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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Bd. 49, H. 2, Themenschwerpunkt: Die ukrainische Nationalbewegung vor 1914 (2001), pp. 200-212

Published by: [Franz Steiner Verlag](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41053009>

Accessed: 02/12/2012 06:09

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“Whom Shall We Be?” Public Debates over the National Identity of Galician Ruthenians in the 1860s

Ukrainians (Ruthenians¹) of the 19th century Austrian crownland of Galicia appear to be a suitable group for analyzing modern national identity making. Recently John-Paul Himka demonstrated how the new conceptual repertoire of nationalism studies may be applied to the dilemmas of identity-choice in Galicia, and presented the most up-to-date arrangement of five competing orientations among the Galician Ruthenians: namely, Polonophile, Ukrainianophile, Russophile, Old Ruthenian, and Little Russian.² The institutional and ideological histories of the main Ruthenian trends, Ukrainianophile and Russophile, have already been examined in a number of studies.³ However, while they are usually analyzed as discrete entities, less attention is paid to their interaction and to the resulting personal and a collective level shifts in national self-identification that often took place within quite short periods of time. The Galician case provides rich material for analyzing processes which Himka described as negotiations among two or more “nationalities” on their national identities.⁴

This issue fits well into the conceptual framework of the modern public sphere, developed by Jürgen Habermas.⁵ Elaborating further on his model, Geoff Eley noticed that “it is important to acknowledge the existence of competing publics not just later in the nineteenth century, when Habermas sees a fragmentation of the classical liberal model of *Öffentlichkeit*, but at the every stage in the history of the public sphere and, indeed, from the very beginning

¹ The historical national name of the Ukrainians, Ruthenians (*rusyny*, adjective *rus'kyi*), is used in this article, according to the prevailing terminology of that time.

² J.-P. HIMKA The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus’: Icarian Flights in Almost All Directions, in: R. G. SUNY, M. D. KENNEDY (eds.) Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation. Ann Arbor 1999, pp. 109–164. An alternative definition and demarcation of Old Ruthenian and Russophile currents was proposed earlier in: P.-R. MAGOCSI Old Ruthenianism and Russophilism: A New Conceptual Framework for Analyzing National Ideologies in Late 19th Century Eastern Galicia, in: P. DEBRECZENY (ed.) American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists (Kiev, September 1983). Vol. 2: Literature, Poetics, History. Columbus, Ohio 1983, pp. 305–324.

³ The literature on both trends is quite extensive. See new studies that have appeared in the last few years: IA. ISAIEVYCH Galicia and Problems of National Identity, in: R. ROBERTSON, E. TIMMS (eds.) The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective. Edinburgh 1994, pp. 37–45; S. MAKARCHUK Moskvofil’stvo: vytoky ta evoliutsia idei (seredyna XIX st.–1914), in: Visnyk L’vivs’koho universytetu. Seria istorychna 32 (1997) pp. 82–98; O. ARKUSHA Ukrains’kyi natsional’no-politychnyi rukh u Halychyni naprykintsi 80-kh rr. XIX st., in: Ukraina: kul’turna spadshchyna, natsional’na svidomist’, derzhavnist’ 3–4 (1997) pp. 118–139; O. SEREDA Natsional’na svidomist’ ta politychna prohrama rannikh narodovtsiv u Skhidnii Halychyni (1861–1867), in: Visnyk L’vivs’koho universytetu. Seria istorychna 34 (1999) pp. 199–214; O. ARKUSHA, M. MUDRYI Rusofil’stvo v Halychyni v seredyni XIX – na pochatku XX st.: Heneza, etapy rozvytku, svitohliad, ibidem pp. 231–268.

⁴ J.-P. HIMKA Reply to L. Szarka Szlovak nemzeti feilodes; Megalomanians and Ruritanians. in: H-Habsburg, 16 May 1995, item number 254, archived at [www2.h-net.msu.edu/~habsweb/archives/threads/szarka.html].

⁵ J. HABERMAS The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge 1989 [originally published in German in 1962].

[...]. He misses the extent to which the public sphere was always constituted by conflict [...]. The public sphere makes more sense as the structured setting where cultural and ideological contest or negotiation among a variety of publics takes place rather than as the spontaneous and class-specific achievement of the bourgeoisie in some sufficient sense.⁶ The lines of national division fragmented the public sphere in ethnically heterogeneous regions at the time of transition from pre-modern to modern nationalism. Then, the various concepts of national self-identity were shaped in the course of public debate.

Habermas demonstrated how the modern public sphere was created in the 18th century Western European countries. With certain simplifications one may assume that Austrian and Galician public life after 1848, and especially since the 1860s, resemble crucial aspects of the Habermas model. It was exactly at that point, with the eradication of estate barriers, that the public became inclusive, and cultural products were generally accessible, at least theoretically. With the introduction of some liberal freedoms and a representative assembly in the form of the Diet and parliament the public sphere was further developed.

The development of the modern public sphere had a special significance for the national groups *sans nobilité* such as the Galician Ruthenians who had very limited chances for political representation in the traditional order. It was no coincidence that the 1860s, the decade of imperial reforms, was crucial in the political forming of other “nationalities without independent national political history” within the Habsburg empire.⁷ It should be also noted that both Ukrainianophile and Russophile trends in Galicia trace their beginnings back to this decade. The controversy between them defined Ruthenian public life in Galicia until the end of the 19th century, and was finally resolved in favor of the former.

Development of the Public Sphere and Shaping of Ruthenian National Identity in Galicia: Introductory Remarks

In the 18th and early 19th centuries Galician Ruthenian identity was part of the hierarchy of multiple loyalties that usually also included affiliation to Polish high culture and history. Although a substantial number of Ruthenians accepted the link between Ruthenian tradition and a distinctly “Ruthenian” confession (*rus'ka vira*), in Polish public opinion they were usually seen as Poles who differed only by local vernacular and Eastern Christian church ritual. Many East Galician landowners as well as urban dwellers traced their origin back to, or were themselves born in ethnically Ruthenian Greek Catholic families. They called themselves Ruthenian and were quite aware of being *gente Rutheni*. At the same time they identified themselves as Poles, spoke Polish, and considered Polish culture as their own. Ruthenian vernacular (*rus'ka mova*) was reserved, in their opinion, only for peasants and the less educated classes.⁸ Many of the Greek Catholic priests were also Polonized, used Polish in the everyday life as an indication of their superiority to the Ruthenian-speaking peasantry, and turned to Ruthenian only for communication with peasants in their local communes.⁹

The Ruthenian national movement for the first time appeared as a political and public phenomenon in Galicia during the revolution of 1848 when the first Ruthenian political,

⁶ G. ELEY Nations, Publics and Political Culture: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century, in: GRAIG J. CALHOUN (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA 1992, p. 306.

⁷ R. A. KANN *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*. Vol. 1. New York 1950, pp. 271–332.

⁸ J. DOBOSZYŃSKI *Pamiętnik*, in: I. HOMOLA, B. ŁOPUSZAŃSKI (eds.) *Pamiętniki urzędników galicyjskich*. Kraków 1978, p. 362.

⁹ A. VAKHNIANYN *Spomyny z zhytia*. L'viv 1908, p. 37.

cultural institutions, and press were established.¹⁰ The gray period of neo-absolutist rule between 1849 and 1860 marked a caesura in the national movement of Galician Ruthenians, when their first newspaper *Zoria Halyts'ka* collapsed and only the official Viennese *Vistnyk* survived into the 1860s. The growth and decline of Ruthenian publications and of a Lviv-based periodical press illustrate the dynamics of the development of Ruthenian public sphere in the nineteenth century, and clearly distinguish the 1860s from the previous decades (see Graphs 1 and 2).

The events of 1848, when some public gatherings in Lviv were conducted in Ruthenian, marked a linguistic shift but not a fundamental change of situation. Ruthenian started to be spoken publicly on a mass scale only in the early 1860s. The famous “alphabet war” of 1859¹¹ stimulated interest to the Ruthenian language, but the crucial factor was the development of the public sphere that acquired new dimensions and involved a larger section of the educated public. This facilitated an intense exchange of ideas and stimulated interests in issues dominant in the age of late Romanticism, including the relationship between folk culture and national identity. While the Ruthenian national activities in the first half of the 19th century were confined to semi-private gatherings of intellectuals, in 1848 and again in the early 1860s they entered the public realm. With the development of the public sphere, opinions on national culture which previously had only been discussed in correspondence between a few devoted patriots (like the “Ruthenian Triad” in the 1830s or the “Pogodin’s colony” in the 1850s), could be formulated and institutionalized through the periodical press. Increased public communication stimulated people of Ruthenian origin to define more precisely whether and how their identity was related to Polish and, at the next stage, also to Ukrainian and Russian “imagined communities.” The relationship and position of the Ruthenian language towards Polish had to be delineated and acknowledged publicly. The resulting debates strengthened constant opposition to the Poles (in terms of “we – they”) in the minds of many educated Ruthenians, especially university and *gymnasia* students who were entering the realm of adult intellectual life. Ukrainian activist Tyt Revakovych (1846–1919) recalled that he was the scion of a priestly family which used Polish in everyday life. He personally turned to Ukrainian only in 1861 together with his *gymnasium* classmates who still encouraged one another in Polish: “well, let’s speak this time in Ruthenian” (*no, mówmy juz raz po rusku!*).¹² The Artist Kornylo Ustyianovych (1839–1903) recalled that in 1858 the circle of his close friends started to persuade other Ruthenian students in Lviv Bernardynian *gymnasium* to speak vernacular among themselves, but their attempt was totally unsuccessful. However, the same students became extremely enthusiastic in the 1860s about speaking publicly not in Polish but in Ruthenian.¹³ The old priest’s widow Vytoshyns’ka commented on the young students speaking Ukrainian in the early 1860s in a very demonstrative way: “The world is upside down now. They speak in the same way as servants do in the kitchen.”¹⁴ (Interestingly enough that everyday language of the Lviv town dwellers also changed, and Polish rapidly replaced German in the course of the “autonomization” of Galicia¹⁵).

¹⁰ See J. KOZIK The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia: 1815–1849. Edmonton 1986.

¹¹ V. MOISEIENKO Pro odnu sprobu latynizatsii ukrains'koho pys'ma, in: І 9 (1997) pp. 140–147.

¹² O. NAZARUK, O. OKHRYMOVYCH Khronika rukhu ukrains'koi akademichnoi molodizhi u Lvovi, in: Z. KUZELIA (ed.) Istorychnyi ohliad zhyttia v students'kykh ukrains'kykh organizatsiakh. L'viv 1908, p. 5.

¹³ K. USTYIANOVYCH Rus'ka mova sered molodizhi gimn. v 50-ykh rokakh, in: Zhytie i slovo 3 (1895) p. 468.

¹⁴ VAKHNIANYN Spomyny z zhytia. p. 62.

¹⁵ B. LIMANOWSKI Pamiętniki. Vol. 2. Warszawa 1958 pp. 19–20.

The early 1860s also marked the growth of public attention to the differences between "Polish" (Roman Catholic) and "Ruthenian" (Greek Catholic) church rituals. A group of Greek Catholic priests set out to purge church ritual of Latin admixtures and advocated a return to original Orthodox forms. This provoked a hostile reaction from the Roman Catholic priests who saw dangerous tendencies towards "Muscovy and schism" in this "ritualistic" struggle.¹⁶

One can observe how a Ruthenian identity was reformulated as mutually exclusive from the Polish: Ruthenian language and ritual obtained new cultural and political meaning, and were institutionalized as signs of a non-Polish national identity.

Press Debates

The Ruthenian press reemerging after the liberalization of the Habsburg regime served as the germ for a separate Ruthenian (and later Ukrainian) public sphere and allowed seemingly isolated and insignificant groups of intelligentsia to formulate the "national" public opinion. In January 1861 a new political periodical, the bi-weekly *Slovo* appeared, claiming to represent the views of the "Galician Ruthenian nationality." The chief editor of *Slovo* was Bohdan Didys'kyi (1827–1908), a lay intellectual, who as late as in 1848 supported Polish revolutionary actions before switching to the Ruthenian camp. Soon *Slovo* was followed by more specialized periodicals "for rural folk" (*Dom i Shkola* [1863–1864], *Pys'mo do hromady* [1864–1868], *Nedilia* [1865–1866]) and "for belles" (*Rusalka* [1868–1870]), the satirical Viennese journal *Strakhopud* (1863–1867) and various literary supplements. Furthermore, from February 1862 young Ruthenian followers of a modern Ukrainian national idea (such as Ksenofont Klymkovich [1835–1881], Volodymyr Shashkevych [1839–1885], Danylo Taniachkevych [1842–1906], Fedir Zarevych [1835–1879] and others), guided by intellectuals from Russian-ruled Ukraine (where public debates over Ukrainian national identity were also intensified due to political liberalization in the early 1860s¹⁷), started to publish their own literary and political periodicals: firstly, the short-lived *Vechernytsi* (1862–1863), *Meta* (1863–1865), *Nyva* (1865), *Rusalka* (1866), *Rus'* (1867), and finally the more durable *Pravda* (1867–1879).¹⁸ Since the existing cultural institutions (*Narodnyi Dim*, *Halyts'ko-Rus'ka Matysia*, *Rus'ka Besida* and others) were controlled by Old Ruthenians and Russophiles, the role of the press was especially important for Ukrainophiles: the provincial reading circles of Lviv-based journals served as nuclei for their movement among the youth in Galician *gymnasia*.

All of the Ruthenian press was carefully scrutinized for signs of pro-Russian inclinations by Polish Galician periodicals (most noteworthy was democratic *Gazeta Narodowa* edited in 1863–1885 by Jan Dobrzański (1819–1886), typical *gente Ruthenus natione Polonus*¹⁹). They too started to publish more on *Rus'* and its relation to Poland and Muscovy. Over the course of time also Russian and other Austrian (Vienna- and Prague-based) periodicals

¹⁶ See IA. HORDYNS'KYI Do istorii kulturnoho i politychnoho zhytia v Halychyni u 60-tyh rr. XIX v. L'viv 1917, pp. 64–88.

¹⁷ O. MILLER Zasvoiuiuchy logiku natsionalizmu: stavlennia vladnykh k il imperii ta hromads'ko dumky ii stolyts' do ukrains'koho natsional'noho rukhu v pershi roky tsariuvannia Oleksandra II, in: *Ukraina moderna* 2–3 (1999) pp. 76–102.

¹⁸ K. STUDYNS'KYI Do istorii vzaiemny Halychyny z Ukrainoiu v rr. 1860–1873, in: *Ukraina* 1 (1924) pp. 7–40.

¹⁹ On his role in Polish intellectual and political life see C. LECHICKI Najpopularniejszy dziennikarz galicyjski XIX wieku, in: *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne* 12 (1961) pp. 3–11.

responded to the arguments of the Ruthenian press.²⁰ This led to a vivid polyphony that was rich in rhetorical discussion of the national identity of the Galician Ruthenians.

First and foremost, Galician Ruthenian periodicals were expected to declare with whom they identified the Ruthenians. In its first issue, *Slovo* stated that Ruthenian language is not a dialect of Polish, and also that *Rus'* is not the same as Muscovy [*Moskovshchyna*.²¹ *Slovo* insisted on the national separateness of the Galician Ruthenians from the Poles, and called for the preservation of the Ruthenian language and church ritual from Polonization. Most importantly *Slovo* engaged in polemics with the Polish press over language and matters of ritual. It carefully avoided any identification with the Russians and repeatedly stressed that Galician Ruthenians were part of a 15-million Little Russian nation, adhering to the famous declaration of 1848.²² In this respect *Slovo* did not differ from the press published by young Ukrainophiles. However, when the contributors to these periodicals outlined more precisely how they envisioned the future development of their culture and how Little Russia was related to Great Russia, it became evident that the educated Ruthenian public was split into three groupings. Young Ukrainophiles were inspired by Taras Shevchenko's vision of Ukraine's past and future as well as his affection for simple people, and opted for a new modern Ukrainian culture based on the vernacular. Most of them thought that if "we have not created a literary language in Galicia, we must take it from Eastern Ukraine."²³ For nascent Russophiles to be "Little Russian" was consequently to be part of a larger pan-Russian spiritual unity. Some argued that since contemporary literary Russian was developed on the basis of Little Russian, Little Russians could accept Russian literary standards as their own. More traditional parts of the public, often classified as "Old Ruthenians" tried to base their identity on old sacral forms of Church Slavonic. *Slovo* opened its pages to representatives of all orientations during the first five years of its existence and in 1863–64 this future Russophile organ even condemned the Russian official policy towards the Ukrainian language.

However, *Slovo* clearly opposed the Ukrainophile press on the issue of orthography. As a result, for some contemporaries all debate in the Ruthenian community was limited to the controversy over orthography: historical-etymological or phonetical *kulishivka* (introduced by Panteleimon Kulish). For Old Ruthenians and Russophiles etymological orthography was part of Rus' spiritual heritage, while Ukrainophiles perceived it as the bridge for transferring to Russian (indeed, the etymological system was closer to Russian than vernacular-based phonetical one). Already in *Vechernytsi* Ukrainophiles risked adopting a phonetical system. This really irritated older parties and initiated the fissure between two trends.

After the Polish revolution of 1863 and the Valuev circular, *Meta* published more on Russian-Ukrainian relations and on the Russian-Polish conflict over Right-Bank Ukraine. Its editorial board contacted with those young Polish émigrés from the Russian empire who were *khlopomany*, "peasant-lovers" and admired Ukrainian folk culture – Paulin Święcicki (1841–1876), Lew Syroczyński (1844–1925) and others. *Khlopomany* and Galician Ukraino-

²⁰ The first two issues of *Slovo* have not passed unnoticed by St. Petersburg journal *Sovremennik* that published well-known disparaging review by N. G. CHERNYSHEVSKII (Natsional'naia beztaktnost', in: *Sovremennik* 88/7 [1861] pp. 1–18). The Ukrainophile St. Petersburg journal *Osnova* advertised *Slovo* and kept regular contact with Ruthenian activists in Lviv. Later Ruthenian identity have been regularly discussed from pan-Russian perspective in Kyiv-based *Vestnik Iugo-Zapadnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* that debated with *Meta*.

²¹ *Slovo*, 25 January 1861, pp. 1–2.

²² *Slovo*, 25 February 1861, p. 49.

²³ *Vechernytsi*, 22 March 1862, p. 61.

philes vividly discussed in *Meta* the place of Ukraine in Russian-Polish conflict.²⁴ Święcicki himself established a Polish-language periodical *Siolo* sympathetic to the followers of Shevchenko. By cooperating with former Polish insurgents *Meta* shifted decisively away from the traditional line of Ruthenian politics. Moreover, the Ukrainophile press publicly condemned those Galician "Little Russians" who refused to accept fully a modern Ukrainian national ideology for pan-Russian views.²⁵ In the eyes of the latter group young Ukrainophiles were misled by the Poles. The "divergence" of Ukrainophiles and their separate contacts with the Poles could not be tolerated by the older Ruthenian patriots, especially in light of the growing Polish-Ruthenian conflict in the new Galician Diet (*Sejm*).

The Ruthenian Issue in the Diet

From the very beginning the Diet sessions served as a forum for Polish-Ruthenian "negotiations" over the national identity of the East Galician population. In this respect it significantly differed from the traditional "estate Diet" that was summoned by the Austrian government in 1782–1790 and 1817–1845. Since 1861 (according to the February Patent) almost half of all Diet deputies were to be elected by peasants, and very often, included peasants. Also, the new Diet received limited legislative functions in regard to provincial matters, and could even change the provincial statute with the sanction of the emperor. The political core of the new Diet elected in 1861 consisted of members of the Polish patriotic nobility and urban intelligentsia who mostly represented large landowners and urban dwellers. Twenty-two Greek Catholic priests and seven Ruthenian lay intellectuals, known for their anti-Polish stance from 1848, were elected in the *curia* of small land owner. Besides these, three more groups of deputies to the Diet could be distinguished: Ruthenian and Polish peasants, and Jews elected by towns (Brody, Cracow, Kolomyia, Lviv) and industrial-commercial associations.²⁶

The languages used publicly in the Diet proceedings clearly split deputies into Ruthenian and Polish sides. Already at the first Diet session (15–25 April 1861) some deputies demanded that Ruthenian had to be used equally with Polish, and started to speak in vernacular Ruthenian. Count Alexander Borkowski (1811–1896), a colorful Eastern Galician aristocrat, opposed these demands, and stressed that Ruthenian was merely a dialect of Polish. Greek Catholic Father Hryhorii Hynylevych (1809–1871) in his turn, emphasized that Ruthenians always had their own language and literature.²⁷ This language debate was continued in June 1861 at the session of the Austrian State Council by *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* Teodor Szemelowski and Ruthenian poet Father Antin Mohyl'nyts'kyi (1811–1873).²⁸

Soon peasant deputies were also involved in the discussions over the official language of the Diet proceedings. In 1863 Ruthenian priests and intelligentsia organized together with

²⁴ K. KLYMKOVYCH Stanovyshe Rusi suprotiv liads'ko-moskovs'koi borby, in: *Meta* (1863) No. 1, pp. 61–83; LEVKO HONCHARENKO [L. SYROCYŃSKI] Znachenie Kyiv'skoho universytetu dla ukrains'koho narodu, in: *Meta* (1863) No. 3, pp. 218–228; Liakh z Ukrayny [P. ŚWIĘCICKI] Do redaktora "Mety", ibidem pp. 230–235.

²⁵ Nevidomyi z-po-mizh hurtu [D. TANIACHKEVYCH] Pys'mo do hromady, ibidem pp. 254–258.

²⁶ See the full list of the Diet deputies (1861–1866) in S. GRODZISKI (ed.) *Sejm Krajowy Galicyjski*, vol. 2: Źródła. Warszawa 1993, pp. 142–151. On the activity of the Jewish deputies and debates over Jewish emancipation in the 1860s see E. HORN Kwestia żydowska w obradach Galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego pierwszej kadencji (1861–1866), in: *Żydzi w Małopolsce. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*. Przemyśl 1991, pp. 171–179.

²⁷ Sprawozdania stenograficzne z posiedzeń Sejmu krajowego galicyjskiego we Lwowie odbytych od dnia 15 do 26 kwietnia 1861 r. Lwów 1861 [hereafter *Sprawozdania 1861*], pp. 46–47.

²⁸ K. LEVYTS'KYI Istoria politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukrainitsiv, 1848–1914. L'viv 1926, pp. 82–83.

peasants a separate “Ruthenian Club” that comprised one third of all deputies. The inability of Ruthenians to understand Polish was the strongest argument for introducing simultaneous translations into Ruthenian, and since educated Ruthenian deputies could hardly disown Polish, the Ruthenian peasants played a leading role in the language struggle. Thus, Father Teofil Pavlykiv (1821–1905) suggested at the meeting of the “Ruthenian Club” that “peasant deputies should demand that all petitions submitted to the Diet should be read in Ruthenian.”²⁹ Indeed, peasant deputies often declared that they did not understand Polish speeches and demanded Ruthenian translations. When the Polish side consequently ignored these requests, a Ruthenian peasant deputy bitterly commented: “We do not come here to be ridiculed, but when we speak in Ruthenian, you are laughing and clapping – that is how things are, my Lords.”³⁰ Peasant deputies protested against both social and linguistic inferiority that led to the nationalization of the social conflict in Eastern Galicia.

The Polish-Ruthenian debate continued in the sessions of 1865–1866 in connection with the question of which language was the official one in the Diet’s proceedings, along with the questions of financial subsidies to the Ukrainian theater (established in March 1864), and of the language of instruction in Galician *gymnasia*. The main spokesmen for the Polish side was again Count Borkowski, whose speeches enjoyed overwhelming and enthusiastic support from the Diet’s majority, and several *gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*. Borkowski used history as the criterion of separate national existence, and brought many historical arguments to the debate. He argued that Ruthenians originally were Eastern Poles who under the influence of the neighboring Russia were partly “Ruthenianized” in a cultural sense. Yet, they did not constitute a historical nation, and still were Poles since they had been loyal to the Polish medieval state. Concerning the question of official language in Galicia, Borkowski claimed that Ruthenian and Polish were mutually complementary, thus Ruthenian as well as Mazurian were languages for common people, while Polish was the language of culture, science, and politics. Therefore, only Polish could be used as the political language in the province.³¹

Ruthenian deputies tried to defeat the historical arguments of the Polish side. Thus the historian Antin Petrushevych (1821–1913) presented a counter scheme of the history of Polish-Ruthenian relations, arguing that Ruthenians were in a sense a historical nation. Since the 1848 Rus’ revival, “as first Adam was forever lost from Heaven after he tried the fruit of life, so Ruthenians are lost for Poland since they have realized their nationality, this means that never shall such a Ruthenian become a Pole.”³²

Other Ruthenian speakers pointed out that the Galician Diet was the representative institution of both nations, and that if Polish national rights had to be recognized in the empire, so equally had Ruthenian.³³ In the discussion of an Ukrainian theater in Galicia on 12 April 1866, Ruthenian demands for financial support were rejected mostly by some *natione Poloni, gente Rutheni* deputies who argued that educated Ruthenians preferred Polish theater, and that common people did not need theater at all. This enabled Ruthenian deputies to accuse Poles (labeled as “feudals”) of oppressing their national-cultural rights.³⁴ Polish-Ruthenian

²⁹ Protocol of the Ruthenian Club meeting, 2 January 1863, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in L’viv, fond 196, opys 1, od. zb. 4, arkush 1.

³⁰ Sprawozdania 1861, p. 170.

³¹ Stenograficzne Sprawozdania z trzeciej sesji Sejmu krajowego Królewstwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi wraz z Wielkim Ksienstwem Krakowskiem w roku 1865–1866. Vol. 1. Lwów 1866 [hereafter Sprawozdania 1865–1866], pp. 60–63, 593–596.

³² Ibidem, vol. 1, pp. 397–401.

³³ Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 57; vol. 2, pp. 1286–1287.

³⁴ Ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 1467–1471, 1474.

animosity arose still more when the Diet majority approved on 31 December 1866 the Polonization of the Galician public *gymnasia* subsequently sanctioned by the emperor on 22 June 1867.³⁵

Shifts in Identity: Prognoses and Outcomes

Both sides recognized the changing character of national identity. Polish politicians often suspected that the identity of those Ruthenians who refused to be part of Polish nation was quite vague and dangerously inclining to the Great Russian option. Thus they tried to foster a more pro-Catholic and pro-Polish concept of Ruthenian identity. After the first Diet session Prince Adam Sapieha (1828–1903) secretly proposed to introduce at least several hundred Galician nobles into the Ruthenian community. Their task would be to gain the trust of “Ruthenian dreamers,” and to take the leadership in their hands. In order to get access into the Ruthenian ranks they were to “return” to the Greek Catholic Church. Sapieha was sure that if at least ten nobles would publicly do it, this fact itself would have positive impact on the Ruthenian Uniates, and even offered himself to be reconverted into the Byzantine rite.³⁶ Similar projects were discussed in the Polish press. A contributor to *Dziennik Literacki*, a leading Polish intellectual newspaper in Lviv, believed that three quarters of the Polish nobility of Galicia were Ruthenians by origin. In his opinion, they had to proclaim themselves Ruthenians in order to promote Polish national identification among the Greek Catholic peasantry, and to deny the ability of Greek Catholic priests to decide the future of Rus'.³⁷

Count Borkowski, the main Polish spokesman on the Ruthenian issue, believed that in his lifetime such an underdeveloped political organism as the Ruthenian one had no chance of becoming an independent nation. Thus, he foretold Ruthenians: “Either you will remain within your family tree, and will share with it everything in the future, as you have shared everything with it in the past, or [...] you will become not Little Russians, but Great, complete Russians, and you will be ingested into this abyss without a sign. Let nobody dream about another future.”³⁸

The process of Ruthenian language formation and its possible Russification was also discussed in the Diet in very political terms. All this further alienated the deputies of the “Ruthenian Club” from the Polish majority. All of them, including the few Ukrainophiles, wanted to maintain solidarity in the face of the united Polish camp. They warned that further linguistic Polonization and church Latinization of Ruthenians would, in fact, give impetus to their rapprochement with the Russians.³⁹

Slovo in its turn commented that debates with the Poles in the Diet and press had stimulated Ruthenians to reconsider their national identity: “Before the beginning of the Diet we used to be Little Russians (*Malorossiiane*), but during the session of the Diet, the organ of the majority *Gazeta Narodowa* has convinced us that we are Muscovites (*Moskali*) [...]. Though lords-Poles (*pany-polony*) have made us Muscovites, they have not harmed us, but [on the contrary] they have raised us up, strengthened us, and have given us greater signifi-

³⁵ See the text of the decree in: M. BOBRZYŃSKI, W. L. JAWORSKI, J. MILEWSKI (eds.) *Z dziejów odrodzenia politycznego Galicji 1859–1873*. Warszawa 1905, pp. 133–136.

³⁶ A. Sapieha to A. Czartoryski, 18 May 1861, Czartoryski Library in Cracow, manuscript division, rkps. 5688 III, pp. 349–350. The letter is partly published and discussed in: S. KIENIEWICZ Adam Sapieha (1828–1903). Lwów 1939, p. 354.

³⁷ JELITENKO NARZECZA co znaczy nazwisko: Lach, Rusin, Polak', in: *Dziennik Literacki* (1861) No. 49, pp. 394–396.

³⁸ Sprawozdania 1865–1866, vol. 1, pp. 593–596.

³⁹ Ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 1472–1473.

cance, delivered us from literary delusions, saved us from Polish paternalism and by the total negation of Rus', [and] have not allowed any of our arrangements with Poland."⁴⁰ The growth of Russophilism in Galicia was most of all caused by the success of Polish politicians in securing future control over Galicia and their failure to concede national recognition for Ruthenians. The Diet delegation to Vienna which consisted exclusively of Poles, meditated successfully with the Austrian government over the nomination of Count Agenor Goluchowski (1812–1875), a person who symbolized Polish-Austrian compromise, to the office of Galician viceroy.⁴¹ At the same time, after Austria was defeated at Sadova, Galician Russophiles expected the rapid intervention of Russia into the conflict, and the arrival of the Russian army in Galicia. These two factors contributed to the dominance of the Russophile orientation in the Ruthenian camp. As late as in April 1866 Father Ivan Naumovych (1826–1891), leader of the "ritualist" movement, declared in the Galician Diet: "As we cannot be Poles, so we are not Great Russians, and we always were, are, and shall be Little Russians."⁴² Four months later he proclaimed "on behalf of many" in *Slovo* that "we are not Ruthenians from 1848, we are real Russians," and that "from the ethnographic, historical, lexical, literary, and ritual point of view, Galician, Hungarian, Kyivian, Muscovian, Tobolskian and other Rus' are one and the same Rus'." He used the word Rus' as a synonym for Russia. Naumovych tried to convince his readers that it was necessary to change the national program from 1848, which with strong irony he presented as the program of "seperating ourselves by a Chinese Wall from our brothers [Russians]."⁴³ Consequently *Slovo* changed the national self-name "Ruthenian" [*ruskyi*] into "Russian" [*russkii*]. The official Viennese *Vistnyk* (that represented views of the Old Ruthenian group) immediately opposed this declaration and commented that the "above mentioned servile flattery to the Russians (*rossiiskoie lyzunstvo*) contrasts totally with the previous actions of the editor of *Slovo*," who always wrote previously about the 15 million Ruthenian nation (*ruskim narodi*) and against the unification with the Russian (*rossiiskim*) one.⁴⁴ However, *Vistnyk* ceased to be published in December 1866.

In May-June 1867 four Galician Ruthenians participated in the Slavic Congress in Moscow, and received substantial financial subsidies.⁴⁵ After these moves the Russian Pan-Slavist press, particularly *Moskovskie Vedomosti* of Mikhail Katkov, which specialized in anti-Polish polemics,⁴⁶ became more interested in the self-declared Galician Russians. Since they were persecuted by the Poles, the latter appeared to be oppressors (not victims) of the Russians, and this partly justified anti-Polish measures in the Western provinces of the Russian empire. Thus, *Moskovskie Vedomosti* frequently reported on the misfortunes of the "Galician Russians", collected donations for them, and appealed to readers to help Galician Russophiles.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Z Vostoka (Rusyny-Moskali), in: *Slovo*, 4 April 1866, p. 2.

⁴¹ S. PIJAJ Delegacja Sejmu Krajowego Galicyjskiego w Wiedniu w 1866 r., in: Czasopismo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich 6 (1998) pp. 7–40.

⁴² Sprawozdania 1865–1866, vol. 2, p. 1478.

⁴³ Odyn imenem mnohykh [I. NAUMOVYCH] Pohliad v buduchnost, in: *Slovo*, 8 August 1866, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Vistnyk*, 25 August 1866, pp. 125–126.

⁴⁵ M. TANTY Pansławism, carat, Polacy: Zjazd Słowianski w Moskwie 1867 roku. Warszawa 1970, pp. 117, 225, 232–233. In a letter to Slavonic Benevolent Committee (from 27 November 1868) Didys'kyi confessed that *Slovo* could not survive without the financial support from Moscow (State Archives of the Russian Federation [Moscow], fond 1750, opis' 1, ed. khr. 72, list 36).

⁴⁶ E. C. THADEN Conservative Nationalism in 19th-Century Russia. Seattle 1964, p. 56.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, 17 March 1867, pp. 1–2.

In order to defuse the political situation in Galicia some Polish politicians reconsidered the Ruthenian issue. This was explicitly demonstrated by articles published in *Przegląd Polski*, the new journal of young Cracovian conservatives. In 1866 Florian Ziemiałkowski (1817–1900), a leading Polish politician and also *gente Ruthenus*, proposed new conditions for Ruthenians: if they would get rid of their pro-Russian inclinations, then the Ruthenian question would be immediately resolved in the spirit of full equality of rights – what meant the freedom to develop the Ruthenian language; but under no conditions could Ruthenians demand that their language be given equal status with Polish.⁴⁸ In the same year the young conservative Count Stanisław Tarnowski (1837–1917) much more sympathetically envisioned the possible emergence of a real Ukrainian national movement and promised to give everything to support it in the future in order to stop Russian expansionism. Tarnowski also tried to convince Polish deputies in the Diet to put aside fruitless historical disputes and to admit Ruthenian into public use.⁴⁹

At this moment some Polish journalists and politicians, for example, Bernard Kalicki (1840–1884), argued for more active support for the young Ukrainophile party against the Russophile activities of the Ruthenian “elders”.⁵⁰ The question whether to cooperate with the Poles against Russophiles, or with the Russophiles against the Poles caused a controversy among the Ukrainophiles. Some of them, including Klymkovich and Stebel’s’kyi, joined the Russophiles.⁵¹ Other Ukrainophiles published the newspaper *Rus'* subsidized by Count Gołuchowski (March–December 1867). This provoked a protest of Danylo Taniachkevych and a reprimand of Pantaleimon Kulish.⁵² Still, in 1869 and during early 1870s a Ukrainophile member of the Diet, Iulian Lavriivs’kyi (1821–1873), tried to reach a compromise with the Poles but with little success.⁵³

Debates of Fictitious Peasants

While the public debate over national identities of Galician Ruthenians was initiated by an educated public, it was mostly concerned with the political loyalty of the peasantry. All competing sides hoped to shape the identity of the social groups which were nationally indifferent, and to attract them into their respective national communities. Parliamentary elections rapidly involved the peasantry into modern public political life and stimulated peasant-oriented national agitation. Not surprisingly the Ukrainian and Polish institutions for “enlightening” peasants, *Prosvita* and *Towarzystwo oświaty ludowej*, appeared in Eastern Galicia in the late 1860s. Pre-modern ethno-confessional and social identifications were to be reformulated according to the logic of Polish-Ruthenian national conflict, and vice versa

⁴⁸ F. ZIEMIAŁKOWSKI Nasze zadanie w obecnym położeniu, in: *Przegląd Polski* (1866) No. 1, pp. 10–17.

⁴⁹ S. TARNOWSKI O sesji sejmowej z roku 1865–1866, in: *Przegląd Polski* (1866) No. 1, pp. 146–149.

⁵⁰ B. KALICKI O kwestyi ruskiej, in: *Przegląd Polski* (1867) No. 8, pp. 324–338; No. 9, pp. 487–512; No. 10, pp. 3–25.

⁵¹ K. KLYMKOVYCH Sleduet li byt’ malorusskomu voprosu? in: *Slavianskaia Zaria*, 13 August 1867, pp. 37–43. On the little known but very interesting personality of Volodymyr Stebel’s’kyi see IU. CHAIKOVSKYI Volodymyr Stebel’s’kyi, zhytiepys’ i kharakterystyka. L’viv 1905.

⁵² FEDOR CHORNOHORA [D. TANIACHKEVYCH] Pys’mo narodovtsiv rus’kykh do redaktora polityhnei chasopysi “Rus” iako protest i memorial. Vienna 1867.

⁵³ See A. MILLER Galicia after the Ausgleich. Polish-Ruthenian Conflict and the Attempts of Reconciliation, in: ANDREA PETÓ (ed.) CEU History Department Yearbook. Budapest 1994, pp. 140–144; and M. MUDRYI Sproby ukrains’ko-pol’s’koho porozuminnia v Halychyni (60–70-i roky XIX st.), in: *Ukraina: kul’turna spadshchyna, natsional’na svidomist’, derzhavnist’ 3–4* (1997) pp. 87–101.

the idea of nationality was to be translated into the concepts common to the peasants' mentality.

In the 1861 Diet electoral campaign Greek Catholic priests succeeded in mobilizing the popular support of the peasantry by pledging to defend the "Ruthenian faith" and return former servitudes, forests and pastures.⁵⁴ The obvious political influence that the Greek Catholic clergy had on East Galician peasantry seriously troubled the Polish camp. Thus, Polish deputies often raised the issue of Greek Catholic priests' agitation among peasants, and charged the Ruthenian clergy with the misusing church institutions for political purposes.⁵⁵

Preparations for the Diet elections of 1867 forced both Polish and Ruthenian politicians to extend public debate to the level of the peasantry. In the opening editorial (addressed to "honorable clergy and teachers of primary schools") in *Pys'mo do Hromady*, its editor Severyn Shekhovych (1829–1873) outlined quite practical political reasons for his venture: "Until now, country folk followed us wherever we led, and this was proved by the elections to the Diet, when they elected those whom we recommended. But who can be sure that they will obey us at the next elections? From year to year, they move away from us more and more, and we are now losing even our slight influence on them."⁵⁶ Elections to the Galician Diet also stimulated Polonophile Ruthenian intellectuals to focus on the East Galician peasantry. In January 1867 Jan Dobrzański founded the *Tygodnik Niedzielny*. The editorial board consisted of two more *gente Rutheni natione Poloni*: Platon Kostecki (1832–1908) and Teofil Merunowicz (1846–1919). Most of *Tygodnik* was published in Polish, however a significant part of it was in Ruthenian transcribed in Latin letters.

The press which was oriented to the East Galician peasantry, like *Pys'mo* and *Tygodnik*, addressed many practical issues concerning peasant everyday life, the organization of village commune, and legal procedures. Both denounced alcoholism, superstition, "wild" folk customs, encouraged those who donated money for primary schools, provided basic geographical and historical information and published some excerpts from high literature. In general, *Pys'mo* and *Tygodnik* followed the pattern of a typical East European peasant-oriented newspaper that undertook the project of "organic work." The noteworthy characteristic of these periodicals was that their primary goal was to combat rival influences on the peasantry while shaping its national political loyalty.

Peasants themselves were consigned the role of passive recipients of national agitation.⁵⁷ In order to establish contact with the peasant reader both sides often wrote and discussed under fictitious, peasant-sounding, names. The series of articles in *Tygodnik* signed by Iwan Suskij, "a peasant from a village near Lviv," strongly criticized Ruthenian priests, members

⁵⁴ O. SEREDA „My tu ne pryishli na smikh“: uchast' skhidnohalys'tkykh selian u seimovykh vyborakh ta zasidanniakh u L'vovi (60-i roky XIX st.), in: Lwów: miasto, społeczeństwo, kultura. Vol. 4. Cracow 2001 (forthcoming).

⁵⁵ See Polish-Ukrainian discussions in Galician Diet on 16 January, 1863 in: Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Sejmu krajowego galicyjskiego we Lwowie. 4te posiedzenie Sejmu krajowego galicyjskiego we Lwowie dnia 16 stycznia 1863 r. Lviv 1863.

⁵⁶ S. H. SHEKHOVYCH Do vsechestnoho dukhovenstva i pochтенnykh uchyteli narodnykh. L'viv 1864.

⁵⁷ This changed crucially since the 1880s when peasants themselves became active contributors to the periodical press. See J.-P. HIMKA Galician Villagers and Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century. Edmonton 1988.

of the Diet, for inclining towards Russophilism.⁵⁸ To combat the agitation of *Tygodnik, Slovo* gave its pages to another fictitious peasant, Ivan Nakonechnyi, who adhered to the Russophile creed.⁵⁹ When Merunowicz questioned the authenticity of Nakonechnyi in *Gazeta Narodowa*, he ironically called himself “a neighbor of your [Merunowicz’s] relative Iwan Suskij.”⁶⁰

The 1860s controversy over the national identity of Galician Ruthenians appeared to be mostly of a semantic character, focused on the interpretation of what “Ruthenian” (Galician-Ruthenian) meant in national-cultural terms. The debate was conditioned by the specific social and political context of contemporary Galicia. The importance of the Ruthenian question grew together with political liberalization from Vienna. The development of the Galician public sphere stimulated the transition from pre-modern ethno-confessionalism to modern national identity. The peasant-landlord social conflict was reformulated in new national terms. The various concepts of Ruthenian national self-imagining shaped in the course of public debate were important not only for the Ukrainian national movement but also for locating the neighboring Polish and Russian nations in time and space. Not surprisingly the Polish and Russian sides were very much involved in the debate, and the Polish nobility and intelligentsia who were of Ruthenian origin played an especially important role. This group could hardly recognize the non-Polish character of Ruthenian identity, without questioning their own nationality.

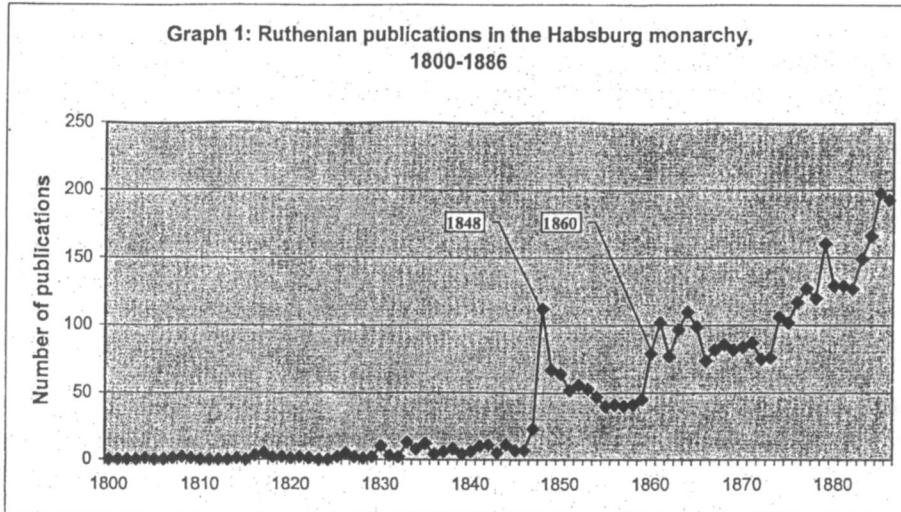
Most of those national activists who were loyal to the Ruthenian cultural heritage consciously adopted respective Little Russian, Ukrainian or pan-Russian national identities as new cultural and political concepts and often changed self-identification according to the political context. This could partly explain the growth of Russophilism in the mid-1860s when many prominent Ruthenians began looking to Russia as their savior after political changes in Austria led to Polish domination in autonomous Galicia. The answer to the question “Whom shall we be?”, which contributors to *Slovo* continued to raise,⁶¹ was determined not solely by cultural and historical tradition, but also by the attitudes and policies of all of their neighbors.

⁵⁸ IWAN SUSKIJ Panowe Hromada, in: *Tygodnik Niedzielny*, 26 January 1867, p. 13. In order to find convincing arguments against Russophilism *Tygodnik* portrayed those who opted for ritual purification as offenders of Catholic church and the Lord. Iwan Suskij argued openly that diseases, famine and all misfortunes were provoked by those priests and cantors who introduced “Muscovian-schismatic ritual”. “And how could Lord bless you? How could He not send cholera, famine to make us control ourselves and to repent?” – reproached Suskij those peasants who failed to kneel down at the Eucharist; IWAN SUSKIJ Zwidki-to choroty, hołod i insza nedola? in: *Tygodnik Niedzielny*, 15 February 1867, p. 25.

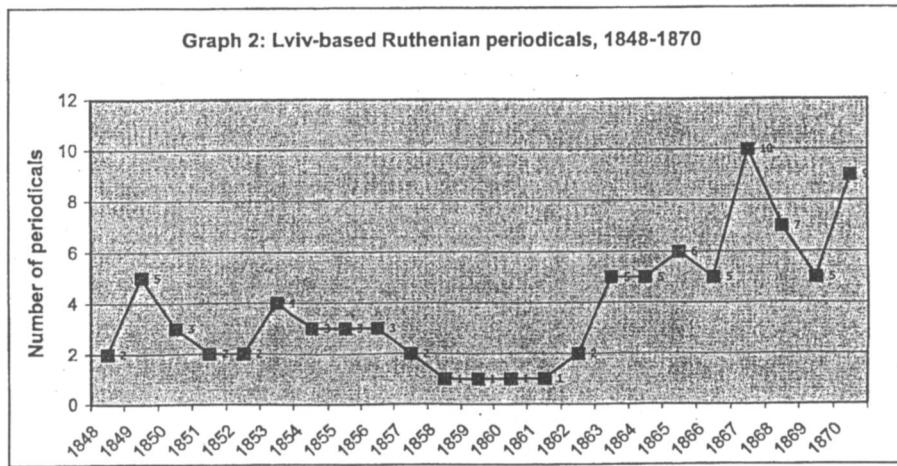
⁵⁹ IVAN NAKONECHNYI Lyst do pol’skogo gazetiarja, shcho drukuie ‘*Tygodnik Niedzielny*’, in: *Slovo*, 17 February 1869, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁰ Prodolzhenie lysta Ivana Nakonechnoho do pol’skoho gazetechyka p. Merunovycha, in: *Slovo*, 10 March 1869, p. 2.

⁶¹ See, e.g., the article Iakymy nam byty, in: *Slovo*, 27 February 1869, p. 3.



Source: I. E. LEVYTS'KYI Halitsko-ruskaia bibliographia XIX stoletia. Lviv 1888.



Source: V. IHNATIENKO Bibliohrafia ukrains'koi presy 1816-1916. Kharkiv, Kyiv 1930.