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# VOLUNTARY ARTISAN ASSOCIATIONS AND THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN GALICIA (THE 1870s)\*

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

For the Ukrainians of Galicia, the decisive stage of national development that transforms a people from an ethnically differentiated folk into a conscious nation occurred in the latter nineteenth century, roughly from the 1860s until the turn of the century. In this period, the Ukrainian national movement grew from the affair of a small group of intellectuals into an institutionalized mass movement, with its own periodicals and organizations and with large-scale peasant participation. Although this period of institutional development was crucial in the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation, little attention has been paid to it in Ukrainian historical literature.<sup>1</sup> The present study intends to help overcome this deficiency by examining a single species of institution, the voluntary artisan association, and its role in the Ukrainian national movement in the 1870s.

Artisan participation in a national movement's institutional development is a problem of some consequence. A Czech scholar, Miroslav Hroch, has studied the process of institutional development in a variety of national movements. Using subscription lists and membership lists of national periodicals and organizations, Hroch analyzed and compared the social composition of national movements among many of the small nations of Europe. On the basis of this wide-ranging comparison, he concluded that the participation of merchants and artisans in national

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<sup>1</sup> A notable exception is the outstanding, but largely forgotten, history of reading clubs written by Mykhailo Pavlyk in the mid-1880s. M. Pavlyk, "Pro rus'ko-ukrains'ki narodni chytal'ni," in his *Tvory* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 416-549.

institutions appears to determine the overall viability of a national movement. He pointed out that merchants and artisans were notably absent in the national institutions of peoples who never quite crossed the threshold into nationhood (Bretons, Sorbs, and Kashubians) or took a long time to do so (Belorussians and the Welsh). Hroch calls merchants and craftsmen “the most important bearers of the nationalism of a fully developed nation . . . and a potential source for its ruling class.”<sup>2</sup>

To what degree artisan and merchant participation determines the long-range viability of a national movement is a question that goes beyond the limits of this particular study. However, this study does suggest that the presence or absence of an urban constituency, of which, in pre-industrial society, artisans would be a major component, could affect the strength, pace of development, and ideology of a particular national movement.

The article has three parts. The first provides a general background for the rest of the study. The second focuses on one artisan association, in Lviv, and attempts to make explicit some unstated assumptions about why it emerged and why it collapsed. The third compares the development of the association in Lviv with that of its counterparts in small towns; the comparison yields some inferences about the difference between a national movement recruiting its mass constituency in the city and one recruiting its constituency in the countryside.

## I

Defining an artisan can be troublesome because one can approach the definition from so many angles. In the descriptive approach one could list all professions included in the term: furriers and farriers, cobblers and coopers, braziers, glaziers, and the like. Or one could define the artisan according to his method of production, referring to the absence of both machinery and division of labor. Then again, one might define the artisan in terms of the size of his workshop, establishing ten workers, for instance, as the upper limit which, when exceeded, marks the transition from artisanal production to manufacture. Then again, one might say that the distinguishing characteristic of the artisan is production on order, in contrast to production for an impersonal market. Although all these defini-

<sup>2</sup> Miroslav Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen* (Prague, 1968), p. 125.

tions are useful, for our specific purposes an artisan can best be defined as the practitioner of a trade regulated or formerly regulated by a guild.

Guilds existed in Galicia until 1860, when they were abolished throughout the Habsburg realm.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the abolition of guilds had lesser repercussions in industrialized Bohemia and Vienna than it did in the industrially undeveloped crownland of Galicia. For in Galicia, the artisan's workshop, not the factory, dominated local industry. This is borne out by the Austrian census of 1869, which recorded only 1.7 workers for every "industrial" employer in Galicia.<sup>4</sup> Although artisans monopolized Galician production, they by no means monopolized the Galician market, which from 1860 on became increasingly dominated by Viennese and Bohemian factory imports.<sup>5</sup> The abolition of the guilds had left artisanal production, and therefore Galician "industry" as a whole, completely disorganized in the face of factory competition. The need for organization was sorely felt, not only by the artisans themselves, but also by patriotic intellectuals worried about the rapid degeneration of native industry.<sup>6</sup>

In place of the guilds, in which artisans' membership had been compulsory, voluntary associations for artisans now appeared in Galicia. Such voluntary artisan associations proliferated especially after the emperor promulgated a liberal law on associations and a democratic constitution in 1867. In the 1860s and early 1870s, some fifteen voluntary artisan associations were active in Lviv alone, while most smaller towns, from Cracow to Hlyniany, boasted at least one voluntary association for artisans. The

<sup>3</sup> "Kaiserliches Patent vom 20. December 1859 ... Gewerbe-Ordnung," *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaisertum Oesterreich*, 1859, pp. 619-44.

<sup>4</sup> All statistics from the 1869 census are taken from *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Galizien nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869* (Vienna, 1871). Statistics concerning occupation were also published in *Bevölkerung und Viehstand der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder ... Nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869*, pt. 2: *Bevölkerung nach dem Berufe und der Beschäftigung* (Vienna, 1871). The Galician statistics for 1869 are also reproduced, with commentary, in Władysław Rapacki, *Ludność Galicyi* (Lviv, 1874).

<sup>5</sup> The completion of the Cracow-Lviv railway, which followed the liquidation of the guilds by one year, was probably more responsible for flooding the Galician market with foreign goods than was the abolition of the guilds. Many artisans, however, perceived the influx of factory wares to be a direct result of the guilds' dissolution. Thus the craftsmen of Rzeszów presented to the Galician diet a petition which called for the restoration of the guilds in order to protect local industry. The whole problem of the Austrian reforms of the 1860s and their effect on the Galician artisans deserves a separate study.

<sup>6</sup> *O potrzebie stowarzyszeń przemysłowych czyli rzemieślniczych* (Lviv, 1864). Alfred Szczepański, *Cechy i stowarzyszenia* (Cracow, 1867). Tadeusz Romanowicz, *O stowarzyszeniach* (Lviv, 1867). Tadeusz Skałkowski, *Warsztaty i fabryki a postęp przemysłowy* (Lviv, 1869). A. D., "Dopysy: Zi Lvova," *Osnova*, 1872, nos. 30 and 38.

new associations differed from the guilds not only in that membership was voluntary, but in that they tended to unite artisans of all trades. There were, to be sure, some associations formed for specific trades, but most of the new associations organized artisans around some other common denominator, such as level of advancement (master or journeyman), sex, religion, or nationality.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the artisan associations had a Polish character, but a few were Jewish and six were Ukrainian. The first specifically Ukrainian artisan association was Pobratym [Blood brother], founded in Lviv in 1872. Pobratym was the model for the other Ukrainian artisan associations that emerged in Galicia in the 1870s: Pomich [Aid], established in Pidhaitsi in 1873; Nadiia [Hope]—Zbarazh, 1874; Poruka [Surety]—Pomoriany, 1875; Tovarystvo mishchans'ke [Society of burghers]—Skalat, 1875; and Ruskii tsvit [Ruthenian bloom]—Hlyniany, 1875.<sup>8</sup> The Ukrainian artisan associations did not last long, a problem to which we shall return. Pobratym dissolved voluntarily in 1875, and by 1878 none of the other Ukrainian artisan associations were in existence.<sup>9</sup>

The Ukrainian associations had goals and statutes similar to those of other voluntary artisan associations in Galicia. The statutes of Pobratym, which were typical, declared its purpose to be “the education and material assistance of its members.” The statutes outlined four ways Pobratym served this purpose: (1) by establishing a library for members’ use, (2) by arranging lectures and evening entertainment, (3) by finding employment for unemployed members, and (4) by providing loans and subsidies for members.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the artisan association tried to meet the real needs of its

<sup>7</sup> On Polish artisan associations in Galicia, see Emil Haecker, “Początki ruchu robotniczego w Galicji,” *Niepodległość* 7 (January–June 1933): 14–28, and Walentyna Najdus, “Klasowe związki zawodowe w Galicji,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 51, no. 1 (1960): 123–31.

<sup>8</sup> Pavlyk, “Pro rus'ko-ukrains'ki narodni chytal'ni,” p. 516. The association in Hlyniany was mentioned as currently in the process of formation by [Volodymyr Navrots'kyi], “Pis'mo iz Galitsii,” *Kievskii telegraf*, 7 March 1875, no. 29, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> There was, however, a revival of artisan associations in the mid-1880s. Zoria [Star] was founded in Lviv in 1884, Pomich was restored in Pidhaitsi in 1884, and a branch of Zoria was established in Stryi in 1888. Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukrainsiv 1848–1914*, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1926–27), 1: 223–25. Stepan Shakh, *Lviv—misto moiei molodosty*, pts. 1–2 (Munich, 1955), p. 181. *Bat'kivshchyna*, 1884, no. 13, p. 78, and no. 22, p. 129; 1886, no. 8, p. 45. *Praca*, 1885, no. 3, p. 12; 1888, no. 2, p. 8. Iwan Franko, “Echa rusińskie,” *Kraj* (St. Petersburg), (8) 20 April 1888, no. 15, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ustav remisnychoho tovarystva Pobratym* (Lviv, 1872). The Viceroyalty confirmed Pobratym's statutes on 22 July 1872.

The statutes of Pomich in Pidhaitsi copy those of Pobratym almost word for word: “O remesl'nychom tovarystvi ‘Pomich’ v Podhaitsiakh,” *Rusaska rada*, 1 (13) Sep-

members. Loans were important for acquiring raw materials and for establishing independent workshops, and the artisan association would provide cheaper credit than the local usurer. As an employment bureau, the association could provide a valuable service, especially now that the guilds had been dissolved. Then, too, the association's premises functioned as a club house for artisans, where they could gather, as in Pobratym, to read popular newspapers or to play billiards.<sup>11</sup>

To make loans, to rent premises, to subscribe to newspapers, to set up a billiard table—all this cost more money than the artisans had. The Galician artisan of the 1860s and 1870s was impoverished and the dues he could contribute to an association were pittance.<sup>12</sup> The budget of Pobratym for 1872 demonstrates just how little the dues of artisan members contributed to the financial growth of the association. Out of Pobratym's total cash income in 1872 (482 gulden, 83 kreuzers), the artisans' entrance fees and dues amounted to only a little over 3 percent (15 g., 60 kr.).<sup>13</sup> Not the artisan, but someone else was paying for the voluntary artisan association.

Donations from non-artisans constituted the major source of revenue for the voluntary artisan association. In fact, almost all the associations, Pobratym among them, established a special category of membership for non-artisan donors. These honorary members, in contrast to the artisan members, could not borrow from the association's treasury. They could, however, hold office in the association, and in actual practice non-artisan honorary members dominated the presidency of most Galician artisan associations, including Pobratym. Honorary members, then, as the financial backers and chief officers of the artisan associations, were in an excellent position to influence the artisans of Galicia.

What did these honorary members have to gain by their participation? The best way to answer that question is to look briefly at the role artisans played in the Polish national movement in Galicia. Throughout the 1860s, but particularly in 1868 and 1869, artisans had figured prominently in

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tember 1873, no. 17, pp. 133–35. As will be shown below, Pomich's statutes later underwent a telling evolution.

Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 1: 222–23, quotes from a revised version of Pobratym's statutes (unavailable to me) printed in 1874 in both Polish and Ukrainian.

<sup>11</sup> Pobratym's billiard table is mentioned in *Pravda*, 1874, no. 1, pp. 47–48.

<sup>12</sup> For sample budgets of Galician artisans, see Andrii Kos [N.S.], "Zhyt'e, dokhody i bazhan'a komarn'ans'kykh tkachiv," *Dzvin* (Lviv) 1878, pp. 269–71, and I[osyp] D[anyliuk], "Zaribky i bazhan'a l'vivs'koho zetsera," *Molot* (Lviv) 1878, p. 145. See also Stanisław Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w latach 1701–1914* (Lviv, 1934), pp. 144–45.

<sup>13</sup> *Pravda*, 1873, no. 2, p. 96.

demonstrations in Lviv, Galicia's capital. These demonstrations aimed at stiffening the Diet's resistance to Austrian centralism and at winning for the Poles a measure of sovereignty in an autonomous Galicia. Although the overwhelming majority of artisans could not even vote (they did not have the requisite property to qualify for the franchise), they became politically important because of their ability to exert pressure through demonstrations in the capital city. In fact, through such means, the artisans of Lviv had much to do with the eventual establishment of Galicia as a factually autonomous crownland dominated by the Polish nobility.<sup>14</sup>

The voluntary artisan association facilitated the artisan's participation in politics. About one thousand of Lviv's artisans belonged to the Polish artisan association *Gwiazda* [Star]. Non-artisan Polish autonomists had founded *Gwiazda* in 1868; they subsidized the association's treasury and controlled its administration. *Gwiazda*'s statutes, like those of other artisan associations, stressed entertainment, education, and mutual aid; the statutes made no mention of any political goal. Nonetheless, *Gwiazda*'s political aim was clearly understood: whenever the Polish autonomists so required, hundreds of artisans would march in the streets of Lviv.<sup>15</sup> Members of *Gwiazda* were in the forefront of the demonstrations of 1868 and 1869.

This, then, is at least one reason why non-artisan patriots might readily finance voluntary artisan associations: the artisan associations could be politically effective instruments of the national movement, especially as components of the urban crowd.

## II

In considering the emergence of *Pobratym* in 1872 and its collapse only three years later, it might be useful to keep in mind Ostap Terlets'kyi's criticism of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. Writing in 1874, Terlets'kyi took to task the leaders of the national movement for too strong an addiction to poetry. He said that their poetic fancy constantly tempted them to try solving all problems with a single bold stroke. The single bold stroke would inevitably fail, and the disenchanting national

<sup>14</sup> Kazimierz Wyka, *Teka Stańczyka na tle historii Galicji w latach 1849–1869* (Wrocław, 1951).

<sup>15</sup> John-Paul Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism: Austria, 1867–1890" (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 15–21, 48–55, 61.

leaders would retreat from the need for painstaking, prosaic work by withdrawing into apathy and inactivity.<sup>16</sup>

The establishment of Pobratym in Lviv in 1872 may have been conceived as precisely such a bold stroke, a panacea for the troubles of the Ukrainian national movement. After all, the Ukrainians had just suffered a severe setback in the accession to power of the Polish nobility, and they had just witnessed the political effectiveness of the urban crowd during the demonstrations of 1868 and 1869. It is quite likely that the leaders of the Ukrainian movement felt that Pobratym would be another Gwiazda, an effective political instrument of the national cause. Confirming this notion is Pobratym's establishment as a deliberate rival to the Polish association Gwiazda.<sup>17</sup>

Pobratym was, at first, the darling child of the Ukrainian national movement in Lviv. Characteristically, the initiative to create a specifically Ukrainian artisan association did not spring from the Lviv artisans themselves. Rather, it was a local gymnasium teacher, Markyl' Zhelekhivs'kyi, who first came forward with the project. Other patriotic intellectuals readily supported him and so, too, did major institutions of the national movement in Lviv. Especially the educational society Prosvita, to which Zhelekhivs'kyi belonged, pledged "everywhere to maintain and nurture the Ruthenian [Ukrainian] spirit among artisans, namely, by means of popular lectures."<sup>18</sup> Prosvita donated 100 gulden to Pobratym, and another Ukrainian institution, the Stavropigian Institute, donated 75 g. These same two institutions, as well as the Halytsko-ruskaia matytsa and the editorial board of the journal *Pravda*, donated books to the fledgling Ukrainian artisan association.<sup>19</sup> Individual priests, lawyers, members of the bureaucracy, educators, and students also made contributions to Pobratym and thereby became eligible for honorary membership.<sup>20</sup> *Pravda* consistently publicized these donations to Pobratym in order to encourage contributions to the association that "aims at awakening patriotism in the most important part of the nation, our city-dwellers."<sup>21</sup> "The Ruthenian public," affirmed *Pravda* in 1873, "should

<sup>16</sup> Ostap Terlets'kyi, "Halyts'ko-ruskyi narid i halyts'ko-ruski narodovtsi," *Pravda*, 3 (15) November 1874, no. 18, pp. 749–52.

<sup>17</sup> *Spravozdanie z dilanii "Prosvity" vid... 1868 roku, do nainoviishoho chasu* (Lviv, 1874), pp. 13–14.

<sup>18</sup> *Spravozdanie z dilanii "Prosvity"*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>19</sup> *Spravozdanie z dilanii "Prosvity"*, pp. 13–14. *Pravda*, 1873, no. 2, p. 96.

<sup>20</sup> Lists of donors appeared in *Pravda*, 1872, nos. 2, 3, 7, 9; 1873, nos. 2, 8, 18; 1874, nos. 8, 9; and in *Osnova*, 3 May 1872, no. 31, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Pravda*, 1872, no. 5, p. 254.

pay more attention to these pioneers of Ruthenianism in our class of craftsmen burghers.”<sup>22</sup>

This initial enthusiasm for Pobratym must be seen in the context of what the leadership of the Ukrainian national movement expected of the artisan association. The founders of Pobratym had estimated that *half* of Gwiazda’s membership was ethnically Ukrainian and they hoped that these ethnic Ukrainians would abandon the Polish association for Pobratym.<sup>23</sup> Gwiazda’s membership in the years 1872–1875 (the years Pobratym existed) grew from 945 to 1,350.<sup>24</sup> Thus, if Pobratym had really attracted half of Gwiazda’s membership, this would have been a sizable gain for the Ukrainian national movement at the expense of the rival Polish movement. The founding of Pobratym did raise the dander of Polish nationalists, who comforted themselves that Gwiazda had “nothing to lose if a few filthy elements depart.”<sup>25</sup>

If, however, as we are arguing, the leaders of the Ukrainian movement felt that Pobratym would be another Gwiazda, they were altogether mistaken. Pobratym attracted nothing like the hundreds of artisans expected. Only 20 artisans, mainly former members of Gwiazda, joined Pobratym when it was founded in 1872. In 1873, Pobratym had 74 members, and in 1874—70 members.<sup>26</sup> The failure to recruit a sizable membership represented the failure of the bold stroke, and it produced the characteristic

<sup>22</sup> *Pravda*, 1873, no. 5, p. 206.

<sup>23</sup> M. Dragomanov, “Literaturnoe dvizhenie v Galitsii,” in *Politicheskia sochinenia*, ed. by I. M. Grevs and B. A. Kistiakovskii (Moscow, 1908), p. 347. Dragomanov was well informed about the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. He followed its progress in the press and in the letters he received from Galician intellectuals. One of his closest associates in Galicia at this time was Mykhailo Dymet, the president of Pobratym. M. P. Dragomanov, *Literaturno-publitsychni pratsi*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1970), 2: 167, 170, 285–86; see also 2: 192–93 for Dragomanov’s accidental visit to Pobratym’s premises.

Although Gwiazda was a primarily Polish organization, and patriotically Polish at that, Ukrainians had been included in its ranks from the start. Indeed, judging by his name (Dymytr Stokaluk), a Ukrainian delivered the opening address in 1868 at the meeting that decided to establish Gwiazda. Gwiazda’s choir was bilingual, performing songs in Ukrainian as well as Polish. *Gazeta Narodowa*, supp., 8 March 1868, p. 2. *Dziennik Polski*, 27 March 1874, no. 70, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Sprawozdanie z czynności wydziałów Stowarzyszenia . . . “Gwiazda” w ciggu roku 1872* [Lviv, 1873]. *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, vol. 3 (Lviv, 1877), pp. 71 and 73.

<sup>25</sup> “Działalność p. Ławrowskiego,” *Dziennik Polski*, 19 May 1872, no. 136, p. 1. Cf. *Osnova*, 28 May 1872, no. 38, p. 2; also Dragomanov, “Literaturnoe dvizhenie,” p. 347.

<sup>26</sup> “Novynky,” *Osnova*, 23 April 1872, no. 29, p. 4. The figure 74 is given without any date by Ie. A. Iatskevych, *Stanovyshche robotnychoho klasu Halychyny v period kapitalizmu (1848–1900): Narys* (Kiev, 1958), p. 74. The figure from 1874 is from *Wiadomości statystyczne 2* (1876): 60–61.

reaction of apathy and inactivity. The Ukrainian national movement lost interest in the artisan association and Pobratym dissolved voluntarily in 1875, only three years after its enthusiastic founding.<sup>27</sup>

The founders of Pobratym had greatly overestimated the strength of the Ukrainian element in Lviv's artisan population. Ukrainians were, in fact, a small minority. For one thing, in the days of the Polish Commonwealth, especially from the Counter-Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, Ukrainians were often prohibited from practicing crafts. Many guilds, such as the boilermakers', watchmakers', butchers', brewers', and goldsmiths' guilds, included an article in their statutes barring entrance to Ukrainian Orthodox Christians.<sup>28</sup> Later, simply living in the largely non-Ukrainian city led to the denationalization of Ukrainian artisans. As Reverend Ivan Naumovych wrote in 1874: "When we look at our cities nowadays, we should not be surprised that a multitude of our Ruthenian burghers have become Polish in them; what should surprise us is that in our cities, not only in the small towns but in the bigger cities, descendants of our old Ruthenian burgher families still remain."<sup>29</sup>

Statistics confirm the Polonizing influence of the city. In 1890, for example, Ukrainians made up 42 to 43 percent of Galicia's total population, regardless whether religion or language served as the criterion of ethnic identification. In Lviv, however, 17 percent of the population was Greek Catholic—i.e., of Ukrainian ethnic origin—but only 7 percent used Ukrainian as its language of intercourse (*Umgangssprache*).<sup>30</sup> Thus, over half of Lviv's ethnic Ukrainians were linguistically Polonized.

Unfortunately, statistics correlating nationality with occupation in Lviv do not exist for the 1870s. We do have statistics for later periods, however. In 1900, barely 5 percent of Lviv's "industrial" (artisanal) population declared Ukrainian as its language of intercourse,<sup>31</sup> and of Lviv's

<sup>27</sup> *Wiadomości statystyczne* 3 (1877): 66, 69. Drahomanov complained that the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement "allowed Pobratym to go to sleep forever." M. P. Drahomanov, "Tretii lyst Ukraintsia do redaktsii 'Druha,'" in *Literaturno-publitsychni pratsi*, 1: 426.

<sup>28</sup> O. O. Nesterenko, *Rozvytok promyslovosti na Ukraini*, vol. 1: *Remeslo i manufaktura* (Kiev, 1959), p. 88. Ia. P. Kis', *Promyslovist' Lvova u period feodalizmu (XIII-XIX st.)* (Lviv, 1968), pp. 119, 122, 127, 137, 140, 146, 211-16.

<sup>29</sup> [Ivan Naumovych], "Russkii mishchane," *Nauka*, 1874, no. 12, pp. 553-55.

<sup>30</sup> "Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 ..." *Österreichische Statistik*, vol. 32, pt. 1: "Die summarischen Ergebnisse der Volkszählung," pp. 106, 124, 163, 171.

<sup>31</sup> All statistics for 1900 are taken from Józef Buzek, *Stosunki zawodowe i socyalne ludności w Galicyi według wyznania i narodowości, na podstawie spisu ludności z 31. grudnia 1900 r.*, *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Lviv, 1905).

total population of nearly 160,000, only 807 were Ukrainian-speaking artisans. We can imagine how few Ukrainian-speaking artisans there were in the 1870s, when Lviv was a much smaller city (87,109 in 1869) and when its Ukrainian ethnic element was also proportionately smaller (14 percent Greek Catholic in 1869).

In this context, Pobratym's ability to attract over seventy members was not such a bad showing. This becomes more evident when we compare Pobratym with the voluntary artisan associations of other nationalities in Lviv. In the early 1870s, each of Lviv's major nationalities—the Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians—had its own artisan association. In 1874, Gwiazda, the Polish association, had 1,250 members; Jad Charuzim [Hand of labor], the Jewish association, had 300 members; and Pobratym, the Ukrainian association, had 70 members.<sup>32</sup> Together, the three associations had a total membership of 1,620, of which the Polish association accounted for 77 percent; the Jewish, for 19 percent; and the Ukrainian, for 4 percent. Of Lviv's total industrial population in 1900, the Poles made up 65 percent; the Jews, 35 percent; and the Ukrainians (by language), 5 percent. As these statistics indicate, Pobratym was reasonably successful in attracting the Ukrainian-speaking artisans of Lviv. The real problem was that there were just too few Ukrainian artisans to sustain the association. Here we can note that Lviv's still smaller minority of German artisans did not have a separate German artisan association.

The statistics cited above indicate why the Ukrainian national movement, unlike the Polish national movement, could not build a mass constituency among the artisans of Lviv, why Pobratym could never be the equivalent of Gwiazda, and why, therefore, Pobratym failed. The collapse of Pobratym only demonstrated that the Ukrainian national movement, if it were to become a mass movement, had no choice but to recruit its adherents in the countryside, among the peasantry. This, of course, is precisely what occurred. Lviv remained the intellectual center of the national movement, but the strength of that movement was in its proliferating village institutions, reading clubs (*chytal'ni*) and cooperatives. Indeed, the characteristic feature of the Ukrainian national movement in late-nineteenth century Galicia was its penetration into the village.

Granted that the Ukrainian movement had to have a rural rather than an urban base, we might pose the question: what consequence did this have for the movement as a whole? What would be the difference between a national movement based in the city and one based in the countryside?

<sup>32</sup> *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie* 2 (1876): 60–61.

Perhaps a partial answer to these questions can be obtained by comparing analogous national institutions as they developed in Lviv and as they developed in the surrounding countryside—that is, by comparing Pobrattym in Lviv with similar Ukrainian artisan associations in the provincial hamlets.

### III

In looking at Pobrattym's rural counterparts, we find additional confirmation of two arguments already advanced: namely, (1) that the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement hoped to make of Pobrattym what Polish autonomists had made of Gwiazda—the nucleus of a mass constituency in the capital city, Lviv, with its implicit political potential; (2) that for the Ukrainian movement, however, the only place to recruit a mass constituency was not the city, but the countryside.

We may infer the importance the national movement placed on Pobrattym as an institution in Lviv from the relative indifference it displayed towards the artisan associations elsewhere. As mentioned previously, the growth of Pobrattym's treasury depended very much on voluntary gifts and the contributions of honorary members. In 1872, this source of revenue accounted for 92 percent of Pobrattym's total cash income, and in 1873 for 56 percent (a great part of the remainder consisted of repaid loans, thus the recirculation of capital originally received as donations). But Pomich, the artisan association in Pidhaitsi, was nowhere near as favored with donations as its counterpart in Lviv. During the first year of Pomich's existence (August 1873–August 1874), donations and the dues of honorary members amounted to only 36 percent of its cash income. By the same token, the dues of artisan members formed a larger percentage of total cash income in Pomich (56 percent) than in Pobrattym (1872—3 percent, 1873—6 percent). Nor did Pomich benefit as much as Pobrattym from book donations: Pomich's single largest expense was the purchase of books and subscriptions to the periodical press (42 percent of its expenditures). Pobrattym in Lviv had an income of 483g. in 1872 and 667g. in 1873; Pomich in Pidhaitsi had an income of only 192g. in 1873–74.<sup>33</sup> Clearly, if the preference of donors is any indication, the national movement cared more about the artisan association in Lviv than about the one in Pidhaitsi. The Ukrainian press did not even publish the

<sup>33</sup> *Pravda*, 1873, no. 2, p. 96, and no. 8, p. 316; 1874, no. 1, pp. 47–48, and no. 15, p. 646.

budgets of the other Ukrainian artisan associations in the countryside.

Neglected as they were, the Ukrainian artisan associations in rural Galicia were relatively more successful than Pobratym in attracting members. Pomich in Pidhaitsi, for instance, had about 50 members in mid-1874 and Nadiia in Zbarazh had 51 members in that same year.<sup>34</sup> Considering that Pidhaitsi had a population of 4,579 in 1869 and Zbarazh a population of 7,115, the associations in these hamlets put Pobratym to shame: the Lviv association could attract only 70 members from a population of nearly 90,000. Even if we measure the drawing power of these artisan associations relative to the size of the ethnic Ukrainian (Greek Catholic) populations of their respective cities, we find that the rural associations significantly outshine the one in Lviv. Five of every hundred ethnic Ukrainians in Pidhaitsi belonged to Pomich and three of every hundred in Zbarazh belonged to Nadiia, but a mere six of every thousand ethnic Ukrainians in Lviv belonged to Pobratym. This contrast underscores the fact that the Ukrainian movement, as a mass movement, could only thrive in the countryside. Furthermore, outside of Lviv, no true city in Galicia, neither Ternopil' (pop. in 1869—20,087) nor Kolomyia (pop. 17,679), produced a single Ukrainian artisan association. The five Ukrainian artisan associations (excluding Pobratym) were all located in semi-agricultural towns with populations under 7,500.

At this point let us take up the question posed earlier, namely: what can a comparison between Pobratym and the associations in the countryside imply about the difference between an urban-based and rural-based national movement?

The first to compare the rural artisan associations with Pobratym was a Ukrainian socialist from the Russian Empire, Serhii Podolyns'kyi. When visiting Galicia in the 1870s, Podolyns'kyi made a point of calling on various artisan associations. His observations, therefore, stem partly from first-hand experience. In Pomich in Pidhaitsi, Podolyns'kyi was struck by "the overwhelming influence of the clergy." "Only in the Lviv society Pobratym," he reported, "do we fail to note the decisive influence of the clerical element."<sup>35</sup>

A look at the administrations of the various artisan associations corroborates Podolyns'kyi's opinion. The honorary members who served in Pobratym's administration included educators, a government official,

<sup>34</sup> *Pravda*, 1874, no. 15, p. 647. [Sergei] P[odolinskii], "Meshchansko-rabochia tovarishchestva samopomoshchi v Galitsii," *Kievskii telegraf*, 4 May 1875, no. 53, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Podolinskii, "Meshchansko-rabochia tovarishchestva samopomoshchi v Galitsii."

and a merchant, but no priests.<sup>36</sup> Nadiia in Zbarazh, however, and Pomich in Pidhaisi elected mainly priests as the honorary members in their administrations.<sup>37</sup>

The clerical influence in the rural associations is also discernible in their codes of conduct. In Lviv, Pobratym could expel a member for something the statutes vaguely termed “roguish behavior.” But in Pidhaisi, members of Pomich had to abstain altogether from alcohol and observe the association’s regulations concerning how long a wedding might last as well as what might be served and who should be invited to a christening. Nadiia in Zbarazh imposed fines on members for drinking alcoholic beverages during Lent.<sup>38</sup> These regulations are significant, in that they reflect a peculiarly clerical social program current in late-nineteenth century Galicia.

In the late 1860s, a Galician priest, Father Stepan Kachala, made an inquiry into the causes of the Ukrainian peasant’s poverty and then formulated a social program that the Greek Catholic clergy as a whole soon adopted for its own. Father Kachala did not find the roots of the peasant’s poverty where secular investigators have suggested these roots lay: in the inequitable terms of emancipation, in the transition to a money economy, and in the absence of factory industry to absorb the surplus labor in the countryside. Instead, Father Kachala found the peasant guilty of vices that led to his impoverishment: drunkenness, prodigality, and sloth. As antidotes to these vices, he suggested, among other things, abstinence, thrift, and enterprise.<sup>39</sup> This interpretation of society in terms of virtue

<sup>36</sup> Honorary members who served in Pobratym’s administration included Dr. Kornyl’o Sushkevych, secretary to the Imperial Procuratorium of the Treasury, Markyl’ Zhelekhiv’skyi, gymnasium teacher in Lviv, and Oleksander Ohonov’skyi, docent at Lviv University. In both 1873 and 1874, honorary member Mykhailo Dymet headed Pobratym. Dymet was a merchant by profession and a patriot of progressive inclinations. *Pravda*, 1872, no. 8, p. 405; 1874, no. 1, p. 47, and no. 15, p. 647. On Dymet, who played a role of some importance in the development of the Ukrainian national movement, see Pavlyk, “Pro rus’ko-ukraïns’ki narodni chytal’ni,” pp. 476–77, and Levyts’kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 1: 100–101, 142.

<sup>37</sup> *Pravda*, 1874, no. 15, p. 647. Podolinskii, “Meshchansko-rabochia tovarishchestva samopomoshchi v Galitsii.”

<sup>38</sup> *Ustav ... Pobratym*, p. 5. *Pravda*, 1874, no. 15, p. 646. *Ruskaia rada*, 1875, no. 5, p. 40.

<sup>39</sup> [Stepan Kachala], *Shcho nas hubyt’ a shcho nam pomochy mozhe* (Lviv, 1869). One of Kachala’s objections to the growing influence of Drahomanov on Galician students was that “Drahomanov does not consider the poverty of the people to be the result of their sloth, spendthrift ways, and drunkenness.” Letter of Kachala to the editorial board of *Druh*, 7 August 1876, in *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom (1876–1895)*, ed. by Mykhailo Pavlyk, 7 vols. [numbered 2–8] (Chernivtsi, 1910–12), 2: 79–80.

and vice distracted its adherents from the real problems of Galician society and economic life. It gave comfort to the wealthier strata of Ukrainian society, to which the Greek Catholic clergy belonged, since it blamed the poor themselves for their poverty; in fact, it made their poverty morally reprehensible. In spite of its reactionary character, this clerical, almost theological, view of society was extremely influential in Ukrainian Galicia. The rural artisan associations testify to this. Pomich's and Nadiia's rules on abstinence countered the vice of drunkenness. Pomich's regulations about marriages and baptisms countered the vice of prodigality, for priests felt that the festivities connected with such events were all too extravagant for the lower classes.

The difference, then, between an artisan association in the city, Lviv, and those in the countryside is that the former was a secular institution and the latter were clerical ones. The same held true for the Polish artisan associations of Galicia; Gwiazda in Lviv was a secular, political organization, but its branches in the provinces were clerical.<sup>40</sup> While the capital city of Lviv had many non-priests to draw upon for financial support and leadership, the Galician hinterland had a dearth of secular intelligentsia. An analysis of the cumulative membership of the Ukrainian educational society Prosvita from 1868 to 1874 shows this. Excluding peasants, the clergy made up 65 percent of all Prosvita's members in the countryside. Prosvita's secular intelligentsia, however, was overwhelmingly concentrated in the cities (80 percent).<sup>41</sup> For the Ukrainians, then, priests constituted the only class in rural society with the financial and educational resources to give leadership to nationally-oriented institutions. Accordingly, if the Ukrainian national movement were to be rural-based, it would have to reckon with the indispensability of clerical influence.

Comparing the rural associations to Pobratym establishes three characteristics of the artisan associations in the countryside: (1) they were financially poorer than their counterpart in Lviv, (2) they were more successful in recruiting members, and (3) they were more clerical. In light of these characteristics we might speculate about why the rural artisan associations collapsed, as did Pobratym, after only a few years of existence. Pobratym, it has been argued, collapsed because it failed to attract a sizable membership. Obviously, the same cannot be argued for the rural associations, which were more successful in this regard. Instead, we might

<sup>40</sup> Emil Haecker, *Historja socjalizmu w Galicji i na Śląsku Cieszyńskim* (Cracow, 1933), p. 103.

<sup>41</sup> "Chleny tovarystva 'Prosvity,'" *Spravo zdanie z Prosvity*, pp. 26–32.

consider how poverty and priests could have set up a self-destructive mechanism within the rural associations: because the rural artisan associations were in need of financial support, they bent over backwards to accommodate themselves to the local clergy; but the conditions imposed by the clergy were such that the artisans abandoned the associations.

The sources, unfortunately, do not allow an unequivocal confirmation of this hypothesis, but there is evidence to suggest that it is sound. Pomich in Pidhaisi, for example, had very little income by comparison with Pobratym in Lviv. In August 1874, therefore, Pomich took a number of steps to increase its revenue. The association raised entrance fees for artisan members fivefold, from 20 kr. to 1 g., and imposed a moral obligation on each member to recruit an additional member. Simultaneously, Pomich started a campaign to attract honorary members, that is, benefactors. It invited a dozen local priests to attend its general meeting, and changed its statutes so that potential contributors paid less to become honorary members — they now paid either 10 g. in the course of a single year or pledged to pay 2 g. annually (formerly it had been 20 g. and 5 g., respectively). “Thus entrance for honorary members was made easier and the decision was taken to dispatch invitations to priests outside of Pidhaisi and to other intelligent people, inviting their gracious entrance into the association Pomich, through which the association — both materially and morally — has much to gain, and thereby, too, the Ruthenian cause.”<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the association elected an honorary member, Reverend Dmytro Huzar, to preside in place of the former president, an artisan.

These measures indicate how concerned Pomich was to attract honorary members, specifically priests, since in the countryside around Pidhaisi, clergymen were the main potential source for honorary members. The desire to please and thus attract the clergy probably accounts for Pomich’s stiff regulations, notably total abstinence and the rules concerning marriages and christenings. Nadiia in Zbarazh had imposed Lenten abstinence on its members, very likely for similar reasons.

The tendency of the Greek Catholic clergy to burden the national movement with oaths of abstinence had its negative effects. It is difficult to imagine why an artisan would continue to pay dues to Pomich if, on account of his “not totally amended behavior,” he was denied the right to borrow from the association’s treasury. Would he remain a member to hear more of Reverend Huzar’s speeches as president, “the contents, manner of delivery, tone and spectacle of which penetrate all to the depths

<sup>42</sup> *Pravda*, 1874, no. 15, pp. 646–48.

of their souls"?<sup>43</sup> Perhaps not. Perhaps it is more probable that Pomich went the way of Nadiia, where quarrels between the artisans and the pastor of Zbarazh precipitated the association's collapse.<sup>44</sup> Such conflict between priests and artisans may have been inherent in the rural artisan associations, and this may explain why the associations did not remain in existence for more than a few years.<sup>45</sup>

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In sum, the Ukrainian national movement in the early 1870s attempted to build a mass constituency in Lviv. To this end, Ukrainian intellectuals founded the Ukrainian artisan association *Pobratym*, modeled on the Polish association *Gwiazda*. Ukrainian artisans in the capital, however, were too few to make of *Pobratym* what its founders had hoped it would be. As a result, the association dissolved.

The failure of *Pobratym* meant that the Ukrainian national movement would have to recruit its mass constituency only outside the city, in the countryside. As the history of the rural artisan associations showed, this entailed the control of rural institutions by the Greek Catholic clergy. In a broader perspective, we can see that the control of these institutions would inevitably give the clergy exceptional influence and authority over the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. How it would use that influence may be gathered from the experience of the rural artisan associations, where priests used their authority to further a narrowly-conceived, clerical social program which seems only to have provoked the resentment of the artisans.

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<sup>43</sup> *Pravda*, 1874, no. 15, pp. 646–48.

<sup>44</sup> *Russkaia rada*, 1876, no. 5, p. 40.

<sup>45</sup> The history of the conflict between priests and peasants in village reading clubs supports the argument made here for priests and artisans. I have elaborated on the social program of the clergy and the peasant reaction to it in "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867–1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, March 1979 (forthcoming).