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PRZEGLĄD POLSKI AND THE «RUTHENIAN QUESTION» IN GALICIA IN 1866–1867

The article examines evolution of the understanding of the «Ruthenian question» among conservative Cracow politicians during the short period of intensive territorial restructuring of the Habsburg monarchy. Several Polish politicians attempted at smoothening conflict with Ruthenian deputies in the Galician Diet and at diminishing the influence of Russophilism among the Galician Ruthenians. The author focuses on the texts on the «Ruthenian question» that appeared in the Cracow-based periodical, *Przegląd Polski* (Polish Survey) that was controlled by the young Cracowian conservatives (*stańczyce*).

Analysis of the articles by Floryan Ziemiałkowski, Stanisław Tarnowski and Bernard Kalicki demonstrate the polarity of Polish political positions regarding Ukrainian national movement in Galicia: from denial of a separate «Ruthenian nationality» to the promotion of Polish-Ruthenian alliance against the Russian imperial expansionism. If Floryan Ziemiałkowski regarded Galician Ruthenian movement an artificial creation of the Habsburg bureaucracy, Stanisław Tarnowski argued that the «Ukrainian idea» is an ally in the Polish struggle for independence. Furthermore, Bernard Kalicki stated that both nations had one common enemy, the Russian Empire, and did not exclude that an independent Ukrainian state is possible in the future.

Keywords: Polish-Ukrainian relations, «Ruthenian question», Cracowian conservatives, Galicia.

The aim of this article is to examine gradual evolution of the understanding of the «Ruthenian question» among conservative Cracow politicians during the short period of intensive territorial restructuring of the Habsburg monarchy. To achieve this goal, the key articles devoted to the «Ruthenian question» by several prominent Polish authors that were mostly published in 1866–1867 in the Cracow-based periodical, *Przegląd Polski* (Polish Survey) have been analyzed. The existing studies on the Polish-Ukrainian relations in Galicia in the 1860s (by Ukrainian historians Olena Arkusha, Ihor Chornovol, Mykhailo Demkovych-Dobrians'kyi, Marian Mudryi, Leonid Zashkilniak and Polish historians Zbigniew Fras, Kazimierz Karolczak, Stefan Kieniewicz, Stanisław Pijaj, Jerzy Zdrada and others) serve as the basis and starting point for this short exploration.

The Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, in the opinion of Robert Kann, was intended to preserve the monarchy and its Great Power position with the essential minimum changes in its structure and naturally could not resolve the national problems of the monarchy (Kann, 1991). Still, political developments of 1866–1867 changed the political balance in Galicia and created new political climate that smoothed Ruthenian-Polish relations. Some pragmatic Polish politicians played a significant role in the formation of the dualist system and could count on the further autonomization of Galicia. Since Poles were quite confident about their positions in Galicia, they wanted to mediate the ongoing conflict with the Ruthenian political leaders. They were also interested in diminishing the appeal of Russophilism among the Ruthenians. Prince A. Sapieha (1828–1903) even warned his Polish fellow-deputies that if they did not stop teasing Ruthenians and deny their separate nationality they would turn them into the Russians (Fras, 1993). Prince Adam Sapieha (1828–1903) even warned his Polish fellow-deputies that if they did not stop teasing Ruthenians and deny their separate nationality they would turn them into the Russians (Чорновол, 2002, с. 131–132).

On the other hand, a democratic federalist opposition led by the leader of East Galician democrats, Franciszek Smolka (1810–1899) argued that by keeping solidarity with the Czechs and demanding a federalist restructuring of the empire, Galicia could gain self-rule under the monarchy. As a result, the Galician Diet accepted on 28 September 1868 a resolution that demanded the establishment of a provincial government responsible to the Galician Diet. Ruthenian deputies boycotted the vote on the resolution, that considerably weakened Polish positions. Naturally, some Polish politicians wished to receive support of Ruthenian deputies for the resolution campaign¹.

Since the early 1860s also the attitude of leading Polish periodicals in Galicia to the «Ruthenian question» underwent profound changes. Most of them differentiated between «true Ruthenians» (Ukrainophiles) and Russophiles. Consequently, Galician Ukrainophiles and «Rus'-Ukraine» in general were increasingly seen as an ally against Russia, particularly in the press published by Cracow conservatives and democratic «federalists».

One can clearly see the evolution of the Polish position in the case of the young Cracowian conservatives (otherwise known as *stańczycy*). In general, their views were determined by political realism and conservative social doctrine, thus they stood for the compromise with Austria against Russia and for achieving social harmony in the peasant-landlord relationship (Wyka, 1951). In terms of their relationship with the Ruthenians they suggested the forming of an anti-Russian alliance with other peoples of former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and of smoothing tensions with Ruthenians in order to gain stronger position in the Habsburg Empire (Wereszycki, 1948). Several articles in their Cracow-based periodical, *Przegląd Polski* (Polish Survey) demonstrate the change of opinions on their policy towards Ruthenians. The first issue of *Przegląd Polski*, published in July 1866, was opened by an article by Florian Ziemiałkowski (1817–1900) (a renown Polish democrat, who in the couple of coming years organized the pro-governmental group of *mamelucy*), who summed up the traditional Polish liberal approach to the «Ruthenian

¹ The president of Galician Diet, Prince Leon Sapieha stated in September 1869, that if the Ruthenians would support the Diet's resolution it could become a political success. His son, Prince Adam planned to sign a written agreement with the Ruthenian Diet leaders (see: Kieniewicz, 1939, s. 361).

question» (Ziemiałkowski, 1866)². He focused on the political rise of modern nationalities, defended their rights to political freedom, and blamed Austrian ruling «caste» for its hatred of freedom and lack of own national identity. He argued for the decentralization of Austria and hoped that in the future «by the power of Polish idea», Austria will gain control over all Polish territories from Russia.

However, the national and social development of Galicia, in the view of Ziemiałkowski, was paralyzed by the «Ruthenian question». Florian Ziemiałkowski differentiated «rightful», historical, and «artificial», newly-invented for political reasons, nations. Exactly the Ruthenians who for centuries belonged to the Polish nation (as Bavarians belonged to the Germans) were, according to F. Ziemiałkowski, purposely created by the German bureaucracy, as a political tool against Polish national movement. Florian Ziemiałkowski did not admit any national meaning in the «Ruthenian question», and pointed that «it was once centralist, then Orthodox, then became Muscovian at the top and social at the bottom – it was everything, but not Ruthenian in nature». Accordingly, he did not recognize the existence of any other, apart from the Polish, nationality and national movement in Galicia. Florian Ziemiałkowski demanded the Ruthenians to rid themselves of compromising political relations and become «truly Ruthenian». Then, he promised, the «Ruthenian question» «will be immediately resolved in the spirit of freedom, brotherhood and full equality of rights» (Ziemiałkowski, 1866, s. 16–17). Yet, at the moment Ruthenians «could not demand that their underdeveloped language be given an equal place with the Polish language, because it will be against the course of civilization». Characteristically, F. Ziemiałkowski did not even mention the Galician Ukrainophiles. This position was shared by many Galician Polish liberals and also conservatives (so-called *podolacy*).

The approach of the younger generation of Polish West Galician conservatives was clearly different. What historian Józef Szujski (1835–1883) and literary critic Count Stanisław Tarnowski (1837–1917) suggested concerning the Polish-Ruthenian cooperation represented a change of established political paradigm regarding the non-Polish nationalities of former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

As many other Polish politicians, J. Szujski worried about the Polish-Ruthenian conflict. He admitted the lack of a reasonable Polish policy towards Ruthenian aspirations. The typical approach of the Polish politicians to the «Ruthenian question» Szujski presented in a such way: «... it is not worthy to deal with Ruthenians because they are fabricated and biased group; there is no Ruthenian language and nation; their aspirations for separate nationality are [caused by] clerical, centralist or Muscovian agitation» (Kieniewicz, 1952, s. 84).

Yet, since the Polish positions in the monarchy were still weak, J. Szujski regarded this tactic as a false one. He justified the demands of Ruthenians and argued that the denial of «their right for national development ... will only strengthen hostile influences» (Kieniewicz, 1952, s. 86). The article by J. Szujski (that was published in Cracowian conservative newspaper *Czas* in February 1866) was noticed by the Ruthenians, and even *Slovo* was satisfied with his conclusions (3-пид, 1866, c. 3).

Count S. Tarnowski went even further in his political analysis of the third session of the Galician Diet. His article appeared in the same issue of *Przegląd Polski* with that of F. Ziemiałkowski, and clearly contrasted with it. Although S. Tarnowski, likewise

² Young Cracow conservatives and Ziemiałkowski parted very soon due to the logic of the political contest over influence in the province (see: Ludwikowski, 1980, s. 43).

F. Ziemiałkowski, did not see any national motivations in Ruthenian political activity, only the hatred of Poles, he admitted that the Galician Ruthenians differed from the Poles by language, church ritual and customs. Tarnowski expected the emergence of a «real» national movement of Galician Ruthenians, and placed it in the context of a Polish-Russian contest. He claimed that «if the Ruthenian issue would become the issue of nationality, if it would prove to be indeed Ruthenian, not Russian», the Poles would open their arms and heart to Rus' (Tarnowski, 1866, s. 146). But such non-Russian «true Rus'» was still to be «created» in both empires with the active participation of Poles. In Tarnowski's view, the «Ukrainian idea» would contribute to the Polish fight with Russia: «... do not oppress, but nourish, nurse the Ruthenian nationality in Galicia, and this will strengthen it on the banks of the Dnipro; allow it to be developed in L'viv, and soon it will flourish in the Volhynia, the Podolia and the Ukraine, it should be educated here, in the school of Western civilization, and then it will fight there; it will be Rus', but Rus' fraternized with Poland and devoted to the same ideal ... We have started and carry on our struggle with Russia, Rus' will resolve this struggle finally» (Tarnowski, 1866, s. 147).

Stanislaw Tarnowski summed up that in the face of Russian expansionism, «the holy union between Poland and Rus' is based on the fact that the development of Rus' means security and salvation for Poland, and that a strong position of Polish nationality is the only condition for the development, progress, and the very existence of Rus'» (Tarnowski, 1866, s. 148).

Concerning political relations in Galicia, S. Tarnowski was no less skeptical than F. Ziemiałkowski about the possibility of a political agreement with the existing Ruthenian clerical leadership. But he was not satisfied with the Polish approach of total negation of Ruthenian demands in Diet, and made several critical comments. Tarnowski argued that since the Polish position in Galicia were still not certain, Vienna could easily interfere into the Polish-Ruthenian relations and use Ruthenians against Poles (Tarnowski, 1866, s. 149), and insisted on the need to make concessions to the Ruthenians by admitting their language to the provincial schools, court and administration. He summarized his position towards the Galician Ruthenians as «to break the St. Georgians, but to support the Ruthenians ... to give them everything what they would need for the development of their nationality, even if they do not exist now, in order to make possible their existence in future» (Tarnowski, 1866, s. 149).

Probably due to the growth of political Russophilism among Ruthenians, *stańczycy* made more resolute advances to the Ukrainophiles in 1867. This was done in a series of articles on «Ruthenian question» by Bernard Kalicki (1840–1884), an employee in the apparatus of Galician Diet and protégé of Prince Leon Sapieha (1803–1878). He was also close to the circle of Cracowian conservatives, especially to the historians J. Szujski and Walerian Kalinka (1826–1886) (Tyrowicz, 1964, s. 445–446).

From the very beginning, B. Kalicki agreed with the main tenets of Ukrainophiles' national-political doctrine. He wrote about the Ruthenian nation inhabiting «the great area, that used to be called Ruthenian, Podolian, Volhynian Principalities, and the Ukraine, between the banks of the Dniester and the Dnipro and much further beyond the Dnipro, in south to the Black Sea coast, in north, to Vilno» (Kalicki, 1867, s. 324). He sympathetically presented a detailed history of the Ukrainian national movement. Bernard Kalicki based this position on the populist understanding of the nation. He openly argued with the Polish «ultra-democrats», who adhered to the liberal doctrine but negated separateness

of the Ruthenians because the latter did not possess its own nobility: «... there is nothing more uncalled-for, unreasonable and destructive for both the Polish and Ruthenian causes, than the negation of Rus', then the allegation that the Ruthenian nationality is fiction only, without any real base, that it is only and exclusively the cover of Muscovian agitation or Austrian bureaucracy's invention ... People who confess this belief, support it by malicious argument that the Ruthenian nationality in Galicia was created by Stadion, and in the taken provinces – by the Muscovians. Concerning the first case, we are deeply convinced that the creation of nations is not in power and ability even of the most genius personalities ... Secondly, Russian government from the first years of the Ruthenian national awakening in the taken provinces used all its governmental power to oppress and exterminate it, and [Russian] exterminatory policy was used with the same brutality against both Rus' and Poland» (Kalicki, 1867, s. 323).

He argued that both nations had one principal enemy – the Russian Empire. In this, B. Kalicki followed the arguments of S. Tarnowski, yet, he did not hesitate to discuss the possibilities for a future independent Ruthenian state. Only together with Rus', could Poland fulfill its mission – defend the rights of nations against the Muscovian pan-Slavism (Kalicki, 1867, s. 333). Bernard Kalicki also focused on the conflict between Galician Ukrainophiles and older generation of Greek Catholic clergy. He made several pages-long quotations from the Ukrainophile journal *Meta*, probably with the intention to make the Polish public realize that Ukrainophiles in Galicia were in fact an anti-Russian faction. Like S. Tarnowski, B. Kalicki summed up that «the slogan of all Poles should be: death for Muscovy and St. Georgians – victory for Rus'!».

The leading figure in the Polish resolution campaign, F. Smolka also opted for gaining Ruthenian support in exchange for concessions, since his attempts to boycott the election to the Austrian parliament were blocked by a majority of Ruthenian deputies (Karolczak, 1994, s. 35). Throughout the 1860s he constantly tried to make symbolic gestures underlining political solidarity between the Poles and Ruthenians³. But the attempt to organize a symbolic celebration of the 300-year anniversary of the Lublin Union (seen as the example of peaceful settlement of relations with Ruthenians) and the promotion of Jagellonian ideas in 1869 met with strong disapproval by both Russophiles and Ukrainophiles who treated it in terms of imposing Polish political dominance. There were also other figures (including Tadeusz Romanowicz (1843–1904), a future ideological opponent of Roman Dmowski⁴) in the democratic camp who were critical about the hard Polish policy towards Ruthenians (Tyrowicz, 1965) and for some time already seen as potential allies by the Ukrainophiles (Молода, 1892, с. 1–2).

One of the fruits of these tendencies was the conciliatory project of Iulian Lavrivs'kyi. The factual background of his attempts at Polish-Ruthenian reconciliation in 1868–1871 was already reconstructed by several Polish and Ukrainian historians (Мудрий, 1997). The failure of moderate elements from both sides to reach an agreement deepened the Polish-Ruthenian conflict in Galicia over the next decades. Yet the new public discourse on the

³ Smolka in January 1861 led the procession to St. George Cathedral in order to convince Metropolitan Hryhorii Iakhymovych not send a separate Ruthenian delegation to Vienna (see: Чорновол, 2000, с. 230–232).

⁴ On the role of Tadeusz Romanowicz in Galician political life, and particularly Polish-Ukrainian relations, of the second half of the 19th century (see: Janowski, 1996, s. 71–74).

Ukrainian movement that emerged in the political atmosphere of 1866–1867 set important precedent in the long history of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts and reproachments in Galicia.

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**«PRZEGLĄD POLSKI» I «РУСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ»
У ГАЛИЧИНІ У 1866–1867 РОКАХ**

Розглянуто еволюцію розуміння «руського питання» серед консервативних краківських політиків під час короткого періоду інтенсивного територіального реструктурування Габсбурзької монархії. Зазначено, що чимало польських політиків намагалося зладити конфлікт із руськими депутатами в Галицькому сеймі та зменшити русофільські впливи серед галицьких русинів. Зосереджено увагу на текстах щодо «руського питання» краківського часопису «Przeгляд Polski», який контролювали молоді краківські консерватори (відомі як *stańczycy*).

Стверджено, що аналіз статей Флоріана Земялковського (Florian Ziemiałkowski), Юзефа Шуйського (Józef Szujski), Станіслава Тарновського (Stanisław Tarnowski) та Бернарда Каліцького (Bernard Kalicki) демонструє розходження польських політичних позицій щодо українського національного руху в Галичині: від заперечення існування окремої руської національності до обстоювання необхідності польсько-руського союзу проти російського імперського експансіонізму. Встановлено, що якщо Ф. Земялковський уважав галицько-руський рух штучним винаходом габсбурзької бюрократії, то С. Тарновський переконував, що «українська ідея» – союзник польської боротьби за незалежність, щобільше, Б. Каліцький стверджував, що обидві нації мають спільного ворога – Російську імперію, і не заперечував можливості існування незалежної Української держави у майбутньому.

Ключові слова: польсько-українські відносини, «руське питання», краківські консерватори, Галичина.