsia encouraged the modernization and nationalization of the Ukrainian peasantry. The peasantry would have to embrace modernity and Ukrainian national identity by their own volition.

Until 1848, the vast majority of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia had been serfs. Over the next four decades they would be overwhelmed by numerous developments; constitutional government, compulsory education, the elimination of servitudes, and the penetration of the money economy. However, one of the most important developments was the rise in national consciousness among the expanding Ukrainian intelligentsia of priests, cantors, teachers, and other individuals who had received the benefits of a proper education. Through the persistence and encouragement of the intelligentsia, some peasants would soon join the ranks of the populist intelligentsia in Eastern Galicia. Many of them would lovingly take on the task of pointing out the shortcomings of their peers. The most conducive forum for these lectures, was the pages of the populist press, a favorite among which was *Batkvishchyna*. Addressing the themes of political responsibility, education, culture and innovation, correspondents criticize the undesirable, and praise the progressive.

When examining the theme of political responsibility in the populist press it is possible to witness bitter rivalry and discord at the village level. The village correspondents address the relevance of solid leadership, and castigate all those in government who dare to break the trust of their people. The correspondents also introduce the reader to the wicked 'Mykyta Pig.' who, in reality was probably (though not always) some confused peasant who could not yet separate immediate benefits —a drink, or a sausage— from the long-term; the respect and gratitude of one's peers and potential for reform at the provincial level.

Still, in the eyes of the correspondent, the Mykytas of Eastern Galicia had to mend their ways for the sake of the whole, or risk exposure in a newspaper that reached villages in probably every district in Eastern Galicia. That threats of damage to one's reputation could be employed to effectively intimidate 'traitors,' indicates that peasants did in fact perceive a connection with other members of the nation. However, not everyone was a 'Mykyta Pig.' The correspondents provide vivid examples of acts of loyalty on the part of peasants and efforts towards political victory in the face of extreme electoral corruption, agitation and bribery. Overall, the image the correspondents paints is somewhat bleak, but far from hopeless. As effective reporters, it was the job of correspondents to overemphasise any disloyalty on the part of Ukrainians, so to make such acts appear all the more detestable and scandalous, thereby encouraging the opposite behaviour.

According to the village correspondents, a major obstacle in the path of modernity and national identity, was the refusal, on the part of certain peasants, to abandon undesirable aspects of their village culture. Superstition was regarded as a considerable problem, exhausting the time, money and intelligence of the people. What especially alarmed correspondents was the dependence of peasants on witches, hail-sorcerers, and gypsies. To correspondents, believing was once thing, but engaging in activities which one could not afford, was an entirely different issue. Expense on alcohol fell into this category. In the opinion of correspondents nothing could be more wasteful, nor more disruptive to village and family life, than frivolous, selfish expenditure on alcohol, and hours dwindled away at the tavern of the local Jew. Such habits led to disorder, and disorder impeded the progress of the entire nation. It was of the correspondent's opinion that all celebrations which, by their sheer length, encouraged excessive drinking, had to be shortened, and some which had no religious significance, entirely eliminated. This involved everything from weddings and christenings, to various kinds of initiations. However, the correspondence also indicates a preference on the part of the writers for other traditional cultural celebrations such as the commemoration of the abolition of serfdom and respectful observance of religious holidays,



poetry readings, choirs, and theatrical performances. In other words, any event which could be (preferably) conducted without the presence of alcohol, inexpensively, and above all else, which celebrated Ukrainian history, language and culture, was one worth attending and promoting. Judging from the correspondents' accounts, many Ukrainians had also come to espouse the same principle.

The correspondence which addresses the state of Ukrainian education in Eastern Galicia illustrates how concerned Ukrainian peasants were about education in general. Sirka's study on the educational system in Galicia demonstrates that education for Ukrainian children, although compulsory, was by and large unattainable and rendered undesirable by such factors as distance, and the over-emphasis (or exclusive usage) of the Polish language. The correspondence supports this observation. Yet in spite of numerous obstacles to education, Ukrainians were demonstrating great initiative, whether by fighting the district school inspector, defending the role of Ukrainian language in the village, founding a reading club, or subscribing to the press. Illiteracy was a fundamental problem among Ukrainians, however this was countered by efforts to combat ignorance and to spread enlightenment. When information was being dispersed throughout the village, the illiterate were not left in the dark; the practice of reading aloud from books and newspapers, kept them informed, educated, included, and often inspired to get involved in the nationalist movement. That some correspondents were illiterate (and had to dictate their letters to their children or another literate friend in the village) and yet so obviously aware of events and developments, not only within their district, but within the 'wider world,' is demonstrable proof of the benefits of reading clubs.

Reports of the village correspondents indicate that a number of important innovations were being implemented at the village level. The main reason behind the various initiatives is obvious: Ukrainian peasants in Eastern Galicia were tired of being poor and dependent on others. In the correspondence it is possible to witness a drive for progress, and an aggressive attempt on the part of Ukrainians to reclaim control of the village

economy, their land, and their self-esteem as a nation. This desire for self-sufficiency and independence is articulated in such as way: "We do not want to go to the Jew (or anyone else) to shop, borrow, or drink." In the correspondence Ukrainians express the belief that if they work together with one another, open stores, lending treasuries, community granaries, protect their property, and solicit Ukrainian businesses exclusively, the whole nation will prosper. Therefore, change is based on individual decisions to cooperate for the good of the whole. However, correspondents remind the readers that these decisions are not debatable; every Ukrainian owes it to the nation to work towards achieving modernity.

From participation in the electoral process, or reading clubs, to the support of Ukrainian stores and cooperatives, the correspondence illustrates that by 1890 the Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia had achieved great modernity and national identity since the dark days of serfdom only forty year prior. In less than half a century Ukrainian peasants were articulating and demonstrating a need for political, cultural, and economic independence. It was hardly an easy life, but Ukrainians were inspired by a romanticized past, and hope and encouragement for the future. As they pursued these aims, the correspondents to the populist press were their most loyal fans and ardent supporters.

Studies of the French and Canadien peasantry indicate that the Ukrainian peasantry of Eastern Galicia, in their effort to achieve modernity and national identity, was proceeding in the path of other nations. These examples also illustrate the important role of the press and intelligentsia in the attainment of such aspirations. On the other hand, an examination of the Ukrainian national movement in the diaspora, involving those immigrations to Canada and Brazil prior to 1914, demonstrates that the Ukrainian populist movement in Eastern Galicia prior to 1890, had a profound and lasting impact on the Ukrainian peasantry. On the prairies of Canada and in the jungles of Brazil , Ukrainian immigrants managed to quickly transplant those institutions and maintain those values, which had served as an inspiration and a life source during their former life in Eastern Galicia. Finally, history demonstrates that the original populist movement in Eastern Galicia continued to shape the aspirations

and identity of Ukrainians, so that by the end of the Great War hundred of thousands proved willing to give their lives in support of the cause of an independent Ukrainian state. and to demonstrate their unity with the millions of Ukrainians living in Dnipro Ukraine, by proclaiming East and West as one great Ukrainian nation.

**APPENDIX*****DILO: SELECTED VILLAGE CORRESPONDENCE (1887)***

Kolomyia, January 7 (19), 1887, Issue 2, VIII, p.1-2

Our community government at its December 30th meeting passed a motion to bring a petition to the Sejm some time during this session with the purpose of transforming the current school for girls from a six-class school to an eight-class secondary school. The community government pledged to provide lodging, firewood and services, but is asking the state fund to cover the higher pay of the teacher. The report on this matter was presented in a thorough and clear manner by Mr. Pidliashetskyi, who is quite knowledgeable on this matters. It is fitting to concede that overall, Mr. Pidliashetskyi most capably presented all the reports for the consideration of the council. Nevertheless, all the Ukrainians were offended by Mr. Pidliashetskyi, who despite the fact that he is a Ukrainian by birth and in spirit, does not or cannot employ his own language in public life.

Polish chauvinism made an appearance at a board meeting of the Kolomyia savings treasury. During the deliberations of the by-laws, it was said in short, that the language of the government is Polish and it is therefore only possible to vote in this language...That this financial institution does not have positive regard for the Ukrainian alphabet, despite that the fact that it holds Ukrainian money, is evident by the very fact that they recently mounted a new sign board with writing only in the Polish language. Ukrainians were completely overlooked.

A railroad has been running through the area for three months now. Our Ukrainians travel by this railroad, but still the directory or whoever does not care about us, because in Kolomyia itself, the station sign board which was put up is only in the Polish language...This deliberate omission of our language throughout the land is a very old

practice; it is as though there were no one who could make use of it. And here the local Polish newspaper *Kurjer Kolomyjski* is expressing alarming concerns that Ukrainian gymnasium in Kolomyia is being Russified because Ukrainian youth are committing the terrible crime of using Ukrainian language in conversations with their friends of Polish background. In a fundamental way the editor of this wretched provincial letter questions the board....It is as though the director could privately order the students not to use the Ukrainians language. This patriarch of falsity does not like, it seems, the general regard which the director of the local gymnasium displays [for others], but usually when one does not possess something, then he is very jealous of others who do.

Chortkiv, January 10 (22), 1887, Issue 3, p.2

Still in the month of November of last year the peasantry in Chortkiv expressed uneasiness with the new statutory labour law (regarding road and bridge repair). As I was informed, at that time a delegation from several villages near Yaholnytsia went to the Chortkiv captain Mr. Nevidomskyi, in order for him to explain the new road statute to them, and even more so for him to educate them on how to overthrow this law. The captain told the delegation that the new road statute is very suitable and better for the peasantry than that which previously existed: [all matters aside] the Kaiser [Emperor] sanctioned this statute and therefore there is no way to invalidate it.

It is clear that this information which the captain provided did not serve to enlighten the people, because not very long after the delegation from Yaholnytsia came to see me in Zvianich, to ask for advice. Having listened to them, I informed them that what the captain had said was correct...But my explanation did not satisfy the delegates. They told me, that they had decided to send the delegation to the Kaiser himself (and during this they led me to believe that they had wanted to choose me as a member of the delegation) and that they had the hope that the Kaiser would revoke the law on statutory labour. They also said that a lot of villages around Yaholnytsia had selected a day to send their own representatives to

Yaholnytsia for a conference and those in attendance would choose delegates to go to the Kaiser. To this I replied that such a delegation could hardly represent their needs. I also explained to them that when they gather with all the villages at a conference, they must inform the captain of this, because otherwise they might experience great unpleasantness. I further said that it would be best to call a public meeting of the people of the county to speak in detail about the new statutory labour law and to approve clear resolutions pertaining to this matter. The delegates left me. Just recently I was informed that in Yaholnytsia a conference was indeed held, with representatives from a number of communities, at which it was decided to send a delegation not to the Kaiser, but to the viceroy. As to what occurred beyond this—I only know from obscure reports, particularly from peasants, but from these it becomes obvious that some kind of evil spirits meddled in the affair in an attempt to deceive the poor peasantry, and in the very least, to lead them to some kind of trouble.

[He list some of those at the conference, including several lords, some of their flatterers who have moved up the social scale, and a deputy Mykolai Volianskyi who prefers to go by “Maciej”. He mostly refers to the envoy “Mr. Maciej”.] This personality in Chortkiv is very famous, because Mr. Maciej ran the elections to the Seim. So at the conference Mr. Maciej had a resolution passed that in when dealing with the issues of statutes, one must first of all, write a petition which some kind of Ukrainian lawyer will compose in Lviv, which will then be delivered by the delegates to the viceroy. The delegates from Yaholnytsia had to speak with the viceroy and present the petition to him in person. The viceroy, they say, received the peasants graciously, immediately read their petition, and responded: ‘Go back people and be at ease, your point is just, but you see that not enough villages signed this petition, therefore you must advertise it all over the county so that all the villages will send me such petitions and then I will promise to make sure the Kaiser revokes the new statutory work law.’ The delegates having returned from Lviv, advertised all over the place the details of their conversation with the viceroy. Such news is chatted and murmured

throughout the villages with every possible addition. [The correspondent thinks that this promise is totally false because the viceroy has no authority over the Kaiser, and besides this, the law was passed through a vote in the Seim.]

In view of all this, I consider it my duty to discourage Ukrainians in the region from unusual influences on our peasants, so that our people will not suffer afterward, and secondly, I must say that it would by all means be fitting to arrange a public meeting in Chortkiv, at which the statutory labour law could be examined.

(The editor) In our opinion, the new road statute, although certainly difficult, is far more fair than before, namely in that it places equal burden on the sides of the peasantry and the manor...To us it is clear that throughout the country the lords are agitating against this new statute because it places burdens on them...In this spirit it is necessary to instruct the people.

Lviv (Belz) January (12/24)1887, Issue 4, p.2

The lectures in Belz in veterinary science, which were organized at the expense of the committee of the local farmstead owners, were recently completed. The subject of the lecture was in itself the most important, and therefore it was not a surprise that very many peasants and rural teachers, even from the most outlying areas, like Tartakiv and Radekhiv, appeared in the halls of the local government office.

The lectures of Mr. Barynskyi began on the 9th of August, but due to certain unforeseen circumstances he had to depart of the second day. Mr. Tymofievych filled his place, who, although a Ukrainian by nationality, does not know how to speak a word of Ukrainian. It was not a surprise to anyone that the local middle schools produce more than a few such Ukrainians. Because of the fact that there were some peasants who were not able to comprehend such a very interesting subject, voiced in a language incomprehensible to them, they abandoned the meeting hall in the very first days of the lecture series. So you see what kind of consequence the frenzy of Polonization has here! Here and everywhere it

hinders the intellectual development of Ukraine (and Ukrainians)! Some teachers translated the more important parts of the talk into Ukrainian, so that the Polish lectures of Mr. Tymofievych did not remain without purpose for those of our peasants who stayed until the end of the lectures. But all the same, they would have been more beneficial, if they had been presented in our Ukrainian language! Through his lectures Mr. Tymofievych performed a service among our people, but suffice it to say, that nowhere in the world....do missionaries instruct in any other language than the one which they speak and the people understand.

In the end it is fitting to raise the point that the method of distribution of veterinary supplies among the listeners, which we saw in Belz near the end of the lectures was not in the least possible degree cultured. The books and veterinary supplies were thrown among the mob of teachers and peasants. He who was more brisk and skilled, caught that which was useful to him. Many left with empty hands. [He suggests a more civilized method of distribution.]

We were overjoyed by the enlarged format of *Dilo*. This is the best evidence for the unbelievers of Topiv, that we live, and are developing and growing strong.

Zaliztsi , January 24 (February 15) 1887, Issue 9, p.1-2.

In those parts which clearly lie in Ukrainian territory, agents—in the first rank Jews—are persuading our peasants to sell their land and go to America, where, in their opinion, it is a real Eldorado (land of gold). To persuade those who are really in doubt they are saying that the state government of America is readily distributing from 60, 90, to even 120 morgs of land...About family and native land, they say it will not be difficult because in America there is a Ukrainian priest, their own church, school, reading club ,etc.

Peasants, especially from Nemiach, Zahiria, and Popovets, are selling their farmsteads so to all the more quickly take off for Hamburg and from there to the new world where all the agents eagerly supply all the necessary documents, information, letters, etc. Also, the peasant who has already immigrated (although he does not know how to read or



write) is somehow able to relate in the most detailed manner in letters to other prospective immigrants, the journey to America, the most important cities and stopping ...and about Father Volianskyi...and through all this is careful to keep silent the name of the agent who so eloquently told him all about this...It is a sad thing that our people are escaping from their fatherland and are looking for a new one beyond the sea, in which, God knows, whether it will be better for him. It is not like the evil agents are entirely twisting the details, explained Father Volianskyi last year in *Dilo*. However, it falls upon our intelligentsia, and above all our priests, to turn their full attention to this and...stop this detrimental immigration in the interest of our national life.

In Zaliztsi the current of our national life is quietly flowing away and almost without indication. There are not a lot of reading clubs here, and those which exist are the type (in Zaliztsi Novi, Horodyshche and Zahirno) which are dozing away unhappily. The people here are therefore sufficiently ignorant, and this manifests itself among other things, in such a way that in relations with the intelligentsia, in court, in the post office, at the notary's office, etc...our native language is not used but only a mutilated Polish; and it is not enough to speak to him(a typical village dweller) in Ukrainian so to induce him to a response—he even, in spite, answers you entirely in the Latin way; and until you take him down from his mountain and beautifully scold him, does he begin to converse in his own language. When considering this trouble and shame, we must first and foremost address the people from Zaliztsi, Trostiany, Zahiria, and Milna: the inhabitants of these villages, although Ukrainians, do not greet each other (all dressed in their peasants coats) in their own language. Perhaps again only the intelligentsia can pluck away this terrible custom....

Dolyna, January 15 (27), 1887, Issue 5, 2

The mayor of Perehynske, Dmytro Fedir, who in a very cunning way deprived Ukrainian voters in Perehynske their right to vote during the elections of deputy to the Seim, continues to govern, despite the fact, that the district government suspended him for various

improprieties in community management and on five occasions demanded his removal to the captain of Dolyna...[list various dates in 1886]...but in vain! The captain kept him in government up to the elections to the Seim and now that the elections have passed, he still retains him. This mayor had yet to conduct the elections to the community government to the advantage of the Jews and the disadvantage of the Christian community in Perehynske. [He explains how this came about in the next several paragraphs.]

The last time there occurred an election to the community government of Perehynske was in 1885. The mayor at that time was Mr. Sylvester Holubovskyi...whom all the Christians counted on, however he became weak at the last moment and allowed supporters of Fedir on to the election committee.... This one, having selected Jews on to the election committee, forbade some Christians with cards to vote, although the regulations explicitly allowed it. Consequently, all the Christians refused to vote, and the Jews elected a Jewish government. The Christians mounted a protest to the district captaincy against this election violation. But when the mayor presented a statement to the district captain which declared that the elections were completely legal, the captain only annulled the results of the third circle. This really did not suit the mayor, because the third circle was the one in which Fedir was elected mayor [and a group of his supporters, as councillors]...Ignoring the captain's annulment, the mayor's powerful friend Itsko Kmol, along with his own friends, immediately submitted an appeal to Vienna, and in this way delayed the by-elections of the third circle for an entire year. In the meantime the district government, informed by one of its members— a honest proprietor in Perehynske—about the improprieties in the community government of Perehynske, decided to conduct an investigation. When great improprieties were clearly demonstrated, the district government suspended the mayor, the collector and the scribe of their government. The documents were presented to the district captaincy for ratification...However, in order to prevent his suspension, the mayor Fedir issued writs calling for by-elections in the third circle, but did not let anyone know, and only summoned the commissioner, so that he could later say that these elections had completely

legitimate. The Christians, not knowing anything about these elections, did not appear at the voting, but a Jew voted in the presence of the commissioner for the already suspended community government of Fedir, Ivan Lukian and their true friend Itsko Kmol. The commissioner was then paid 24 *zr.* for the road.

[He describes how the Christians were furious and protested to the captaincy]...at the head was Father Vasyl Nebylovets and Mr. Patria; they also annexed the reports of a delegate of the district government, in which the various excesses of mayor Fedir were described and for which he was suspended by the district government. In light of this protest, the captain decided to officially hear out Father Nebylovets and Mr. Patria, however when the unexpected elections to the Seim arose in Dolyna, this matter was laid to rest for the time being, and the suspended mayor Fedir, based on the idea of the captain, was given the right to conduct the pre-elections in Perehynske, about which the readers of *Dilo* already know from the letters to *Dilo* and from the speech of Mr. Romanchuk in the Seim. [The letter goes on to describe how just as the elections to the Seim were being held, and on the day of a funeral of another priest which Father Nebylovets had to attend, both Father Nebylovets and Mr. Patria and were informed that they would have to appear by ten o'clock in the morning at the office of the district captain, or the captain would withdraw their complaint. Due to the circumstances listed, neither of them could report in and the complaint was withdraw. However, according to the correspondent, the community sent evidence of the mayor's improprieties to the public prosecutor's office and these were currently being investigated.]

Rudky, February 26 (March 10) 1887, Issue 23, p.2

[On a general meeting of the reading club, how it is unfolding beautifully, one the mixed choir, lectures, the local teachers as a community hero, then...]

This year an industrial weaver's cooperative appeared among us, which, in just a short time, has already brought about great improvements and has assured the poor weaver

a greater chance for success. The cooperative has taken on the consignment of cloth for factories in Vynnyky and Cracow and the members of the cooperative have produced some fifteen thousand metres of cloth. A worker make 50 *kr.* daily, and the work is very light, so that old weavers who formerly split their hands doing work for the Jews, now are not quite accustomed to the easier work. They also sell the yarn to honest Moravian factories. To now the work has only paid a little bit because the administration costs a fair amount; but later the pay will increase. For the weavers this cooperative is very advantageous in that all can get work. The management of the cooperative consists of three Ukrainians and they take in a monthly salary of 15 *zr.* This management stands under the inspection of the directorship of our deposit treasury. The cooperative already consists of a very important number of members and with every day new members are joining. This is a very consoling development among our townspeople, because it provides not just a few poor families with the possibility of earning his daily bread...

Several weeks ago a suspiciously dressed man came to the mayor of the village of Klitsko near Komarno and introduced himself as a disguised policeman and demanded that he provide him with a two-horse carriage free of charge to ride to the village of Cholovichy, to arrest some Mazurs in the forest for wrecking wood. When the mayor denied him his request and this man began to threaten him with his fists and presented himself now not as a policeman, but as one of the associates of the most eminent person in the monarchy. The mayor was very terrified and not only provided him with transportation, but began to honour and entertain the great guest. This insolent guest went about the house, drank up the vodka, heartily ate up the eggs, and gazed upon the picture of Archduke Rudolph. He was then transported to Cholovichy ,to the forest, where he looked around and began to confiscate books from the workers. But one took exception to him and went to get the local mayor. Then things did not go so smoothly. The mayor demanded from him proof of identity, and when this man attempted to present a confiscated work card as his own and began shake his fists, the mayor treated him with several whacks of his cane and ordered that he be taken to

the judge in Komarno. Here the tramp sits to today and does not want to admit who he is and where he is from.

Rudky, March 26 (April 7), 1887, Issue 35, p.2

Having read in *Dilo* about the activity of the Crownland Bank in 1886.

I thought that I had to add for public knowledge my own mishap with this bank. When the bank came into being I, as a member of the committee of the district government in Rudky, witnessing the terrible ruin of the poor farmstead owners in my own village of Horotank a Velyka who were indebted to the Rustical bank, raised the following proposal: For the reason that our poor farmstead owners cannot save themselves from the Rustical bank, and no one cares about them, and that now is really the time to rescue them, because the debts of the bank stand at lower than half their worth, and the Crownland Bank can rescue the peasant debtors—I therefore propose that with the permission of the community government, all the debts be placed in the Crownland Bank, with the guarantee of community property. The community has to register all of its insolvent lands for incontestability, but the land and the entire expense has to remain community and each borrower has to determine some kind of term of payment to pay annually to the community treasury, and the treasury will then pay a term of payment for all the borrowers to the Crownland Bank...For such borrowers the community must arrange trustees, so that the borrowers are not wasteful and through productive work on the farmsteads will satisfy their installments. Such a method will save the poor peasants from the loss of their land, will not create vagrants, will clear the village of debt, and will prevent Jews and other covetous people from entering the village enclosure [to settle].

[This proposal received great support and the people were allowed to come to them for advice. However some aimed to destroy the resolution because they sought to gain from the current situation, as they were planning to buy off a lot of the land (collateral), from the Rustical Bank.] Two men, along with their supporter Kushyk, went about the village,

discussing the matter with the councillors and farmstead owners indebted to the Rustical Bank, and attempted to scare them in to believing that they were voluntarily yielding themselves to the mayor, in other words, to me. The people made a huge commotion—I had to escape. Kushyk ordered the teacher to write an appeal and three councillors signed it —when they voted on the proposal there was an unusual clamour by the door of the office, and the police had to disperse the crowd.

Everything had been worked out....The bank had promised that they would give the loan soon, but Kushyk intervened, went to Lviv to deal with the bank's lawyer [because they were acquainted through a lord— the bank's lawyer is also the lawyer for the lord] —so by the time my people and I showed up, the Bank no longer wanted to deal with us.

Staromishchyna, April 30 (May 12) 1887, Issue 48, p.2&3

The community desires to bring attention to the issues they face and also wants the authorities to know, how their clergy treats them. The people have endured two years of abuse from the side one would expect to receive only Christian help and love. [He explains that they have turned to various church authorities but have found no audience and consequently they are turning to the editor of *Dilo* to assist in exposing these injustices.] The priest Father Yakiv Shydlovskiy...lures honest and important people of the village into acting like rowdies and rebels, and extracts unheard of prices for funerals and other church services. Such headstrong behaviour has resulted in a church brotherhood (which had once had many members) which has become greatly diminished in size because one after another the members have withdrawn—as they do not know what is happening with the money. Father Shydlovskiy makes use of the money from the church treasury for repairs and for the building of church buildings which are not entirely part of the mandate for the treasury and no one really knows how much money is in the treasury.

But the biggest thing to incite the people against Father Shydlovskiy, was his behaviour with the poor old man Hryts Kukharskyi. [Because he beat the old man and

broke his collarbone.] This incident was followed by a lawsuit in the Ternopil court against Father Shydlovskiy, but the old man did not have the money or knowledge to deal with the matter at a higher level. But all the people know that he did not break his collarbone when he was drunk —he must get justice from the church.

There is also an investigation regarding the embezzlement of a 100 *zr.* banknote which Semko Bozheniuk gave the priest to change. This matter is in court and cannot be discussed further. People went to celebrate Easter in the neighboring villages or not at all. The glory of God is falling and the church, which was once full, is now empty, because sermons do not occur, and when they do, no one understands because Shydlovskiy speaks in Polish or Russian. Ukrainian patience also has its limits...therefore we are publicly announcing our injuries, so the church authorities will free us from such oppression, because the devil does not sleep, but goes like a roaring lion...

Kosiv, June 20 (July 2), 1887, Issue 68, p.2

On the 14th of June 1887 a Ukrainian national theatre arrived in Kosiv, and remained here until the 28th of June, giving twelve performances. Of all the plays the national ones (which deal with the people) were liked the best.

It was noted here that both Ukrainians and Poles could be counted among those who attended the Ukrainian theatre in Kosiv...However, the Ukrainian clergy from the surrounding area almost acted as if they did not want to know that a Ukrainian theatre group had arrived in Kosiv...and we did not see anyone from the family of the clergy.

We thank the management of the theatre which did not spare neither expense nor labour, in order for the theatre to perform to our dark, deaf corner, our dark hills...

Rudky, July 21 (August 2), 1887, Issue 81, p.2

Not having faith in our Polish newspapers, I sincerely ask you to print my words in *Dilo*. [He says he is a sergeant who was wounded in battle, and that through this he learned

to speak and write the truth. He describe how living in Rudky for seven years brought him to turn his attention to that segment of the Ukrainian and Polish populations which has not benefited from their newly found freedoms, but has sunk lower. He observes how they are disrespected and ignored by government, how people mistreat the peasantry in the name of Poland, and how the two nationalities fight with each other and among themselves and suffer the effects of agitation.] The young do not honour the old, the son beats the father, the daughter the mother [and everyone eats and drinks themselves sick and sells their vote.]

Nykolaiv, September 3 (15), 1887, Issue 98, p.2

In the thirteenth issue of *Dilo* I provided a brief report on our elections in Nykolaiv, but especially about the renowned local elections from which five Jews (with long curls) emerged in fine shape....I was informed that a protest was submitted against these elections, and now I have been informed of the interesting fact that this protest which the viceroy rejected, was not submitted into the hands of the community government. We all waited patiently for this result for all of seven months and who knows whether it would have come so quickly if it were not for the several spoken and written requests which aimed to speed up the matter. If only the Jews and their underlings had learned that the viceroy would uphold the elections, then power would have been all the more quickly taken into their hands.

The elections for mayor occurred on the 28th of September and do you think that the Christians here proceeded in solidarity? By no means! The young men went hand in hand with the Jews and elected for themselves a mayor who raised the level of the Jews. I have to say without the intention of offending him, that the mayor throughout almost his entire young life was in the service of those who have now elevated him to this position. Therefore, we are already fearful in advance, that his brothers with the long curls do not take possession of him, and because he may be inclined to be won over in all matters. Therefore , we first ask him: will the community office further remain in the home of Mr. Mylyk, in



which to this time he has tastily drank up quart after quart when dealing with community matters, from which clearly only the Jews have benefited? Will the young men be free to sit up until midnight in the tavern and later scream about the town and beat and terrorize peaceful townspeople? Will the reading club which his predecessor so handsomely developed, continue to sleep? Will he be able to maintain order in the community accounting when there will be a Jew working as treasurer? Go on then...[tell us!]

Let this newly placed leader pay attention, because the entire surrounding area is looking upon this once glorious, orderly and sober, but now idle and broken Nykolaiv—and although we are all not perfect, it is impossible for the guiltless to tolerate foreign blunders.

Yavoriv, September 24 (October 6) 1887, Issue 106, p. 1&2

This year in autumn there occurred here an evening to raise money for poor school children. This event went off beautifully and brought in quite a bit of revenue.

It was very encouraging on the 25th of September such an evening was held to achieve such a goal [to raise funds for students]. The evening's program was very rich and encompassed principally the works of Ukrainian composers. For this fine entertainment we are very thankful to the organizer of the evening. Nothing speaks so sincerely to the Ukrainian heart like its own songs, and its own thought.

A sweet surprise for us was the appearance of Miss Voloshchak. With her resounding high and sweet voice and fine diction, Miss Voloshchak was able to enchant our hearts and we hope that we will have the pleasure to delight again in her beautiful singing. Then a Mr. Yukhymovych performed. Although he has training, his voice is nevertheless a little too weak and as they say, overripe; despite this Mr. Yukhymovych deserves praise. [He goes on to list a performance on a piano, and the recitations in Ukrainian and Polish (one in each language.)]The elocutionists were completely deserving of the frenzied applause, although the Ukrainian recitation, to tell the truth, was not well chosen. This is because in

our literature it is possible to find better works than "Buitur Vsevolod." This piece is dry and is nothing to be enthusiastic about...Mr. Konovalts has a clear, melodious baritone voice, and it is a misfortune that he does not work on it further because it would incontestably become higher. The choir—made up of local theological students and teachers, and under the capable direction of Mr. Saprun—sang several quartets most beautifully...The choir had to repeat some compositions due to the incessant applause. In general it was entirely magnificent. Despite the foul weather the hall was completely packed. All the local intelligentsia, understanding the benefit of such evenings, attended the evening, came out to help the poor scholars, who in hunger and in cold go to school and for some reason want to learn. The clear profit was around 80 *zr.* Recognition for this belongs to Father Petryk and Father Niebieszczanski. Honour and thanks to you—that you did not allow yourselves to be frightened away by the various obstacles. The children will sincerely pray for you. [He also thanks the directors.]

This year already 60 girls have been signed up to the school. Many families had to be refused due to a lack of space. It would appear that the enlargement of this institution would be a wise investment.

Bohorodchany, October 27 (November 8) 1887, Issue 120, p.2

The district school council in Nadvirna, to which belongs the protection and administration of the entire Bohorodchany district of 55,000 people, from the time when Mr. Korzhynski— who is supposed to be of Ukrainian origin—became inspector, has slept in a solid slumber. May it not be for an eternity! The last meeting of the school council was back in May of 1886 and since then —amen! In the entire Bohorodchany district of 55,000 people there are only 4 systemized schools. Is it not a shame for us that regarding the growth of schools and enlightenment of the people, Bohorodchany district is placed almost last among all the Galician districts. Bohorodchany district ...is the most ignorant space on earth...

It would be of great service if those representational powers, through the establishment and systemization of schools, would contribute to the elevation of the ignorant and unenlightened Ukrainian people in Pidhirnia of Bohorodchany — it is high time to charge someone with this most important and vital task!

Stare Misto, June 9 (21), 1887, Issue 62/63, p.3

Although the axiom “de mortuis nil nisi bene,” is generally recognized, nonetheless, this axiom concerns only typical people, and not people who through their deeds in public life influence people and consequently “make history” — as they say. To this group of people incontestably belonged the late Nykolai Zblykevych. It is a well known thing that the late Zblykevych was the son of a poor Ukrainian family in Stare Misto. When Ukrainians were roused into political life in 1848 he was already twenty-two years old, and was therefore able to reflect upon who was on which side of the national questions; and it was during those years that the late Zblykevych (who was from one of the poorest cities) was in the provincial Seim and in the parliament, and with his knowledge of parliamentary activity in both these legislative bodies did not just stand in defense of careless laws and the weakening of his native Ukrainian people, but rushed in with his entire body and soul into the enemy camp and harmed the Ukrainian people terribly.

Then, the 1860s, when Ukrainians evaluated the progress of their political life, the entire mass of Galician Ukrainians sang a song about Zblykevych. [He provides a verse from the song which picks apart the character of Zblykevych.] This is how Ukrainians spoke about such people in the 1860s, who renounced their Ukrainian national identity as did the late Zblykevych. [He goes on to list some of the people who are going to attend his funeral in Cracow. This includes some descendants of Ukrainian nobility.] They are going to Cracow to this man’s funeral to pay respect to a man who did not speak a word of Ukrainian, did not support the founding of a Ukrainian gymnasium in Przemyśl, and stood

against all Ukrainian gymnasiums. In a word, he was always and everywhere working for the denationalization of the Ukrainian people...

It is an indisputable thing that we, over the last 25 years, have extended our knowledge of our own people and literature, which up to now has contributed much to our national existence. And one thing is certain, and this is that among enlightenment is spreading among the Ukrainian masses. At the same time, it is to our own misfortune, that regarding Ukrainian patriotism, regarding hot impulses to put our nationalism into motion...we are also aware that we have fallen lower than we were before 1860!

Today if you visit a number of typical Ukrainian homes, the occupants of which have the right to count themselves among the intellectual stratum — you do not find one Ukrainian newspaper, not one Ukrainian book. You say: “Subscribe benefactor...acquire the Ukrainian Historical Library.” You receive the answer: “I do not have the means to.” Yet this man who speaks in such a way, is in reality quite able to stand on his own in the world, and has a very fine position and a significant stock of money! You visit not just one home occupied by Ukrainians from way, way back, and you begin to speak Ukrainian with them, but the man of the house, though seeing how you (a man of a certain position) dares to speak Ukrainian, begins to speak Polish or even Russian...how sad it is!

Kolomyia, December 15 (27), 1887, Issue 140, p. 2

In our Podil it still quite dark, and our national life hardly flows along a perceptible river bed. In our capital city Pokuttia it is not a lot better. It is not possible to complain about a deficiency of intellectual powers, because here there are enough Ukrainians in various, even visible positions, but there is no organization, and this seems to be felt at every step. Nevertheless, it would be unfair to blame all without exception. There is here a circle of sincere Ukrainian patriots, who through a love for the people, direct and care for our moral and economical interests, and always and everywhere stand in defense of our unsatisfied

rights. It is enough to point out such people, like professor (and Father) Lepkyi, professor Hrushkevych and others.

These patriots still in 1878 encouraged and induced the local townspeople to establish a reading club in the heart of Kolomyia. The reading club held up very well at first, but nevertheless began to fall. The reason for this was the location of the reading club in the centre of the city, while the Ukrainian burghers live in city outskirts. Little by little it evolved into a situation where the society was limited to the same people from the intelligentsia. Aside from this, it is a fact that the reading club cannot satisfy all the spiritual and social needs of life. Therefore, the circle of Ukrainian intellectuals resolved to form a separate reading club, and to as soon as possible, to transform the old town reading club into a centre for Ukrainian Conversation (only it would be desirable if the latter project was implemented with more expediency). The burghers found for themselves a convenient place for their reading club in the outskirts of the city.

The Ukrainians from the suburbs of Pokuttia had provided a beginning, having sent to the viceroy the statutes for their new reading club. Then on the 3rd of December...the reading club was opened free of expense in the reading room of Nykolai Zhurakivskyi. At this holiday celebration appeared twenty-four burghers and from the intelligentsia Father Koblianskyi, professor Hrushkevych [and others]. The meeting was opened by professor Hrushkevych with a speech in which he welcomed the burghers and praised them for their good deed and told them of the high significance of the reading club. The assembled sang "Mnohaya Lita" to the eminent Kaiser and under the leadership of Father Koblianskyi, the day's order began. [He lists some of the members who signed up to the reading club, and who was elected to be on the executive committee of the club.] The committee is almost exclusively comprised of burghers; this came about through the proposal of professor Hrushkevych, because he advised the burghers to direct themselves and to only come to the intelligentsia for advice. Later Father Koblianskyi rose to speak and encouraged the burghers to further work in the field of their spiritual growth and asked that they allow for

choral singing lessons to be held in the reading club, which the teacher Mr. Petrivskyi could impart to the burghers. Those in attendance happily agreed to this. After, the assembled resolved to register the reading club with Prosvita and the Kachkovskyi Society, and to subscribe to *Batkivshchyna*. At the meeting the most wonderful harmony predominated and all parted for home in raised spirits. It is only the wish that the new reading club experiences wonderful growth, and that the example of the Pokuttia burghers is followed by other distinguished burghers of Kolomyia!

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