



The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia

Author(s): J. Andrusiak

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THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN GALICIA

I.—1772–1867, NATIONAL REVIVAL. II.—UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM

THE Austrian Government united the territory of Galicia which under Polish rule was called “ Red Ruthenia ” and part of Podolia with the Polish Principalities of Zator and Oswiecim (Auschwitz), and later with the Grand Duchy of Krakow, and formed them into the province of Galicia. A common administration for Pole and Ukrainian was of no profit for a nationality that already in 1772 had no nobility of her own, but consisted of illiterate peasant serfs and of a poor and far from numerous bourgeoisie and clergy. The latter spoke Ukrainian only with the peasants, using Polish among themselves, and, indeed, those belonging to the Greek-Catholic Church had no special education or culture of their own.

Moreover, the Polish nobility—the so-called *szlachta*—aroused the suspicions of the Austrian Government against the Ruthene or Ukrainian population, on the ground that it had treasonable sympathies for Russia; treating the Roman Catholic faith as an emblem of Polish nationality and Greek Catholicism as the emblem of Ruthene nationality, the Polish nobility persuaded Austria that it was better to promote the former in Galicia at the expense of the latter.

But the Greek Catholic Bishop of Lemberg at that time, Leo Sheptitsky (1749–1779), tried to persuade the Austrian Government that the Ruthenes were a people different from the Russians and Poles, and were entitled to equal rights; all the more so as their political importance for Austria was great and she might hope one day to unite all Ruthene countries under her sway.

Owing to his care the candidates for the Greek Catholic priesthood were able to study in the Viennese theological seminary known as the “ *Barbareum*,” and in 1783 the Emperor Joseph II founded a Greek Catholic seminary in Lemberg. At the University of Lemberg (founded in 1784), lectures in Ruthene were introduced in 1787–1809 in the theological and philosophical institute (the so-called “ *Studium Ruthenum* ”). Though the language of instruction was not the pure language spoken by the people, but a mixture of Old Church-Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) and the Ukrainian vernacular, yet these lectures served to awaken the national spirit among the Greek Catholic clergy, who till then had been accustomed to hear and employ Polish only. Those clergy who studied in Vienna in

their turn had opportunities of making the acquaintance of students of other Slavonic nations and their national aspirations, and this contact did not fail to kindle their own national consciousness.

The revived Greek Catholic Archbishopric of Lemberg (in 1807) considered it its duty to organise elementary parish schools after 1815. But the Galician Government forbade the teaching of Ukrainian there, on the ground that Polish alone was the official language. The protests entered by the then Metropolitan, Michael Levitsky (1815-1858), who argued that Galicia was not a Polish country, but the territory of the old Galician-Lodomerian State and that even the Polish Government regarded Galicia as a Ruthene country, proved in so far successful that children now received instruction in the Ukrainian language where there were only Greek Catholics. But where there were Roman Catholic pupils, even though in a minority, Polish was upheld as the language of instruction. The Ukrainian population in mixed parishes might, of course, support Ukrainian schools for their children at their own expense, but a sharp eye was kept lest the Greek Catholic bishops should encourage their flocks to found such schools. Such was the actual favour shown by the Austrian Government after 1815 to the Ruthenian national movement.

When Canon Ivan Mohilnitsky attempted to found in Peremyshl a "Societas Presbyterorum Ritus græco-catholici Galiciensium," for the purpose of publishing school handbooks and scientific treatises on church history, canon law, economics, hygiene, etc., he met with the prohibition of Cardinal Severola (1817). Moreover, the Governor of Galicia forbade Metropolitan Levitsky to print his pastoral address in the Old Slavonic language, advising him to write it in Polish.

This same Mohilnitsky wrote a treatise on the Ruthene language, intended to provide scientific proofs of its special position and rights; and it is of importance as explaining the national views of this first leader of eminence in Galicia. He held that the Ruthene nation, in which he included the Ukrainians and White Russians as sharing the common historical tradition of Kiev, is different both from the Polish and the Russian nation. His views were shared by a few Greek Catholic priests in Galicia in the second half of the 19th century; among others Emil Ohonovsky, professor of Ukrainian language and literature at Lemberg University, who, in his *Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache* (1880), treats the White Russian language as a Ruthene dialect.

The consciousness of a national difference between Ukrainian

and White Russians on the basis of linguistic distinctions had first arisen at the point where these two peoples bordered on each other in the Russian Empire. The leaders of the Ukrainian national movement inside Russia towards the end of the first half of the 19th century considered the White Russians as more akin to the Russians than to themselves. In the statutes of the Ukrainian "Brotherhood of St. Cyril and St. Methodius" in Kiev (1846-47), which advocated the union of all Slavonic peoples in a federation of national States, the Ukrainians were included in the list of such peoples, whereas the White and the Great Russians were to form a common State.

It must not, however, be thought that the idea of a national State of their own was strange to the Ruthenes of Galicia, though by the middle of the 19th century 500 years had passed since their loss of independence. They had, of course, lost their native aristocracy, which had turned Roman Catholic and Polish, though Mohilnitsky insisted on its Ruthene origin, basing his arguments on the polemics of a 17th-century priest named Meletius Smotritsky, and various other documents. Moreover, the Greek Catholic clergy up to the 'thirties of the 19th century also only used the Polish language and some of the sons of these clergy were under the influence of Polish conspirators, and were drawn into the struggle for Polish independence. But this had the inevitable effect of kindling among the Ruthenes also the idea of their own liberation. As early as 1832 three Uniat priests, Markian Shaskevich, Jacob Holovatsky, and John Vahilevich, sometimes called the "Ruthene Trio," made national educational propaganda among the Greek Catholic theological students in Lemberg for the introduction of their mother tongue in every-day life among the cultured classes, for the revival of Ukrainian literature in Galicia and for opposition to the use of the Polish language.

Though they won over a majority of the students for this programme, they met with considerable obstacles on the part of the Government. Their collected works on folklore, *Zorya* (The Dawn, 1834) and *Rusalka Dnistrova* (The Nymph of the Dnister, 1837), were confiscated by the censor. All those Ukrainians who tried to raise the standard of their people and to induce the educated class to speak its native language, were denounced as "Russophil," bent upon union with Russia. In reality, these Galician national progressives who called themselves "Ruthenes" (in Ukrainian "Rusini") laid great stress on the claim that the Ruthenes were a separate people from the Russians, whom they called "Muscovites."

Formerly the Galicians had regarded the Ukrainians and White Russians as a single nation, but as closer connections were formed between the Galician authors and those of the Ukraine under Russian sway, there awoke the clear consciousness of a national distinction between them and the White Russians, too; and, following the example of their brethren on the Dnieper, the Galicians adopted the new national name "Ukrainians" in order to distinguish them more strictly from the Russians.

The Greek Catholic Bishop of Peremyshl (afterwards Archbishop of Lemberg), Gregory Yakhimovich, drew the attention of the Government in Vienna in 1842 to the political advantages which might be derived from this affinity between the Galician Ruthenes and the Ukrainians in Russia, but argued that to produce its full effect, it would, above all, be necessary for Austria to show favour to Ruthene national and cultural aspirations.

Up to 1848 there were still many friends of the union of Ruthenes and Poles on the basis of equal rights, above all among those who had belonged to the Polish secret societies. But already in the first beginnings of the Austrian Revolution many of them became disillusioned; in March, 1848, in reply to their suggestion that in the Polish petition to the Emperor mention might be made of Ruthene rights and aspirations, the Poles raised a shout that there was no separate Ruthene nation. This attitude alienated from them the majority of the Ruthenes who had till then unquestioningly accepted Polish national watchwords.

With a view to countering Polish efforts to persuade the Government in Vienna of Galicia's exclusively Polish character, there assembled on 19 April in the Metropolitan Palace beside the Cathedral of St. George in Lemberg some patriotic Ruthenes under the leadership of Bishop Gregory Yakhimovich. They sent to the Austrian Emperor a petition demanding the Ukrainian language in schools and offices, the same rights for the Greek Catholic clergy as for that of other religions, and access to all public offices. On 2 May, 1848, the Galician Ruthenes founded in Lemberg their first political organisation, the Ruthene National Council (*Narodna Ruska Rada*), which for the next three years (1848-51) voiced the rights of the Ukrainian people, demanding among other things autonomy for Eastern Galicia, Bukovina and the Ruthene counties of Hungary, united as a single Crown land (*Russinenland*). The Council maintained contact with the people through the agency of district and parish branches.

The Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia, though mostly illiterate in

consequence of prolonged serfdom, were nevertheless following the instructions of the National Council, thanks to the indefatigable educational work of a small group of Ukrainians progressive nationalists, helped by a few educated peasants. The majority of the peasantry in 1848 felt the need of self-organisation for the defence of their interests, and were very ready to subscribe for national, political and cultural aims. They and the nationally-conscious educated class signed a joint petition to the Austrian Government in favour of dividing Galicia into a Ruthene and a Mazurian (or Polish) province. Moreover, the Ukrainian peasant deputies displayed a vigorous activity in the Austrian Parliament of 1848 at Kremsier; out of a total representation of thirty, no fewer than nineteen were peasants, eight priests, and only three laymen of the educated classes.

To preserve order in the country and ensure their national rights, "Ruthene National Guards" were formed in the towns and "National Sentries (Watches)" in the country districts. On the Galician-Hungarian border, the Ukrainian Carpathian peasants organised military detachments for defence against the Hungarian insurgents. Moreover, the Galician Ukrainians set up a rifle battalion of volunteers which in the autumn of 1848 was sent from Lemberg to garrison Kaschau (Košice) in Slovakia. The National Council planned the formation of a regular Ruthene regiment. But this design was thwarted by Count Agenor Gołuchowski, then Governor of Galicia. He persuaded the Austrian Government that in the interests of peace with Russia and of the retention of Galicia by Austria, it would be inadvisable to encourage the national aspirations of the Ukrainians, whose real aim was the union of their whole people in a single State with Kiev as its capital. Being apprehensive of Ukrainian irredenta, the Austrian Military Command also dissolved the Ruthene Rifle Battalion after its return from Hungary in January, 1850.

Gołuchowski's warnings to Vienna were not without grounds, for though the National Council assumed a loyal attitude towards Austria, it did not abandon the hope of national unity with its kinsmen in the Russian Empire. In its first proclamation to "the Ruthene people" on 10 May, 1848, it clearly stated that the Ruthenes of Galicia belonged to the great Ukrainian people, speaking the same language and forming 2,500,000 out of a total of 15,000,000. A contemporary confiscated brochure entitled, "A word of warning," written by the Uniate priest, Basil Podolinsky, speaks of the existence among the Galicians of a "purely Ruthene Party," whose aim was a

“free and independent Ukraine.” Even if its followers were not numerous at that time, the very fact of its existence in the first dawn of political aspiration helped the Poles to realise that they would not succeed in assimilating them either nationally or politically, and, indeed, the political organisation called “The Ruthene Union,” which was founded by East Galician Poles of Ruthene descent, entirely failed to attract the Ukrainian majority.

In 1848 there appeared for the first time an Ukrainian press in Galicia. Ruthene delegates took part in the Pan-Slav Congress at Prague from 2 to 12 June, 1848; they agreed with the Polish delegates as to equality of rights between the two nationalities in Galicia, but this agreement led to nothing. Nor did the Austrian Government settle the problem of the division of Galicia, as raised by Bishop Yakhimovich during the debates of the Constitutional Commission. The dissolution of Parliament on 7 March, 1849, was followed by the new absolutist era in Austria, lasting till 1860. The Ruthene National Council, which was engaged in cultural as well as political work, was obliged to dissolve in 1851, owing to its denunciation by Gołuchowski at Vienna.

It was thanks to Gołuchowski that the Austrian Government became more favourable to the Poles, with the result that a section of the Ruthenes in their disappointment turned their hopes towards union with Russia. When in the Galician Diet on 18 April, 1866, too, the Bill for the division of Galicia was rejected, the editor of the Ruthene newspaper *Slovo*, Bohdan Diditsky, began to speak quite openly about “one Russian nation from the Syan” (Syan, a river on the frontier of Eastern and Western Galicia) to the Amur (the river in the Russian Maritime Province in Siberia). The followers of this Russophil tendency held that the Ruthenes of Galicia ought to accustom themselves to the Russian literary language, which in their view had once been the Old Ruthene language. This group based its arguments upon the tradition of a common State under the dynasty of Rurik, comprising alike the Ukrainian, White Russian and Muscovite (later Russian) countries; upon the similarity of the old national name of the Ukrainians in their own language (*Rusin*—the noun; *rusky*—the adjective) and of the name of the Russians in theirs (*rusky*—both noun and adjective); and, lastly, upon the fact that the so-called etymological spelling of the Galician Ruthenes was identical with that of the Russians. The first Galician to espouse the idea of “one Russian nation” which was to unite all the Eastern Slavs, was the historian, Dionisius Zubritsky, who established close relations with the Muscovite professor, Michael Pogodin, in the first half of the 19th century.

Though the adherents of "the one Russian nation" could not attract all the Ukrainians of Galicia, in whose hearts the love of their mother-tongue had struck deep roots, they none the less succeeded in captivating a section of it. Consequently, there arose a Russophil party which divided the Ukrainians into two hostile camps, and thus played into the hands of the Poles, to whom was assigned control of the administration of Galicia under the new Constitution of 21 December, 1867. Following the principle of "divide et impera," the Poles often forced a quarrel between the Russophiles and the Ukrainian nationalists. Thanks to this internal breach, the Ukrainian people in Galicia failed to elect a due number of deputies to the Austrian Parliament and Galician diet, and were weakly represented in comparison with the predominant Poles.

II. THE PERIOD OF DUALISM (1867-1906)

After Austria's defeat in the war with Prussia in 1866, she retired from the German Confederation, granted a wide autonomy to Hungary and granted a new Constitution for the so-called Austrian Crown lands. This Constitution of 21 December, 1867, proclaimed among other things the equality and liberty of all citizens and equal rights for all the peoples of Austria. But there were as yet no executive norms for adapting the principle of equality of rights for all nationalities in the schools, administration and public life of each province. Hence the Poles, in whose hands the provincial administration now rested, being reluctant to introduce this principle in Galicia, tried to make good use of the time which must elapse before the Austrian Central Government published adequate rulings for its due execution. They attempted to secure for themselves more rights in the province than were their due. They prevailed upon the Austrian Chancellor, Count Beust, to appoint a separate minister for Galicia and to introduce the Polish language in the administration, law courts and schools. The Imperial Decree of 24 January, 1868, impressed a Polish stamp upon the Galician School Board. In the Galician Diet of 1868, the Polish majority carried a resolution in favour of using the Polish language in the administration and law courts, and also demanding the autonomy of Galicia, with specially wide powers for the Diet.

As this autonomy, securing to the Polish majority in the Diet a decisive vote in the provincial administration, was an encroachment upon the rights of the Ukrainians, their representatives in Vienna did their utmost to prevent the realisation of the so-called Galician Resolution. They brought before the Diet a petition to the Emperor (13 November, 1868), in which the electoral law was condemned as

unjust to the Ukrainian peasant population, restricting their representation to 47 seats, whereas on a basis of equality they would have elected 94 deputies. They pointed out that in consequence of this unequal franchise, due to the privileges of landholders and towns in the Galician Diet, the power rested with an artificial Polish majority, which controlled the Provincial Board and was able to select deputies to Parliament virtually according to their taste. At the same time, the self-government of the rural communities was greatly restricted. In the secondary schools of Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian language had become an optional subject, whereas in the elementary schools Ukrainian children were forced to learn Polish. Only the Poles benefited from the provincial funds, though at least half were derived from rates paid by the Ukrainian population. The Courts and the administration forced on the Ukrainian population the Polish language. As a corrective to these abuses the Ukrainian representatives appealed to the Emperor for autonomy for both nations in Galicia, and they drew a contrast between the Polish bid for hegemony and the Ukrainian demand for equal rights.

But this modest Ruthene draft petition to the Emperor was rejected by the Polish majority. As an answer to this the Ukrainian deputy and Vice-Marshal of the Diet, Julian Lavrivsky, moved a new resolution on 27 October, 1869, reaffirming the equal rights of the Ukrainian and Polish nations in Galicia. Lavrivsky did not insist on the division of Galicia into two portions, and was ready for co-operation between the two within a single united province. But even this compromise was regarded as inadmissible, and equally unsuccessful was the resolution of Basil Kovalsky, urging the Austrian Government to summon a Constituent Assembly, including representatives of every province and nationality, for the purpose of revising the Constitution. The Poles, on the contrary, who had from time to time threatened the Austrian Government with the withdrawal of their delegates to Parliament, managed to secure the creation of a special Minister for Galicia, and the appointment of a Pole (11 April, 1871). To Kasimir Grocholski, the first holder of this office, the Poles are indebted for the Polonisation of the universities of Lemberg and Krakow and of the polytechnic school in Lemberg.

In such circumstances the political organisation of the Galician Ruthenes, known as "the Ruthene Council" (founded in 1870 in Lemberg), sent a petition to Parliament at Vienna (21 Mar, 1871), in which they demanded equitable representation, corresponding to the real needs and conditions of Galicia, direct election to Parlia-

ment,¹ and a Law of Nationalities (*Nationalitätengesetz*) for the defence of the national minority against the oppression of the majority.

The direct election of representatives to Parliament was introduced by the Austrian Government during the Premiership of Prince Adolf Auersperg in 1873. At that time "The Ruthenian Council" was conducting in Galicia an electoral action in agreement with the Jewish organisation "Shomer Israel," a fact which aroused discontent among the Ukrainian population. "The Ruthenian Council," moreover, taking an uncompromising attitude towards the Poles, leant more and more towards the Russophil party.

The Uniat priest, Stephen Kachala, the notable Ukrainian patriot, was then, together with Lavrivsky, putting forward a moderate federalist programme with the Poles, but without any renunciation of Ukrainian national independence. As he was opposed by the Russophil party, the Ruthene Council did not put him forward as candidate for Parliament, and he was elected by the Poles. The idea of Ukrainian federation with the Poles, as advocated by Kachala, also won the approval of the Russian Ukrainians, who in their struggle with Russia wished to come to an understanding with Poland. Just at that time (1873) the Russian Ukrainians, Alexander Konisky, Elizabeth Miloradovich, Dmytro (Demetrius) Pilchikov, and Michael Zhuchenko, together with Kachala, founded in Lemberg the "Shevchenko Society," which, from 1892 onwards, followed purely scientific pursuits and virtually acquired the status of an Academy of Sciences. Apart from its scientific aims it performed the very important task of serving as a link between the Ukrainians in Galicia and in Russia. A cultural and educational mission among the Galician masses was also performed by the educational association, "Prosviata" (founded in 1868).

Meanwhile, no compromise could be reached between Poles and Ukrainians. On 19 May, 1875, a Pole, Ignace Kamiński, supported by fourteen Polish and three Ukrainian delegates, brought a motion before the Diet in favour of a just arrangement of relations between the two nations; but the Polish majority did not even allow the Bill to pass the first reading. The Ukrainian representatives could not even induce the Diet to sanction the introduction of Ukrainian as language of instruction in schools where the principle of the equality of rights would demand it—much less the opening of an Ukrainian elementary school in Lemberg, for which they were obliged to appeal

¹ Till the franchise reform of 1873 Parliament consisted of delegates from the Diets, not of directly elected deputies.

in Parliament at Vienna (1877). Again in 1878 the Polish majority completely disregarded the Ukrainian protests against the failure to employ both languages in the railway administration of Galicia, and also at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new building of the Diet.

Characteristic light is thrown upon the condition of the Ukrainian people in Galicia at that time, by the declarations of their representatives in 1879, towards the close of the first Austrian Parliament elected on the new direct franchise of 1873. Vasyl Kovalsky complained that the Ruthene language was neglected in Galician schools, and that there was not even a Ruthene elementary school in Lemberg (it was not opened till 1880). Ivan Naumovich pointed out that Ruthene was not employed in government offices. Finally, Alexius Zaklinsky thanked the German centralists in Parliament for their defence of the vital interests of the Ruthene people, but at the same time expressing his discontent at the double game of the Austrian Government, he declared : " The destruction of the Ruthene people in Galicia was decided, alas, by the people of a kindred race in Lemberg, but the arms for this purpose are forged in Vienna, under the Imperial and Royal Austrian Constitutional Government ! "

Such was the situation in Galicia, when the Russian Government issued a decree forbidding the use of the Ukrainian language within the borders of Russia (1876). Now the eyes of the Russian Ukrainians were henceforth continually turning westwards. Unhappily the Ukrainians, under pressure from the Polish provincial administration, in 1879, only elected three representatives to Parliament, and in the same year there came a split inside their chief political organ, " the Ruthene Council," which at this time favoured unity. This organisation was with the Russians and would not admit as members the adherents of Ukrainian independence. A lucid interval in these depressing circumstances was the first national congress convoked by Volodymir Barvinsky, the first editor of the Ukrainian daily *Dilo*, at Lemberg on 30 November, 1880. At this meeting the Russophil party were also present, and supported the resolution demanding equal rights for the Ukrainians as a free nation within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The Galician Ukrainians now began to realise that it was time to bestir themselves. With a view to organising schools of their own, independent of the Government, they formed, in 1881, the " Ruthene (afterwards Ukrainian) Pedagogical Society " (now " *Ridna Shkola* " —the National School) in Lemberg; and in order to free themselves from their economic dependence on alien elements, they founded,

in 1883, in Lemberg, the first Ukrainian commercial institution, "Narodna Torhovla" (National Commerce). In the course of time a series of Ukrainian professional organisations sprang into existence.

In the eighties the Ukrainian deputies both in Parliament and in the Diet fought in vain for the rights of their people. Disunited by their political views, they were steadily losing their authority even among their own people; and hence the executive of the new Ukrainian political association known as the National Council—founded in 1885 in Lemberg—appealed to the parliamentary representatives to offer united opposition to the Government (1889).

The conference of Ruthene notables summoned on 25 March, 1890, in Lemberg, with the object of bringing together the Ukrainian national party and the Russophils, ended in failure. A section of the former, influenced by modern ideas of social reform, seceded and formed on 6 October, 1890, the Ukrainian Radical Party. The new party was equally bent upon strengthening national self-consciousness and solidarity among the masses of the Ukrainian people; but the element of theoretic socialism in its programme could not, of course, win many followers among the Galicians, whose first aim was national liberation.

On the other hand, the Galician Governor of that time, Count Casimir Badeni, on instructions from Vienna, called upon the Ukrainian representatives (November, 1890) to secure the loyalty of the Ukrainians in Galicia in the event of war between Austria and Russia; but he did not so much as promise a single concession to them. Those who attended the conference with the Governor were strongly criticised by the Radicals and Russophils for their readiness to compromise with the Poles of the so-called "New Era"; and it came to the dissolution of the Ruthene Deputies' Club. At the parliamentary elections of March, 1891, the three groups fought each other, with the result that very few Ukrainians secured election. But within the "New Era" Party itself discontent was rapidly gaining ground, owing to the Government's failure to fulfil its pledges. Up to 1892 all that the "New Era" had obtained was a single Ukrainian gymnasium in Kolomea, a chair of Ukrainian history at Lemberg University, and the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the courts and on public notice-boards. The threat addressed by Badeni to the Ukrainians in 1894, when their deputies in the Diet were criticising the provincial administration, led some of their chief leaders (among them Julian Romanchuk) to join the Opposition. The Governor fulfilled his threat at the elections to the Diet in 1895, when the provincial authorities, by their methods

of electoral pressure prevented the return of a single Ukrainian Opposition deputy. On this a special deputation of Galician Ukrainians went to the Emperor to lodge a protest, but was reproved by him for this demonstration. Henceforth the provincial administration forbade the Ukrainians to hold political meetings, and cases occurred when Ukrainian members of the Diet were arrested while reporting to their constituents. At the elections to the Parliament in 1897, eight Ukrainian peasants died by the bayonets of the gendarmerie, twenty-nine were wounded, eight hundred arrested.

On the dismissal of Badeni the Ukrainian population heaved a sigh of relief, but their demands for an investigation of abuses during his term of office and for the division of Galicia into two provinces, remained unsatisfied. The struggle for their rights was hardening the Galician Ukrainians and helping to formulate clearly their political ideas. The close of 1899 saw the formation of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, which aimed at the union of the Ukrainian districts of Galicia and Bukovina in a separate autonomous province, the establishment of close connections with the Russian Ukrainians and the spread of national consciousness among the Carpathian Ruthenes of Hungary. The programme of this party proclaimed as its final aim the union of the whole Ukrainian people in a single national organism, in which the whole people would co-operate, alike in the cultural, economical and political sphere. In its manifesto of 5 January, 1900, the party executive declared that their ideal should be an independent Ukrainian State, but that in the meantime they should strive to obtain an autonomous national province within the Austrian State. Almost simultaneously (3 January, 1900), the Russophil organisation—formerly the Ruthene, but by now the “Russian” Council—which hitherto had never clearly defined its relation towards Russia, proclaimed the national and cultural unity of the Galician Ruthenes with the Russians.

Meetings arranged in different parts of the country in favour of the division of Galicia and of universal suffrage, revealed the solidarity of the people with its political leaders. The latter still had to conduct an unequal struggle in Parliament and in the Diet, from which, as a sign of protest at their unfulfilled demands, they twice publicly seceded (on 8 July, 1901, and 29 October, 1903). From the beginning of the 20th century the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians grew more and more embittered, because of the university problem. The Ukrainian representatives demanded a separate Ukrainian University in Lemberg, while the Ukrainian students seceded from the Polish University in that city in 1901. In 1902–03 there were

agrarian strikes among the Ukrainian peasantry, as a protest against the oppressive measures of the great Polish landlords. The heedlessness of the Polish provincial administration went so far that the Governor, Count Andrew Potocki, issued in 1904 a decree forbidding the emigration of Ukrainian farm-hands to Germany. The starosts (or principal district officials) sent gendarmes to dissolve the Ukrainian gymnastic association "Sich," and even to disperse church processions. The responsibility for these abuses naturally lay with the Austrian Central Government for not having heeded the complaints of the Ukrainian representatives, and thus encouraged the provincial administration in its abuses. There was therefore an Ukrainian demonstration against the Government on the occasion of the visit of the Premier, Dr. von Koerber, to Lemberg on 31 August, 1904.

This oppositional attitude of the Ukrainian representatives in the Diet and in Parliament was also shared by the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lemberg, Count Andrew Sheptytsky, the Bishop of Peremyshl, Constantine Chekhovich, and the Bishop of Stanislviv, Gregory Khomyshyn; the whole Ukrainian people of Galicia was unanimous in defence of its national rights. The introduction of Universal Suffrage by the Government of Baron Gautsch filled the hearts of the Ukrainians with the hope of gaining their fair share of seats in Parliament. But in its final form the Bill was found to contain unfavourable provisions for the Ukrainians, who were consequently forced to continue the unequal struggle in the reformed Parliament.

(To be concluded).

J. ANDRUSIAK.



The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia (II): III. The Period of Universal Suffrage in Austria, 1906-1914

Author(s): Nicholas Andrusiak

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THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN GALICIA (II)

III. THE PERIOD OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRIA, 1906-1914

IN the famous Bill for universal suffrage introduced by Baron Gautsch in 1905 in the Austrian Parliament, 88 mandates out of 445 were assigned to Galicia, but of these only 27 to the Ukrainians; while Bukovina received 11 mandates, of which only 4 were given to the Ukrainians. Gautsch's successor, Prince Conrad Hohenlohe, introduced various amendments, increasing the total number of mandates to 495 and assigning 102 to Galicia, out of which 77 and 35 went to the Poles and Ukrainians, respectively. But later on, in committee, the Ukrainians were restricted to 27 mandates. In the subsequent discussions the number of Galician mandates was once more raised to 106, out of which 28 fell to the Ukrainians. When this reform was adopted by the Reichsrat by a majority of 227 votes to 46, Julian Romanchuk made an interpellation (22 November, 1906) protesting against such encroachment on the rights of the Ukrainian people, whereupon the Ukrainian deputies demonstratively withdrew from the House. A big meeting of Ukrainian nationalists was held on 2 December in Lemberg, but was dissolved by the inspector of police present, as an answer to the loud cries of protest against the betrayal of Ukrainian rights by the Austrian Government.

Ukrainian electoral activities were suppressed, on orders from the Governor of Galicia, Count Andrew Potocki, with the bayonets of the gendarmerie; but in spite of all, 22 Ukrainian deputies and 5 Russophiles were elected. Simultaneously a fierce struggle was waged between the Polish and Ukrainian students in the Polish university of Lemberg, culminating in the arrest of about a hundred of the latter, who for three days carried out a hunger strike (21-24 February, 1907), and on being acquitted, demonstratively marched in a body through the streets, cheered by the Ukrainians of the city. Their acquittal was due to the demands put forward by a joint meeting of Slav and German students in Vienna on 10 February, by Ukrainian nationalist meetings in Lemberg and Czernowitz on the 12th, and in a petition of all the Ukrainian deputies in the Galician Diet, led by the Uniat Metropolitan, Count Andrew Sheptytsky.

The newly-elected Ukrainian deputies of Galicia and Bukovina presented on 20 June, 1907, at the session of the Chamber of Deputies, a declaration concerning the legal position of the Ukrainian people in Galicia and Bukovina. In this they pointed out that the Ukrainians of Galicia were ruled by the Polish majority in the Diet; that its powers were being steadily extended, and that under the new electoral law the number of Ukrainian mandates had been reduced by half; and, finally, that the elections in Galicia had been conducted by partial and illegal methods. They laid stress upon their desire for Ukrainian national and territorial autonomy within the Austrian State, and at the same time protested against the extension of Polish local autonomy in Galicia. This declaration was signed not only by all the Ukrainian deputies of Galicia and Bukovina, but also by the five Russophil deputies.

As, however, the Ukrainian interpellations against electoral abuses did not obtain the necessary majority in the Chamber, the Ukrainian deputies entered demonstrative protests by singing their national anthems: "Ukraine is not yet dead" and "The time has gone for serving Muscovite and Pole." Their Parliamentary Club decided to oppose every Austrian Cabinet, so long as it declined to fulfil the Ukrainian demands. The Premier, Baron Beck, twice negotiated with them, and on receiving from them a demand for the restoration of real constitutional conditions in Galicia and the punishment of officials convicted of electoral abuses, he invited Count Potocki to institute an inquiry into such cases. But Potocki, assuring Beck that everything was in order, gave instructions for the use of the gendarmerie and their bayonets to deter the peasantry from voting for their own national candidates during the elections to the Diet. On 6 February, 1908, an Ukrainian peasant named Marko Kahanets was stabbed by the gendarmes, and on 12 April his death was avenged by an Ukrainian student, Myroslav Sichynsky, who killed Potocki with revolver shots, shouting as he fired: "For the wrongs done to the Ukrainian people, for the elections, for the death of Kahanets!"

Needless to say, the assassination of Count Potocki greatly embittered the relations between Ukrainians and Poles. The representatives of the former in Parliament represented this outrage as an act of despair on the part of a people shut off from every avenue of escape, while the gendarmes continued with impunity to shoot down Ukrainian peasants in Galicia. But the obstruction adopted by the Ukrainian deputies both in the Diet and in the Reichsrat alarmed the Austrian Government and even the Poles; and the

latter suggested a compromise which, however, the Ukrainian representatives refused to consider seriously.

Among the national problems which assumed great importance in the arena of Parliament at the end of the first and the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, that of establishing an Ukrainian university at Lemberg was one of the foremost. This question repeatedly called forth in Lemberg among the rival student factions conflicts in which blood was shed; for instance, on 1 July, 1910, the Ukrainian student, Adam Kotsko, was shot dead by a Polish student. The Austrian Government at first endeavoured to find a solution acceptable to the Poles. But when Ukrainian obstruction began to have a disturbing effect in the debates on the budget, army and finance, the Government consented to a measure of electoral reform for the Galician Diet and promised the Ukrainians a separate university. As a result, parliamentary obstruction ceased in the middle of June, 1912.¹ From that time till the outbreak of the Great War the Ukrainian representation scarcely ever opposed the Government. Indeed, the constant menace of war with Russia, who was bent on destroying all the independent national characteristics of her own Ukrainians, forced the Galician Ukrainians to enter upon a compromise in their relations with Vienna. But the good intentions of the Austrian Government to comply with Ukrainian demands were thwarted by the negative attitude of the Poles to Ukrainian wishes, and at home in Galicia, by the Polish majority of the Galician Diet. Thus the establishment of an Ukrainian university at Lemberg was constantly postponed.

It was the Galician Governor, Michael Bobrzyński, who at the instance of the Central Government tried to carry out electoral reform in the Diet. But his compromise Bill of 1913 was not accepted either by the Polish Club in the Diet, or by the Polish Episcopate, and consequently he tendered his resignation, and the Galician Diet was dissolved on 3 May, 1913. In June the elections took place on the basis of the old unreformed franchise, but this time the Ukrainian people displayed its political maturity by electing 31 deputies, the Russophil group retaining only one seat.

This increase in the Ukrainian representation in the Diet roused Polish opinion, and on 26 January, 1914, a compromise was finally reached regarding the university and electoral reform for the Diet. The Polish parties declared for the immediate establishment of an Ukrainian University and agreed that in the new Diet there should

¹ At the last elections to the Austrian Parliament, in 1911, the Galician Ukrainians elected 24 deputies, and the Russophiles only two.

be 62 Ukrainians out of a total of 228. Towards the close of its existence (February–March, 1914) the Galician Diet resolved to take over already existing private Ukrainian secondary schools (gymnasia), 9 in number. This was to have come into effect in September, 1914, while the elections to the new Galician Diet, on the new basis of separate voting for the two nationalities, were to take place from 7 October to 6 November, 1914. But the hopes of a peaceful settlement between the Poles and Ukrainians of Galicia were not to be realised, for the Great War overthrew all hope of realising Ukrainian political aspirations within the parliamentary sphere.

IV. THE UKRAINIANS OF GALICIA DURING THE GREAT WAR (1914–1918)

When the Great War broke out, the Ukrainian people in Galicia unanimously and firmly took the side of Austria-Hungary against the Russian Empire, as the greatest enemy of Ukraine.² The leaders of all Ukrainian parties in Galicia united in the “Central Ukrainian Council,” which, in its proclamation of 3 August, 1914, clearly insisted that the victory of the Austro-Hungarian army over the Russians would bring the liberation of Ukraine. It therefore appealed to the people to form an Ukrainian Legion of volunteers on the Austrian side, the so-called “Sich” Riflemen.

Disregarding these proofs of loyalty and devotion of the Galician Ukrainians to Austria, the Austro-Hungarian commanders and the Polish provincial administration set themselves from the very outset to persecute the Ukrainians for their supposed “Russophilism.” Already before the Great War the Poles in their struggle with the Ukrainian nationalists had profited by the existence of a small group which proclaimed the national identity of the Galicians with the Russians; and as soon as the war broke out they cast the suspicion of high treason not only on their former allies, these genuine Russophiles, but also on the whole Ukrainian people in Galicia. Following the information of the local authorities and denunciations from various quarters—the German and Magyar regiments of the Joint Army brutally maltreated the defenceless population during their retreat before the Russians in

² As one who was in Galicia for nearly the whole period of the Russian occupation, I should stoutly challenge this statement. I saw many signs among the native population of just the opposite: and no wonder, for a large portion of the Russian troops engaged were, like the inhabitants, Ukrainians and definitely regarded their task as one of liberation.—B.P.

1914. Gallows were erected in the Ukrainian villages beside the churches, with innocent martyrs, among them many Uniat clergy; and many parents, wives, and even children were hanged as traitors at the very moment when their sons, husbands and brothers were risking their lives on the battlefields for the Austrian Emperor. Thousands of innocent prisoners filled the Austrian concentration camps in Thalerhof, Schwaz, Kufstein and Theresienstadt, and it was not till the summer of 1917 that the survivors were set free, after prolonged efforts on the part of the Ukrainian political representatives.

This attitude on the part of the Austro-Hungarian high command and police led some members of the "Central Ukrainian Council" to the idea of an appeal to the Western Allies for the protection of the unhappy Ukrainian people in Galicia against the atrocities of the Magyars. But on the one hand they feared even greater Austrian repression, and on the other hand the Russians during their occupation of Galicia (1914-1915) plundered the Ukrainian cultural institutions and arrested many Ukrainian national leaders and workers, notably the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Andrew Sheptysky; and this prevented the "Central Ukrainian Council" from going over to the Entente, as the Czechs did in their struggle against Austria. Instead of that, the Council endeavoured to prove to the Austrian Government how groundless were the repressive measures taken by its subordinates against the Ukrainian population. In compliance with the demand of the Ukrainian deputies, the Austrian Premier, Count Stürgkh, brought the matter to the notice of the Emperor Francis Joseph; and the latter instructed the Commander-in-Chief, Archduke Frederick, to keep a tight hand over the army and check the abuses of martial law. The Archduke Frederick issued, on 13 January, 1915, a command to the army, explaining that all Ruthenes (Ukrainians) are not to be regarded as traitors, that the army should avoid making use of false denunciations, and adopt a friendly attitude towards the population of Galicia; and finally he reminded it that the Ruthene soldiers were heroically fighting in their ranks, just like the soldiers of Polish and other nationality.

The Ukrainian deputies in Vienna were not satisfied with the contents of this *communiqué*, and demanded that the summary execution of suspected persons should be strictly forbidden to the troops, that Ukrainian interpreters should be employed and that the accused, where the charge seemed well-founded, should be sent to the competent courts. The ill-treatment of the innocent Ukrainian

population by the Austrian army continued, throughout the war, to present a grave problem to their elected representatives.

While the Ukrainian population of Galicia thus suffered no less from the Austro-Hungarian than from the Russian troops, certain Galician Poles played the role of informers in both directions. To the Austrian Government they accused the Ukrainians of Russophilism, to the Russians they denounced them as Austrophils. In Vienna they put abroad the story that the Metropolitan Sheptytsky had lent himself to the Russian cause. The Pole, Stanislas Zagorski, became notorious for the death sentences passed upon innocent Ukrainians on the Austrian side. The Ukrainian representatives pointed out in Vienna that the political authorities in Galicia, with the Governor, Vithold Korytowski, at their head, were spreading malicious rumours about Ukrainian treason to Austria, and prosecuting even the most loyal citizens of Ukrainian nationality. It would seem as though the Austrian Government had been convinced; for the Governor, Korytowski, was dismissed and replaced by a German, General Hermann Colard (20 July, 1915). The new Governor assured the Ukrainian leaders that he would be just to both nationalities and admitted the reasonableness of the Ukrainian claim to equal rights with the Poles. He took a kindly interest in the Ukrainian action on behalf of the Galician population, and helped to obtain credits for the principal Ukrainian institutions; he also removed from office certain specially chauvinist "starosts," and also the Vice-President of the Provincial Board of Education, Dembowski.

On 5 May, 1915, the Ukrainian deputies from Galicia and Bukovina, together with the Ukrainian emigrants from Russia resident in Austria, formed the "General Ukrainian Council" in Vienna, as representing the whole Ukrainian people for the period of the war. This Council presented, in August, 1915, to the Governments of Austro-Hungary and Germany a memorial (*Denkschrift*) stressing the necessity for the occupying Powers adopting a milder attitude towards the Ukrainian population of the provinces (*gubernii*) of Holm, Horodno, Minsk and Volhynia and publishing a proclamation in the Ukrainian language. Such a document, they argued, should proclaim the liberation of the Ukrainian nation from the Russian yoke, assure it of religious and national liberty and equality of rights, and promise the introduction of the Ukrainian language into the schools, the administration and the churches, and also a just regulation of agrarian questions. The memorial further referred to the need for employing Ukrainian interpreters

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with every military unit throughout the above-mentioned Ukrainian provinces (*gubernii*), and urged that the services of the Ukrainian Legion should be made use of. The Council was opposed to the union of Ukrainian occupied territory with Polish, and demanded that the administration should be Ukrainian, that Ukrainian newspapers, schools, libraries and reading-rooms should be set up, and finally that the Greek-Catholic clergy from Galicia should be allowed to take up the cure of souls in the province of Holm, where as early as 1875 the Russian Government had ejected all Uniat priests.

It was, however, only in Volhynia that any such cultural and educational action was taken, and this was due to the Austrian officers of Ukrainian nationality and the Ukrainian Legionaries who accompanied the army. The Austrian authorities in occupation of Holm reunited it with the Polish province of Lublin. As for the Poles in the Austrian service, they tried by all possible methods to polonise the Ukrainians throughout the districts occupied by Austria. Count Burián, when he again became Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, evaded the insistent appeal of the Ukrainian deputies in Vienna by declaring that in the question of Holm and Volhynia no answer could be given either to the Ukrainians or Poles till the end of the war.

Meanwhile even the situation of the Ukrainians in Galicia did not improve, though the Premier, Count Stürgkh, declared on 25 August and 7 November, 1915, to the "General Ukrainian Council," that following an agreement with Germany the division of Galicia was to take place, while Baron Hussarek, Minister of Public Instruction, declared on 18 May, 1916, that the Ukrainians were standing before the gate of their own university. But when after the murder of Stürgkh in October, 1916, Koeber was appointed Premier, an Imperial decree was issued on 4 November, re-establishing an independent Polish State, and the fate of Galicia followed lines quite contrary to the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people. Austrian policy hesitated between the Poles and Ukrainians, but the protest of the Ukrainian representation, the death of Francis Joseph, and finally the resignation of Koerber, only delayed the isolation of Galicia. The Emperor Charles and the new Premier, Count Clam-Martinić, made promises to the Poles, but did not fail to stress their desire for an understanding between the two nations.

The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, and the rise of the Ukrainian State on the territory belonging to the former Russian Empire gave another course to Ukrainian aspirations in Galicia.

The students demanded that the Ukrainian parliamentary representation should declare that the nation aimed at the creation of a single independent State comprising all Ukrainian lands, even those suffering under the Polish and Magyar yoke—in other words, Galicia, Volhynia, Holm, Podlasia and “Carpathian Ruthenia” (then under Hungary, now under Czechoslovakia). But the parliamentarians, to the very moment of the downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy, defended the standpoint of Ukrainian national autonomy within the boundaries of the Austrian State. A minor favour granted to the Ukrainians by the Austrian Government was the nomination of the Ukrainian professor, Dr. Ivan Horbachevsky, as Minister of Health (31 August, 1917).

The Poles spared no effort in Vienna and in Berlin to ensure that the whole of Galicia should be annexed to the restored Polish Kingdom. Meanwhile the new Ukrainian Republic concluded with Austria-Hungary the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (on 9 February, 1918), with a secret clause concerning Eastern Galicia and Bukovina—Austria undertaking to unite them, not later than 31 July, 1918, as an Ukrainian autonomous province. But thanks to Polish endeavours the Austrian Government annulled this secret treaty concerning Galicia, in spite of the protest of the Ukrainian Ambassador in Vienna, Vyacheslav Lipinsky (28 July, 1918). It was only when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was on the point of collapse that a manifesto was issued by the Emperor Charles I and the Premier, Hussarek, on 16 October, announcing the reconstruction of Austria as a federation of national States: German-Austrian, Czech, Illyrian and Ukrainian, the latter consisting of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. This idea had always been advocated by the Ukrainian deputies in the Austrian Parliament, but by October, 1918, it had already ceased to offer any attraction. On 19 October, 1918, the representatives of the Ukrainian population of Galicia, Bukovina and the Carpathian districts proclaimed an independent West Ukrainian Republic on these territories; to maintain its very existence a hard struggle with the Poles began early in November, 1918. This Ukraino-Polish War for Galicia and its consequences forms a new epoch in the efforts of the Galician Ukrainians to establish a national State of their own.

NICHOLAS ANDRUSIAK.