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### Podillya “trail” in the realization of the Russian Empire’s course towards “Galician-Russian unity” (1900–1916)

*The article is devoted to the problem of the implementation of the “Galician-Russian unity” ideological course pursued by the Russian Empire during 1900–1916 whose instrument became the Russian public due to the difficulties experienced by the official authorities.*

*Proceeding from the analysis of historiographical sources and previous scholarly research, the involvement of the inhabitants of Podillya in the implementation of this policy is traced in order to establish the place and role of the Podillya public in those processes. It is argued that when implementing the idea of “Galician-Russian unity”, the empire attached great importance to the Podillya citizens whose residence was in close vicinity of the Galician region. It is noted that Podolians took part in the activity of the “Galician-Russian Charitable Society” created especially for this purpose, more specifically, its Kamianets-Podilskyi branch, headed by wealthy high-ranking officials.*

*It is emphasized that since the beginning of World War One, the empire and its supporters had seriously stepped up efforts to bring about the idea of rapprochement. One of the most active supporters of this policy was D. Chikhachov. It also appears that the Podilsky departments of other Russian public organizations, including those who helped the Galician refugees, were indirectly involved in the implementation of the above policy.*

**Keywords:** Eastern Galicia, “Galician-Russian Charity Society”, Russian empire, politics of “Galician-Russian unity”.

For many centuries the Russian Empire had been trying to extend its power from the expanses of Kamchatka to the Carpathians. After the divisions of the Polish Commonwealth, Eastern Galicia was the only territory not annexed by the Romanovs’ empire. However, such a move would have provoked a war with Austria (Austro-Hungary), and for the Russian side that would have meant a negative reaction from the leading countries of the world. One should also take into account the strong pro-Austrian sentiments of the eastern Galicians. At the same time, a certain counterbalance to this phenomenon in the region was provided by the Russophile (Muscovophile) movement, which intended to strengthen Russian positions in Eastern Galicia proceeding from the cultural affinity of the lands that once belonged to the Kievan Rus,

This issue, to varying degrees, is studied in the works of Soviet [1], national [2-4], and foreign [5-6] historians. At the same time, their analysis confirms the need for more attention to the regional component of the foreign policy pursued the Romanov empire. For this reason the author focuses his attention on Podillya trail in the implementation of the idea of “Galician-Russian unity”.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian Empire intensified its activities in Eastern Galicia through peaceful methods. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Muscovophile trend, which seemed to have had strong positions, gradually lost to Ukrainophiles. This put at risk the advancement of the “Russian idea” in the Galician region. At the same time, it was necessary to dispel any suspicions of the interference of the official Russian authorities.

On December 8, 1902, Russia’s Ministry of Internal Affairs approved the charter of the Galician-Russian Charitable Society. The said organization was supposed to provide all kinds of moral and material support to the “Russian” Galicians, primarily those who temporarily or permanently lived in St. Petersburg, and promote acquaintance of the Russian public with Galicia. Later on, on December 15 of the same year, the first meeting of the founders of the company took place to elect the board and attend to organizational issues. A member of the Council of Minister of Education, privy councillor O. Budilovich was elected its chairman, I. Livchak became his deputy, V. Dragomeretsky was elected secretary, and the treasurer’s position went to I. Pukhir [7, p. 5]. On February 9, 1903, a solemn opening of the society took place on the premises of the “Russian Assembly” in St. Petersburg [7, p. 6]. Numerous greetings and telegrams from many cities of the empire were read. A congratulatory message also came from the faraway Kamianets-Podilskyi [7, p. 9]. The Podillya province in the society was represented by Dmitriy Nikolaevich Chikhachov (chamber-junker of the highest court, leader of the Mohyliv-Podilsky district nobility) as a life member of the society (unfortunately we did not manage to find out the reason why such an honor was bestowed on him), Aleksandr Nikolayevich Volzhin (leader of the Podilsky provincial nobility), Vasyl Stepanovych Zavoiko (leader of the Haysin district nobility), Reverend Timofiy Turkalo and Oleksandr Aleksandrovich Eiler (Podillya’s governor) [7, p. 33-43]. The Podolians helped organize cultural tours and trips to Russia for Galicians, developed local publishing businesses, and provided the Galicians with the necessary literature, magazines, newspapers, and the like. In 1909, the new charter of the Galician-Russian Charitable Society was approved, the scope of its operation was expanded and it was to “promote cultural unification of the “Russian” Galicians, Bukovinians, and Hungrorussians with Russia, and provide them with various material and moral support in pursuit of enlightenment and economic prosperity” [8]. With the election of Count V. Bobrinsky as chairman of the society its activities intensified. Contacts with the Galician Muscovophile intellectuals became more frequent, financial subsidies for Galicians increased. In such circumstances, there was a need to expand the society’s geography. This was due to the fact that it consisted of a large number of representatives from other cities. With the permission of the Ministry of the Interior, the Kiev branch of the Galician-Russian Charity Committee was opened in the spring of 1910 [9, p. 14]. Soon, the practice of creating branches was extended to other provincial centers of the Russian Empire.

In December 1910, the Board of the Galician-Russian Charitable Society allo-

wed for a branch to be opened in Kamianets-Podilskyi. This move was initiated by the Podillya leader of the nobility I. Rakovich, Kamianets leader of the nobility V. Markevich, and A. Hyzhyskyi, member of the State Duma of Podillya [10, sh. 1]. The choice of the Podillya provincial center for the emergence of another branch of the society does not seem accidental. Firstly, the Podillya province bordered on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the latter respectively provided for the operative and systematic contacts with the Galicians; and secondly, since 1902, there were Podolians within the St. Petersburg Society, and one of them, D. Chikhachov, had, as already noted, the status of a lifetime member.

On February 26, 1911, the official opening of the Kamianets-Podilskyi branch of the Galician-Russian Charitable Society took place. On its board in addition to the above, there were 8 other people, among them was P. Aleksandrov, chairman of the Podillya county council, members of the State Duma Chikhachov, O. Pototsky, and P. Balashov. True, the statute stipulated that the board should consist of 12 people and 2 candidates [10, sh. 2]. In general, the activities of the Kamianets-Podilsky department of the Galician-Russian Charitable Society went practically unnoticed, which gives grounds for doubting the rationale of its creation.

The beginning of World War One and occupation of Eastern Galicia, intensified the activities of the Russian authorities to realize their dream of including the Galician region into the Russian Empire, in particular, implement the “idea of cultural unity”. A real opportunity emerged to expand operation in this area to the fullest, rejecting diplomacy and protection provided by the societies. Among those who most clearly represented the countenance of the “Galician-Russian unity”, was D. Chikhachev.

On July 29, 1914, a “Carpatho-Russian Liberation Committee” was created with the representatives of the Galician Muscophiles supported by the Russian authorities. Its purpose was, firstly, to familiarize the Russian public with Galicia’s historical past and present, and secondly, to attend to the situation of the military refugees and prisoners of war from Galicia, and thirdly, to manage the political and national-cultural life of the region. According to V. Lyubchenko, one of the contenders for the role of “godfather” of this society could have been none other but D. Chikhachov [11, p. 128].

Patriotic and victorious appeals have prompted this figure to voluntarily come under command of General M. Ivanov, commander-in-chief of the South-Western Front. With the occupation of the Eastern Galicia by Russia, he was appointed to the office of the Galician governor general Count G. Bobrinsky [12, p. 327]. His activities were mainly aimed at conducting Russification policy in the occupied territories, implementing the idea of the Galician-Russian merger.

During August-September 1914, projects for educational transformations in the occupied territory of Galicia emerged among the Russian authorities and the Galician Muscophiles. D. Chikhachov became one of G. Bobrinsky’s advisers of on these matters. He personally drew up and submitted to the military general-governor for consideration “A note on the education policy in Eastern Galicia

and Bukovina”, in which he proposed to close universities and other places of higher learning for an indefinite time due to the existence of a school “deeply hostile to Russia” where instruction was conducted in Polish, German, and the Ukrainian dialect. Instead, Russian language courses for teachers were to be opened, in the most important centers of Galicia, and starting from January 1, 1915, the introduction of the Russian language as a compulsory discipline in all the schools was to take place. Comprehensive measures were to be taken to familiarize teachers and students with the Russian standard language, history, geography of Russia, and Russian literature. In the extreme case, instruction in junior and high secondary schools could be allowed in the languages used before. It was even temporarily allowed to use the “Little Russian”, provided it was based on Russian spelling. True, this concession was to cease starting with 1916 [5, p. 91-92].

Analysis of educational projects shows that D. Chikhachov version (which was incidentally supported by Count G. Bobrinsky) was radically inferior to the Muscovophile, according to which even the Russian grammar based on “Little Russian” fell under prohibition.

In September 1914, D. Chikhachov met with the trustee of the Kiev educational district O. Derevytsky, as a result the latter decided to instruct the governor of his office V. Ivanov, together with the director of the public schools of the Kiev province B. Plesky, to develop under the leadership of D. Chikhachov provisions on the interim administrative structure of the educational department in Galicia, as well as the plan and program of training courses for teachers of the Russian language in the occupied territories of Austria-Hungary [13, p. 252; 14, p. 66].

In addition to the educational project, D. Chikhachev proposed a set of measures aimed at reforming agrarian relations, which included the purchase of private lands with public funds and liquidation of Jewish land tenure [12, p. 327]. The latter could only be carried out in conditions of martial law, whose introduction allowed for the right to confiscate landed property for political considerations [5, p. 68]. Taking advantage of the fact that a part of the Jewish landowners had left their estates, retreating with the Austrians, he considered it necessary to seize the better part of the Jewish farnsteads, and deport Jewish tenants and governors elsewhere [5, p. 68]. The Russian occupation authorities found those proposals attractive enough; they resorted to the confiscation of land holdings and forced eviction of the Jewish population [15].

Religious issues also came into D. Chikhachov's view. Pointing to the unfounded hope for a self-induced transition of the Uniates to Orthodoxy, he called on the Russian authorities “to take care of the election of worthy hierarchs of the Uniate Church”, which would contribute to this process [12, p. 327]. In addition, acting on the instructions of the Galician governor-general, he began to adjust religious policy issues (replacement of the Uniate church with the Orthodox) with those sent by Archbishop Eulogius to the region to perform this task [5, p. 162].

In mid-October 1914, a meeting on the future of Galicia was held in Lviv occupied by the Russian troops, which D. Chikhachev also attended. In his speech, he

pointed out the need to: 1) intensify the activities of the Peasant's Bank for the solution of land issues given mass evacuation and flight of the local landowners; 2) introduce Russian legal proceedings with a temporary permission to use other languages; 3) use the Russian language in the educational process and training of teachers with a temporary permission to study in the Little Russian dialect [16, p. 229-230].

In order to implement his own practices, D. Chikhachov in late December 1914 participated in the meeting chaired by the trustee of the Kyiv educational district O. Derevytsky. The latter went as far as to create two special commissions: 1) to develop a program for training Russian language teachers; 2) to prepare a general project of educational reform in Galicia. At this meeting, a special project was approved, similar to the one outlined in the note "On the Matters of Education in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina", which envisaged opening of a Teacher's University in Lviv [16, p. 232].

However, the only planned thing that was possible to implement was the inception of special training courses for Russian language teachers in Lviv, Sambir, Stanislav, Ternopil, Zolochiv, Brody, Terebovlya, and other cities where they were relocated depending on the situation at the front and the speed of retreat of the Russian troops in January-June 1915.

The process of opening Russian-language schools was not successful either. The first of them appeared in the village of Zapytov of the Lviv district. D. Chikhachov was among those present at its opening. A pompous ceremony took place, complete with portraits of the royal family and the singing of "Many A Year" in honour of Emperor Nicholas II [17].

During the Russian occupation of the Galician region, D. Chikhachev distinguished himself in a singular capacity. On November 11, 1914, by order of the Governor-General of Galicia, he was appointed caretaker of antique monuments, libraries, and scientific and art collections. In case of necessity, he was given the right to remove and transfer certain items and collections to the City Museum of Lviv for preservation, following approval of his actions by the military authorities [18].

In 1916, with the onset of the second occupation of Galicia, D. Chikhachev offered his services to the new Russian administration, pointing out his experience of 1914. However, the military governor F. Trepov, considering the tacit decision not to admit the most odious figures of the previous occupation in Galicia (their radicalization was believed to have contributed to the failure of the first occupation), on July 10 of the same year, delicately rejected the deputy of the State Duma [12, p. 265], actually putting an end to D. Chikhachev's involvement in Galician affairs. The general analysis of the events indicates that despite the great efforts of the Russian activists, including D. Chikhachev, to pursue a great-power policy in the region, the idea of "Galician-Russian unity" completely collapsed.

Certain Podillya citizens and NGOs faced with the problem of refugees were indirectly linked with the implementation of the above issue.

The first columns of refugees started to leave Galicia as early as 1914. Given the “idea of rapprochement”, the Russian authorities did not have the moral right to refuse assistance, first and foremost, to loyal Galician refugees. On November 30, 1914, on the initiative of Podilskiy governor O. Ignatiev, a Podilskiy branch of the charitable organization, known as the Tetiana Committee, was created. The members of the branch financially supported refugees, facilitated their transportation and provided other assistance [19, p. 36-38]. As of April 1915, the Podillya Province collected 18010.64 rubles for the Tatiana Committee (5625 rubles were collected by the city, and 12368.64 rubles by the county council). It was the second largest result among Ukrainian provinces after the Volyn province [19, p. 302-306]. Assistance to refugees was also provided by the All-Russian Union of Cities with its own committees in Podillya (Bratslav, headed by the city mayor S. Borkovskiy, Vinnytsia – M. Ovodov, Kamianets-Podilskiy headed by the city mayor – Mayor K. Turovych, Mohyliv-Podilskiy – Yu. Behli, Proskuriv – P. Lyubinskyy) [20, p. 460]. Representatives of the Podillya authorities also played an active role in this process. Thus, N. Dolnitsky, a district clerk in Zozulynetsi, who fled from the Austrians due to his pro-Russian position, found refuge in Pashkovtsy in Proskuriv district, on a farmstead owned by a local nobility figure S. Kiselev [21].

Thus, when implementing the Galician-Russian unification by the Russian Empire, a certain role was assigned to the public of the Podillya province. In the pre-war period, its representation was evident in the participation in the Galician-Russian Charity Committee and its Podillya branch. D. Chikhachov was the most active participant in this process. With the beginning of World War One, the latter’s activities became the embodiment of the great-power policy of the Russian occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia, directed in particular against Ukrainian culture. Certain Podillya citizens and Podillya public organizations which provided assistance to the Galician refugees. were indirectly involved with the realization of the idea of the “Galician-Russian unification”.

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**С.В.Олійник**

### **Подільський “слід” в реалізації Російською імперією курсу “галицько-російського єднання” (1900–1916 роки)**

*Стаття присвячена проблемі реалізації Російською імперією впродовж 1900–1916 років курсу ідеологічного спрямування на “галицько-російське єднання”, інструментом здійснення якого, через труднощі офіційної влади, стала російська громадськість.*

*На основі аналізу джерел та праць дослідників, простежується залучення мешканців Поділля в реалізації зазначеної політики, з’ясується місце*

*і роль подільської громадськості у цих процесах. Стверджується, що подолянам, які межували з Галицьким краєм, імперія надавала неабиякого значення у реалізації ідеї “галицько-російського єднання”. Вказується, що подоляни приймали участь у діяльності спеціально для цього створеного “Галицько-російського благодійного товариства”, його Кам’янець-Подільського відділення, на чолі якого стояли заможні високопосадовці.*

*Наголошується, що з початком Першої світової війни імперія та її прихильники серйозно посилили роботу із втілення в життя ідеї зближення. Одним із найбільш активних прихильників цієї політики був Д. Чихачов. Також доводиться, що опосередковане ставлення до неї мали подільські відділення інших російських громадських організацій, зокрема ті, які допомагали галицьким біженцям.*

**Ключові слова:** Східна Галичина, “Галицько-російське благодійне товариство”, Російська імперія, політика “галицько-російського єднання”.

**С.В.Олійник**

#### **Подольский “след” в реализации Российской империей курса “галицко-русского единения” (1900–1916 годы)**

*Статья посвящена проблеме реализации Российской империей в течение 1900–1916 годов курса идеологического направления на “галицко-русское единение”, инструментом осуществления которого, из-за трудности официальной власти, стала российская общественность.*

*На основе анализа источников и трудов исследователей, прослеживается привлечение жителей Подолья к реализации указанной политики, выясняется место и роль подольской общественности в этих процессах.*

*Утверждается, что подолянам, которые граничили с Галицким краем, империя придавала большое значение в реализации идеи “галицко-русского единства”. Указывается, что подоляне принимали участие в деятельности специально для этого созданного “Галицко-русского благотворительного общества”, его Каменец-Подольского отделения, во главе которого стояли богатые чиновники.*

*Отмечается, что с началом Первой мировой войны империя и ее сторонники серьезно усилили работу по воплощению в жизнь идеи сближения. Одним из самых активных сторонников этой политики был Д. Чихачев. Также доказываются опосредованное отношение к ней имели подольские отделения других российских общественных организаций, в частности те, которые помогали галицким беженцам.*

**Ключевые слова:** Восточная Галиция, “Галицко-русское благотворительное общество”, Российская империя, политика “галицко-русского единения”.

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