

# Types of Nationalism

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- Nationalism: an ideology which proposes that each nationality should enjoy cultural & political autonomy, or independence
- State-sponsored nationalism
  - More common in Western Europe
- Intelligentsia-inspired nationalism
  - More common among stateless nations of Eastern Europe, in multi-national empires
- Historical & non-historical (stateless) nations
- Nationalism & a consciousness of a distinctive national identity is learned

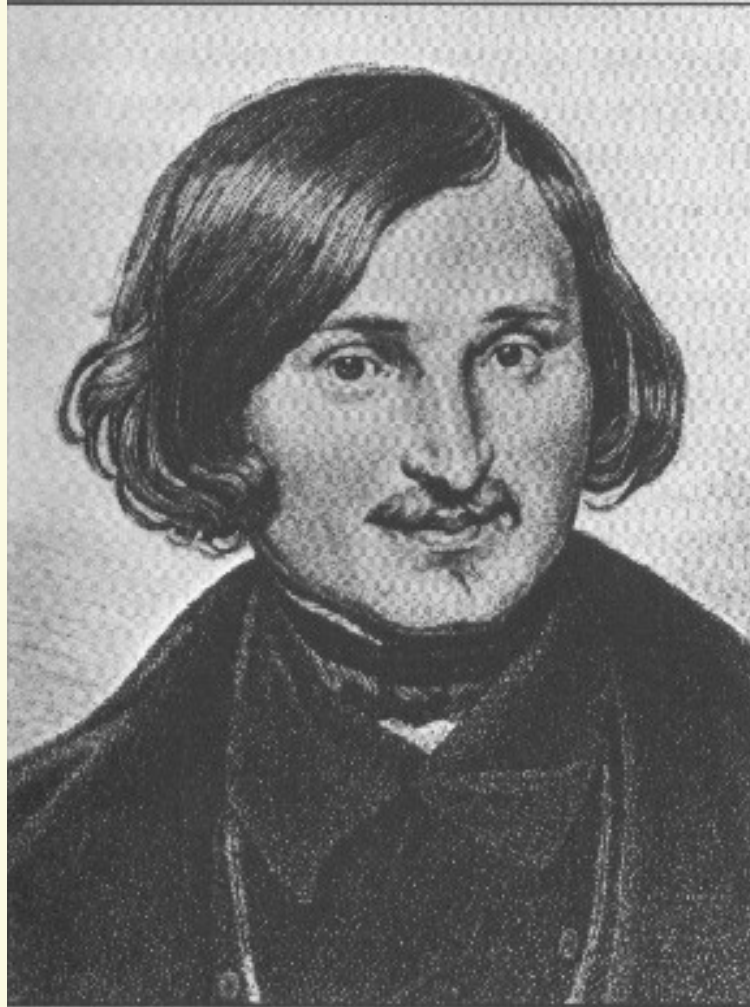
# Ukrainian Nationalism in the Russian empire

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- Dual or multiple identities
  - Ukrainian Cossack officers now Russian gentry (dvorianstvo)
  - "Little Russian" mentality
  - Nikolai Gogol
- Intelligentsia-inspired nationalism: 3 stages
  - Heritage-gathering, discovery & learning
  - Organizational & Dissemination
  - Political
- 1st two stages are cultural
- Folklore attracts intelligentsia

Nikolai Gogol (1809-52)  
(Mykola Hohol)

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# Early Cultural Achievements & Weaknesses

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- Mykhailo Maksymovych (folklorist & historian)
  - Little Russian Songs (1827)
- Weakness of language studies & literature
  - Closeness of Ukrainian to Russian
  - Assimilation; weakness of cultural elite; Gogol
- Gains in history & folklore studies
- Kharkiv university (1805)
- Polish uprising 1830-31
- Kyiv university (1834): Russification of Rt Bank
- Kyiv Archeographic Commission (1843)
- *History of the Rus* (1846; *Istoriia Rusov*)

# Cyrillo-Methodian Society (1846-47)

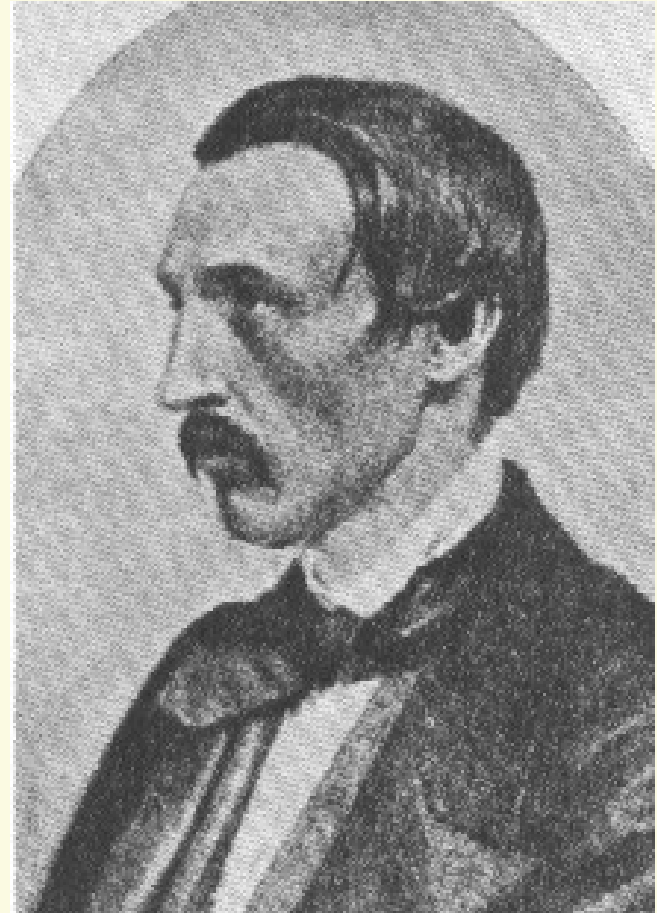
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- Mykola Kostomarov (1817-85)
  - Historian, ethnographer & writer
- Panteleimon Kulish (1819-97)
  - Writer, ethnographer, historian: Black Council
- Cyrillo-Methodian Society (1846-47)
  - (Con)federation of Slavic republics
  - Abolition of serfdom & social equality
  - Popular education
- Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People
  - Poles corrupted by aristocratic values
  - Russians submitted to authoritarian rule of tsar
  - Ukrainians were democratic & promoted equality
  - Resurrection of Ukraine: a model for others

L: Mykola Kostomarov (1817-85)

R: Panteleimon Kulish (1819-97)

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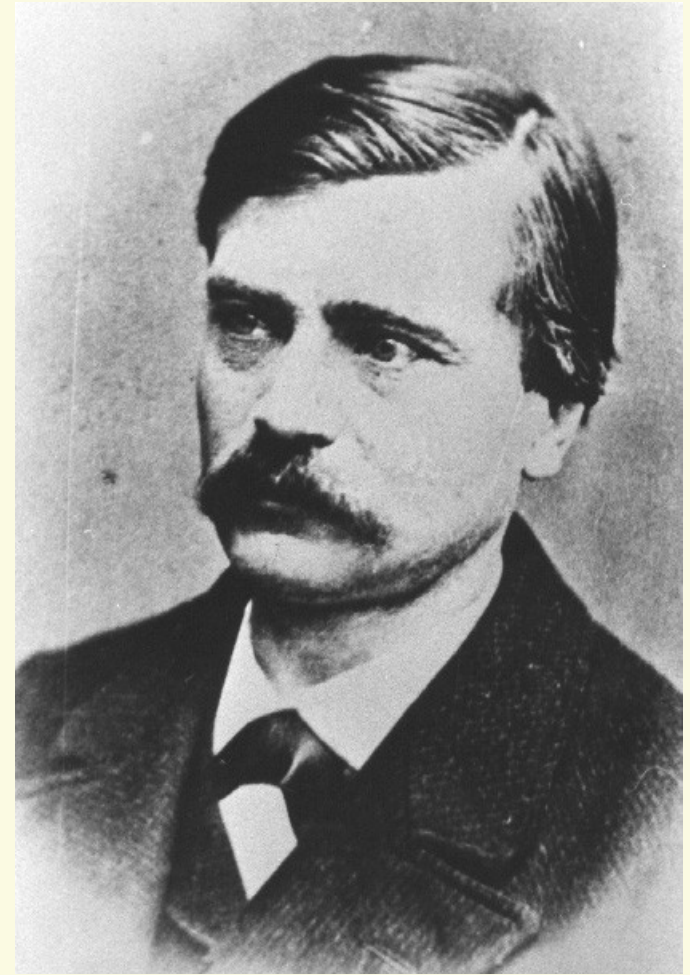
# Revival of the Ukrainian Movement (1850s)

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- Nicholas I dies 1855
- Crimean War (1853-56)
- Alexander II (1855-81)
- Reforms: abolition of serfdom (1861)
- Ukrainian movement revives (late 1850s)
- Polish students of Kyiv university provide spark
- Peasant Lovers (Khlopomany) & Populism
  - Social Ukrainophilism; break from Poles in 1860
- Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908)
  - Ukraine's first professional historian & leader of the Ukrainian populist intelligentsia

L: Volodymyr & Varvara Antonovych 1860s  
R: Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908)

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# The Ukrainian Populist Intelligentsia Organizes

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- Left-Bank students & Sunday Schools (1859-62)
- The Kyiv Commune (Hromada) 1861
  - Merger of LB students & khlopomany
- The St. Petersburg Hromada (1858)
  - Led by older generation of Cyrillo-Methodians
  - Support popular education: Kulish's grammar 1857
- Journal *Osnova* (Foundations) 1861-62
  - Mouthpiece of the Ukrainian national movement
- Kostomarov publishes 3 important articles
  - "Thoughts on the federal foundations of Rus"
    - Stresses role of the assemblies (viche) in Rus
    - Proposed theory that Rus was a federation

# Kyiv Hromada (1870s)



# Ideological Underpinnings of Early Ukrainian Nationalism

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- “Two Russian Nationalities”
  - Attempt to describe nat’l characters/ psychologies
  - Stresses differences between Ukrainians & Russians
  - Discusses briefly differences bet. Poles & Ukrainians
- “Characteristics of the National History of Southern Rus”
  - attempts to show continuity of national ideals & forms of social organization throughout Ukrainian history
- Voldymyr Anonovych: “My Confession” (1862)
  - Gives reasons for going over to Ukrainian side
  - Outlines views on Polish-Ukrainian relations
  - Calls on Polish gentry to renounce privileges & work for benefit of Ukrainian peasantry

# The Russian Reaction

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- Closure of Sunday Schools & curtailment of the activities of the Hromady (1862)
- Valuev Decree (1863; Ukaz)
  - Prohibits educational & religious literature in Ukr.
- Polish Uprising of 1863
- Another revival in early 1870s
  - Scholarly projects & popular education
- SW Branch of Russian Imperial Geographic Society (1873)
  - Sponsors Archeological Congress (1873),

# The Russian Reaction

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- Ems Decree (1876; ukaz)
  - Forbids publishing of all literature in Ukrainian
  - Forbids importation of Ukr-language literature
  - Banned staging of plays & public singing in Ukrainian
  - Dissolves SW Branch, Russian Imp Geographic Society
  - Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-95), fired
- Drahomanov emigrates to Switzerland
  - Publishes journal Hromada; information on Ukraine
  - Ethical socialist
  - Pioneer of liberal movement of Russia
  - Staunch federalist: “Free Union”
  - Federalism adopted by mainstream pro-Ukrainian activists in Russia

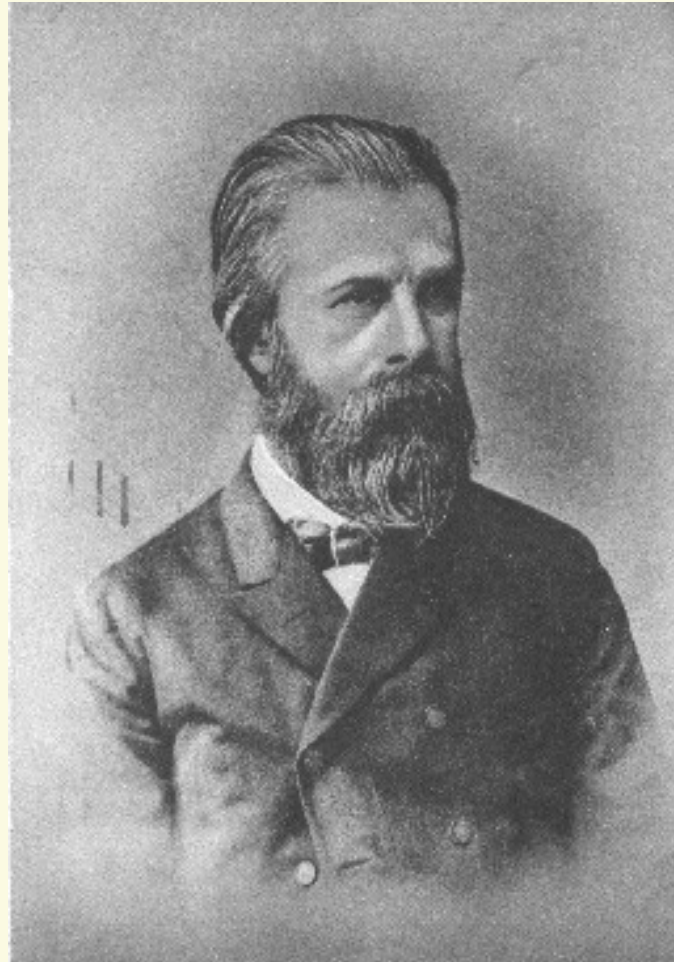
# Cultural Achievements & Weaknesses

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- Mykola Lysenko: Ukr classical music
  - 1st Ukrainian Opera, Taras Bulba (1891)
- Theatrical troupes in 1880s
- Kyivan Antiquities (*Kievskaiia starina*, 1882)
- Volodymyr Antonovych & school of historians
  - Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934)
- Ems Decree & suppression of Ukr activities
- Lack of elementary education in Ukrainian
- Restrictions on work for benefit of commoners
  - Inability to raise cultural awareness
- Assimilation of Ukrainian elites

# Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-95)

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# Independence or Autonomy?

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- Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (1900; RUP)
  - Kharkiv University students
- Mykola Mikhnovsky
- "An Independent Ukraine".
- RUP later rejects Mikhnovsky's arguments as chauvinistic
- Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (1905)
- Federalism & autonomy within Russia remains important platform of Ukrainian mainstream

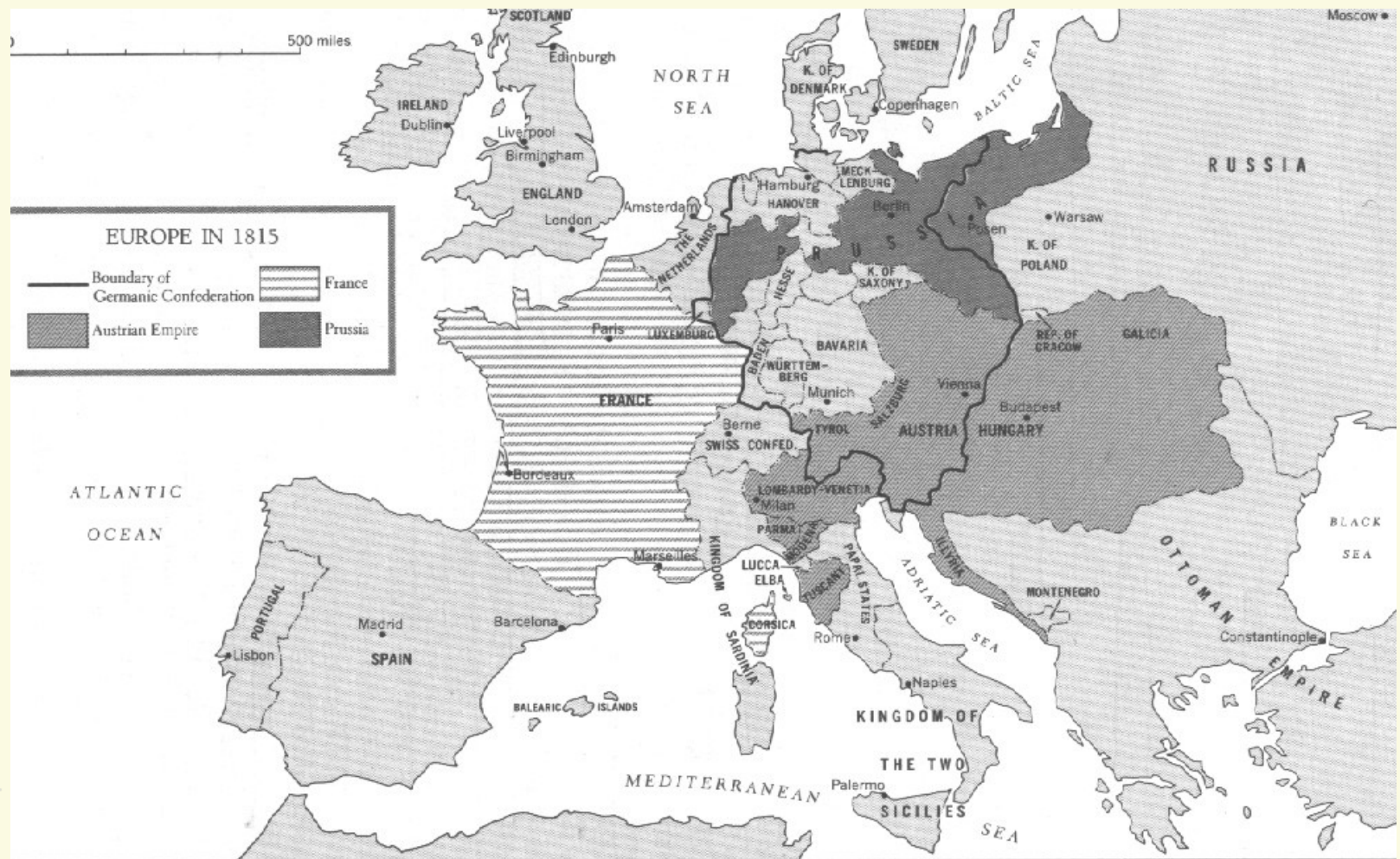


# Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia

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- Galicia (1772) from Poland; Bukovyna (1774) from Ottoman Turks (n. Moldavia); Transcarpathia, part of Hungary from 11th c.
  - Habsburg dynasty (German). Capital: Vienna
  - Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovenians, Serbs, Croats, Romanians & Italians
  - Kingdom of Hungary achieves self rule (1867)
  - Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, or Dual Monarchy
- What held the empire together?
  - Bureaucracy, army, legal system, schools (compulsory education at elementary level in language of region). German: official language. Monarchy: a unifying symbol (father figure).

# Europe in 1815



# Habsburg Monarchy in 19th c.



# Languages Spoken in Austro-Hungarian Empire



# Austrian Reforms: Effects in Galicia

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- Reforms of late 18th century
  - Restrictions on serfdom
  - Promote equality of all Catholic rites: Latin, Greek and Armenian
  - Receive metropolitanate in 1808
  - Support education of priests
- Nobility was Polish, or thoroughly Polonized
- Leaders of national movement often came from Greek Catholic clergy
- Elementary education in Galician-Ukrainian variant of Church Slavonic (Slaveno-Rusyn; antiquated book language)

# Language question in Galicia

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- Importance of language question in Galicia
- Polish or Russian? Latin or Cyrillic script?
- Ruthenian Triad: three seminarians, led by Markian Shashkevych, Iakiv Holovatsky and Ivan Vahylevych
- Almanac *Nymph of the Dnister* (Rusalka Dnistrovaia (1837;)).
- Landmark equivalent to appearance of Ivan Kotliarevsky's travestied *Aeneid* in Russian Ukraine.

# 1848: “Springtime of Nations”

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- 1848 revolutions in Western, Central & East-Central Europe
- Importance for nationalities of Habsburg empire: “Springtime of Nations”
- Importance for Galician Ukrainians:
  - establish first political organization
  - first newspaper
  - first cultural organization
  - first military units
  - serfdom was abolished; about 95% of Galician-Ukrainians were peasants.

# 1848 Revolution

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- Revolution in Austria begins in Vienna
  - End of press censorship
  - Allows formation of a national guard
  - Agrees to convocation of a constitutional assembly
  - New emperor: Franz Joseph (1848-1916)
  - Hungarians revolt; Russia intervenes (1849)
- Galicia: Poles establish Polish National Council in Lviv & demand autonomy
- Austrian government supports Ukrainians against Poles (divide et impera)

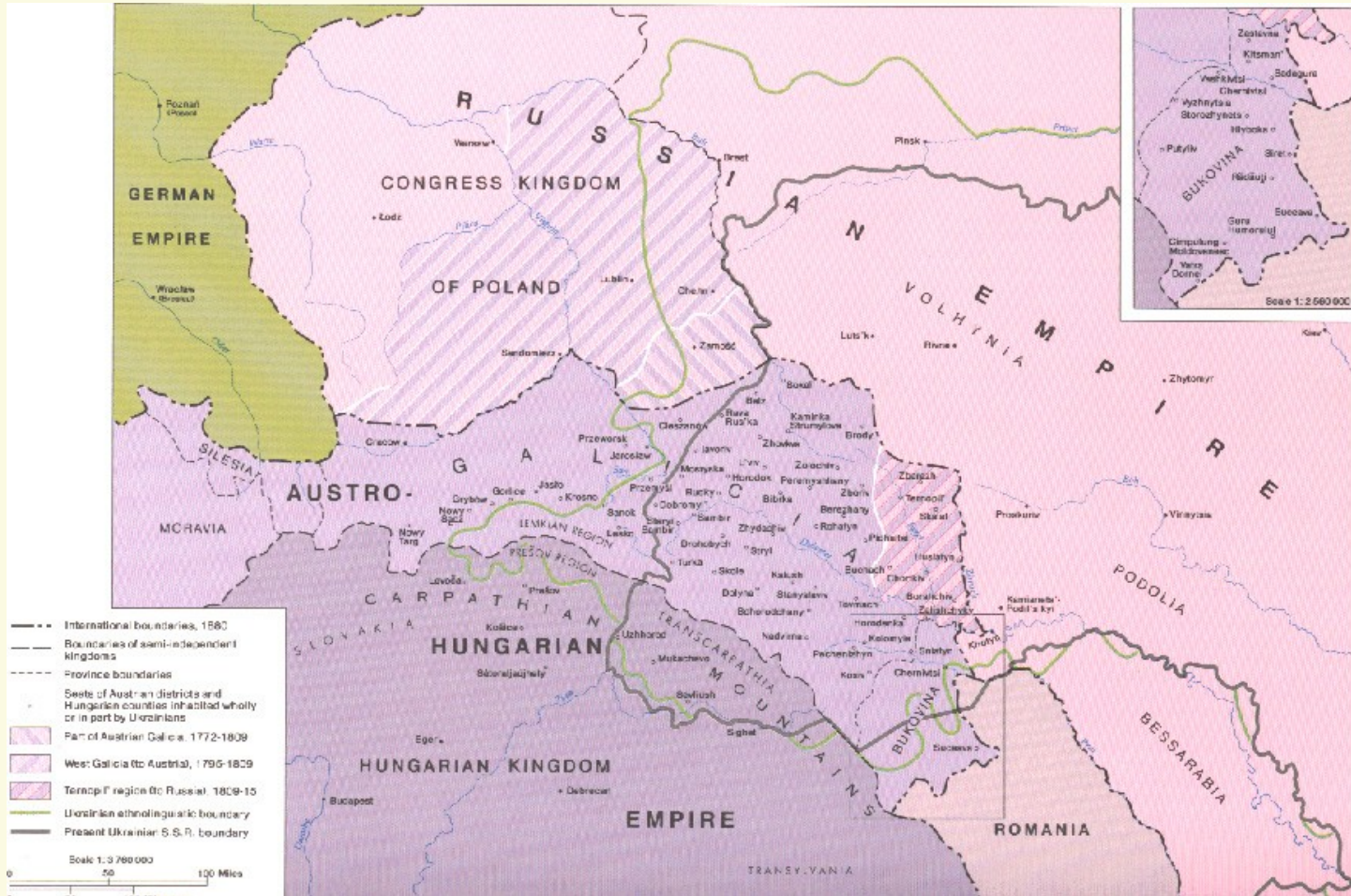


# Galician Ukrainians in 1848 Revolution

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- Ukrainians establish Supreme Rutheneian Council (SRC: Holovna Ruska Rada)
- Petition authorities to divide Galicia into two provinces (Ukrainian & Polish)
- Issues declaration on identity of Ukrainians in Russia & Austria; on historical fate of Ukraine
- Publishes newspaper *Galician Star* (Zoria Halytska)
- Establishes branches of council throughout province
- Loyalist nature of the Ukrainian movement

# Austrian Galicia



# Legacy of 1848 for Galician Ukrainians

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- Ukrainians in the imperial parliament
  - Elect 25 deputies: 15 peasants & 8 from clergy
- Form two military units
- Participate in Slav Congress (Prague, 1848)
  - Reaction to Frankfurt pan-German assembly
  - Propose restructuring Austria as a federation
- Cultural Legacy of 1848
  - Mass of publications (150 titles)
  - Most appear in Galician variant of Ukr. vernacular
  - Congress of Ruthenian Scholars held
  - 1st cultural organization: Galician-Rus Matytisia
  - Department of Ruthenian Lit & Language: Lviv Univ.

# Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia After 1848

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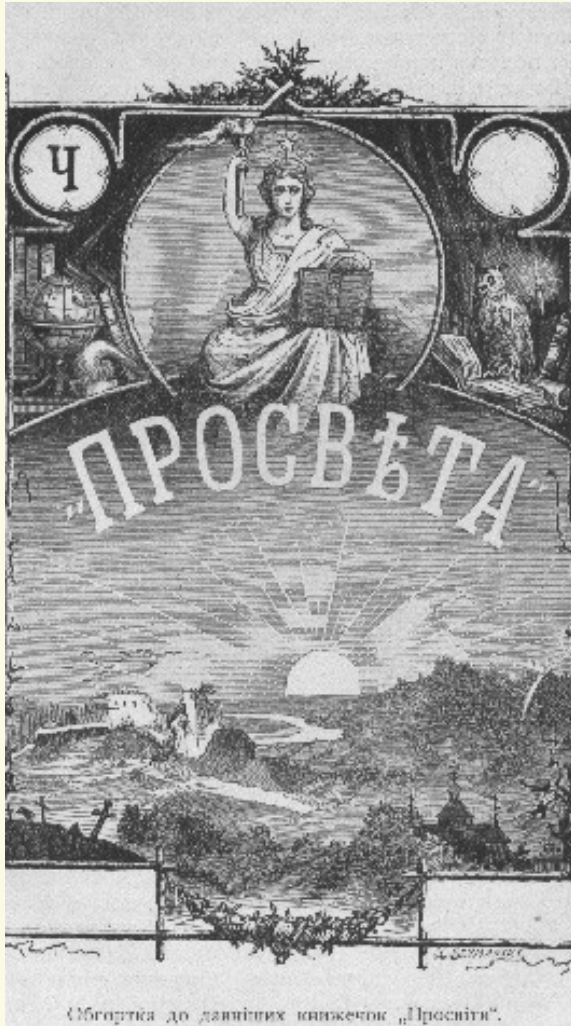
- Educat'1, cult'1 & economic work required
- Consensus on national identity had to be established: Old Ruthenian (Church Slavonic); Ukrainian (vernacular); pro-Russian (Russian)
- 1860s, Ukrainian narodovtsi (populists)
  - Promote peasants' social & economic interests
  - Promote use of vernacular
  - Adopt term Ukrainian & discard Rusyn/Ruthenian
- Gain support of populist counterparts from Russian Ukraine

# Cultural & Organizational Work

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- Found journals for literary, social and political commentary:  
*Truth* (Pravda; 1867-98)
- Newspaper *The Deed* (1880-1939; Dilo)
- Prosvita Society(1868; Enlightenment)
  - Promotion of culture & education on popular level
  - Offer courses in adult education
  - Establish network of reading rooms in villages
  - Publishes texts in literature & history
  - Helps organize community-run stores, warehouses, savings & credit unions, & co-operatives
- Co-operative movement widespread by 1890s

L: Cover for Prosvirta publication  
R: Illustration encouraging reading



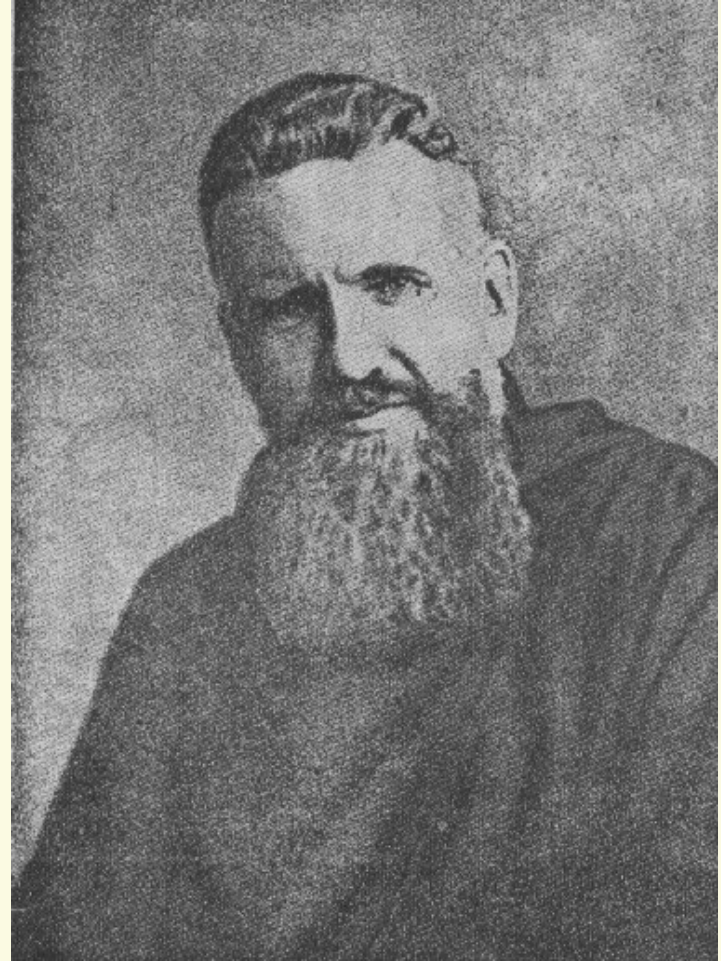
# Scholarship, Education & the National Movement

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- Shevchenko Scientific Society (1873; 1892)
  - Unofficial academy of sciences
  - Publishes journal *Zapysky* (Notes; 1892-1939)
- Chair of Ukrainian history (Lviv univ., 1894)
  - Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934)
  - 10-volume History of Ukraine-Rus; vol 1, 1898)
- Spread of education in Ukrainian
  - 1914: 3600 elementary schools ; 2,500 in Ukrainian
  - 6 state secondary schools (gymnasia); 15 private
  - Ukr.-language departments at Lviv university
- Greek Cath clergy promote nat'l consciousness
  - Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (from 1900-1944)

L: Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934)

R: Andrei Sheptytsky (ruled 1900-44)





# Political Goals and Organizations

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- Division of the province into 2
  - own diet, administration & board of education
- Equality of languages in public life
- Establishment of a Ukrainian university
- Universal suffrage
- Polish-Ukrainian Confrontation
- New Era (1890): 1st attempt to reach political compromise. Some benefits in education
- Ukrainian Radical Party (1890)
  - Ivan Franko & Mykhailo Pavlyk
  - *Ukraina Irredenta* (1895); calls for independence

# On the Eve of World War I

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- Populists & some former Radicals, including Franko, form National Democratic party (1899)
- Breakdown of relations bet Ukrainians & Poles
  - Unfair & corrupt elections to provincial diet (1907)
  - Assassination of Galician viceroy by Ukr student 1908
- Russian government support of Russophile Galicians & of Orthodox Church
  - Provides subsidies for pro-Russian activities
- Galicia: the “Piedmont” of Ukraine
  - Support for Austria among Ukrainians