Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету імені Юрія Федьковича: Історія. – № 1. – 2020.– С. 87–96 History Journal of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University. – № 1. – 2020. – pp. 87–96 DOI https://doi.org/10.31861/hj2020.51.87-96 hj.chnu.edu.ua

#### УДК 930.2:94(477.81/86) «1848/1914»

### © Liliia Sholohon\* (Ivano-Frankivsk)

## RUSSOFILE MOVEMENT IN THE GALICIA OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY – THE BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY: THE ATTEMPT OF THE SOURCES STUDY ANALYSIS

**Abstract.** The paper attempts to appreciate the Russophile movement in the Galicia of the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> – early XX<sup>th</sup> century based on different concepts of the researchers who investigated its and on analysis of archival and published sources. The author paid attention to the content of the Russophile societies statutes –«Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, «Rusky People's Institute «the People's House», and others, to the program of the Ruska People's Party, information reports of social organizations, periodicals and memories.

**Keywords:** Russophile movement, «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, Galicia, sources.

## Лілія Шологон (Івано-Франківськ)

# РУСОФІЛЬСЬКИЙ РУХ В ГАЛИЧИНІ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XIX – ПОЧАТКУ XX СТОЛІТТЯ: СПРОБА ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧОГО АНАЛІЗУ

В статті зроблено спробу дати оцінку русофільському руху в Галичині другої половини XIX – початку ХХ ст. на основі різних концепцій дослідників, що його досліджували та аналізу архівних та опублікованих джерел. Авторка звернула увагу на зміст статутів русофільських товариств – «Галицько-руської матиці», Товариства імені Качковського, Руського народного інституту «Народний дім», Руського видавничого товариства, програму діяльності Руської народної партії, інформаційні звіти про роботу громадських об'єднань, спогади, громадсько-політичну періодику, наукові видання русофільських товариств «Галицький історичний збірник», «Науковий збірник», «Літературний збірник», «Науково-літературний збірник». Встановлено, що впродовж 1853–1908 рр., було опубліковано 60 русофільських наукових збірників, рівень популярності яких серед населення низьким. На основі проаналізованих джерел зроблено висновок про те, що головним завданням русофільського руху, який фінансувався Російською імперією, було розповсюдження літератури мовою близькою до російської, складним етимологічним правописом, повне заперечення права українського народу на власну мову, культуру, національну ідентичність, політичну самостійність. Якшо у середині XIX ст. москвофільська пропаганда знаходила чимало прихильників у Галичині на противагу полонізації краю, з мовчазної згоди центральної влади у Відні, то вже на початку XX ст. симпатії українців краю були на стороні головних опонентів русофілів – народовців та радикалів. Їх ідеї поділяли провідні громадсько-політичні діячі, вчені, літератори – Іван Франко, Леся Українка, Михайло Грушевський, Михайло Драгоманов, Михайло Павлик. Початок XXI ст. в черговий показав несприйняття концепції «русского мира» переважною більшістю українців, що надали перевагу західноєвропейським культурним та політичним цінностям.

<sup>\*</sup> д. і. н., доцент, професор кафедри історіографії і джерелознавства Прикарпатського національного університету імені Василя Стефаника

Doctor of History, Professor, the Department of Historiography and Source Criticism, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian Nathional University

orcid.org/0000-0002-5390-7576 e-mail: shologonlilia@ukr.net

**Ключові слова:** русофільський рух, «Галицько-руська матиця», Товариство імені Михайла Качковського, Галичина, джерела

The Rusophile movement was formed in Galicia in the 50s of the 19th century. Its ideological basis was based on the medieval idea of «Russianness» aimed at the «brilliant period» of Kyiv and Galicia-Volyn Rus proclaimed in the 1930s – 40s of the nineteenth century by the historian Denys Zubritsky. The modern Ukrainian scholar Stepan Makarchuk called the main features of Russophilism «he imposing of a historical and cultural tradition, the common origins of the statehood of the «Rusky» peoples, the religious Christian rite, the common Church Slavonic script». The researcher also pointed out that the historical proof of the «Russianness» of the Ukrainians of Galicia on which «velykorossy» constantly speculated became word «Rusyns» which had a common etymological basis with the Russian-speaking variants «Russians» and «Rusiyans»<sup>1</sup>.

Other modern Ukrainian scientists Elena Arkusha and Marian Mudryi see the origins of the Galician Russophilism primarily in the internal development trends of the society of that time as an ideology that became for a long time a link between the modern and the past, which determined the direction of the future development. These researchers consider Russophilism not as a stable course, but as a significant transformation in its development: 1848-1870 - a period of confrontation between Polonophilism and Russophilism, as a result of which the latter orientation has won; 1870-1890 - a period of confrontation between Polonophilism and Russophilism and the People's Movement, which ended with the defeat of the first; 1890-1900 - a period of politicization of Ukrainian public life, as a result of which the Russophiles ceased to be an active element of the national movement; 1900-1914 - a period of rivalry between the Russophiles, Staro Russuns and Moskophiles of the pro-Russian orientation<sup>2</sup>.

In our opinion, the so-called «reaction» period, which occurred in the 1950s, contributed most to the assertion of Russophilism in Galicia after the revolutionary events of 1848–49, when all the achievements of the Ukrainian revolution in the cultural and educational sphere in the province were lost. It was at this time that a significant part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, clergy and other strata of the society refocused their ideological views on tsarist Russia. We find similar points of view on this issue in the works of the Polish scientist Zbigniew Fras, who came to the conclusion that the popularity of Russophilism in Galicia was the result of the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish administration of the region<sup>3</sup>.

We suppose that the above-mentioned Lviv researchers of the Russophile movement in Galicia, who published many substantial scientific works on this subject, showed great tolerance in their own assessments and results. At the same time Kyiv scholar Vitaliy Sarbey in one of his works focused on the well-known fact that from the government circles of Russia Russophiles or Moscophiles, as they were then called, not only ideological support, but also secret money transfers for propaganda among the population about the fact that the Ukrainian people do not exist at all were received, but they stated there was only a single «an-Russian» people from the Carpathians to Kamchatka.

In addition, denying the possibility of using the Ukrainian language as a literary language, the Russophiles fully agreed with the Russian tsarism and created favorable conditions for the policy of forced assimilation of the Ukrainian population, which, in its turn, was also conducted by the Polish regional administration in Galicia. Moscophiles printed their essays on «yazychie» – a mixture of Russian, Ukrainian, Old Slavic and Polish. Their chief ideologue, D. Zubritsky, publicly stated that the «regional speech of the Galician ordinary people» is not suitable for writing historical works intended for enlightened people, and for the commoner, three books are fully enough: a prayer book, a psalter and a catechism<sup>4</sup>. Such an ideology, as claimed by the Polish scholar Jaroslav Mokliak, emerged from the purposeful policy of Russian diplomacy and church circles for the future annexation of the Ukrainian lands by Austria-Hungary. The historian is confident in the exceptional orientation of the Moscophiles on Russian culture<sup>5</sup>.

The events of the undeclared Russian-Ukrainian war, which the official government circles of the Russian Federation justify by defending the so-called «Russian world», forced modern historians to give an adequate assessment of the ideology of Russophilism. Chernivtsi researcher Vitaliy Haysenyuk focuses on the distribution of exclusively Russian cultural values by Russophiles in order to include the Ukrainian lands of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the future into the Russian political space. He expresses the conviction that such phenomena as Russophilism and Muscophilism have completely exhausted themselves; their place today is on the «landfill of history»<sup>6</sup>.

As for the modern Russian researchers, they hold opposite views on the problem of Russophilism. In particular, the historian V. Savchenko argues about the deep historical traditions of the Moscophile movement and the Austrian anti-Ukrainian policy of the Narodovstvo, the main opponents of the Russophiles<sup>7</sup>. Although the latter reject all the sources formed in the process of their activity.

At the same time, a number of foreign researchers, in particular the Germans Ricard Vulpius<sup>8</sup>, Anna Veronika Wendland<sup>9</sup>, Klaus Bachmann<sup>10</sup> consider Russophilism as part of the process of national self-determination of Ukrainians.

All this underscores the complexity and controversy of the phenomenon of Moscophilism on the Galician soil. That is why this article attempts to analyze both archival and already published sources, preserved in archival and library institutions of Ukraine and containing information on various aspects of the Russophile movement in Galicia during the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries.

Public societies played an important role in the propaganda of Moscow philosophy. The idea of creating the first Ukrainian association such as the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» matured during the revolutionary events in Galicia in 1848, although immediately after its creation it shifted to the position of Russophilism. The same ideological principles were followed by the founders of other similar civil organizations, in particular the society "Rusky People's Institute «People's House», the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, the Rusky Publishing Society and materials based on their activities were deposited in the funds of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv. In the first place these are the drafts and handwritten versions of the statutes, which make it possible to trace the process of program documents creating; published statutes that were sent to state authorities for approval; appeals to the population for the support of the societies mentioned; minutes of the general meetings and the governing bodies of Russophile organizations, the materials on publishing, financial reports. It should be noted that all the documents of the above societies are written, exclusively, by etymological spelling and language very close to Russian. As a result of studying their contents, we can assert that the most important aspect of the work of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, the Rusky Publishing Society was the publication and distribution of the primitive Russian-language literature in Galicia. The activity of the «Rusky People's Institute «the People's House», which contained a bursa for Rusky youth studying in Lviv in its building was rather different it created charitable foundations to help both those who studied and young masters of art and also used other forms of enlightenment such as educational work<sup>11</sup>.

Among the published documents disclosing the activities of the Russophile societies' statutes as the main organizational documents deserve special attention. In general, the statutes of civil organizations of Galicia had a lot in common. In particular, the general meeting of members, which elected its chairman, a permanent governing body, the approved statute, special commissions that controlled the state of finances, accepted those who wanted to join the circles of a civil organization and those who did not pay membership fees, could be decided to be suspended from its activities or even excluded. As a rule, all members of societies were distributed to ordinary, honorary (those who made a significant contribution to the development of the national movement), good ones (supported the civil organization by charitable contributions) and others. Among the sources of financing of societies, in addition to the already mentioned membership fees and donations, was the income from the publishing activities, concerts held, various performances conducted and much more.

Regarding the structure of societies, it should be noted that the leading bodies of the overwhelming number of them worked in Lviv, and in order to attract as many Ukrainians as possible from small towns and villages of the region to work in civil associations in the field, branches were created (they could have other names – circles, sections, district departments and others), which functioned on the basis of statutes approved by government bodies, fully subordinate to the permanent governing body of the society.

The decision on the foundation of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» was taken at the eleventh meeting of the Holovna Ruska Rada of May 29, 1848, and on June 9 of that year they have already announced and adopted the «*Charter of the Union for the distribution of letters in Rusyn*»<sup>12</sup>. Further, according to the decision of the Second summit of Rusky scientists, the leadership of the society focused its efforts on the developing of a new statute and on August 1, 1850 provided the Galicia government with the «*Charter of the Enlightenment Society*»<sup>13</sup> which on February 8, 1851 was returned to revision. The process of its improvement was interrupted by the royal patent of November 26, 1852, according to which all the existing societies were required to re-approve their statutes. During the 50s

of the nineteenth century the leadership of a civil organization several times applied to state authorities with a request to approve its program document. Despite this, the Galicia governorship, the Lviv police leadership, returned it for revision, explaining their actions as legal inconsistencies in the document. It was possible to approve the statute only in the early 60s, during the period of constitutional reforms in the state. The head of the society Mykhailo Kuzemsky staying in Vienna, made a request to the Ministry of the Domestic Affairs, bypassing the bodies of the regional government, and on April 18, 1861 received a decision of approving the new statute of the civil organization. The patron of «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» according to the statute was the current Greek Catholic metropolitan. He had the right to supervise the activities of a public organization, to dominate general meetings and meetings of the board. He owned a decisive vote regarding the publication of books of religious contents<sup>14</sup>. Once again, some of the items on the activities of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» were changed in 1887<sup>15</sup> and 1901<sup>16</sup>. Despite the changes in the document regulating its work, in general, the structure of the society and the methods of its activity have not changed dramatically during the period under study. Although the study of the statutes makes it possible to assert that an organization that in 1848 set itself only the task of publishing cheap popular books for the people was already at the beginning of the 20th century proclaimed the desire to distribute and scientific literature. The leadership of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» should have been controlled so that the printed edition would be useful for the people, as well as follow the «true spirit of the Russian language». With this, the civil organization reaffirmed its sympathies for Russian-language literature and Russophile ideas.

The publication of Russian-language literature, along with the organization of printing, bookstores, was the main task of the Rusky Publishing Society, whose statute was approved on April 3, 1909 by a decision of the Commercial Court in Lviv<sup>17</sup>.

The Holovna Ruska Rada in Lviv was also the initiator of the founding of the Rusky People's Institute «People's House». It was at the request that the Ministry of the Domestic Affairs in Vienna on October 11, 1849 and allowed Ruthenians (Ukrainians) to transfer to the ruins of the university building for the construction of the «People's House»<sup>18</sup>. On February 4, 1850, it received permission from the Galician governorship to raise money for its construction. After the termination of its activities, on July 12, 1851 the Holovna Ruska Rada was reorganized into the *«the head commission of the construction of the «People's House», which worked until 1872 – the time of the constituent assembly of the Rusky People's Institute «People's House».* In addition to the construction of the building, the commission developed a draft statute of the society, approved by the Galicia governorship on February 11, 1869. As for the society assignments, the statute reads: *«The Rusky People's Institute called the «People's House» is a Rusky society, which originates from the Rusky language activities, science and art of culture, and so education and morality among the Rusky residence of the Russian Federation»<sup>19</sup>. To achieve this goal, they planned to organize a library, a museum, publish a periodical and promote publication of scientific works; create a male bursa and boarding school for Rusky girls.* 

In general, the statute on which the Rusky People's Institute «People's House» worked under the study period is a valuable source on the history of its activities, since this document provides full information on the creation of a civil institution, its property and financial status, the organization of another. By its contents, the statute is different from other similar documents created at that time. The spelling and the language in which it was written suggests that the society researched Russophile ideology.

The Lviv Stavropigiisky Institute was founded on February 16, 1793 on the basis of the Uspenske Bratstvo, which operated from the middle of the 17th century. In the second half of the XIX century its leadership moved to the position of Russophilism. According to the Statute of the Stavropigiisky Institute, the tasks of the society were: to preserve the holy Christian-Catholic religion in the Greek-Eastern rite among the Rusky people; support the Rusky people and promote their cultural development; to help children of the Rusky nationality who study. Publishing and distribution of religious and secular literature, education of youth became among the priority directions of its activity. The governing body of the Institute was Rada, elected at a general meeting and headed by a senor or vice-senor. Structural units of the Institute were the church, school, bursa, printing and bookstore. To guide these units Rada appointed the so-called pharmacists<sup>20</sup>.

Another Russophile society, the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society was founded on August 20, 1874 and named in honor of an adviser to the highest regional court in Lviv (died 1872), who made a significant

contribution to the financing, was also important in the national-cultural movement of Ukrainians in the region, russophile institutions and periodicals. It was established following the example of the people's «Prosvita», which had been active since the late 60s of the nineteenth century<sup>21</sup>. Despite the fact that the Society of Mykhailo Kachkovsky under study period often made changes to its statutory documents, the purpose of its activities remained unchanged: *«to spread science, love for the true ecclesiastic church among the Rusky people in Austria ritual, religiosity in its proper ritual, custom, diligence, sobriety and eagerness, civic consciousness and all kinds of virtues»*<sup>22</sup>.

In addition to civil societies, the Moscow movement took its place in the Ukrainian political spectrum. In particular, on February 7, 1900, at the congress of representatives of the political association «Ruska Rada», the Ruska People's Party was established (hereinafter – RPP). V. Davydyak, V. Dudykevych, I. Pelekh and others became its founders and leaders. The main program provisions were promulgated on the pages of the party newspapers «Galichanin» and «Ruske Slovo», where the newly formed party was declared the representative of the predominant number of the «Russian» population of Galicia. They also wrote that the formation of RPP was important for the intensification of educational activities among the local population. For this purpose, it was intended to use such important means as «the all-Russian language and all-Russian literature»<sup>23</sup>. It should be clarified that the RPP refuted all manifestations of the national consciousness of Ukrainians, promoted the idea of unification with the Russians, focused on the secular and spiritual intelligentsia, the peasantry, who professed conservative ideas. In general, at the beginning of the twentieth century it had quite a strong position in the social and political life of the region. This is evidenced by the fact that the main organ of the party, the newspaper «Galichanin», of 1908, had a circulation of 2500 copies, while the part of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party «Dilo» had 3,500 subscribers, and the periodical of the conservative Christian-public union had only 400. At the same time, other political parties of the region – left, right, centrists – regarded its ideology as destructive, reactionary and anti-national, called upon the Ukrainian public to ignore the Moscophile political agitation <sup>24</sup>. The fact of a gradual decrease in their popularity among the population was also indisputable. If in the late 1870s political society «Ruska Rada» numbered up to 900 members, then in 1900 - almost half. As a result of the electoral parliamentary campaign of 1900, of the eight Ukrainian deputies, only two were representatives of the RPP. In the elections to the Galician regional Seim, out of 13 elected Ukrainian deputies, only three were Moscophiles, while their main opponents National Democrats received 6 deputy mandates. In 1913, the RPP was able to achieve only one place in the Galician Seim<sup>25</sup>. At the same time, the Ukrainian National Democrats had 23 deputy mandates.

On the carrying out of tasks declared in the statutes, we can obtain information from the reports on the activities of the above-mentioned societies, which make it possible to trace the spread of Russophile ideas in Galicia. In particular, the published informational materials about the work of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» were preserved throughout 1853–1890, where the detailed information about the founders of the society and its leadership is given; the finances were at the disposal of the public organization, which consisted of membership fees, charitable contributions of the founders and profits from publishing. The main items of expenses of the society in the specified time period remained almost unchanged: printing and binding of books, stationery and postal expenses, material incentives for members of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» for fruitful social work, the purchase of securities<sup>26</sup>. Acquaintance with the reports on its activities, financial condition, work of general meetings allows tracing the publishing activity of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia»: if, first of all, thanks to the efforts of the so-called literary organization, prayer books, popular books of a religious nature, grammar, textbooks were read, then in the meeting report of the leadership of the society of February 15, 1890 among the published works are the following: «Galytsko-Ruska Bibliography for the year 1887» by Ivan Levytsky, «Free Galytsko-Ruska Chronicle» by Anton Petrushevych (1700–1800), a new statute of the society, and others<sup>27</sup>.

As for the number of members who belonged to the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» literary association, such statistics were rarely published in its informative editions. In particular, in 1887, according to the author's calculations on the basis of one of the reports, 431 persons belonged to him<sup>28</sup>. Of course, this figure spoke of a very low level of popularity of both ideas promoted by the society and distributed literature.

Created in 1874 in Kolomyia, the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society predominantly published cheap popular books on religion, morality, and housekeeping. Some of them were published in the Ukrainian language, some books were printed in «yazyshiye». The organizer of the society was a famous writer and priest Ivan Naumovych. In 1876, the governing structures of the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society launched their work in Lviv<sup>29</sup>. From the published reports on the activities of the society, we have information on the size of a civil organization, which managed to unite many admirers of Russophile ideas, as well as its growth dynamics, the creation of separate branches, books, and more. If in 1876, 4,791 persons belonged to the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, then in 1911 it was – 10,700. In addition, as of 1911, the society had organized 25 local associations, 897 readings, and a lot of popular literature was published, mainly in different calendars and church books, with the assistance of the publication of the Stavropigiisky Institute<sup>30</sup>. In one of the reports, the leadership of the society explained the themes of its publications and etymological spelling in the following way: *«Today, our people have brought to their sad consequences the impudent arrogance of the historical Russian language and its spelling and demand that it again impose a string that connects its modern life to its historical past and the church»<sup>31</sup>.* 

In the early 70s of the nineteenth century Russophiles had a significant influence among the Ukrainian youth. Under its influence the student association of Academic Circle was created in 1870. From the reports of the leadership of this civic organization, we learn that M. Kachkovsky and Bogdan Didytsky were its founding members, and among the honorary members were members of the Russophilism such as A. Petrushevych and I. Naumovych, who are not less famous in the region. They also contain detailed information about the diverse activities of an academic circle, a library with 500 volumes, and periodicals with which the society was signed <sup>32</sup>. It is also indicated that in the four years of work it managed to recruit 164 members<sup>33</sup>. The society published reports on its activities irregularly. The other student association «Drug», which began its work on November 30, 1895, did not print individual information materials<sup>34</sup>. Although statements about them are placed in the periodical «Osnova», «Slovo», «Drug» and others. We learn from them that after the publication by the «Academic Circle» society of its periodic body «Drug», many opponents of Russophilism, including Ivan Franko, Mykhailo Pavlyk, entered the society in order to be able to print their works on its pages. On their initiative, a special column «From the mouth of the people» was organized in the journal, where students could put ethnographic material collected by them in the villages of Galicia. In addition, in the reports on the activities of societies printed on the pages of these periodicals, a notice of honoring by students belonging to the «Academic Circle» and «Druzhniy Lykhvar», the memory of Markiyan Shashkevych and Taras Shevchenko, significant for the Ukrainian national movement, the organization of musical evenings and much more<sup>35</sup>.

Summing up the analysis of information of the materials on the activities of civic organizations of the Russophile direction, we have enough grounds to assert that the work of these associations was focused on the promoting of the postulate of the unity of Galician Ukrainians with the Russian people, spreading etymological spelling. It was for this purpose that publishing activities were carried out, reading and educational institutions were created; it is also necessary to pay attention to the fact that the methods that were used these societies in their work were not very diverse. In addition, from the reports we learn that they, as a rule, did not enjoy great admiration among the Ukrainians of Galicia; this is evidenced by the insignificant number of members of the Russophile organizations. The Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society only succeeded in attracting quite a lot of people to its circle.

From 1853 to 1908 «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» published the scientific journals under various names: «Galician historical collection», «Collection of statements of Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», «Scientific collection», «Literary collection», «Scientific and literary collection»<sup>36</sup>.

The Modern Ukrainian scientists have different assessments of the importance of scientific publications of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», in particular M. Kril and F. Steblii believe that, although these collections made some contribution to the development of the Ukrainian scientific movement of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century. On the whole, they did not meet the level of science of that time and did not receive recognition in an educated environment, not only abroad, but also in Galicia. While the researcher O. Sukhyi takes a different opinion in particular, he writes that the scientific publications of the society, especially the Science Collection, leave the impression of solid collections, received a positive assessment in various Slavic scientific institutions and prepared the basis for the publications<sup>37</sup>. Paying tribute to the activities of the leadership of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», which has set itself a very difficult task – to interest the Galician society of that time with scientific products, we believe that not enough has been done to raise the scientific collections of the society to the proper level. The Russophile orientation

of its editors determined the circle of authors (A. Petrushevych, Ya. Golovatsky, B. Didytsky and others), the problematic of the articles (devoted, as a rule, to Old Russian history, literature), the language of quarterly books, which was incomprehensible to readers. In addition, the research methods used by these scientists did not meet the scientific requirements of that time. This is precisely what can explain the insignificant number of subscribers, and hence the financial condition of publications, which allowed them to further develop in the chosen direction.

In general, during the years 1853–1908, according to our calculations, 60 scientific publications of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» were published. In the meantime, during the years 1892–1913, the Shevchenko Scientific Society published 244 scientific collections devoted to the Ukrainian history, language, literature, ethnography and ethnology, whose professional level was much higher than the Russophile publications.

We also have interesting notes of a memoir character about the specifics of the organization of the Moscophile movement in Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, in the work of the artist and publicist Kornylo Ustyjanovych, brought up in the spirit of Russophile ideas, in addition to thinking about the philosophical character of the spread of Moscophile philosophy in the region, attempts to justify his position, to reveal some doubts in this regard, we find information about the protoierey at the Russian embassy in Vienna about. Mykhailo Fedorovych Raievsky. *«There was a man unusual and deeply influenced by all the Slavic peoples almost … In his hands, Russia sent money and church utensils to Turkey and Austria; The help of the Moscow Slavophiles for supporters of Pan-Slavism in all Slavic lands was also in his hands. Every week, and sometimes each and every Thursday, Slavic figures familiar with him converged in his house, and with them the young people who were in Vienna», – recalled K. Ustianovych<sup>38</sup>.* 

The fact that the well-known Moscophiles Y. Golovatsky and I. Naumovych were still in the early twentieth century testifies to the orientation of the figures of the Russophile movement in Galicia exclusively to Russia immigrated to the Russian Empire.

Summing up the small research, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that many diverse sources have been preserved that reveal different aspects of the activities of the Russophile movement of Galicia in the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries. These are the statutes of societies and programs of the political parties, information reports on the activities of civil associations, scientific publications, socio-political periodicals and memories. Their analysis suggests that the main places for the spread of Russophile ideology, which rejected the independent political and cultural development of the Ukrainian nation, were such educational organizations as the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia», the Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society, the «People's House» of Rusky People's Institute» and others. The political society «Ruska Rada» and the «Rusky People's Party» established on its basis played an important role in the Moskophile movement. It was thanks to the active publishing activities of the civic educational organizations, the party associations, and with the financial support of the government of the Russian Empire in Galicia, a large number of popular books, scientific papers, periodicals and political newspapers were published. The main purpose of their publication is to support the Russophile movement in the province and the further spread of its ideology. Although the use of obscure historical spelling and the Ukrainian-Russian language, a complete disregard for the national identity of the Ukrainian people led to the fact that since the 1870s of the nineteenth century and before the outbreak of the First World War, the level of its support among the population of Galicia, and in this solidarity, many researchers, constantly decreased. The sympathies of the Ukrainian population of the region passed to two other socio-political trends – narodovtsi and radykaly (indicated by the number of party organizations and the results of election campaigns), which recognized the right of the Ukrainian people to cultural and political independence, used in the propaganda literature and periodicals the Ukrainian language progressive phonetic spelling. Their ideas were shared by such recognized public figures, scholars and writers as Ivan Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Mykhailo Dragomanov, Mykhailo Pavlyk and others.

Social and political events of the end of XIX – beginning of the XX century have shown that the Galician Ukrainians mostly did not perceive the Russophile ideology that imparted them Russian cultural and political values. However, the concept of the «Russian world», which was first proclaimed in Galicia on the pages of the Russophile periodicals in the 60s the 19<sup>th</sup> century and today, remains an important component of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation. The beginning of the XXI century in its turn, showed its rejection by the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians who favored Western European cultural and political values.

<sup>1</sup> С. Макарчук, Москвофільство: витоки та еволюція ідеї (середина XIX ст. – 1914 рр.) [Moskowphilism: the origin and the evolution of ideas (middle of XIX сt. – 1914)], in «Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична», 1997, вип. 32, с. 82–98.

<sup>2</sup> О. Аркуша, М. Мудрий, Русофільство в Галичині в середині XIX – на початку XX ст.: тенеза, етапи розвитку, світогляд [Russophilism in Galicia in the middle XIX – the beginning of XXcentury: genesis, stages of development, world view], in «Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична», 1997, вип. 34, с. 231–268.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Fras, *Galizja* [*Galicia*], Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2004, 298 s.

<sup>4</sup> В. Сарбей, *Національне відродження України* [National Renaissance of Ukraine], Київ, Альтернативи, 1999, с. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Moklak J. *Moskwofilstwo (moskalofilstwo) i rusofilstwo [Moskophilism and Russophilism]*, in «Stadia historyczne. Kwartalnik», 2000, r. XLIII, z. 4 (171), s. 701–712.

<sup>6</sup> В. Гайсенюк, Початок кінця. Москвофіли у Великій війні (1914–1918), [The beginning of the End. Moscophiles in the Great War (1914–1918)], Чернівці, Друк АРТ, 2017, с. 253.

<sup>7</sup> В. Савченко, Восточная Галиция накануне Первой мировой войны (этносоциальная ситуация по данным российского Министерства иностранных дел [Eastern Galicia before World War I (ethno-social situation according to the data of Russian Foreign Ministry)], in «Отечественная история», 2005, вып. 6, с. 32–41.

<sup>8</sup> Р. Вульпиус, Слова и люди в империи: к дискуссии о «проекте большой русской нации», украино- и русофилах, наречиях и народностях [Words and People in the Impire: on discussion «Project of Big Russian Nation» ukraino-russophiles, speech and nationalities], in «Ab Imperio», 2006, вип. 1, с. 355–369.

<sup>9</sup> A. V. Wendland, Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Rubland, 1848–1915 [Rusophiles in Galicia. Ukrainian Conservatives between Austria and Rubland, 1848–1915], Wien, 2001, 644 s.

<sup>10</sup> K. Bachmann, Piąja kolumna Moskwy? Ruch rusofilski w Galicji a austriacka polityka zagraniczna przed Pierwszą. wojną. Swiatową [The fifth column of Moscow? Rusophile movement in Galicia and Austrian foreign policy before the First world war], in «Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy», Przemysl, 1999,  $N^{\circ}$  5, s. 11–19.

<sup>11</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Львів (далі – ЦДІАЛ України), ф. 130 Русский народный институт «Народный дом», м. Львів (1849–1939 рр.), оп. 1, спр. 79 Протоколи і рішення керівництва «Народного дому» в організаційних, фінансово-економічних і культурно-просвітніх справах [Minutes and Decisions of the authority of «People's House» in organizational, financial-economic and culturaleducational issues 1874–1880], 1874–1880 гг., 91арк.

<sup>12</sup> Устав учено-литературного общества «Галицко-русская Матица» во Львове [Statute of scientificliterary society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia»], Львов, 1901, с. 6.

<sup>13</sup> ЦДІАЛ України, ф. 148 Научно-литературное товарищество «Галицко-русская матица», оп. 1, спр. 3 Статут «Галицко-русской матиці» і товариства «Просвіти» [Statute of «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» and the society of «Prosvita»], 1851 р., арк. 4.

<sup>14</sup> О. Сухий, Від русофільства до москвофільства (російський чинник в громадській думці та суспільнополітичному житті галицьких українців у XIX ст.) [From Rossophilism to Moskophilism (Russian aspect in public thought and social-political life of the Galician Ukrainians in XIX], Львів, Місіонер, 2003, с. 201, 211.

<sup>15</sup> Статуты литературного Общества «Галицко-русская Матица» изь 1887года [Statute of literary Society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» pubished 1887], Львов, 7 с.

<sup>16</sup> Устав учено-литературного общества «Галицко-русская Матица» во Львове [Statute of scientificliterary society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» in Lviv], Львов, 1901, 11 с.

<sup>17</sup> ЦДІАЛ України, ф. 530 Русское видавниче товариство, оп. 1, спр. 1 Повідомлення про створення, керівний склад і структуру Русского видавничого товариства у Львові [Announcement of creating, leading stuff and the structure of Rusky publishing society in Lviv], арк. 2.

<sup>18</sup> О. Сухий, *Bid русофільства до москвофільства…* [From Rossophilism to Moskophilism...], c. 250, 261.

<sup>19</sup> Статут Інституту «Народний дім» у Львові [Statute of the Institute «People's House» in Lviv], Львов, 1899, с. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Статут Ставропигийського Института [Statute of Stavropigiisky Institute], Львов, 1911, с. 2–9.

<sup>21</sup> P. R. Magocsi, *The Kachkovs'kyi Society and the National Revival in Nineteenth-Century East Galicia*, in «Harvard Ukrainian Studies»,1991, vol. 5, s. 50.

<sup>22</sup> Статуты Общества имени Михаила Качковського во Львові [Statute of Society of Mikhail Kachkovsky in Lviv], Львов, 1876, с. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Заявленіе [The statement], in «Галичанин», 1900, ч. 1, 13 февраля.

<sup>24</sup> А. Павко, До питання про формування партійно-політичної системи у Східній Галичині наприкінці XIX – початку XX ст. [On the issues of the formation of the party-political system in Estern Galicia the end of XIX – the beginning of XX century], in «Пам'ять століть», 2000, ч. 3, с. 143. <sup>25</sup> В. Мельник, Утворення і початковий період діяльності Русько-народної партії в Галичині [Foundation and the initial period of Rusky People's Party activity in Galicia], in «Актуальні проблеми вітчизняної та всесвітньої історії. Наукові записки Рівненського державного гуманітарного університету», 2007, № 2, с. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Справозданія заряда соединенія галицко-русской Матицы и общества Просвещения за год 1854 [Record of activity and contacts of «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» and «Prosvita» society during1854], Львов, 1855, с. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Отчеть засьданія Совета литературного Общества под именем Галицко-русская матица дня 3(15) лютого 1890 г. [Reports of meeting of the Counsil of Literary Society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» (15) february 1890], Львов, 1891, с. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Отчеть о состояни Общества «Галицко-русская Матица», предложенный на генеральном Собрании членов того жь Общества во Львове дня 27 ноября 1887 г. [Reports of Society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» preposed on general meeting of the latter in Lviv 27 november 1887], Львов, 1888, с. 5.

<sup>29</sup> М. Кугутяк, Галичина: сторінки історії. Нарис суспільно-політичного руху (XIX ст. – 1939 р). [Galicia: History pages. Essay on the socio-political movement (XIX century – 1939)], Івано-Франківськ, 1993, с. 59.

<sup>30</sup> Отчет о деятельности Общества им. Михаила Качковского и о состоянии того же Общества, за время оть 16(29) сентября 1910 г. до 15(28) сентября 1911 г. [Report on the activities of the Society of Michael Kachkovsky and the state of the same Society, from September 16 (29), 1910 to September 15 (28), 1911], Львов, 1912, с. 28.

<sup>31</sup> Отчет о деятельности Общества им. Михаила Качковского, с. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Отчеть выдила академического кружка за годь 1873 [Reports of academic circle 1873], Львов, 1873, с. 8.

<sup>33</sup> Отчеть выдила Академического кружка за годь 1874 [Reports of academic circle 1874], Львов, 1874, с. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Обзор развития студенческого общества «Друг» [Overview of the development of student society «Friend»], in «Живая Мысль», 1905, ч. 25, с. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Дружеский Лихварь и Академический Кружок [Druzhniy Lykhvar and the Academic Circle], in «Основа», 1872, (21 января) 2 февраля.

<sup>36</sup> Слово кь в.п. Членамь «Галицко-Русской Матицы» [The word to Members of the «Galytsko- Ruska Matytsia»], in «Научно-литературный Сборникь. Повременное издание «Галицко-Русской Матицы», 1908, том 6, книга первая, с. 3–6.

<sup>37</sup> О. Сухий, Від русофільства до москвофільства... [From Rossophilism to Moskophilism...], с. 241–242.

<sup>38</sup> К. Устиянович, М. О. Раєвський и россійський панславизмь. Споминки зь пережитого и передуманого [Rauvsky and Russian Pan-Slavism. Memories of experienced and forethought], Львів, З друкарні товариства імені Шевченка, 1884, с. 1.

### References

- O. Arkusha, M. Mudryi, Rusofilstvo v Halychyni v seredyni KhIKh na pochatku KhKh st.: geneza, etapy rozvytku, svitohliad [Russophilism in Galicia in the middle KhIKh – the beginning of KhKhcentury: genesis, stages of development, world view], in «Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriia istorychna», 1997, vyp. 34, s. 231–268.
- 2. K. Bachmann, Piąja kolumna Moskwy? Ruch rusofilski w Galicji a austriacka polityka zagraniczna przed Pierwszą. wojną. Swiatową [The fifth column of Moscow? Rusophile movement in Galicia and Austrian foreign policy before the First world war], in «Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy», Przemysl, 1999, № 5, s. 11–19.
- Druzheskyi Lykhvar i Akademycheskyi Kruzhok [Druzhniy Lykhvar and the Academic Circle], in «Osnova», 1872, (21 yanvaria) 2 fevralia.
- 4. Z. Fras, Galizja [Galicia], Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2004, 298 s.
- V. Haiseniuk, Pochatok kintsia. Moskvofily u Velykii viini (1914–1918), [The beginning of the End. Moscophiles in the Great War (1914–1918)], Chernivtsi, Druk ART, 2017, 304 s.
- 6. M. Kuhutiak, Halychyna: storinky istorii. Narys suspilno-politychnoho rukhu (XIX st. 1939 r). [Galicia: History pages. Essay on the socio-political movement (XIX century 1939) ], Ivano-Frankivsk, 1993, 200 s.
- P. R. Magocsi, The Kachkovskyi Society and the National Revival in Nineteenth-Century East Galicia, in «Harvard Ukrainian Studies», 1991, vol. 5, p. 48–95.
- S. Makarchuk, Moskvofilstvo: vytoky ta evoliutsiia idei (seredyna KhIKh st. 1914 rr.) [Moskowphilism: the origin and the evolution of ideas (middle of XIX ct. 1914)], in «Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriia istorychna», 1997, vyp. 32, s. 82–98.
- V. Melnyk, Utvorennia i pochatkovyi period diialnosti Rusko-narodnoi partii v Halychyni [Foundation and the initial period of Rusky Peoples Party activity in Galicia], in «Aktualni problemy vitchyznianoi ta vsesvitnoi istorii. Naukovi zapysky Rivnenskoho derzhavnoho humanitarnoho universytetu», 2007, № 2, s. 30–40.

- 10. Moklak J. Moskwofilstwo (moskalofilstwo) i rusofilstwo [Moskophilism and Russophilism], in «Stadia historyczne. Kwartalnik», 2000, r. XLIII, z. 4 (171), s. 701–712.
- Otchet o deiatelnosty Obshchestva im. Mykhayla Kachkovskoho i o sostoianyy toho zhe Obshchestva, za vremia ot 16(29) sentiabria 1910 h. do 15(28) sentiabria 1911 h. [Report on the activities of the Society of Mykhayla Kachkovsky and the state of the same Society, from September 16 (29), 1910 to September 15 (28), 1911], Lvov, 1912, 28 s.
- Otchet o sostoianiy Obshchestva «Halytsko-russkaia Matytsa», predlozhennii na heneralnom Sobraniy chlenov toho zhe Obshchestva vo Lvove dnia 27 noiabria 1887 h. [Reports of Society «Galytsko -Ruska Matytsia» preposed on general meeting of the latter in Lviv 27 november 1887], Lvov, 1888, 15 s.
- 13. Obzor razvytyia studencheskoho obshchestva «Druh» [Overview of the development of student society «Friend»], in «Zhyvaia Mysl», 1905, ch. 25, s. 2–3.
- 14. Otchet vydila akademicheskoho kruzhka za hod 1873 [Reports of academic circle 1873], Lvov, 1873, 15 s.
- Otchet vydila Akademicheskoho kruzhka za hod 1874 [Reports of academic circle 1874], Lvov, 1874, 15 s.
  Spravozdaniia zariada soedyneniia halytsko-russkoi Matytsi obshchestva Prosveshchenyia za hod 1854 [Record
- of activity and contacts of «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» ans «Prosvita» society during1854], Lvov, 1855, 6 s.
- Otchet zasidaniia Soveta lyteraturnoho Obshchestva pod imenem Halytsko-russkaia matytsa dnia 3(15) liutoho 1890 h. [Reports of meeting of the Counsil of Literary Society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» (15) february 1890], Lvov, 1891, 12 s.
- A. Pavko, Do pytannia pro formuvannia partiino-politychnoi systemy u Skhidnii Halychyni naprykintsi XIX pochatku XX st. [On the issues of the formation of the party-political system in Estern Galicia the end of XIX the beginning of XX century], in «Pamiat stolit», 2000, ch. 3, s. 136–144.
- 19. V. Sarbei, Natsionalne vidrodzhennia Ukrainy [National Renaissance of Ukraine], Kyiv, Alternatyvy, 1999, 336 s.
- V. Savchenko, Vostochnaia Halytsyia nakanune Pervoi myrovoi voinы (эtnosotsyalnaia sytuatsyia po dannыm rossyiskoho Mynysterstva ynostrannыkh del [Eastern Galicia before World War I (ethno-social situation according to the data of Russian Foreign Ministry)], in «Otechestvennaia ystoryia», 2005, vыр. 6, s. 32–41.
- 21. Slovo k v.p. Chlenam «Halytsko-Russkoi Matytsy» [The word to Members of the «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia»], in «Nauchno-lyteraturnыi Sbornyk. Povremennoe yzdanye «Halytsko-Ruska Matytsы», 1908, tom 6, knyha pervaia, s. 3–6.
- 22. Statut Instytutu «Narodnyi dim» u Lvovi [Statute of the Institute «Peoples House» in Lviv], Lvov, 1899, 32 s.
- 23. Statuty literaturnoho Obshchestva «Halytsko-russkaia Matytsa» z 1887 hoda [Statute of literary Society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» published 1887], Lvov, 7 s.
- 24. Statuty Obshchestva Mykhaila Kachkovskoho vo Lvovi [Statute of Society of Mykhaila Kachkovsky in Lviv], Lvov, 1876, 12 s.
- 25. Statut Stavropyhyiskoho Instytuta [Statute of Stavropigiisky Institute], Lvov, 1911, 12 s.
- 26. O. Sukhyi, Vid rusofilstva do moskvofilstva (rosiiskyi chynnyk v hromadskii dumtsi ta suspilno-politychnomu zhytti halytskykh ukraintsiv u XIX st.) [From Rossophilism to Moskophilism (Russian aspect in public thought and social-political life of the Galician Ukrainians in in XIX], Lviv, Misioner, 2003, 495 s.
- Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Lviv (dali TsDIAL Ukrainy), f. 130 Russkyi narodnыi ynstytut «Narodnыi dom», m. Lviv (1849–1939 rr.), op. 1, spr. 79 Protokoly i rishennia kerivnytstva «Narodnoho domu» v orhanizatsiinykh, finansovo-ekonomichnykh i kulturno-prosvitnikh spravakh [Minutes and Decisions of the authority of «Peoples House» in organizational, financial-economic and cultural-educational issues 1874–1880], 1874–1880 hh., 91ark.
- TsDIAL Ukrainy, f. 148 Nauchno-lyteraturnoe tovaryshchestvo «Halytsko-russkaia matytsa», op. 1, spr. 3 Statut «Halytsko-russkoi matytsi» y tovarystva «Prosvity» [Statute of «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia» and the society of "Prosvita"], 1851 r., 4 ark.
- 29. TsDIAL Ukrainy, f. 530 Russkoe vydavnyche tovarystvo, op. 1, spr. 1 Povidomlennia pro stvorennia, kerivnyi sklad i strukturu Russkoho vydavnychoho tovarystva u Lvovi [Announcement of creating, leading stuff and the structure of Rusky publishing society in Lviv], 2ark.
- 30. Ustav ucheno-lyteraturnoho obshchestva «Halytsko-russkaia Matytsa» vo Lvove [Statute of scientific-literary society «Galytsko-Ruska Matytsia»], Lvov, 1901, 11 s.
- K. Ustyianovych, M. O. Raievskyi i rossiiskyi panslavyzm. Spomynky z perezhytoho i peredumanoho [Rauvsky and Russian Pan-Slavism. Memories of experienced and forethought], Lviv, Z drukarni tovarystva imeni Shevchenka, 1884, 86 s.
- 32. R. Vulpyus, Slova y liudy v ymperyy: k dyskussyy o «proekte bolshoi russkoi natsyy», ukrayno- y rusofylakh, narechyiakh y narodnostiakh [Words and People in the Impire: on discussion «Project of Big Russian Nation» ukraino-russophiles, speech and nationalities], in «Ab Imperio», 2006, vyp. 1, s. 355–369.
- A. V. Wendland, Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Rubland, 1848–1915 [Rusophiles in Galicia. Ukrainian Conservatives between Austria and Rubland, 1848–1915], Wien, 2001, 644 s.
- 34. Zaiavlenie [The statement], in «Halychanyn», 1900, ch. 1, 13 fevralia.