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**The Lemko Region in the Second Polish Republic
Political and Interdenominational Issues**

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List of important abbreviations

AAL	— Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region
AAN	— Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw
ABGK	— Archives of the Greek Catholic Bishopric in Przemyśl
AKL	— Archives of Father Lukashklavich
AP K	— State Archives in Kraków
AP P	— State Archives in Przemyśl
AP R	— State Archives in Rzeszów
BBWR	— Partyless Bloc for Cooperation with the Government
BJ	— Jagiellonian Library
BP-U	— “Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński” (Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin)
CDIAL	— Центральний Державний Історичний Архів у Львові (Central State Archives in Lviv)
DALO	— Державний Архів Львівської області (State Archives of Lviv Voivodeship)
HRNO	— Halych-Russian National Organization
IKC	— “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” (Illustrated Daily Courier)
KGPP	— Komenda Główna Policji Państwowej (Chief State Police Headquarters)
KOS K	— Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego w Krakowie (District School Board of Kraków)
MSW	— Ministry of the Interior
MSZ	— Foreign Ministry
MWRiOP	— Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education
n.d.p.	— no date of publication
n.p.p.	— no place of publication
OOL	— Organization for the Defense of Lemkivshchyna
OOLZU	— Organization for the Defense of Lemko Western Ukraine
PKPP	— County State Police Headquarters
p.n.n	— pages not numbered
PPP	— State Police Post(s)
PRM	— Presidium of the Council of Ministers
RAO	— Rus Agrarian Organization
RAP	— Rus Agrarian Party
RNO	— <i>Russka Narodna Organizatsiia</i> (Russian National Organization)
RSO	— <i>Russka Selianska Organizatsiia</i> (Russian Peasant Organization)
RSRK	— Auditing Union of Rusyn Cooperatives
RSUK	— <i>Revizyinyi Soiuz Ukrainskykh Kooperatyv</i> (The Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives)
RZN	— Russian National Union
Sejm RP	— Sejm of the Polish Republic. Stenographic transcripts
Senat RP	— Senate of the Polish Republic. Stenographic transcripts
SN	— “Sprawy Narodowościowe” (Nationality Affairs)
SP G	— County District Office in Grybów
SP NS	— County District Office in Nowy Sącz
TSL	— Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej (Popular School Association)
ULM	— Ukrainian Lemkos Museum
UNDO	— Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance
URP	— Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation
UWKr	— Kraków Voivodeship Office
ZUNR	— Western Ukrainian National Republic

Chapter I

Galicia and Lemkos. The formation of regional politics in the years 1849–1919

The nineteenth century was characterized by the development of modern national and political movements in Europe, which grew out of the tradition of the French Revolution. In the first half of the 19th century the national idea was echoed in Central and Eastern Europe. These processes were initiated by socioeconomic changes. The crisis of the feudal economy led to the development of the production of goods, the growth of exchange and the emergence of new money markets. Peasants freed from serfdom settled in cities, and the vernacular increasingly heard in Germanized urban centers deepened the process of cities' nationalization. In Austria, a country with multiple nationalities, this caused national conflicts, accelerating the formation of modern consciousness among Slavic peoples.

In the course of these sociopolitical changes, the ideologies of the Enlightenment and Romanticism played important roles. The Enlightenment, proclaiming the equality of all before the law, spread the concept of the nation to different social classes. Romanticism exposed elements of folk culture and brought to light evidence of a marvelous past belonging to nation-states and also stateless nations. The attempt undertaken in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to take a new look at Slavs' cultural heritage found support in the philosophy of the German thinker Johann G. Herder, who showed the historic role that Slavs were to play in the future. These currents brought a rise in Slavs' self-esteem and led to the activation of the intelligentsia in individual nations which in the first half of the 19th century set about gathering relics and mementos of folk culture with great enthusiasm. On eastern Galician soil this was the share of the Rusyn (Ukrainian) intelligentsia.

In 1816 through the efforts of canon Ivan Mohylnytsky an association of intelligentsia took shape in Przemyśl under the name Clerical Association, with a publishing operation intended to diffuse education in Rusyn society. The second center of Ukrainian intellectual life was Vienna, to be precise, the clerical and secular intelligentsia concentrated in the orbit of the Church of St. Barbara, which kept in contact with Przemyśl. Historiography even refers to a Vienna–Przemyśl circle of Ukrainian scholars. A real breakthrough came only with the activities of the Ruthenian Triad, a group of enthusiasts of Ukrainian folk culture, led by Markian Shashkevych, Yakiv Holovatsky, and Ivan Vahylevych. The group's greatest achievement was publishing “The Mermaid of the Dniester” in Pest in 1837, edited in an innovative form in the vernacular transcribed phonetically. “The Mermaid” raised the vernacular to the rank of literary language and became the basis for later national activities among Galician Ukrainians.

The revolutions of 1848–1849 in turn set off a period of political involvement among Ukrainians. Cultural autonomy was marked the natural boundaries between Polish and Ukrainian settlements in Galicia. The geographic division overlapped substantially with the nationality divide and was conducive to efforts to gain separate administrative units. The plan for dividing Galicia into two provinces was released by the Austrian authorities in 1847, but a year later became a political demand of the Supreme Rusyn Council, who strove to have the area divided into Polish and Ukrainian sections. In fact the plan was never fulfilled, but was many times released anew up until the fall of the Habsburg monarchy.¹

¹ See J. Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją. Studia z dziejów ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji w latach 1848–1849* [Between reaction and revolution. Studies in the history of the Ukrainian national

The Revolutions of 1848, also called the Spring of Nations, opened a new era of rivalry with the Poles, who possessed a longer national and state tradition and from whom the Ukrainian peasant population differed in social status, religious denomination and language. The failure of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1848 not only left the relationship unchanged but further led to a long period of internal rivalry in the Rusyn community of Galicia, which impelled some activists of the Supreme Rusyn Council to look for political support from Russia. Pro-Russian sympathies first appeared among the political elite in the eastern part of the country. Due to its geographic placement, the Lemko region at that time was at the margins of Galician politics and until the late 19th century lay beyond the reach of the influences of rival orientations: national-Ukrainian and Old Rusyn–pro-Russian. These currents became fully formed in the 1860s and 1870s, but during the following two decades their representatives took almost no interest in the population residing in the areas west of the San River.

A. The origins of pro-Russian sympathies

Starting in the mid-19th century the Ukrainian question in Galicia took on an international dimension and became an element in the rivalry between powers. For Austria the issue fulfilled the additional function of acting as a control in its internal political balance. Nonetheless Austria was relatively late in precisely defining its broader Ukrainian program. Only toward the end of the 1880s did Austria consider securing the Ukrainians against Russia.

Russia for its part since the time of Catherine the Great had had a definite agenda for Galicia. In 1828 Nicholas I ordered that the political mood in Galicia be vigilantly observed, reckoning with the possibility of a war with Austria. The '30s and '40s brought intensified penetration into Russian circles, which went through several channels. The first channel comprised the activities of the Pan-Slavists — a group of scholars grouped around Mikhail Pogodin, a historian, journalist, and professor at Moscow University, who travelled throughout the Slavic world and since 1835 had visited Galicia several times. Pogodin conducted talks with an anti-Polish attitude, mainly with Uniate priests, which in that time of proliferating Ukrainian national consciousness, emerging through struggles with Polish identity, fell on fertile soil. The second direction taken by Tsarist penetration in Austria was the Russian embassy's activity in Vienna; its chaplain, Mikhail Raievski, was conducting agitation with the use of the slogan “One Tsar, One Church, One Faith.” The ideological activity was given financial support to prepare the ground for the future partition of Galicia. Wilhelm Feldman in one of his works wrote that “Many [...] roubles flowed into Galicia from the coffers of the Petersburg Benevolent Association and from the government's; from those of ideological fanatics and from the gendarmerie, they flowed into the editorial offices of magazines and into financial institutions, corrupting consciences and creating parasitical forms of existence [...]”²

After Austria's defeat at Sadová in its war with the Prussians on 3 July 1866 the Habsburg monarchy was forced to make far-reaching internal reforms and in order to keep its strong position in Galicia entrusted the government to the Poles. This had important consequences for the formation of Ukrainian political attitudes. The loss of faith in help from Vienna weakened the Austrophile movement among Ukrainians and eased the growth of the pro-Russian orientation.

In forming pro-Russian sympathies, a sense of threat from the Polish nation-state, the hostility toward which was multidimensional and rooted in social, cultural and political differences, played a prominent role. Social differences led to conflict between the Polish

movement in the years 1848–1849], Kraków 1975.

² W. Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji 1846–1906* [*Factions and political programs in Galicia 1846–1906*], vol. 2, Kraków 1907, p. 329. See K. Ustianovych, *Raievskii i rosiiskyi panslavizm. Spomyny z prezhytoho i peredumanoho*, Lviv 1884, p. 7; C. Studziński, *Zza kulisów schizmatyckiej propagandy* [*Behind the scenes of schismatic propaganda*], Kraków 1899, pp. 38–40.

court and Ukrainian peasantry. Cultural differences resulted from absolute identification with two different traditions: the Western world — Latin, and the Eastern — Greek and Byzantine. The anti-Polish attitude of the Rusyn intelligentsia was not, however, an agenda rooted in anti-Polish phobias, but aimed at a conscious and effective emphasis on national autonomy.

Disappointment with Austria, Russia's active propaganda, and the anti-Polish attitude of Rusyns (Ukrainians) were the key factors in the first phase of the development of Moscovism.³ Apathy toward the Polish nation was quick to take root. One of the main reasons was the propagation by some Polish activists of the belief that Rusyns constituted a Polish tribe who differed only in social position and religious custom. Ukrainian language was seen as a dialect of Polish, and Ukrainian culture a regional variant of Polish culture. The assimilation of Rusyns was considered a natural phenomenon and generally self-explanatory, although signs of nation-building processes contradicted such a conviction. The events of 1848, in particular the Polish address to the Emperor passing in silence over the Ukrainian question in Galicia, caused the estrangement of many Rusyns from Polish independence movements, which finally led to the rejection of the name “Rusyn” and the adoption of the name “Ukrainian.”

Prior to that development, however, the pro-Russian orientation predominated among Rusyns, and in the 1850s and '60s Rusyns' negative attitude toward Poles was clearly delineated. Rusyns made demands: a pure Eastern liturgy, equality for Rusyn language in government offices and schools, and proportional and fair representation by deputies in the Diet of Galicia and the Austrian parliament. The heightened Polish-Ukrainian conflict gave rise to the expression of a Moscovite program. On 8 August 1866 the press organ “Slovo,” published in Lviv, contained an article entitled “Pohlad v buduchnost,” authored by Fr. Ivan Naumovych. This well-known politician, an undoubted Rusyn patriot, wrote: “We cannot build a Great Wall of China to separate ourselves from our brothers and withdraw from linguistic, literary, church and national unions with the entire Russian world. We are no longer the Ruthenians of 1848, we are true Russians.”⁴ Another leading Rusyn politician, Kost Levytsky, who represented the Ukrainian orientation, defined Naumovych's intervention as a form of defense from the Polish threat, an indictment of the Viennese government and a manifestation of insecurity, or lack of faith in the community's own powers.

Fears of Polonization in many cases led to the arms of Russia, which was nonetheless not a known quantity. Less well-informed supporters of leaning on the Eastern power did not know its social structure, nor the Tsarist government's attitude toward Dnieper Ukrainians, nor did they know about the persecution which their compatriots beyond the cordon had faced. Ignorance of the realities of Russian life was widespread, particularly in the countryside. Proponents of political Moscovism used arguments of shared Orthodox faith, the greatness of Russian culture and the strength of the Tsarist power. In the minds of Rusyn peasants, not well-versed in the larger European political situation, the argument for Russia's protective stance usually found acceptance. Pro-Russian activism in the countryside was made easier by the natural awareness of the oppression of Ukrainian peasant masses by Polish oppression, an awareness inherent in the social situation, which bred hope for a better future in the Russian nation-state.

We find pro-Russian sympathies among the peasant population in the Lemko region relatively early. One revealing fact is the Lemkos' sending a delegation to Tsar Nicholas I in December 1849 with a request “for protection.” The delegation was led by Mykhailo Hrynda of Szlachtowa, one of the

³ Rusyn [I. Dzieduszycki], *Ruś galicyjska, jej separatyzm, przyczyny tegoż, działania i skutki* [Galician Ruthenia, its separatism, reasons thereof, actions and effects], Gródek 1888, pp. 57–114; F. Podleski, *Rusofilizm a ukrainizm* [Russophilism and Ukrainism], Lwów 1931, p. 22.

⁴ Quoted from K. Levytsky, *Istoria politychnoi dumky halytskyh Ukraintsev 1848–1914*, vol.1, Lviv 1926, p. 90. See O. A. Monchalovski, *Zhyttie i dieiatelnost Ivana Naumovycha*, Lwów 1899, p. 61.

villages furthest west among Ukrainian settlements.⁵

The failure to realistically assess the political strivings of Russia was often found among the intelligentsia as well. The Greek Catholic clergy especially, threatened with Latinization of the Eastern rite, became involved with pro-Russian circles with relative ease.

Moscophilism among the clergy had a twofold nature. A definite majority consisted of so-called “hard Rusyns,” also known as Old Rusyns. Some of them, overburdened with a lack of self-esteem and ignorance of their own history and literature, often for reasons beyond their control, broke through the identity barrier and identified with Russian cultural values. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, an outstanding Ukrainian historian, stressing the weak self-esteem among some Ukrainians of the period, wrote: “from a psychology of despairing of the possibility of independently lifting themselves up, the Russophile movement among Rusyns was spawned.”⁶ Ivan Franko defined the phenomenon thusly: “[...] seeing the fruitlessness, the ignominy and the vanity of efforts of a small handful of individuals, seeing how nonetheless at every step rivals compete with us from both sides, how we fall behind in the most cardinal matters, even the hottest Rusyn patriot thinks to himself whether it might not be better to abandon this hopeless struggle for national independence and join his stronger, richer, better-organized neighbors?”⁷ The lack of self-esteem Franko found to be the “psychological foundation” for not only Moscophilism, but Polonophilism as well.

This was the drama of those Rusyns who sought an escape from the cultural cul-de-sac of their own people. The trap was illusory and not justified by history, since the achievements of Ukrainian culture existed and could provide the needed basis for a sense of worth and merit. Not widely disseminated, it did not encourage the development of the national idea. Furthermore, activists in the national movement were trying to maintain a facade of attitudinal unanimity among Rusyns. They expected Moscophilism to disappear as the Ukrainian sense of national identity became more widespread. The pro-Russian demonstration in 1866 crushed those hopes and forced the national activists to take decisive initiatives. At the end of the '60s and beginning of the '70s the two chief Ukrainian education institutions took form: the Prosvita Society in 1868 and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1873. Those in turn led to the Moscophiles' creation of the Kachkovsky Society in 1874.⁸ Those institutions developed wide networks of popular reading rooms throughout Eastern Galicia, and beginning in the late 19th century the networks extended into the Lemko region. They started up their own publishing houses and press organs. Their emergence set in motion the era of internal rivalry between Ukrainians and Moscophiles, which later Polish ruling circles would join.

In 1890 this culminated in a Polish-Rusyn agreement to break up Russian influences in the St. George's consistory in Lviv, the main center of Ukrainian Moscophilism, a move which initiated the process of the movement's decline in Eastern Galicia and had momentous consequences for the Lemko region. From that time on as a result of limited opportunities for action in eastern Galician areas, Moscophiles began penetration of politically virgin territories, transferring the agendas of their education and political societies there. In the Lemko region their task was easier since the national activists were then applying their energies to the eastern region of the country. A sign of the weakening of the pro-Russian

⁵ See. *Karpatorusskii Kalendar Lemko-Soiuz za hod 1960*, Yonkers, NY, pp. 87–92.

⁶ Quoted from J. Kozik, *Moskalofilstwo w Galicji w latach 1849–1866, na tle odrodzenia narodowego Rusinów [Moscophilism in Galicia in the years 1849–1866 in the context of the Rusyn national revival]*, MA thesis (typescript), Jagiellonian University, Kraków 1958, p. 64.

⁷ I. Franko, *Nieco o stosunkach polsko-ruskich [A few words on Polish-Rusyn relations]*, Lwów 1895, p.

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⁸ J. Moklak, *Relacje między ukraińskim ruchem narodowym a moskalofilstwem w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1866–1890 [Relations between the Ukrainian national movement and Moscophilism in Eastern Galicia in the years 1866–1890]*, MA thesis (typescript), Jagiellonian University, Kraków 1985, p. 80; by the same author *Mychajło Kaczowskiy i czytelnice jego imienia na Łemkowszczyźnie [Mykhailo Kachkovsky and the eponymous reading rooms in the Lemko region]*, “Magury '87,” Warszawa 1987, pp. 53–64.

current was the text of the manifesto published in December 1899, in which Moscovophiles declared the equality of the “Lesser Ruthenian” language with Russian. This reflected a compromise between the pro-Russian and Old Rusyn ideas and heralded the emergence of the Moscovophile–Old Rusyn bloc, which would last until the parliamentary elections of 1907.⁹

The weakening of Moscovophilism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was also caused by a change in the position of Russia, which at that time was reversing the direction of its Far East foreign policy. This was negatively perceived not only among Ukrainian Moscovophiles, but also in pro-Russian movements among other Slavs of the Habsburg Empire. The historical moment was taken advantage of by national activists who achieved a dominant position in the central areas of Galicia. The pro-Russian orientation in Austria-Hungary experienced a renaissance after Russia's defeat in its war with Japan in 1904–1905. As part of their doctrine of Neo-Slavism Russian circles cultivated active penetration among Slavs in the Habsburg territories and in the Balkans. In Galicia they looked to the so-called “young men” — the extreme pro-Russian wing led by Volodymyr Dudykevych, a lawyer in Kolomyia, thereby contributing to the revival and intensification of the Ukrainian-Moscovophile rivalry in the period preceding the outbreak of the First World War.

B. Old Rusyns, Moscovophiles and National Movement Activists, 1907–1914

In early 1907 in Austria-Hungary a new electoral law took effect which hastened the disintegration of existing political configurations. The conservatives' position, which had theretofore dominated, was destabilized. After the elections to the Imperial Council, Polish representation in the Viennese parliament was taken over by the ND (National Democrats). This change in the configuration of power brought many changes with regard to Ukrainians. They resulted from the ND's political program, which — aiming to rebuild the Polish nation-state — represented a pro-Russian idea, which dictated combating the monarchist Ukrainian movement and supporting Moscovophilism. The ND's support for Moscovophiles increased their political importance in Galicia.

In the period preceding the 1907 elections in both Moscovophile–Old Rusyn and national movement circles, the plan for an agreement on elections was discussed. The former demanded a base number of seats reserved for voting by Rusyns, i.e. 14, and the forced candidacy in one district of V. Dudykevych, a declared Russian. Furthermore, they expected support from the future deputies for the Russian declaration which they intended to submit to the Imperial Council. For those in the national movement, these conditions were unacceptable, so no agreement was reached. Only in some districts were tactical agreements concluded and shared support proffered to candidates. In the Sanok area the election campaign displayed a strong rivalry between the national movement and Moscovophiles, including some events of a brawling nature.¹⁰ The Lemko region composed districts 48 (Nowy Sącz), 49 (Jasło), 50 (Krosno) and 51 (Sanok). The Lemko population constituted a small percentage in these districts and Moscovophile candidates in the first three were not elected. Only in Sanok County did judicial counsellor Volodymyr Kurylovych win. The national movement put forth a candidate only in Sanok (Roman Zalizetsky, professor at the Lviv Polytechnic), a fact which reveals the weakness of the Ukrainian movement in the Lemko region in the first decade of the 20th century.

⁹ W. Kołpaczkiewicz, *Na granicy wieków (Jeden etap ewolucji myśli politycznej starorusinów)* [At the centuries' frontier (One stage in the evolution of Old Rusyn political thought)], BP-U, 1938, no. 5, p. 50.

¹⁰ The chairman of the Ukrainian Electoral Committee in Sanok was Fr. O. Konstantynovych, and the secretary V. Buchatsky, see V. Buchatsky, *Moskovofilstvo na Lemkivshchyni* [Moscovophilism in the Lemko region], New York 1955, pp.11–13; I. Winiarski, *Rusini w Radzie Państwa 1907–1908* [Rusyns in the Imperial Council 1907–1908], Lwów 1909, p. 8.

The national movement camp focused its attention mainly on Eastern Galicia. The electoral campaign was directed by the National Committee in Lviv, led by Kost Levytsky. In the electoral program it was stipulated that there would be agrarian reform, repeal of taxes (except for the progressive income tax), reduced taxes on the army and increased taxes on education, a rise in the number of Ukrainian intermediate schools and the creation of a Ukrainian university in Lviv, and finally the division of Galicia into Polish and Ukrainian regions, with a separate executive branch and the Diet.

On balance the parliamentary elections of 1907 brought victory for the national movement, which obtained 20 seats, while the Moscovite–Old Rusyn camp got only five.¹¹ Nonetheless, Mykola Hlibovytsky and Dmytro Markov, confident in the support of Polish [podolak] ND circles and supported by Tsarist diplomacy, undertook an attempt to open a Russian Club in the Viennese Parliament. They tried to open the way toward it through a *fait accompli*, with Markov making a speech in Russian on 9 July intended to lead to recognition of that language in the country. A week later the Moscovite party held a congress of “private agents” in Lviv, at which it was officially announced that Galicia was inhabited by “two peoples of Rus: Ukrainian and Russian,”¹² and a resolution was adopted calling deputies to resign from the Ruthenian Club (*Ruthenischer Klub*), the members of which were also in the national movement. The Moscovite–Old Rusyn camp was not unanimous, which in the end doomed Markov's activities to failure. Vasyl Davydiak, Mykhailo Korol and Volodymyr Kurylovych had considerably less radical views, though the first two finally agreed to the resolution's contents. The position of Kurylovych is remarkable, as a deputy from the Lemko region who in fact left the Ruthenian Club, but did not join Markov and Hlibovytsky. Markov's appearance in the Imperial Council and the congress of Moscovites in Lviv in July 1907 revealed the goal and battle tactics of that camp. The Viennese government was able, however, to skilfully leave the matter as the Diet of Galicia's responsibility, considering that it was a local issue, not concerning the nation as a whole.

In 1908 successive political events strengthened the position of the pro-Russian camp. At the beginning of that year in elections to the local Diet Moscovites got 10 seats, led by Dudykevych, while the stronger national movement members and radicals — barely 11. This was a visible result of the influence of the Polish right on internal Ukrainian political relations, which paved the way for an attack on the life of governor Andrzej Potocki. In July, during the Slavic congress in Prague, a Polish-Russian rapprochement was reached in the form of the Dmowski–Bobrinski agreement, sealed by a banquet given in Lviv in honor of the Russian guests. The determination with which Russian circles and area Moscovites sprang into action caused concern in the Moscovite–Old Rusyn camp itself, which — as mentioned earlier — was not unanimous and comprised within itself the attitudes of so-called Hard Rusyns, of anti-Ukrainian disposition, but not pro-Russian. This soon led to a break within the party. In 1909 the Old Rusyns remained with their old press organ, the “Halychanyn”, which espoused only “cultural unity” between Rusyns in Galicia and Russians. The group of radical Moscovites, on the other hand, assembled around the new publication, written in Russian literary language, entitled “Priкарпатська Русь”. The historical literature generally designates the first as the *starokursnyki*, representatives of an older orientation, while the first are called *novokursnyki*, presenting a new course of action or new tendency. This division reflected the moods in the community. The “old” group predominated, led by Davydiak, but the “young” were very energetic, and therefore played a larger role in Galician politics in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War.¹³

¹¹ Fr. V. Davydiak (Stryj), M. Hlibovytsky (Zolochiv), M. Korol (Rava Ruska), V. Kurylovych (Sanok), D. Markov (Brody), see K. Levytsky, op. cit., vol. 2, Lviv 1927, p. 444.

¹² K. Levytsky, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 453.

¹³ W. Kołpaczkiewicz, *Na granicy wieków. Staroruski Guliwer na falach polityki wszechświatowej* [At

Despite external support (from Russia and the Podolian ND) the Mosocophiles did not dare to join in one mass with the Russian people. They launched a publication specially for the people, called Voice of the People (“Holos Naroda”), published in a dialect close to Ukrainian. One of the main representatives of the new strain, Marian Glushkevych, a Lemko by birth, summed up this direction of action in the following way: “If there isn't a war [...] there is nothing left but to join the Ukrainians.”¹⁴ The perspective of war and of the arrival of Russian armies on Galician territory marked the *novokursnyks'* political vision, and they skilfully found a basis for a pro-Russian campaign in Galicia, vigilantly observing the social and religious mood of the population there.

B.1 RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY

The growth of Eastern Orthodoxy in Eastern Galicia and in the Lemko region in the early 20th century was part of a widespread political campaign executed by the Tsarist regime and the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. The activity had two sources — North America and Russia. The center of action was Zhytomyr, capital of Volhynia province. In the years 1902–1914 that diocese was managed by Archbishop Antonii Khrapovitsky, and after he was transferred to Kharkov, by Archbishop Evlogii Georgievsky. The Pochaiv Monastery, directed by Archimandrite Vitalii Maksymenko, played a special role in the process. From there Russian emissaries set off for Galicia, and the monastery had developed a publishing operation which was wide in scale. Deliveries of the “Pochaiv Lystok” (Pochaiv Newsletter), sent out from Galician cities by Moscophile activists, came in the mail to the addresses of Rusyn peasants, including Lemkos. Russian propaganda proclaiming the slogan of “liberation” for Galician Rus' had particular power of influence. A zealous advocate of this program was Vladimir Bobrinski. Under his aegis branches of the Galician-Russian Association were established in Russia, and financial aid was sent to Galicia, along with periodicals and books for the purpose of reinforcing anti-Catholic and anti-Ukrainian convictions there.

At the Slavic congress in Prague in 1908, at which delegates from Russia and Galician Moscophiles took part, Rusyns were officially recognized as Russians. This resolution energized pro-Russian circles in Galicia, who set about building up their institutions, i.e. the Kachkovsky Society, the Stauropegion Institute, and the People's Home in Lviv. In districts responsible to county jurisdiction so-called “private agents” were active. They functioned as liaisons between headquarters and propaganda centers located in Greek Catholic parishes, and transmitted correspondence and instructions, as well as money coming from Russia and from Russian centers in America. Aside from the secular intelligentsia, a significant percent of these agents was constituted by Greek Catholic clergy. In the case of the Lemko region the campaign was developed on the borderline of Gorlice and Jasło Counties. “Private agents” there were Yaroslav Kachmarchyk, lawyer and director of the Lemko Treasury in Gorlice (*Lemkovska Kassa*) and the following Greek Catholic priests: Teodor Durkot of Zdynia, Marian Myshkovsky of Rostajne and Mykhailo Yurchakevych of Czarne. In the counties of Krosno and Sanok agitators were grouped around Deputy Kurylovych, who in searching for his national identity straddled Dudykevych and Davydiak's groups.

Direct action in the area was undertaken by students visiting their home villages and local farm-hands induced by material gain. They made planned visits to local parishes and established Kachkovsky reading rooms there. One of the most energetic was Vasyl Koldra from Świątkowa Wielka. At mass meetings which he organized himself, he awakened anti-Polish feelings among Lemkos and called them to “endure in the struggle with Polishness and

the centuries' frontier. The Old Rusyn Gulliver in the sea of universal politics], BP-U, 1938, no. 9, pp. 93–95.

¹⁴

See S. Shakh, *Mizh Sianom i Dunaitsem* [*Between the San and the Dunajec*], Munchen 1960, p. 81.

Catholicism.” He posited the mighty power of Tsarist Russia and Russian Orthodoxy as the antidote to the threat from Poles and the Roman Catholic Church. He had portraits of Russian Tsars and princes, and patriarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church distributed in peasant huts.¹⁵

Having support in several regions in the area besides the Lemko region, and also in the counties of Brody, Kosiv, and Sokal, among others, Dudykevych's supporters undertook an attempt to use Orthodoxy as a means to implementing the program for unification with Russia. On 3 August 1911 a secret conference met in the Pochayiv cloister to discuss ways to spread Orthodoxy to Galician Greek Catholic parishes. The conference participants were: archimandrite V. Maksymenko, ministerial clerk for special affairs in the Russian government Razumovsky, Bobrinski's private secretary Bestuzhev, and guests from Galicia: Dudykevych and Markov, two editors of “Priкарпатська Рус” and an associate of the publication “Novoe Vremia” (New Time), Dmytro Verhun. During their conversations, the “Russian Galicians” declared that they would have no difficulty organizing 20–30 Orthodox municipalities in Galicia, if a demonstration were desired. They added, however, that the lack of Orthodox churches and local Orthodox clergy would deprive the movement of durability. The group jointly determined that the first order of business was making efforts to prepare cadres of Orthodox clergy in Russia from young men enlisted in Galicia. The Pochaiv conference's resolutions resulted in the Russian side allotting special funds to defray the expenses of Galician candidates, chiefly in the Orthodox seminary in Zhytomyr. The number of alumni from Galicia rose from year to year. In 1911 there were over 10 students at the Zhytomyr seminary, in 1912 about 20, and the press reported the acceptance of another 50 candidates. The majority were recruited in the border counties, while two came from the Lemko region: M. Deniovsky (Żegiestów) and Maksym Sandovych (Zdynia).¹⁶

The most favorable circumstances for the growth of Orthodoxy existed in those Greek Catholic parishes where there were ongoing disputes between churchgoers and rector. That was the situation in the counties of Eastern Galicia (Sokal, Zolochiv) and in the West of the region. In the parish of Grab in Jasło County, the first center of Russian Orthodoxy in the Lemko region, a conflict had gone on for several years, fomented by Moscophiles, between the faithful and their rector, Fr. Fylymon Kysilovsky; the conflict arose from the costs of construction of presbytery buildings, church repair and other building works on parish land. The Moscophiles Vasyl Koldra and Ivan Kushvara, as well as parish recruits Mykhailo Hoshko, Sylvester Pavelchak and others, antagonistically disposed toward their rector, awoke an interest in a change of faith among the population, promising to build a new church and cover the costs of keeping an Orthodox priest for each parish.¹⁷ The material issue was one of the most important factors in drawing people's sympathies to Russian Orthodoxy. Most applications for change of denomination which arrived at county offices in Galicia in the years 1911–1914 were filed by the economically poor population. The fact that the rectors had not addressed the populace's demand for their nationality to be noted with a double “s” (ss) in parish books, and for the word “Orthodox” to be used in the liturgy, demands rejected by many Greek Catholic priests, played an important role in this development.¹⁸

¹⁵ AP P, ABGK, ref. # 9445, *Istoriia pravoslavlia v seli Hrab pered svitovoiu viinoiu [History of Eastern Orthodoxy in the village of Hrab before World War I]*, pp. 16, 43; *ibid.*, ref. # 437, *Schizma — misje 1911–1914 [Schism — missions 1911–1914]*, pp. 81, 206, 207. Other students worked with Koldra, e.g. I. Vislotsky and I. Kushvara. Among farm-hands, an outstanding worker was 19 year-old K. Fedorko of Gładyszów.

¹⁶ (X.Y.Z.), *Prawosławie w Rosji i jego podłoże w Galicji [Orthodoxy in Russia and its foundations in Galicia]*, Lwów 1913, p. 7; J. Borodzicz, *Na Rusi galicyjskiej Schyzna się gotuje [A Schism is being prepared in Galician Rus]*, Chrzanów 1911, p. 54.

¹⁷ AP P, ABGK, ref. # 9445, *passim*.

¹⁸ See *Chynnosty i rishennia provintsialnoho Soboru v Hałychyni 1891 r. [Acts and decisions of the provincial Cathedral in Halychyna]*, Lviv 1894, p. 170.

In the autumn of 1911 the ground for the development of Russian Orthodoxy in Galicia had been prepared. The first Orthodox priests, raised in Galicia, the sons of Greek Catholics and until recently Greek Catholic themselves, drawn into Russian Neoslavism as young boys, arrived from Russia. They included Fr. Yulian Ilechko, sent to Sokal County, Fr. Tsymbala to Zolochiv County, Fr. Ihnatii Hudyma, who had looked after the pastoral needs of the Orthodox faithful in Zaluch on the Cheremosh River, and Fr. Maksym Sandovych, returning to his native Lemko region. Sandovych's arrival in Grab on 2 December 1911 reinforced the position of Moscophiles there. His pious lifestyle (involving many long prayers) won over many parishioners, who clung more to the person than to the new church institution. According to contemporary reports, Sandovych was a deeply devout and humble man. His authority was built up through free distribution to believers of books, brochures and pictures on religious themes, presenting Russian churches and cloisters. Collections from church services were given to the poor, with the expectation in turn that they would not return to the Greek Catholic church.¹⁹

In December 1911 Jasło district authorities received over 200 applications for change of denomination, signed by residents of Grab and Wyszowatka. The application forms were distributed by "private agents." Campaigns collecting signatures for applications were carefully prepared. It sometimes happened that peasants refused to sign and were encouraged to convert with a bribe of money, or even — according to Greek Catholic sources — scared into doing so through the use of force.²⁰

The immediately evident material benefits of conversion caused Orthodoxy to proliferate among Lemkos. The examples of Grab and Wyszowatka, where construction materials were bought with Russian money to build an Orthodox Church, and payment for pastoral services was not obligatory, encouraged the populations of neighboring municipalities to convert. In late 1911 and early 1912 the majority of residents in the villages of Czarne, Długie, Lipna, Nieznajowa and Radocyna in Gorlice County declared a change of confession. Groups of Russian Orthodox faithful appeared in other towns as well.

Made anxious by the rising importance of the *novokursnyki*, regional authorities set about taking steps to oppose them, which was easy since Russian Orthodoxy did not have legal status in Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, since Michał Bobrzyński's accession to the function of governor-general in Galicia, the politics of the region had changed. In relations with Ukrainians the new governor-general made an effort to reach an understanding with the national movement. That meant a sharpening of position toward Moscophiles, the more so as tension in Russo-Austrian relations was growing. A few conspicuous activists were arrested, including V. Koldra, acting in the western Lemko region.²¹ The arrests also touched Orthodox priests. In April 1912 M. Sandovych was arrested on a charge of espionage in the service of Russia, and a few days later his deputy, Fr. Ivan Solovii.²² The Przemyśl Greek Catholic ordinariate also reacted, initiating disciplinary proceedings against subordinate rectors, supporters of the pro-Russian orientation. The situation which had arisen threatened to bring the downfall of Russian Orthodoxy in Galicia and the failure of Dudykevych's party to fulfill its obligations toward its Tsarist protectors. The Russian Orthodox Church was saved at that moment by some Greek Catholic priests (*sic!*). Fr. Mykhailo Yurchakevych of Czarne was particularly active. Dressed in a Lemko costume he traveled many times throughout the surrounding area, providing pastoral services in secret. The situation created an atmosphere of Church persecution and bolstered community bonds among neophytes. The success of the

¹⁹ AP P, ABGK, ref. # 437, pp. 49–50.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ D. A. Markov, *Russkaia i ukrainskaia ideia v Avstrii* [*The Russian and Ukrainian Idea in Austria*], Moscow 1915, p. 60.

²² AP P, ABGK, ref. # 437, pp. 1, 90.

Moscophiles did not, however, last. They managed to inculcate Orthodoxy in several regions of Galicia, which could give the impression of Orthodoxy growing, but departure from the Greek Catholic Church was not so much an expression of support for the *novokursnyi*'s political line as of allegiance to the traditional form of church services. Conversions to Orthodoxy generally were not the result of pro-Russian feelings.

A wave of arrests led to a political trial, known as the Bendasiuk trial, which took place on 3 March 1914 in Lviv. In the dock were Symeon Bendasiuk, Vasyl Koldra, and two Orthodox priests, Ihnatii Hudyma and Maksym Sandovych. They were accused of treason to the state and acting for Galicia's secession from Austria-Hungary. Two among the four accused were Lemkos. In the historical literature one may find comparisons of this trial with the Olha Hrabar affair from the previous century. The key difference, however, lay in the fact that the 1914 trial showed the participation of Lemkos in the Moscophile political movement, a phenomenon which had not existed in 1882. This may constitute a basis for stating the drift of Moscophile tendencies from east to west and the existence of a relationship between the development of political movements in the Lemko region and the transformations taking place in Eastern Galicia.

Shortly before the outbreak of war, a group of Moscophile activists consisting of Semen Labensky (editor of "Priкарпатська Рус"), Marian Glushkevych (a lawyer in Lviv), Mykhailo Sokhotsky (a lawyer in Sanok) and Yuliian Siokalo (a lawyer in Burshtyn — the elder brother of Yaroslav, a political activist in the western Lemko region), went to Russia and there created the Carpatho-Russian Liberation Committee (*Karpatorusskii Osvoboditelnyi Komitet*). The leaders of the newly created institution were Yuliian Yavorsky, a well-known Galician writer living in Kyiv. The Committee's purpose was "to inform the Russian community and the Russian army of liberation of the historical past and political situation of Russian Carpathia."²³ In reality it took shape in close agreement with the Russian authorities and was to help with the implementation of Russia's plans for Galicia. The Committee provided the data needed for the development of a brochure entitled "Sovremennaiia Galichina," published by the Staff of the Kyiv Military District and intended for Russian officers and soldiers who had been sent to the Galician front. It was a peculiar kind of instruction manual/textbook. Russian soldiers were also provided with the proclamation of the Committee dated 29 July 1914, which spoke of the "liberation of Russian Halychyna territory and Russian Halych after 600 years of servitude."²⁴

C. The World War and the Lemko Republics

The entrance of Russian armies into Galicia began the period of the region's occupation. The areas controlled by the Tsar's army were joined to Russia as "eternally Russian lands." Russian opinion journalism and native Mosocophiles elaborated the justification for the action. As an example one may quote the following passage from an article by D. Verhun under the title "Chto takoe Galitsia," in which the author wrote: "Red

²³ D. Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy 1917–1923 rr.* [History of Ukraine 1917–1923], vol. 1, Uzhhorod 1932, p. 5; Y. Naumenko, *Ukraińskie formacie wojskowe w czasie wojny światowej (1914–1918)* [Ukrainian military formations during the World War (1914–1918)], BP-U, 1934, no. 2, pp. 3–5; D. Solovei, *Vynyshchennia ukrainstva — osnovna meta Rosii u viini 1914 roku. Materiialy do istorii Ukrainy za chasiv pershoi svitovoi viiny*, Winnipeg 1963, pp. 55–56.

²⁴ See *Sovremennaiia Galichina. Etnograficheskoe i kultumo-politicheskoe sostoianie ieia k sviazi s natsionalno-obshchestvennymi nastroyeniami* [Modern Galicia. Its ethnographic and culturo-political condition in relation to national-social moods], 1914. On the brochure, see S. Yefremov, *Do istorii Halyskoi Ruiny 1914–1915 rr.* [Toward a history of the Halychyna Ruins, "Ukraina," 1924, vol. 4, pp. 127–144; K. Levytsky, *Istoriia vyzvolnykh zmahan hatytskykh Ukraintsiv z chasu svitovoi viiny 1914–1918*, Lviv 1929, p. 42.

Rus is the cradle of the Russian people [...]. The names of rivers in particular sound homely and familiar to the Russian ear. Because after all the Poprad froming the boundary between Rusyn and Polish land obviously translates [...] with total and transparent simplicity as 'Pop — rad.' And thus is demarcated the difference between Western Slavdom, which calls the clergy priests, and Eastern, where they are called 'pop.'"²⁵ In order to spread Russian terminology in Galicia, a special Geographical Commission was established in November 1914, led by Pylyp Svystun. The members also included M. Hnatyshak, Y. Yavorsky and O. Markov. Officially the Tsarist regime was acting in defense of "the Russian population of Galicia." In reality it was pursuing a program of expansion into the West, joining territories to Russia that included not only ethnically Ukrainian areas, but ethnically Polish ones too.²⁶

Novokursnyki obtained a great deal of influence on the organization of the new Russian provinces (*guberniia*). It should, however, be stressed that the Russian authorities removed the leader of that group, Dudykevych, from the highest administrative levels of government offices. Among well-known *novokursnyki* only M. Glushkevych made a political career during the occupation, as mayor of Przemyśl. Thus the Moscophile camp was effectively divided internally, as its own cadres were prepared for work in administrative offices of the local government. In September 1914 Yuri Bobrinski, brother of Vladimir, became governor of Galicia, and energetically worked at implementing the goal of fully integrating Galicia into Russia.

Introducing a Russian administrative division went hand in hand with transformations in the denominational structure. The occupation brought in its wake an inflow of Orthodox clergy from Russia and mass conversions from Greek Catholicism to Eastern Orthodoxy, which in many cases was forced by the replacement of the previous rector with a Russian one. It should nonetheless be underscored that voluntary conversions were also frequent. Starting from August 1914 ceremonies took place in Pochaiv celebrating conversions to Orthodoxy of visiting Greek Catholic peasants; these ceremonies were often officiated by the Bishop of Kremenets, Dionisii, later metropolitan of the Polish Orthodox Church. In February 1915 the Russian authorities made the decision to transfer the Archbishop of Volhynia, Evlogii Georgievsky, from Zhytomyr to Lviv, instituting a *de facto* province of the Russian Orthodox Church in Galicia. The number of Orthodox parishes then was approaching 200 and steadily growing. In December 1915 the Russian press wrote of 500 Orthodox parishes on the territory of occupied Galicia.²⁷

The Ukrainian national movement found itself on the defensive. At the beginning of August the Ukrainians established two political organizations in Lviv under the names: Supreme Ukrainian Council (*Zahalna Ukrainska Rada*) presided over by K. Levytsky, and the Ukrainian Liberation Union, Volodymyr Doroshenko presiding. Under pressure from the approaching Russian armies, however, these organizations were evacuated to Vienna. The national movement activists who remained in their homes were subjected to repressions by the Russian occupying authorities. The metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Andrei Sheptytsky, was also arrested and transported deep inside Russia. The situation saw a reversal after the front was broken through at Gorlice. The expulsion of the Russians from Galicia brought with it another wave of repressions, now of Moscophiles and Old Rusyns by the

²⁵ Quoted from F. Przysiecki, *Rządy rosyjskie w Galicji Wschodniej [Russian governments in Eastern Galicia]*, Piotrków 1915, p. 53.

²⁶ Four guberniyas were created from the occupied areas, with centers in Chernivtsi, Lviv, Przemyśl and Ternopil. The Przemyśl *gubernia* included ethnically Polish counties: Łańcut, Nisko, Przeworsk, Rzeszów and Tarnobrzeg. See F. Przysiecki, op. cit., pp. 26–27.

²⁷ Y. Petrovych, *Halychyna pidchas rosiiskoi okupatsii 1914–1915, [Halychyna during the Russian occupation 1914–1915]*, Vienna 1915, p. 15; E. Pełczyński, *Prawosławie w Galicji w świetle prasy ruskiej we Lwowie podczas inwazji 1914–1915 roku [Eastern Orthodoxy in Galicia in the Rusyn press in Lviv during the invasion of 1914–1915]*, Lwów 1918, pp. 20–21.

Austro-Hungarian government. Those arrested were placed in internment camps, of which the best-known was the camp in Thalerhof (in the state of Styria). The Austro-Hungarian authorities conducted planned arrests of those suspected of collaboration with Russian circles. The arrests were most frequently made on the basis of lists of organizations' members and subscription lists of Moscovophile magazines prepared by districts of the Habsburg Empire before 1914. The Austro-Hungarian military authorities had at their disposal what were possibly full lists even for the smallest towns.²⁸

Victims of repressions looked for culprits among activists in the Ukrainian movement — in the milieu of their political opponents. The persecutions formed the legend of the martyrdom of the “Rusyns,” built on hostility toward “Ukrainians” accused of denouncing them before the Austro-Hungarian authorities. This opinion was popularized by pro-Russian and old Rusyn political journalism, but as an oversimplification does not explain the truth of the matter. Cases of denunciations by national movement actors and reverse cases in the first phase of the war had a local dimension and we can judge that they resulted from conflicts between neighbors, from community problem, not in connection with larger political issues. The assertion that denunciations by national movement activists were the basis for the Austro-Hungarian repressions during the First World War is unfounded. Similar assertions appeared in Ukrainian journalism, when stories were published of national movement activists imprisoned at the Thalerhof camp because of denunciations by Poles and Jews.²⁹

Still, the myth of martyrology out of which the Thalerhof legend grew had important consequences for the formation of political attitudes among those Rusyns who had not earlier embraced a Ukrainian national identity. This was true to an enormous extent for the population of the Lemko region, although it applied to some of the Subcarpathian Boikos and could also be encountered in Lviv. In the Lemko region the phenomenon had particular meaning since it concerned a compact, politically pristine region, whereas in Eastern Galicia the Moscovophile and Old Rusyn clusters found themselves in the midst of the Ukrainian environment. The specific nature of the Lemko region was compounded by the fact that its peasant population, by nature conservative, found it hard to evaluate political events, which was probably due to the local and private focus of the interests of its small communities.

The political engagement of the pro-Russian and national-Ukrainian camps, growing since the late 19th century, accelerated the process of political self-definition among Lemkos. The rivalry transplanted to the Lemko region from Eastern Galicia defined the nature of the options for identity. Until the outbreak of the World War, both orientations interwove with each other, developing their agendas throughout the entire region. Centers of the Ukrainian and Moscovophile movements stood in neighboring buildings both in Sanok and Nowy Sącz, drawing support from a broad group of Old Rusyns. The events of the war accelerated the polarization of positions, leading to an advantage for the Ukrainian current in the eastern part of the area, and Moscovilism in the western part.

The divergence of political thought among Lemko activists in the East and West was a result of changing political conditions. The Sanok region gravitated towards Lviv economically, culturally and politically, hence the ease with which the Ukrainian idea became was diffused and the participation of the Sanok region in the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918–1919. That war in fact appears to have been the event which decisively ensured the Ukrainian movement's advantage over Moscovilism. The Wisłok or Komańcza Republic bears witness to this.³⁰ The political fate of the western Lemko region took a different direction. The

²⁸ See “Talerhofskii Almanakh,” J. Best, *Moscophilism Amongst the Lemko Population*, in: *Carpatho-Slavic Studies*, t. 1, New Haven, Conn., 1990, pp. 80–81, idem, *Moskalofilstwo wśród ludności łemkowskiej*, in: *Ukraińska myśl polityczna w XX wieku [Ukrainian political thought in the 20th century]*, Kraków 1993, p. 145.

²⁹ See “Svoboda,” 1930, no. 22, p. 4.

³⁰ The name “Komańcza Republic” took shape as a result of the spread of information about the

political involvement of Lemkos in Gorlice, Grybów, Jasło, and Nowy Sącz were influenced to a considerably higher degree than in the eastern region by Austro-Hungarian repressions and the ensuing legend of Thalerhof, which fostered the spread of anti-Ukrainian attitudes. Those feelings also led to the rise of the Florynka Republic.³¹

The course of the war in 1917–1918 directly influenced the rise of these republics. As a result of national liberation struggles, the Habsburg monarchy collapsed and its empire transformed into nation-states. The Lemkos struggled on different fronts in the war; for various reasons, their fates saw them scattered across Europe. In 1917 soldiers, prisoners and the formerly displaced returned to their homes, bringing experience acquired outside their homeland. Sometimes their prewar views had been fortified, while in others, these views faced challenges which caused a change to the opposite position. Those returning from Russia, who had faced “real Moskals,” often rejected theories of the Russian origin of Lemkos.³² Those returning from Austrian camps, however, had become firmer in their conviction of the rightness of continuing with the pro-Russian idea. The enlivening of political moods reached its zenith when news of the outbreak of war between Poland and Ukraine spread in November 1918.

Polish political thought at that time was the product of the traditions of the First Republic and the risings in the period of the partitions. The right of Poles to possession of Eastern Galicia was considered natural and historically justified. The regenerating Polish nation, however, met with strong opposition from the Ukrainians making claims to the same territory. Even before the fall of the monarchy, Ukrainian politicians in Vienna, referring to the demands made in 1848, came forward with proposals for dividing Galicia, delineating the borders of the future Ukrainian crown state to include the Lemko region. The Ukrainians' engagement in this struggle for their own nation-state meant a clash between two fully formed nations. In contrast to the Polish faction, however, the Ukrainian movement did not encompass the whole Rusyn people. The Ukrainians had a weak position at the periphery of their ethnic region, a fact made manifest in the attitudes nursed in some places by Moscovophiles and Old Rusyns. This phenomenon was particularly evident in the western Lemko region.

The proclamation in Lviv of the establishment of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (*Zakhidno-Ukrainska Narodna Respublyka* — ZUNR) had resounding echoes in the provinces. In the early days of November the Ukrainian National Council was created for Sanok County. In view of Polish troops being stationed in Sanok, Wisłok Wielki was chosen for the Council's headquarters. This action was initiated by the Greek Catholic rector of Wisłok, Fr. Panteleimon Shpylka together with the rector of Wisłok Niżny, Fr. Mykhailo Tesla.³³ On 4 November they called a mass meeting at which the manifesto of the Ukrainian National Council, printed in “Dilo,” proclaiming the establishment of the ZUNR in Lviv, was publicly read out loud. The next day an assembly in Wisłok Niżny gathered 70 representatives from the surrounding towns (two from each). The members of the Council in Wisłok were then chosen (all those present); the Council would comprise over 35 villages until the end of 1918.³⁴ The members of the Council board, in addition to Fr. Shpylka, included Teodor

clamorous final battle between the Ukrainian militia and the Polish army which took place on 24 January 1919 in Komańcza. The political center of the eastern Lemko region was, however, Wisłok Wielki.

³¹ See *Ruska Ludowa Republika Łemków [the Rusyn National Lemko Republic]*, “Magury '88,” Warszawa 1988, pp. 44–52; J. Moklak, *Republiki łemkowskie [Lemko Republics], 1918–1919*, “Wierchy,” vol. 59, 1993, Kraków 1994, pp. 63–76.

³² F. Kokovsky, *Lemkivski republiky v 1918–1919 rokah*, “Istorychnyi Kalendar. Almanakh Chervonoi Kalyny na 1935 rik,” Lviv 1934, p. 115.

³³ See P. Shpylka, *Vyzvolni zmahannia skhidnoi Lemkivshchyny v 1918 rotsi*, “Lemkivskyi Kalendar, 1967,” Toronto–Passeik, NJ, 1966, p. 22.

³⁴ Balnica, Czystohorb, Darów, Dołżyca in the environs of Komańcza, Duszatyn, Jasiel, Jawornik,

Shpylka (brother of Panteleimon), who was in charge of the executive organ; Hryhori Sudomyr from Wisłok Niżny, a teacher, active in the administration and expansion of Ukrainian schooling; Andrii Kyr of Komańcza — a businessman, former Austrian officer, responsible for organizing the militia; Ivan Kucila (born in Kolomyia) — a judge who dealt with issues of settlements “in the name of the Ukrainian Republic”; Fr. Mykhailo Kril from Prełuki and Fr. Ivan Kovalchyn of Puławy. The Council took shape as a form of self-government and self-defense for local Ukrainians. For the purpose of maintaining public safety it created a militia which was composed of one man from each household.³⁵

Armament and command cadres were seen as vitally important. The military and political goal was to take and hold Sanok. The Council strove to obtain aid from local ZUNR authorities in Stryi and Baligród, but the aid provided was not sufficient. At the beginning of December, at the last conference of the Council in Komańcza it decided to send deputies (Fr. Shpylka and a student, Nazarevych) to Hungary for the purpose of tracking down Ukrainian officers demobilized from the Austrian army. With the help of Yaroslav Biberovych, ZUNR representative in Budapest, 12 non-commissioned officers and financial help in the sum of 10,000 Austrian crowns were obtained.³⁶ The plan to storm Sanok was nonetheless rejected by Fr. Shpylka who considered the forces of the Wisłok Council too meager to hold the city.

Military action was carried out mainly on the Komańcza — Zagórz segment of the railway line. In January 1919 Polish divisions created from the ranks of militarized railwaymen from Zagórzany conducted an offensive in the direction of Komańcza, dissolving the Ukrainian National Council in Sanok County. Despite its short-lived existence the Council left an enduring mark on the consciousness of Lemkos in the region, fostering further growth of the Ukrainian idea, now built on hostility toward the victors, i.e. the Polish side.

Pro-Ukrainian feelings were also manifested in the western areas of the Lemko region, but did not lead to the national movement gaining an advantage there. In the towns of Gorlice, Jasło, and Nowy Sącz Counties, rallies were organized at which views were exchanged between proponents and opponents of joining the Lemko region to the ZUNR. On 17 November 1918 a rally was held in Świątkowa Wielka at which the Moscovophile activist Dmytro Sobin spoke forcefully against joining the Lemko region to the western Ukrainian state. Moscovophiles discussed strategies for action at the political conference in Świątkowa on 21 November. A few days later, on 27 November, they forced a resolution at a rally in Gładyszów that the Lemko region could belong only to Russia.³⁷ The meeting created a Council (the Russian Council, *Russka Rada*) with headquarters in Gładyszów, whose immediate goal was to make collections of funds to cover the costs of its delegate to the peace conference in Paris. The Council was to include five members from each village. Some sources call the Council convoked in Gładyszów the “Gładyszów Republic.” A Greek Catholic priest from Czarne was elected chairman — M. Yurchakevych, known for his pro-Orthodox agitation among Lemkos before the war and during the Russian occupation.³⁸

From the speeches of Lemko Moscovophiles at local mass-meetings (e.g. in Gładyszów) it was evident that their political program still remained to be clearly defined. One of the speakers expressed the view that if the incorporation of the Lemko region into Russia were

Kalnica, Karlików, Komańcza, Łupków, Maniów, Mików, Mokre, Osławica, Płonna, Polany, Prełuki, Przybyszów, Puławy, Radoszyce. Rzepedź, Smolnik, Solinka, Surowica, Szczawne, Szczurbanówka, Turzańsk, Wisłok Niżny and Wyżny, Wola Michowa, Wola Niżna and Wyżna, Wysoczany, Zubeńsko, Żubracze. AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 474, p.n.n.

³⁵ P. Shpylka, op. cit., p. 24.

³⁶ In the first phase of the search not a single officer could be recruited, it was only in the next phase that volunteers were found from the NCO camp. See P. Szpylka, op. cit., p. 28.

³⁷ O. Tarnovych, *Lemkivshchyna v chasi vyzvolonykh zmahan*, “Svoboda,” 1933, no. 271, p. 2.

³⁸ AP P, ABGK, ref. # 55, p. 299.

not possible, it should be joined to Bukovina or Serbia (sic!). The Gładyszów Council approved a series of resolutions concerning the organization of community life, e.g. the removal of Ukrainian clergy from the Lemko region, the introduction of the word “pravoslavny” (Orthodox) into the Greek Catholic liturgy, and the introduction of the use and teaching of Russian language into schools. The Gładyszów congress's deliberations took place in an atmosphere heavy with the memory of the Thalerhof tragedy — paeans were read to the victims of the camp.³⁹

The decisions taken in Gładyszów received support from the residents of the surrounding villages, but there were nonetheless protests against imposing the pro-Russian orientation on the population. Ukrainian feelings dominated in such villages as, among others, Grab, Małastów, Muszyna, and Pętna. During the rally in Gładyszów Petro Kytchak, the representative of Grab, spoke against unions between the Lemko region and Russia. Kytchak played an important role in maintaining a high level of pro-Ukrainian feeling in Grab and Ożenna, villages which refused to send delegates to the Council in Gładyszów and displayed support for the ZUNR. In these towns Ukrainian militias were created.⁴⁰

In November 1918 rallies were organized in the counties of Grybów and Nowy Sącz. They prepared the ground for the congress of delegates from individual villages in Florynka, which took place on 5 December of that year and constituted the Council (*Russka Rada*), to be led by Yaroslav Kachmarchyk of Muszyna. At the next assembly in Florynka on 12 March 1919 the incorporation of the Lemko region into Russia was approved, without specifying whether this meant White Russia or Bolshevik Russia. The *Russkii Uriad* (government) created at that time, whose members included: Fr. Dmytro Khylyak of Izby, Mykola Gromosiak of Krynica, the earlier-mentioned Y. Kachmarchyk and Fr. Vasyl Kuryllo of Florynka. This body aimed to take control of the social and political life of the region, e.g. teachers were prohibited from filing “pledges of service” to the Polish authorities and Fr. Khylyak ensured that the heading “Russian National Republic” appeared in official and public register documents.⁴¹

In attempting to outline the organizational scheme of these Councils it is essential to list the four political centers of the western Lemko region: Krynica for Nowy Sącz County, Florynka for Grybów County, Gładyszów and Czarne for Gorlice County, Świątkowa Wielka for Jasło County. This configuration was soon to disintegrate, however. On 28 January 1919 the Council in Krynica, chaired by the medical doctor Oleksandr Tykhansky, dissolved, most probably handing its affairs over to the management of the Florynka board.⁴² More detailed information on the Council in Świątkowa is lacking. We may gather that it had ties to the center in Gorlice County, which at first was Gładyszów, and later Czarne. The Council remained longest in Florynka, which was probably the chief political center in the area.

Moscophile centers of power took shape throughout the entire southwestern area of the peripherally situated ethnic Rusyn strip, i.e. in the regenerated Polish nation-state and the Czechoslovak one being created. The crowning achievement of these endeavors was the narrowly pro-Russian memorandum passed at the congress of an organization called the National Council of Russian Subcarpathia (*Narodny Soviet Russkago Priкарпаття*) in Sanok on 13 December 1918.⁴³ The congress gathered together representatives of Councils from the

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 300, 301.

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 304, 306.

⁴¹ L. Hankevych, “*Lemkivska Repubtyka.*” *Odyn zabutyi istorichnyi protses*, “Dilo,” 1934, no. 165, pp. 5–6.

⁴² After the dissolution of the Krynica council, O. Tykhansky developed the work of the Carpatho-Russian National Council in Prešov, see Z. Peška, I. Markov, *Příspevek k ústavnin dejinam Podkarpatské Rusi*, vol. V, “Bratislava,” 1932, p. 532.

⁴³ CDIAL, f. 148, op. 2, case # 5, *Memorandum Narodnego Sovieta Russkago Priкарпаття*, 1918, pp. 1–2. See Z. Peška, I. Markov, op. cit., pp. 528–531

whole of Galicia and abroad (Slovakia and Bukovina). Sanok activists and representatives of the western Lemko region also took part in the congress.⁴⁴ Worthy of note is the phenomenon of the enfeeblement of Moscovophile centers in the area of the former Eastern Galicia. There were, it is true, Councils in Zolochiv, Kolomyia, Buchach, Stanyslaviv and Przemyśl, but resolutions of a political nature were dealt with in Sanok or Prešov.

Faced with the fall of Tsarist Russia, the existing Moscovophile conception lost currency. Furthermore, as the political situation stabilized in ethnic Polish areas, the administrative arm of the Polish government gradually encompassed Lemko villages in its reach. In search of a path to greater independence from Poland, Lemkos developed a pro-Czechoslovak orientation, a trend facilitated by the strong position Czechophile feelings had already achieved among Rusyns in Slovakia and Carpathian Ukraine.

In December 1918 the pro-Ukrainian Ruthenian National Council (*Ruska Narodna Rada*) in Prešov, under the influence of Anton Beskyd, former deputy to the Budapest parliament, changed to a pro-Russian orientation; then at the congress in Košice it took a pro-Czech stance.⁴⁵ Beskyd had close relations with Czechoslovak politicians, and under his influence a resolution to join Carpathian Ukraine to Czechoslovakia was passed, which was confirmed in Prešov on 7 January 1919. This idea found advocates among Czech emigrants in the US, led by Hryhorii Zhatkovych. Beskyd and Zhatkovych supported the Czechoslovak delegation's exertions over Transcarpathia at the peace conference in Paris.

There were several Lemko activists in Beskyd's milieu, e.g. Dmytro Vislitsky of Łabowa, political journalist and at that time editor of "Golos Russkago Naroda" — the press organ of the Prešov Council, as well as O. Tykhansky and D. Sobin. Cooperation between Lemko Councils and the Council in Prešov soon developed. Police reports to district government offices told of intensified pro-Czechoslovak activity in the Lemko region. The reports contained the names of some activists, e.g. Andreiko, Rusenko, Tykhansky, Vislitsky.⁴⁶ Close contact was also maintained with Beskyd by Fr. M. Yurchakevych, I. Kachmarchyk and V. Kurylovych. The plan to incorporate the Lemko region into Czechoslovakia was propagated by political journalism and more importantly contained in a memorandum to the government in Prague and to the Peace Conference. Beskyd obtained no support in this matter from either Minister Eduard Beneš, or Zhatkovych, who were opposed to expanding Czechoslovakia into Carpathia.

Polish authorities at first passively observed the political involvement of Lemkos, attaching little importance to the pro-Ukrainian plans and even less to the pro-Russian ones. It was only with the appearance of these Czechophile tendencies that the state administration's concern was aroused. The Lemko region's entire southern segment adjoined the newly created Czechoslovak nation. Furthermore, the southern slope of the Carpathian Mountains was also inhabited by Rusyns. Both groups moved in dialects of the same language and with a few exceptions were members of the same Church. Czechophilism among Lemkos, in contrast to Moscovilism, was recognized as a danger to the Polish nation-state and provoked political reactions. The Polish population of the Nowy Sącz region also protested.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ V. Bubniak, M. Gromosiak, Fr. M. Felenchak, Y. Kachmarchyk, Fr. T. Kachmarchyk, A. Koldra, Fr. V. Kuryllo, V. Kurylovych, Fr. R. Pryslopsky, O. Saviuk, Fr. Y. Siekierzynsky, Y. Shatynsky, O. Tykhansky, O. Valnysky, Y. Voitovych and Fr. M. Yurchakevych — chairman of the organization called *Russian National Council of the Lemko Region*, and D. Sobin — secretary of that organization. See Z. Peška, I. Markov, op. cit., pp. 528–531.

⁴⁵ K. Grzymała, *Ruś Podkarpacka [Carpathian Ruthenia]*, BP-U, 1937, no. 1, p. 8.

⁴⁶ APK, SPG II, ref. # 8, Political issues, espionage on behalf of Germany, Russia and Czechoslovakia 1919–1923, p.n.n.

⁴⁷ In late January and early February 1919 a mass meeting took place in Nowy Sącz at which there were protests against "the Czech temptation and the Czech campaign in the Lemko region." See *Czesi na granicy słowacko-galicyskiej [Czechs on the Slovak-Galician Border]*, IKC, 1919, no. 33.

The Polish reaction led to quick pacification of the Lemko region. The leading Lemko activists were arrested, and close surveillance of those at liberty was begun. The last echo of the events of 1918 and 1919 was the trial of members of the Council in Florynka (Khylak, Gromosiak, Kachmarchyk), which took place on 10 June 1921 before the District Court in Nowy Sącz.⁴⁸ The accused were defended by the lawyers Kyrylo Churlunchakevych and Volodymyr Zahaikevych of Przemyśl and Lev Hankevych of Lviv. The defense successfully used an argument taken from American diplomacy which stated that the accused had acted according to Wilson's principles. After a trial lasting twelve hours, from 9:00 AM to 9:00 PM, the judges issued a verdict finding all of the accused not guilty. After six months under arrest they were freed and returned late at night together with their defense attorneys to Binczarowa, where they were guests of Fr. Teofil Kachmarchyk, father of one of the accused. L. Hankevych, a Ukrainian, remembered later that "Moscophiles and Ukrainian sat at one table and in perfect harmony discussed the fate of the Lemko region."⁴⁹ At that particular time, in the existing atmosphere of mutual hostility, such a meeting was surely an isolated incident.

The fate of both republics, in Wisłok and Florynka, reflected the path of the Lemko region's political development and the two-track tradition of national identity formation among Lemkos. They were significant differences between the activists from the East and those from the West of the region. The Wisłok Republic, being pro-Ukrainian, had a clearly defined political program from the start. With regard to the reigning mood throughout the historical Lemko region, however, the historian encounters difficulties in assessing the interwoven approaches: i.e., the pro-Ukrainian, pro-Russian, Czechophile, and also pro-Soviet. Making assessments is rendered more difficult still by the fact that sources employ the terms "Council," "Soviet," or "Republic" interchangeably in reference to the same institutions.

The emergence of the so-called Lemko Republics should be considered the first political engagement of the Lemkos. They showed a desire to participate in building the future of the region on the foundation of the Russo-Byzantine traditions cultivated there for centuries. This does not change the fact that the traditional divide into rival orientations beginning in the mid-19th century, the national (Ukrainian), Moscophile, and Old Rusyn, was maintained in the Second Republic as well.

⁴⁸ The trial records have disappeared and it is now difficult to define the scope of action and number of members of the Florynka "government." In the records of Nowy Sącz District there is a copy of the court sentence, see AP K, SP NS, ref. # 85, Presidial records of the County District Office in Nowy Sącz 1918–1923, p.n.n. The copy of the sentence has been published, see J. Moklak, *Republiki łemkowskie [The Lemko Republics]*, p. 69.

⁴⁹ L. Hankevych, op. cit., p. 6.

Chapter II

Moscophiles and Old Rusyns

A. Formation of the Pro-Russian Party

The development of Moscovism and the Old Rusyn movement in the Lemko region during the interwar period was closely connected with political movements which developed in the Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Sambir, Zolochiv, and Rava Ruska areas, and in other cities scattered around the former Eastern Galicia. Lemkos did not have forms of social or political organization evolving exclusively from their local traditions. The organizations in which they actively participated took form mainly through the inspiration of Lviv activists. This was a natural state of affairs, considering that the centers of all of the more important and influential provincial institutions were located in Lviv. The processes through which the structures of such institutions developed in the Lemko region must therefore be presented in the context of the activity in Lviv's political centers.

The fall of Tsarist Russia and the emergence of the Polish state brought about a revaluation in the political consciousness of many actors — hence pro-Polish, pro-Russian, and pro-communist sympathies equally became visible. The accumulated archival documents do not allow us to precisely separate out the above political tendencies in the immediate postwar period, yet they did find a place in the party called the Halych-Russian National Organization, heretofore HRNO, formed in 1919, whose executive organ was the Russian Executive Committee (*Russkii Iсполnitelnyi Komitet*) in Stanyslaviv.⁵⁰ The chaos was aggravated by the fact that — as Ivan Kedryn attests — this Committee recognized the authority of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, which could signify the entry of the Moscoviles on the path of identification with the Ukrainian movement. According to Kedryn, this process showed the capacity for growth, but was interrupted by the fall of the Ukrainian state.⁵¹

Echoes of these changes were heard in the Lemko region as well. On 18 October 1922 at the pre-election assembly in Krynica, at which the delegates from Lviv (Gensiorsky and Pelekhaty) made speeches in the Ukrainian literary language in which they identified with the Russian Executive Committee, and a Regional Committee was chosen for the Gorlice, Grybów and Nowy Sącz districts which included among its members Yaroslav Kachmarchyk and Metody Trokhanovsky. The former would later be linked with the Ukrainian current, while the latter would represent first the Moscoviles, and then the Old Rusyns.⁵²

The variety of political currents present in the HRNO made the organization internally disharmonious. In 1921 two camps took shape: the right wing (V. Trush, M. Bachynsky and others) and the left wing — a group of Communist-leaning activists grouped around the journal “Vola Naroda,” which would later be part of the sphere of activity of the Communist party of Western Ukraine.⁵³ Frequent mutual friction between the two camps led to a lasting break in 1923, brought on in large part by the decision of the Council of Ambassadors on 14

⁵⁰ I. Kedryn, *W poszukiwaniu metryki. Kilka uwag i faktów z dziejów powojennego moskalofilstwa galicyjskiego*, BP-U, 1937, no. 15, p. 163; AAN. KGPP, ref. # 44, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce, teksty wykładów [1935]*, p. 13.

⁵¹ I. Kedryn, *W poszukiwaniu metryki*, p. 163;

⁵² AP K, SP NS, ref. # 85, p.n.n.

⁵³ M. Andrusiak, *Zarys historii moskalofilstwa wśród Ukraińców halickich*, BP-U, 1933, no. 34–35, p. 6. See J. Radziejowski, *Komunistyczna partia Zachodniej Ukrainy, 1919–1929. Węzłowe problemy ideologiczne*, Kraków 1976.

March of that year granting the former Eastern Galicia to Poland.

This decision placed the Ukrainian movement in Poland in an entirely new situation. Above all, parties working toward Ukrainian independence ceased to hope for support from the *entente*, and realistically-minded Ukrainian politicians set about working through available parliamentary means. The continuing negative disposition toward Poland led on the one hand to a nationalist conspiracy oriented toward Lithuania and Germany, while it inclined Western Ukrainian public opinion in the direction of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the other, in the process deepening the pro-Soviet sympathies among a part of the Moscovophiles. The reactionary Moscovophile right remained faithful to the pan-Russian idea, while the Old Rusyns declared still stronger loyalty toward the Polish state, without abandoning their (specifically understood) Rusyn national consciousness.

A. 1 The Russian National Organization, 1923–1928

As a result of internal disunity in the HRNO, in May 1923 its right wing established the Provisional Russian National Committee (*Vremennyi Russkii Narodnyi Komitet*), which in November of that year was reconfigured as the Russian National Organization party (RNO, *Russka Narodna Organizatsiia*).⁵⁴ The RNO took a decidedly pro-Russian direction, which found expression in the resolutions of the party's first congress on 1 November. The congress brought together 342 delegates, who were united by a shared anti-Bolshevik stance and chose a 15-person supreme party organ — the Russian National Council (*Russkii Narodnyi Soviet*), whose members included the Lemko activist Orest Hnatyshak, at that time living in Przemyśl. The pan-Russian idea was strengthened within the RNO by the authority of Russian member Nikolai S. Sieriebrennikov (a deputy in the Polish *Sejm* — lower house of parliament), who was visiting Lviv with ever greater frequency. Under his influence a resolution was passed at the RNO Council meeting of 2 February 1924 endowing him with the right to represent the interests of “the Russian population” before county authorities and in the Polish parliament. The group was headed by Volodymyr Trush, principal of the state high school in Stanyslaviv, who fulfilled the function of RNO chairman.⁵⁵ The minority of Old Rusyns (M. Bachynsky and O. Lysiak) recognized the pan-Russian nature of the party.

Ties between RNO activists and activists for the Russian national minority from the Russian National Union (RZN) gradually became stronger. The RNO maintained influence over the M. Kachkovsky Society, the “Narodnyi Dom” (“People's Home”) Institute, the Stauropigion Institute, the network of trade co-operatives concentrated around the institution of the Rusyn Auditing Union (*Russkii Revizyinyi Soiuz*) and the weekly “Russkii Golos” (“Russian Voice”) published in Lviv in Russian under the editorship of Ivan Shkirpan.⁵⁶

The RNO Council was headed successively by V. Trush (1923–1925), Fr. Tytus Myshkovsky (1925) and Hryhorii Malets (1926–1928). Its political program accented the drive to obtain autonomy for “Russian lands in Poland.” There were hopes for the development of Russian education, the creation of Russian language faculties at the universities in Lviv and Vilnius, and that, in the future, a separate Russian university would be secured. During the party congress in Lviv on 29 June 1926 Mykhailo Sokhotsky (a lawyer in Turka and Sanok) stated that “The most severe injury to those of Russian nationality living on Polish territory [referring to the Rusyns of Galicia — JM] is the omission in the language

⁵⁴ *Russkii Narodnyi Siezd, 1 noiabria 1923 g. Rezolucii Siezda i Ustav Russkoi Narodnoi Organizatsiia s prylozheniem Rezolutsii Russkago Narodnago Sovieta ot 2 fievrala 1924 g.*, Lvov 1924, p. 3; I. Kedryn, *W poszukiwaniu metryki*, BP-U, 1937, no. 15, p. 163.

⁵⁵ *Russkii Narodnyi Siezd, 1 noiabria 1923 g.*, p. 3–4, 7–8, 11; DALO, f. 1, op. 58, case # 581, *Otchiety o siezdakh i sobraniakh chlenov russofil'skogo obshchestva “Russkaia Narodnaia Organizatsiia,” 1926–1927*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ AAN, MSW, microfilm 25607, p. 10.

laws of the rights of the Russian language.”⁵⁷ The territory in which the RNO was active included the area whose centers were Brody, Kamionka Strumilova, Turka, Zboriv, Zolochiv and the three counties of the Lviv voivodeship inhabited by Lemkos: Krosno, Lesko and Sanok. Reports of the RNO's activities in the period 1923–1926 do not mention the counties of the Kraków voivodeship. The only representative of the Lemko region among the higher party authorities at the time was Fr. Kyrylo Chaikovsky from Mszana.⁵⁸

Accounts by the starosts of RNO action in particular counties sent to the Lviv Voivodeship Office in July 1926 told of relatively low levels of activity. In many districts, e.g. in Jarosław, the party did not have a branch, while in others there appeared a phenomenon of Moscophiles and Old Rusyns moving to the Ukrainian camp, e.g. in the counties of Drohobych, Brzozów and Lesko. The starosts' accounts also contained information about the Polonophile movement in some provincial branches of the RNO, e.g. in Sokal, though these always had neighboring groups of activists connected with Sieriebrennikov.

Sieriebrennikov's political flirtation with top-level Lviv Moscophiles quickly brought the desired results. Slogans from the propaganda he put out had their effect on the resolutions taken by the RNO Congress in Lviv on 29 June 1926. After Sieriebrennikov's speech, in which he spoke of “the spirit of the true Russian nation,” Malets spoke. He stated that the Russian world, by virtue of its greatness and culture, held a magnetic power over the tribes of “Rus,” and spoke out against the Polish government, accusing it of supporting “Ukrainian and Byelorussian separatism.” The course of the congress's deliberations strengthened Sieriebrennikov in his conviction that the Polish congress of the RZN (Russian National Union) could be held in Lviv. The participation of the RZN and RNO in a joint congress was to create a broad front of political struggle for Russians in Poland. The congress was planned for 4 December 1926, but met two months later, on 2 February 1927.⁵⁹

The main host and organizer was Malets. The preparatory work and debates were actively participated in by B. Lelavskii, M. Sokhotsky, A. Polishchuk (a merchant from Brody), and others. The Lemko region was represented by Fr. Chaikovsky, who read a welcoming telegram “from the Lemko region.” Resolutions passed by the congress spoke of agrarian reform which would take into consideration the rights and needs of the “Russian population.” The calls for faculties of Russian language and literature as well as Russian history at the universities of Lviv and Vilnius were repeated. A great deal of space was devoted to religious issues, above all the Eastern Orthodox Church, which was represented at the congress by, among others, Fr. Mikhail Ivaskov, a Russian from Volhynia, active in the development of Eastern Orthodoxy in the Lemko region in the late 1920s. The assertion, already made at the RNO congress in June 1926, that the RZN stood in defense of “the [Orthodox] Church's independence from Rome and rulers,” was repeated. The congress's deliberations were conducted in Russian.⁶⁰

Participation in the congress of the RZN was a test of the political attitudes of RNO leaders. The congress confirmed the traditional division existing within the party, i.e. between extreme Moscophiles and pro-Polish Old Rusyns. Moreover, doubts emerged among some supporters of Sieriebrennikov as to the wisdom of spreading the Russian idea in the Lviv region. The head Moscophiles, V. Trush, A. Syvuliak, and M. Tretiak, did not take part in the congress, nor did Old Rusyns with pro-Polish connections.⁶¹

The integration of the top leadership of the RNO and RNZ which took place in February and March brought in its wake significant results for both organizations. Both

⁵⁷ DALO, f. 1, op. 58, case # 581, p. 3.

⁵⁸ AAN, MSW, microfilm 25607, p. 11.

⁵⁹ SN, 1927, no. 1, p. 62.

⁶⁰ SN, 1927, no. 1, p. 62 and no. 2, p. 180.

⁶¹ DALO, f. 1, op. 58, case # 581, pp. 66, 67.

organizations, formally independent, energized their activity in many areas of social and political life. According to the report on RNO activity filed by Mykhailo Marko at the congress in Lviv on 16 June 1927, the organization had county branches in Kamianka Strumilowa, Krosno, Sambir, Sanok, Sokal and Zhovkva. Its operations were not limited to the area of the Polish Republic. In the period referred to in the report (29 June 1926 to 16 June 1927) the RNO sent delegates to the congress of the League of National Minorities in Geneva.⁶²

A.2 The Russian Peasant Organization, 1928–1939

On 7 June 1928 the RNO General Council called a nationwide congress in Lviv. The congress was participated in by 129 delegates from the southeastern voivodeships. At the petition of Roman Durkot from Kulikovo, the congress approved the change of the party's name to the Russian Peasant Organization (RSO, *Russka Selianska Organizatsiia*); this party entered into the composition of the Russian National Union (RZN) as an autonomous unit.⁶³ The resolution was a product of the ideology of Galician Moscovophiles, which postulated the existence of one pan-Russian nation, divided into subordinate nations: Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian, and the existence of only one literary language for that nation — the Russian language. In the thought which formed this conception, the Ukrainian language had the right to exist as the language of part of the Russian population, as a regional language or — from a philological perspective — as a dialect of Russian language, while the Ukrainian people had the right to their own state, but did not have the right to a *gosudarstvo*, or superstate, which could only be Russian.⁶⁴ As a result of lively program discussions with the participation of Sieriebrennikov, a series of resolutions indicating the pro-Russian and pro-Orthodox character of the party, its opposition to the Polish Republic and hostility to Ukrainian factions, was passed.

The most important resolutions at the congress stated:

- the RSO's demand that the Russian population be given free rein to develop as a nation, since “the Polish constitution does not divide citizens into categories”;
- the congress's recognition of deputy Pavel Korol (voted in 1928 — JM) as the one representative of the Russian population in the Sejm and refused to accept representation from deputies of any Ukrainian party, calling Ukrainians “murderers of Rusyns”;
- the congress's protest against the policy of crediting state banking institutions who denied credit to the Rusyn Auditing Union (*Russkii Revizyinyi Soiuz*) in Lviv;
- the congress's call for Old Rusyns loyal to the Polish Republic to subordinate themselves to the RSO;
- the congress's branding of the actions of the head authorities of the Greek Catholic Church in Lviv as “narrowly partisan, chauvinistic and unworthy of the teaching of Christ.”⁶⁵

It was decided that the press organ of the RSO and also temporarily of the RZN (a decision testifying to the low level of active participation by ethnic Russians) would be the Russian-language “*Russkii Golos*,” published in Lviv, while the periodical “*Zemlia i Volia*” printed in a language closer to Ukrainian was designated for the rural population. The RSO recognized the following Lviv cultural, educational, and economic institutions as belonging to

⁶² Ibid., p. 83.

⁶³ The contents of the statement declaring accession to the RSO began with the words: “Please accept me, according to my nationality as a citizen of the Russian countryside...”. Quoted from CDIAL, f. 394, op. 1, case # 7, *Blanky zaiaav pro pryiom w chleny Ruskoi Selianskoi organizatsii*, pp. 1,2,3.

⁶⁴ I. Kedryn, *W poszukiwaniu metryki...*, p. 164.

⁶⁵ CDIAL, f. 130, op. 1, case # 39, *Rezalucii kraievoho zizdu delehativ Halytsko-ruskoi natsionalnoi orhanizatsii — “Russka selianska organizatsiia” vid 7 chervnia 1928 r. pro politychne stanovyshe moskvofiliv*, pp. 1–2.

it: the Stauropegion Institute, the “Narodnyi Dom” Institute (which, however, remained in the possession of Old Rusyns) and the Rusyn Auditing Union. The Kachkovsky society, however, would exist as a separate institution, indirectly linked to the Central Council of the RSO through Malets and Tsebrynsky.

The congress appointed the first supreme authorities of the new party. Illia Vynnycky from Drohobych became Council Chairman. The Lemko region was represented in the Council by five representatives: Semen Vozniak of Krosno, Osyp Hukevych of Sanok, Teodor Voitovych of Uście Ruskie, Teodor Fedak of Polan (in Krosno County) and Fr. Chaikovsky.

In the Lemko region RSO chapters first appeared in the Lviv voivoideship, in the counties of Sanok and Krosno. The circumstances in which the party developed were different, however, and the social background of its members also differed. While the RSO in Krosno County was founded mainly by peasants, in Sanok it was composed of the intelligentsia. There were also important confessional differences: in Krosno County the majority were converts to Eastern Orthodoxy, while in Sanok they were Greek Catholics.

Already before, in the period when RNO structures were being built in Krosno County, confessional conflicts among Lemkos had been taken advantage of. Political rallies were organized among Orthodox believers. One of the first was the rally in Tylawa held on 16 November 1926, which attracted about 900 participants, mostly inhabitants of Tylawa and Trzciana. The presence there of prominent Lviv Moscovophiles R. Vavrik, M. Tsebrynsky, and Sieriebrennikov, indicates the political importance of the meeting. In their speeches, they spoke out in harsh terms against the Ukrainian idea and the Greek Catholic clergy. The rally's first resolution spoke of the necessity for Lemkos to recognize only one party, the RNO, predecessor of the RSO.⁶⁶

One of the most active Orthodox priests was Mikhail Ivaskov, delegated by Metropolitan Dionizy to the post of administrator for Tylawa. Together with Teodor Fedak he organized local RSO congresses in Ciechania, Mszana, Myscowa, Olchowiec, Polany and Tylawa. As a result of Ivaskov and Chaikovsky's operations, and those of local operatives M. Bankovsky, T. Fedak, P. Haida, P. Kashchak and I. Viityk, a county congress of the RSO was organized in Tylawa for 30 December 1928.⁶⁷ Over 70 delegates from over a dozen villages in Krosno County attended the congress. The program speakers were Fr. M. Ivaskov and T. Fedak. The congress selected the RSO County Committee with Ivan Yadlovsky from Tylawa as chairman.⁶⁸ Resolutions passed at the congress placed a duty upon members to broaden the party's influence in the region by forming new local committees and libraries named for Kachkovsky. Through ties with Eastern Orthodoxy, the RSO developed its agendas in the Kraków voivodeship and in the counties of Grybów, Gorlice and Jasło as well. To a small extent this process occurred in Nowy Sącz County also.

The situation was completely different in Sanok County, where Eastern Orthodoxy was prominent in only two places, Lipowiec and Czeremcha. The Sanok region in many aspects of its social and political life gravitated toward Lviv. In Sanok since the second half of the nineteenth century the Lemko and Boiko elements of the Old Rusyn intelligentsia, who after the outbreak of world war stood faced with a choice of national identity, were quite

⁶⁶ AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 928, *Sprawy osobowe księży. Antypaństwowa działalność kleru greckokatolickiego w Małopolsce*, p. 322.

⁶⁷ The RSO committee in Tylawa elected at the meeting of 9 December 1928 consisted of: I. Kyrpan — chairman, I. Liitsyshyn — secretary, M. Kukuliak — treasurer. The committee in Mszana consisted of: T. Broda — chairman, A. Grabsky — secretary, A. Bankovsky — treasurer, O. Hidnyk and M. Baly — members. See “Zemlia i Volia,” 1929, no. 52, p. 4.

⁶⁸ The remaining members of the committee were: P. Petryk (Zyndranowa) — deputy chairman, I. Kyrpan (Tylawa) — secretary, S. Fedak (Mszana) — treasurer, I. Dytko (Polany), P. Baran (Trzcianne), H. Glovatsky (Barvinok) — members. See “Russkii Golos,” 1929, no. 6, p. 3.

numerous. The Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918–1919 tipped the scales in favor of the Ukrainian national movement, eliminating to a considerable extent the old pro-Russian and Old Rusyn spirit there. The process mainly involved young activists, while the older ones either did not want to or could not break away from the ideas with which they had grown up, and remained faithful to Moscovism or to the Old Rusyn idea.

The peasant population participated in the creation of local RSO centers above all for pragmatic reasons, expecting an improvement in living conditions, improved social organization, a higher level of civilization in the region, etc. Local exponents taking action in agreement with the Central Council of the party came out against such expectations. The first RSO congress for the entire Lemko region, which took place in Sanok on 2 February 1929, had as its slogan the struggle “for political cultural and economic rights for Lemko Rus.” The organizers of the congress expected participation of delegates from eight counties, but in view of unfavorable climatic conditions (severe frost, -33°C) delegates came from only four nearby counties. The proceedings were opened by Yevhen Shatynsky, chairman of the RSO District Committee in Sanok. Discussion was preceded by program papers delivered by delegates to the Central Council: Yurchakevych and Hrabets. Activists from Sanok also took the floor: Y. Shatynsky, M. Muzychka, D. Gensiorsky. There were protests against the Ukrainian movement, chiefly UNDO (the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance), and accusations against Ukrainian politicians of working to eliminate the concepts of “Rus” and “Rusyns” from public life. In view of the absence of delegates from the Kraków voivodeship, it was resolved to call an all-Lemko peasant congress from the whole Lemko region in Sanok in March 1929.⁶⁹

The party's local structures in the Kraków voivodeship developed parallel to those in other voivodeships. The first local RSO committees to spring up were in Grybów County. Among the most industrious activists were Yurii Khokholak and Yuliiian Halkovych of Bogusza, Vasyl Didovych of Binczarowa, and, from Śnietnica, Sofron Krynytsky and Zakhar Stavysky. These also worked actively on behalf of legalizing the institutions of Eastern Orthodoxy developing on its parallel track. In the spring of 1930 this led to the establishment of the first RSO structures in Grybów County. The congress of delegates from particular villages took place in Florynka on 27 April and brought into being the County Committee for Grybów County. Just as had occurred at the Sanok congress, one of the program speeches was given by A. Batenchuk, visiting from Lviv, delegate to the Central Council, a Lemko from Węglówka (Vanivka). Aside from political issues, he spoke penetratingly on economic matters, which dominated the discussion.⁷⁰

The organizational development of RSO encountered difficulties from the BBWR (Partyless Bloc for Cooperation with the Government), in collaboration with which activists from the Old Rusyn milieu worked. After the experience of the 1928 elections, which gave the Lemko region no representative in parliament (Korol, elected in that cycle, was from Biała Podlaska), a large number of Lemkos, hitherto sympathetic to the RSO, tended increasingly towards supporting the BBWR. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the RSO lost the 1930 elections, in spite of an active campaign in the Lemko counties. Nevertheless, even in places where the party's organizational structure was relatively feeble, i.e. in Nowy Sącz and Gorlice counties, local RSO election committees were formed.⁷¹

The first period of the RSO's development was ended by the deliberations of the

⁶⁹ “Russkii Golos,” 1929, no. 7, p. 3; “Zemlia i Volia,” 1929, no. 54, p. 4.

⁷⁰ The Grybów committee consisted of V. Dubets and H. Habura (Florynka). Y. Drozhdzhak (Królów Ruska), H. Kosovsky and Z. Stavysky (Śnietnica), Y. Porutsidlo (Czyrna), V. Rydzanych (Banica), M. Kuziak (Wawrzka), D. Trokhanovsky (Binczarowa), P. Slyva (Bogusza) and M. Zhuk (Kamianna). See “Zemlia i Volia,” 1930, no. 18, p. 3.

⁷¹ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 272, *Sprawozdania sytuacyjne wojewody krakowskiego (1930)*, p. 77.

Second Nationwide Congress of the organization, which took place in Lviv on 25 December 1931. M. Marko, rapporteur from Lviv, spoke of the more than three years of RSO activity and revealed that a total of 116 RSO local committees throughout the area of the three southeastern Polish voivodeships. In the case of the Lemko region only the Lemkos in the Nowy Targ and Jasło counties did not have separate County Committees. The delegates from the Lemko region, Ivan Bankovsky of Mszana, Semen Handiak of Świerzowa Ruska, and E. Mokrytsky of Sanok, underscored the importance of economic issues in the shaping of Lemkos' political attitudes. These remarks were applied in the formulation of content of congress resolutions on the matter of solutions and methods for further development of party structures in the provinces. To this purpose the five-person Initiative Commission was formed, in which the Lemko region was represented by Ivan Basalyga of Kunkowa. The congress chose the new Central Council, which once again included several representatives from the Lemko region. Fr. Chaikovsky and S. Vozniak kept their places in the Council, while Voitovych and Fedak were replaced by other peasants: I. Basalyga and Vasyl Dubets of Florynka. The district of Sanok was represented by Andrii Madeia.⁷²

Before 1932 the RSO did not deal with the Lemko problem as a separate issue in its organizational work. The terms “Lemko” and “the Lemko region” are used in party documents, it is true, but this resulted rather from respect for regional autonomy than political reasons. Because in 1932 the first signs of the nation's regional policy were already visible, and the Lemko question was raised with increasing frequency by Ukrainian circles, discussions of Lemko region issues also appeared in the pages of the Moscovophile press. The RSO central authorities saw symptoms of separatism in some Lemko milieux as early as 1930, when elections were held; e.g. on the County Committee in Gorlice. The editors of “Zemlia i Volia” were informed of the existence of separatist tendencies among Gorlice activists by an anonymous letter, but after the note was printed the leading activists in the county (D. Bubniak, K. Bodak, M. Yurkovsky, V. Maletsky, Y. Siokalo, T. Voitovych) resolved at a County Committee meeting to send a clarification to the editors denying the Gorlice group's secession from the RSO.⁷³ Sending the clarification could be a tactical move demonstrating the desire to continue relations with the RSO despite growing Old Rusyn tendencies within it, which just then were finding support from state administrators. This attitude among leaders of the Lemko movement may show that they were caught between the Scylla of the Polish Republic authorities and the Charybdis of the RSO, endeavoring to attain the most advantageous position for themselves.

The issue of Gorlice's secession was strongly felt in Lviv RSO circles. In the aftermath of that event, the Central Council took steps toward strengthening the organizational movement in Gorlice and in other counties of the Kraków voivodeship. The campaign was directed on behalf of the Council by Fr. Chaikovsky and Volodymyr (vel Kornel) Kutsii, residents of Gorlice. The first link of the planned enterprise was the congress of delegates from the Grybów area called by Kutsii for 22 May 1932 in Florynka. The congress, chaired by Fr. Chaikovsky, gathered around 400 people from the surrounding area. Representatives of the Gorlice region Y. Siokalo, S. Krushynsky, and S. Tsiuryk also took part.⁷⁴ The discussion touched on a series of problems relating to economic, cultural, educational, confessional and political issues. The discussants: M. Kuziak (Wawrzka), T. Shlakhtych, V. Dubets and H. Vilchansky (Florynka), and especially Krushynsky (Gorlice), talked of the harmful nature of social and religious conflicts, taking up the energy of Lemko society and making a

⁷² DALO, f. 1, op. 51, case # 1231, *Dielo obshchestva im. Mikhaila Kachkovskogo vo Lvovie*, vol. 4, 1930–1931, p. 9.

⁷³ The author of the report was said to be I. Kachmarchyk of Męcina. See “Zemlia i Volia,” 1931, no. 12, p. 3.

⁷⁴ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 277, pp. 172, 173.

consolidation of forces impossible.⁷⁵ In order to complete the integration of the Lemkos associated with the RSO, Kutsii exhibited in his speech the tragic moments in the life of the Rusyns in the 19th and 20th centuries, drawing particular attention to the Talerhof. The congress chose the Broader Committee including the Grybów region and neighboring regions.⁷⁶ The committee was given the task of carrying out a propaganda campaign, wide in scope, in the counties of Gorlice and Nowy Sącz. It is difficult to evaluate the results of the congress from today's perspective, all the more since according to police reports the population "did not show interest and reacted to the speakers' arguments with pessimism."⁷⁷

Despite different attitudes among peasants toward RSO ideology, the congress confirmed the durability of the organizational structure in the Kraków voivodeship. The leading representatives of the Grybów Committee undertook the mission of creating a Gorlice center closely linked with the Lviv center. V. Dubets and D. Voitovych were active participants in the congress specially organized for that purpose in Smerekowiec on 12 June 1932. About 200 peasants and members of the intelligentsia took part. A program speech was made by Sofron Krushynsky of Gorlice. After his speech the congress voted to make itself fully subordinate to the Central Council of the RSO. The discussion also dealt with economic problems of the countryside, and T. Voitovych answered numerous questions on this subject. At the end a new County Committee was chosen for Gorlice County with headquarters in Gorlice. Yaroslav Siokalo, who in late 1928 moved his law chambers from Borynia in Turka County to Gorlice and became involved in Lemko political life, was named chairman of the committee.⁷⁸

Summer and autumn of 1932 were a time of intensive development of the RSO in the Gorlice and Grybów regions. Its local committees were particularly active in Bartne, Brunary Wyżne, Czarne, Florynka, Królowa Ruska, Męcina Wielka, Smerekowiec, Śnietnica and Uście Ruskie. The most energetic actors in the area were I. Basalyga, Y. Khokholak, V. Dubets, S. Felenchak, S. Krushynsky, S. Krynytsky, V. Kutsii, Y. Mokhnatsky, Y. Siokalo, D. Voitovych and T. Voitovych.⁷⁹

Toward the end of 1932 the RSO Central Council in Lviv prepared a multitiered plan for organizational work in the Lemko region. The plan was presented during the congress comprising the entire region convoked expressly for that purpose in Gorlice on 15 October, gathering delegates from the counties of Gorlice, Jasło, Krosno and Nowy Sącz.⁸⁰ During the first part of the meeting a program speech was delivered by Fr. Chaikovsky, expressing the important role of the Lemko region as a "Rusyn stronghold" in the political struggle in which the RSO was engaged. He proposed that a special organ in charge of all matters of public life be established for the Lemko region. Chaikovsky's plan, developed beforehand in the narrow confines of the Central Council, reflected changes from the previous RSO stance toward the Lemko region. The Lviv authorities recognized the specific nature of the Lemko region and

⁷⁵ Ibid., ref. # 352, *Sprawozdania sytuacyjne tygodniowe, miesięczne Starostwa Powiatowego w Nowym Sączu 1930–1933*, p.n.n.

⁷⁶ The Broader RSO Committee in Grybów consisted of: V. Didovych (Binczarowa), M. Dubets, V. Dubets and H. Habura (Florynka), Y. Dolupko and S. Durkot (Polany), H. Kosovsky and S. Krynytsky (Śnietnica), M. Kuziak (Wawrzka), V. Kysilovsky and D. Voitovych (Brunary Wyżne), Y. Porucidlo (Czyrna), M. Skarlosh (Królowa Ruska), P. Slyva (Bogusza), M. Zhuk (Kamianna). See "Zemlia i Volia," 1932, no. 22, p. 1.

⁷⁷ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 352, p.n.n.

⁷⁸ The full membership of the Gorlice RSO Committee: S. Tsiuryk (Smerekowiec), M. Duda (Skwirtne), T. Dziamba (Zdynia), S. Felenchak (Bartne), S. Yachechak (Nowica), I. Kachmarchyk (Męcina), V. Maletsky (Klimkówka), D. Shkirpan (Małastów). P. Vanko (Czarne) and S. Krushynsky, Y. Siokalo and T. Voitovych. See "Zemlia i Volia," 1932, no. 25, p. 3.

⁷⁹ "Zemlia i Volia," 1932, no. 35, p. 2 and no. 37, p. 3..

⁸⁰ No representatives of the Sanok region took part in the congress. See "Zemlia i Volia," 1932, no. 43, p. 2.

created a separate Lemko organizational unit within the party. It was clear that with regard to the regional policy conducted by state authorities, nurturing Lemko separatism and bringing the Lemkos closer to the BBWR, there was some probability that the ranks of the RSO would be dissolved. The Central Council took the view that maintaining political influence on the Lemko region depended on recognizing its distinct culture and taking that into consideration in the party structure.

The plan presented by Chaikovsky was approved with satisfaction by the congress participants, since it corresponded to the delegates' expectations. The newly created organ was designated the Lemko Committee and enjoyed considerably greater acceptance than the RSO District Committee in Sanok or the RSO Broader Committee which covered the Lemko community in the Kraków voivodeship. Its popularity was apparently decided by the use of the term "Lemko" in the name. This tactical move by the Central Council testified to their being well-informed on Lemko issues and the importance which the RSO attributed to the Lemko region. The committee was made up of one representative from each county inhabited by Lemkos: Orest Hnatyshak (Nowy Sącz County), Dmytro Voitovych (the former Grybów County)⁸¹, Yaroslav Siokalo (Gorlice County), Lev Stakhursky of Hałbów (Jasło County), Stepan Herenchak of Tylawa (Krosno County). No representative from Sanok County was chosen, but a place was reserved for one on the committee. On the other hand, no place was allotted for representatives of the Lemkos in the counties of Brzozów, Lesko and Nowy Targ, despite the fact that the committee represented their interests as well.⁸²

The committee's task was to give assistance, broadly understood, to the Lemko region in its economic, cultural, and educational development. For this purpose, the committee committed to establishing official connections with Lemko emigrant communities in North America. Chaikovsky went so far as to present a list of 30 persons residing in the United States, to whom special letters requesting their cooperation were sent. The committee's work program contained four separate sections, corresponding to four departments: finance (S. Krushynsky, Y. Siokalo), cooperation (I. Bankovsky, I. Basalyga, V. Kutsii), culture and education (S. Durkot, S. Krushynsky, P. Masara) and schooling (I. Rusenko, M. Trokhanovsky, O. Vislotsky).

The finance department's task was the collection and disbursement of funds. The department of cooperation was appointed to form trade cooperatives and mutual aid funds. It supervised the inspectors of the Auditing Union of Rusyn Cooperatives (RSRK, *Revizyinyi Soiuz Russkikh Kooperativ*), who fulfilled the function of instructors. At the Gorlice congress it was resolved to create three permanent inspector positions, to be maintained by the RSRK and with money obtained from voluntary taxation of the Lemko population.⁸³ The funds collected in this way were also used for the work of the cultural and educational department, which mainly was responsible for the promotion of reading and the duties of the school commission.

The main figure in the latter institution was Metody Trokhanovsky, who reported on the state of education in the Lemko region. At his proposal, the task of developing and introducing into schools a primer in the Lemko idiom was officially undertaken. Fr. Chaikovsky, as representative of the Lviv authorities, supported the project, a measure of common ground in the struggle against Ukrainian schooling. One of the congress resolutions addressed to the state school authorities was devoted to this question. Shortly thereafter Trokhanovsky joined the Old Rusyn camp.

Chaikovsky's project relating to the development of journalism in the Lemko dialect

⁸¹ Though Grybów County at that point no longer existed, recognition was given to the party structures established before its dissolution (1932).

⁸² "Zemlia i Volia," 1932, no. 43, p. 2

⁸³ The monthly tax figures were: intelligentsia 2–5 zloty, peasants — 10 groszy.

had an important place in the discussions of the congress. This attests to the desire to keep the Lemkos in the RSO sphere of influence even at the price of recognizing Lemko separatism. In previous years, readers of “Zemlia i Volia” had voiced proposals for creating a separate section of the paper in the Lemko dialect. True, there had been opposing voices among Lemkos themselves, underscoring the difficulties due to significant existing differences in the dialects of different regions, but the RSO judged that staunch opposition on this issue could expose the party to the risk of losing the support of many Lemkos, especially since the idea of a Lemko newspaper was not a new one. In 1928 there was an irregularly published newspaper called “Lemko,” issued to meet the needs of the BBWR's electoral campaign; in Ukrainian circles as well, the thought of issuing a Lemko periodical had been gestating.

The creation of a superordinate organ of the RSO for the Lemko region, such as was the Lemko Committee in Gorlice, went in tandem with the further build-up of county structures. The main concern was the counties of Nowy Sącz and Jasło. Two weeks after the Gorlice congress, on 23 October, the RSO county congress for Nowy Sącz County met in Krynica Wieś. The program principles of the RSO were enunciated by V. Kutsii — representative of the Central Council. S. Krynytsky spoke in the name of the Committee of the Grybów Region. The congress, in which approximately 200 delegates participated, created a new County Committee for Nowy Sącz under the leadership of Anton Stanchak of Andrzejówka.⁸⁴ The Krynica congress approved the program of the Gorlice Lemko Committee.⁸⁵

The furthest behind in the development of RSO structure was Jasło County. Despite the participation of that county's delegate in the all-Lemko congress in Gorlice, there was no county committee there. Delegates from several local committees who had taken part in the congress in Czarne on 18 September 1932 undertook to create a party structure in Jasło County. However it was only after the Gorlice congress that, due to Chaikovsky and Kutsii's efforts, the process culminated in a county RSO congress in Świątkowa Wielka (6 November), at which the resolutions of the Gorlice congress were confirmed. Execution of the party's tasks was entrusted to the newly chosen County Committee for Jasło County under the chairmanship of Danylo Yankovych of Świątkowa Wielka.⁸⁶

In autumn of 1932 the entire area of the Lemko region was covered by the RSO structure — from local committees through county and regional committees as well as the Lemko Committee in Gorlice. RSO centers in the Jasło and Krosno counties were loosely connected with the Gorlice center. The Lemko population in this latter gravitated more towards the Sanok center.

In late 1932 and early 1933 a confrontation erupted between the two centers. Sanok had a longer tradition of Moscovophile activity, a larger intelligentsia and better-organized socioeconomic life, as well as more cultural and educational associations. For these reasons it claimed precedence in the role of cultural and political center. The formation of the Lemko Committee in Gorlice, however, which in the intent of the resolution constituted co-optation of the representatives of Sanok County, clearly shifted the center of RSO political life from Sanok to Gorlice.

This state of affairs continued for barely four months. Toward the end of December

⁸⁴ The full membership of the committee: K. Tykhansky (Wojkowa), H. Gromosiak (Krynica Wieś), Y. Harbera (Mochnaczka Niżna), L. Krainiak (Złockie), S. Kulanda (Łabowa), P. Kuzma (Nowa Wieś), Y. Petryk (Krynica Wieś), I. Pyroh (Milik), B. Rusyniak (Wierchomla Wielka), M. Senko (Tylicz), A. Stanchak (Andrzejówka), A. Venhrynovych (Powroźnik). See “Zemlia i Volia,” 1932, no. 44, p. 2.

⁸⁵ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 352, p.n.n.

⁸⁶ The full membership of the committee: S. Dytko (Pielgrzymka), D. Yankovych (Świątkowa Wielka), F. Kasych (Jaworze), V. Komanetsky (Świątkowa Mała), F. Mishko (Świerzowa Ruska), Y. Sosenko (Desznica), F. Sydoryk (Kotań). See “Zemlia i Volia,” 1932, no. 42, p. 3.

1933 plans were made in Sanok RSO circles to hold a congress of the “shop-stewards” of that organization from the Sanok district, i.e., from Brzozów, Krosno, Lesko and Sanok counties, for the purpose of discussing the party's duties in relation to the attempts of the Lemko elite in the Kraków voivodeship to establish its independence. The congress took place on 18 February 1933 in Sanok.⁸⁷ Fr. Chaikovsky, representing the RSO Central Council, one of the creators of the Committee in Gorlice, took part. His presence at both congresses was a reflection of Lviv activists' attitudes toward Lemko matters; they undoubtedly had some misgivings about accepting the existence of two separately acting committees. At the beginning of the deliberations Chaikovsky put forth a petition for the convocation of a Galicia Broader Lemko Committee to unite the Gorlice and Sanok centers, and to be tightly connected with the RSO Central Council in Lviv. Implementation of this idea turned out to be impossible due to the absence of delegates from the Kraków voivodeship. Of the members of the Lemko Committee in Gorlice, only S. Herenchak of Tylawa came to Sanok, but he represented local RSO branches in Krosno County.

In view of the absence of delegates from the western region, the congress decided to establish a Committee for the Eastern Lemko Region with headquarters in Sanok, simultaneously recognizing the Gorlice Committee as representing the Western Lemko Region. The board of the newly chosen committee included: Andrii Madeia, Emanuil Mokrytsky and Lev Yavorsky of Sanok, Yosyf Perelom of Dukla, Yosyf Sobolevsky of Kostarowce, Yosyf Fedak of Srogów Górny, Mykola Hnizdur of Olchowiec and Ivan Halyk of Czerteż. The appointed committee divided its members into three departments: finance, cooperation, and culture and education. The congress empowered the Sanok committee to negotiation with the Gorlice center for the purpose of appointing an all-Lemko National Committee.⁸⁸

In contradistinction to the resolutions of the Gorlice congress of 15 October 1932, the Sanok congress stood much more firmly on a foundation of pan-Russian ideology. The delegates at the congress, in contrast to the situation existing in Gorlice, did not concern themselves at all with the question of teaching the Lemko dialect in schools or printing periodicals in that dialect. In matters of language, the Sanok congress took a firm position in favor of teaching the Russian literary language in popular schools and called for the establishment of a faculty of Russian language at the University of Lviv.⁸⁹ A separate resolution dealt with party discipline and underscored the necessity for the cooperation of all social organizations in the Lemko region with the RSO central headquarters in Lviv.

Significant changes in the political life of the Lemko region occurred in 1933. The party structure of the RSO was destabilized by the activation of the Old Rusyn current. In December of that year the Old Rusyns created an organization bearing the name of the Lemko Association (*Lemko-Soiuz*), whose membership included representatives of the RSO Lemko Committee in Gorlice. In view of this, the plans to establish a unified all-Lemko national committee within the party by joining the Gorlice and Sanok committees were laid to waste.

Considering the importance which the RSO central authorities attached to the Lemko Region as one of the few regions which held onto its former Rusyn consciousness, the Lemko question was one of the main issues under discussion during the Third Nationwide Congress of the party in Lviv on 26 December 1933. This congress brought approximately 80 delegates from 32 counties, including members of the Gorlice committee as well, who were at the same time members of the Lemko Association, officially standing opposed to the pan-Russian ideology. What is more, certain leaders of the Association, such as Orest Hnatyshak and

⁸⁷ SN, 1933, no. 1, pp. 77–79. E. Mokrytsky was elected chairman of the congress, deputy chairman— Y. Sobolevsky, sekretaries — T. Stefanyshyn and I. Halyk (student). See “Zemlia i Volia,” 1933, no. 11, pp. 1–2.

⁸⁸ SN, 1933, no. 1, p. 78

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Serhii Durkot, became members of the newly appointed RSO Central Council.⁹⁰ The Gorlice committee representatives' attitude may attest to their still-unformed political consciousness or to a pragmatism which led them to look for the most profitable solution possible.

At the Third Congress of the RSO, loosening the party structure was broadly discussed. The creation of the Lemko Association was pronounced a sign of the violation of party discipline. Sofron Krynytsky of Śnietnica, a member of the RSO county committee, spoke publicly against the Lemko Association and the "Lemko" newspaper. Blame for the state of affairs which had arisen was placed not on the Lemko activists of Gorlice, however, but on the Polish government, which was accused of conducting a regional policy of "wrecking the unity of the Rusyn nation."⁹¹ It appears this is explicable in terms of the continued presence of the founders of the Lemko Association among the ranks of the RSO.

The subsequent Fourth Congress of the RSO which took place in Lviv on 26 December 1934 appointed other active members of the Gorlice and Nowy Sącz committees to the Central Council: Yaroslav Siokalo of Gorlice and Semen Kulanda of Łabowa. Hnatyshak was again appointed for another term. Kulanda in his speech assured the congress participants that the Lemko population condemned the press organ of the Lemko Association, "Lemko." Other delegates from the Lemko region spoke words of harsh criticism directed at the Old Rusyn activists. Yuliiian Halkovych of Bogusza spoke in no uncertain terms: "The entire Rusyn peasantry of the Lemko region stands with the RSO. Grounds for suspicion of separatism can be provided only by the local *Lemko-Soiuz*, but among the peasants no one has taken part in its creation nor belongs to it." Yosyf Fedak of Srogów, on the other hand, said that: "We Lemkos are insulted by the fact that we stand accused of Lemko separatism. We were Russian and such we will remain."⁹² One of the resolutions approved by the congress declared struggle against "Ukrainian, Rusyn and Lemko" separatisms.⁹³ There was a nod to the side of Lemko autonomy in the form of the creation of a separate Lemko section of the RSO press organ designated for the people, "Zemlia i Volia."

Despite the RSO's internal organizational difficulties, it maintained full local structures in both the Lviv and Kraków voivodeships until the end of the interwar period. Organizational changes consisted only in the relocation of the headquarters of certain county committees, e.g. from Gorlice to Uście Ruskie in the case of Gorlice County.⁹⁴ The nationwide RSO congresses held in 1935 and 1937 confirmed the active involvement of Lemkos in executing the statutory goals of the party. A declaration which was pro-Russian in content was framed in local committees as well. One illustration of these moods may be, for example, the resolutions accepted by the committees in Gorlice and Nowy Sącz in 1936. The resolution of the RS conference in Kwiatów, passed on 2 August, stated that: "We feel ourselves to be Russians and categorically protest against being called Lemkos in a national sense."⁹⁵ Speeches were made against the "Lemko language" and Trokhanovsky's primer in Banica, Bogusza, Kwiatów, Leluchów, Smerekowiec and many other places, postulating the introduction instead of a "Galician Rusyn" [Russian — JM] primer.⁹⁶ The resolutions passed

⁹⁰ In addition to Hnatyshak and Durkot, the Lemko region was represented by K. Bodak (Rozdziele), Fr. K. Chaikovsky (Mszana), A. Shuflat (Węglówka), V. Maletsky (Klimkówka), and Y. Shatynsky (Sanok). See "Zemlia i Volia," 1934, no. 3, p. 2.

⁹¹ "Zemlia i Volia," 1934, no. 15, pp. 2–3.

⁹² CDIAL, f. 394, op. 1, case # 2, *Protokoły zboriv "ruskykh selanskykh orhanizatsii" u Horlytskomu, Zborivskomu ta Sianotskomu povitach (1935)*, p. 3.

⁹³ M. Baczyński, *Kwestia mniejszościowa oraz rola i metody opozycji mniejszościowej w odrodzonej Polsce*, Lwów 1935, p. 10.

⁹⁴ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 459, *Hazetni povidomlennia, zvity i inshi materiialy pro orhanizaciinu, finansovo-hospodarsku ta propahandystsku diialnist chytalni v seli Kvitoni, Horlytskoho povitu, 1934–1939*, p. 35.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ "Zemlia i Volia," 1936, no. 29, p. 3.

at the conference in Bielanka on 18 August were also against “Lemko separatism” and the proper noun “Lemko,” stating that Lemkos belonged to the “great 160-million-strong Russian nationality.”⁹⁷ These slogans were also repeated in resolutions of other local committees in various counties and were always reflected in the resolutions of RSO congresses.⁹⁸

For the Lemko population, the idea of economic, cultural and educational activity coordinated by the RSO was highly attractive. Intensively organized courses in farming drew peasants in. Rural farming courses for women were also conducted. The economic sphere of activity included courses to meet the needs of developing the trade cooperative movement, setting up and coordinating the operations of cooperatives which since the late 1920s had come into being even in the most far-flung Lemko areas. Thanks to such initiatives as these a considerable portion of Lemkos recognized the RSO as belonging to them. Consequently Lviv economic institutions which served the party were also acknowledged as their own.⁹⁹

The party achieved even greater popularity among Lemkos due to its fostering of military traditions, especially the martyrology of the Lemkos placed in Austro-Hungarian internment camps. An object of particular commemoration was the camp in Talerhof. “Talerhof congresses,” organized in many localities, reminded Lemkos of their wartime sufferings. These congresses automatically became platforms for RSO ideologues, who took advantage of the fertile ground for agitation provided by hostility to the Ukrainian movement. Their contribution to the universalization among Lemkos of a feeling of otherness toward Ukrainians was considerable.

The springboard for the Ukrainian movement was Eastern Orthodoxy. The Ukrainian Eastern Orthodox historical tradition was not taken into account. In fact, to the contrary, many Ukrainians stood opposed to the Eastern Orthodox faith as un-Ukrainian. The lack of an unobstructed perspective on the confessional question, one unimpeded by the context of political rivalry, gave rise to the formation of politico-religious camps: Moscovophile-Orthodox and Ukrainian-Greek Catholic. Nonetheless, considering the increasingly embittered denominational conflicts which were arising mainly in the form of property disputes and leading to ever greater divisions within the Lemko community, voices were raised in criticism of interdenominational relations. Some party members pointed to the harmful effects of these conflicts, their paralyzing of community-wide enterprises, particularly economic ones, which harmed the development of the Lemko countryside. Sofron Krynytsky's speech at the RSO congress in Florynka on 22 May 1932 was characteristic of this vein. On that occasion Krynytsky, himself an adherent of the Orthodox faith, spoke, according to the report of the correspondent from “Zemlia i Volia,” thus: “Religious conflicts have called forth a great many misunderstandings among our people in the Lemko region. So we need to put a lot more work into wiping out the differences between the Orthodox and the Uniate Lemko, and convince all [Lemkos] that religion should not pose the slightest obstacle when the common business of the Rusyn nation is at hand. The Rusyn population of the Lemko region must understand that the *Russka Selianska Organizatsiia* unites the Rusyn peasants [...], with no thought for whether they belong to the Orthodox or the Uniate faith.”¹⁰⁰

The issue of the RSO's attitude toward Eastern Orthodoxy appeared with increasing frequency in the pages of the press. Interdenominational conflicts were officially condemned, with reference to the threat they posed to the social and economic program of the RSO, being implemented for the benefit of the Greek Catholic faithful as well.¹⁰¹ This attitude, as distinct

⁹⁷ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 479, *Hazetni povidomlennia pro vidkryttia, diialnist chytalen ta protydii z boku ukrainskykh natsionalistiv, 1934–1939*, p. 40.

⁹⁸ Ibid., f. 394, op. 1, case # 5, *Lysty chleniv ruskykh selianskykh orhanizatsii v Stanyslavovi, Sianoku, Peremyshli pro sklykannia zizdiv tsih orhanizatsii, kilkist ioho uchasnykiv, 1935*, pp. 1, 2.

⁹⁹ AAN, KGPP, ref. # 44, p. 13

¹⁰⁰ Quoted from “Zemlia i Volia,” 1932, no. 26, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ *RSO i pravoslavnyi rukh na Lemkivshchyni*, “Zemlia i Volia,” 1932, no. 43, p. 1.

from the one presented by the party in the late 1920s, resulted from the national question taking precedence over the religious one. The Russian idea, it is true, was close to Eastern Orthodoxy, but the Greek Catholics were a majority in the RSO ranks. There was support for Eastern Orthodoxy in the beginning phase of its formation, and the pro-Ukrainian authorities of the Greek Catholic Church were sharply criticized at that time, but there were no pronouncements against the Greek Catholic faith itself. What is more, the RSO supported the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region and even endeavored to have the Administration elevated to the rank of diocese. Furthermore, it produced a plan to establish a Greek Catholic diocese for the “Russian” population inhabiting the area of former Eastern Galicia, with a separate consistory and ecclesiastical seminary, in order to free Moscovite Greek Catholics from the Ukrainian ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁰²

On the question of Eastern Orthodoxy, matters came to a head with a polemic between party authorities and the Eastern Orthodox metropolitan of Warsaw. Eastern Orthodox Church authorities in Warsaw were accused of showing a lack of engagement in legal regulation of many Orthodox institutions' activities and their property issues: lands, presbyteries, churches.¹⁰³ The RSO's relationship with the local Orthodox clergy was also dependent on the social engagement of the priests. Property disputes and attempts to register institutions went on, and construction of sacral sites, whether churches or chapels, was carried out, until priests actively took part; and the RSO supported their engagement in social issues. Criticism began to be voiced at the beginning of the 1930s, when the interdenominational situation normalized and some of the priests withdrew from village community life, concerning themselves strictly with their pastoral ministry. The RSO then protested against their “asocial” stance. The Ukrainian press also wrote about it, e.g. about Fr. Chaikovsky's speech to the all-Lemko congress in Gorlice on 15 October 1932, where he “scolded the three Orthodox priests there present for not engaging in educational activity.”¹⁰⁴

The RSO's attitude toward matters of faith was derived from its political and socioeconomic program. That was the only way for the party to be sure of support from Eastern Orthodox and Greek Catholic milieux. The aforesaid program line brought certain results in the area of expanding the local structure, but exposed the party to accusations from adherents of both denominations. At the general party congress of 14 February 1937 efforts were made to develop a program which would lead to the consolidation of the Lemko community around the RSO — since the party was losing influence, chiefly among youth. The increasingly frequent criticism of the RSO's educational and interdenominational policies did not lead to any reduction of the party's social and political importance, however. Until the end of the interwar period the party remained the strongest and best-organized political party in the Lemko region.

B. Transformations in the Old Rusyn movement

I have already mentioned that in the first years after the war, chaos reigned in the Moscovite-Old Rusyn milieu of the former Galicia. The essence of this chaos was the presence of Moscovites and Old Rusyns in the same organizational structures. Nevertheless, immediately after the war the Old Rusyns who were opposed to the Russian and Ukrainian ideas and closer to the idea of Polish nationhood, made several attempts to break away.

The first manifestation of these tendencies was the convocation by a small group

¹⁰² “Oriens,” 1937, no. 2, p. 56.

¹⁰³ This accusation did not correspond to reality, since the authorities of the Warsaw metropolitan were making efforts toward legalizing as many affiliates and parishes throughout the Lemko region as possible.

¹⁰⁴ “Zemlia i Volia,” 1934, no. 12, p. 3. “Dilo,” 1932, no. 284, p. 4.

among the intelligentsia of a rally in Lviv on 29 June 1920. The rally gathered approximately 200 people, and their deliberations took place under the slogan “Let us be ourselves.” The discussion underscored the differences between “Lesser Rusyn” culture and the Ukrainian and Russian cultures. The purpose of the rally was to ratify the recognition of Polish statehood by Rusyns, which was supposed to ease the attainment of concessions on the development of the community's cultural, educational, and economic life.¹⁰⁵ Next, the Committee for the Affairs of Old Rusyn Institutions and Associations was created on 29 June 1922, with whose help it was intended to reactivate and take over the Lviv association *Rada Ruska* [Rusyn Council], an old Moscophile institution from the times of Ivan Naumovych. The committee included the later leaders of the Old Rusyn party: Fr. Ivan Kostetsky, Ivan Sas Liskovatsky, Oleksandr Lysiak and Teodozii Zaiats.¹⁰⁶ The attempt to reinvigorate that nineteenth-century institution failed, however.

In the years 1919–1923 government circles took no interest in the Old Rusyns. The authorities' actions moved in the direction of weakening the Ukrainians politically, and they found a counterweight in the Moscophile current, without becoming fully informed as to the internal situation of that movement. Government milieux clearly perceived the pro-Russian majority, whereas the pro-Polish (Old Rusyn) minority escaped their attention. This must explain the transfer of the People's Home in Lviv, to the Moscophiles, over which disputes continued throughout the entire interwar period; as well as the Stauropegion Institute, of which the government commissar became the well-known Lviv Moscophile Mykola Tretiak.¹⁰⁷ In the Lemko region this phenomenon occurred with even greater force, to the extent that the administrative authorities repeatedly made inaccurate assessments of social moods, labeling Old Rusyns as Moscophiles or vice versa.

B. 1 The Rus Agrarian Party, 1928–1931, and the Rus Agrarian Organization, 1931–1939

Before the Old Rusyns finally decided to create a separate political party, the group twice made changes to the internal organization of the RNO. The first secession took place in 1926. At that time, they formed an association called the Agrarian Union (*Rolnychii Soiuz*), which had been charged with the task of coordinating rural economic development in the southeastern voivodeships. The Agrarian Union existed until the end of 1927. At the beginning of December of that year, while preparing for the parliamentary elections, the Old Rusyns constituted the Provisional Organizational Agrarian Committee with the task of developing a charter for a political party.¹⁰⁸ It also published a press organ in Lviv entitled the “Holos Naroda” (“Voice of the People”).¹⁰⁹

The ginger group was made up of activists concentrated around Lev Cherkavsky. On 3 January 1928 they convoked a congress of the Agrarian Union in Lviv, attended by over 60 delegates, each from a different branch.¹¹⁰ Cherkavsky's committee submitted a draft of the party program, which was to represent the interests of poor Rusyn peasantry. The congress

¹⁰⁵ AP R, AKL, ref. # 72, *Współpraca z Czerwińsko-Ruską Organizacją “Zgoda”, list O. Łysiaka prezesa Ruskiej Agrarnej Partii do ks. Łukaszklawicza z 25 XI 1929 r.*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ DALO, f. 1, op. 55, case # 383, *Dielo o registratsii rusofilskoho obshchestva “Russkaia Rada” vo Lyovie*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ I. Kedryn, *W poszukiwaniu metryki*, p. 163.

¹⁰⁸ AAN, MSW, ref. # 961, *Sprawozdanie Wydziału Spraw Narodowościowych MSW z życia mniejszości narodowych, XII 1926 — XII 1927*, p. 296.

¹⁰⁹ AP R, AKL, ref. # 72, p. 2. See J. Moklak, *Political Orientations Among the Lemkos in the Inter-War Period: 1918–1939*, in: *Carpatho-Slavic Studies*, vol. 1, New Haven, Conn., 1990, p. 18.

¹¹⁰ “Holos Naroda,” 1928, no. 2, p. 2.

also appointed the highest executive authority of the newly created Rus Agrarian Party (RAP) — the Council, numbering 16 members, including three representatives from the Lemko region: I. Kachmarchyk, T. Voitovych and T. Yadlovsky. This last fulfilled the function of secretary during the congress. Oleksandr Lysiak was selected as president.¹¹¹

The creation of the Old Rusyn party was connected with the pre-election campaign. The primary goal of the Old Rusyns was to put deputies from their list into parliament. This idea was struck down at the meeting on 26 December 1927, in which delegates from the Agrarian Union took part with Cherkavsky and Bachynsky leading; the latter henceforth was unambiguously pro-Polish, abandoning the Russian idea. Nonetheless it was resolved to go to the 1928 elections together with the Russians. O. Lysiak shed light on the matter of the Agrarian Union's renouncement of a separate list and the RAP's participation in the elections together with the RZN in a letter to Fr. Yuliiian Lukashklavich on 25 December 1929. According to Lysiak, Bachynsky, in his function of government commissar at the *Narodnyi Dom* Institute in Lviv, received an order from the Lviv voivodeship authorities to join the RAP to the Russian list. In said letter Lysiak explained that the RAP arose at the behest of the administrative authorities, fearful of the loss of influence on *Narodnyi Dom*, which after the change in Bachynsky's political orientation remained under the influence of the Old Rusyns.¹¹²

That was the first attempt by the Old Rusyns at making an entrance onto the parliamentary stage as an independent force, and did not succeed due to the position of the state authorities. Lysiak — in the letter mentioned above — even addressed some critical words to the authorities, accusing them of supporting Moscopphilism and simultaneously limiting the development of the Old Rusyn movement, a movement loyal to the state. He even stated that in the context of its attitude toward the RAP, the government's policy was harmful to the nation. He wrote: "A fair agreement and beneficial solution of the Rusyn question depends not on us, but on the Polish government and society. The Rusyn question is so important for the Polish State and Nation that it should not be made light of or passed over in silence, so that some day in the future the saying 'A Pole is wise when the damage is done' will not be vindicated."¹¹³ In fact, in the years 1926–1929 the government authorities cut off a series of economic initiatives undertaken by the Old Rusyns, several times refusing them financial credits. The head of the Nationality Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior, Henryk Suchenek-Sucheki, was also negatively disposed toward the RAP; in 1929 he welcomed the Moscophile movement and spoke ill of the RAP's demands. In 1928 due to the failure to obtain credits for property reform, the RAP was on the brink of self-liquidation. To interest the state authorities in their operations, RAP leaders were forced to resort to a public declaration of loyalty printed in a popular Polish newspaper and public speeches featuring paeans to Józef Piłsudski.¹¹⁴

In issue 307 of the "Illustrated Daily Courier" on 9 November 1929, an open letter written by Oleksandr Lysiak and Dmytro Yablonsky, president and secretary of the RAP, addressed to government circles, appeared. The authors of the letter took as the basis for their assertions an article by the former voivode of Lviv, Piotr Dunin-Borkowski, entitled "Starting point in the Ukrainian issue in East Lesser Poland," printed in the publication "Droga" ("The Road"). They agreed with Borkowski that the consciously Russian movement might be dangerous for Poland,¹¹⁵ but denied that the Rusyn movement was illusory — Borkowski

¹¹¹ AP R, AKL, ref. # 72, p. 2.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁴ AAN, MSW, ref. #1038, "Wiadomości Ukraińskie," 1929, no. 15, p. 6. The first such declaration was M. Bachynsky's speech at the ceremony for the unveiling of the Piłsudski monument in Kolomyia.

¹¹⁵ See P. Dunin-Borkowski, *Punkt wyjścia w sprawie ukraińskiej w Małopolsce Wschodniej*, "Droga," 1929, no. 6, p. 561–572.

perceived Ukrainians rather than Rusyns in the nationality aspect of the movement. The authors of the letter appealed to the government to combat the Ukrainian as well as the Russian movement, and to support the Rusyns of the RAP.¹¹⁶ A couple of weeks later, Lysiak, in a different letter to Fr. Lukashklavich, wrote that: "We [i.e. the RAP — JM] bared our national soul before our elder brother, i.e. the Polish nation, and now it is the elder brother's turn to offer us his hand [...] we desire a fight neither with the government nor the people of Poland, and will fight neither."¹¹⁷ RAP activists did not take on the question of separate Rusyn statehood, seeing the Polish Republic as their fatherland.

Public declarations of loyalty to the nation and the undermining of the legitimacy of the existence of Russian and Ukrainian nationals in southeastern Poland brought forth a wave of reactions in the Moscovophile and Ukrainian press. The press of each group had traditionally been hostile to the other, but this time they lashed out in similar tones at the Old Rusyns, accusing them of enclosing themselves within an allegedly anachronistic Rusyn national consciousness.

Until the end of 1929 the RAP developed strictly through its own powers. Over the three years of the party's existence 26 regional centers had been set up, referred to in some sources as branches: For the needs of the trade cooperatives the RAP possessed a credit institution called the Central Cooperative Association, supporting 102 dependent cooperatives. During this period, a difficult one for the party, there could be no talk of its resilient development. In reality it had influence only in the counties of Lviv, Kolomyia and Stanyslaviv, but even there remained in the shadow of the pro-Russian party.¹¹⁸

The situation in the Lemko region was similar. In 1928 RAP created local Lemko Election Committees there. Still, here too it would be hard to posit a broad local party structure. Almost all individuals connected with the RAP cooperated simultaneously with the RSO. This happened because of the convergent common ground between party programs — both parties claimed to represent the interests of Rusyn peasants and employed the same terminology. The general lack of comprehension of the political differences between the two parties vying for the same electorate caused many Lemkos to acknowledge the fact of the RNO-RSO and RAP's formation of one bloc in the 1928 election as a natural development.

The press organ of the Old Rusyns, "Holos Naroda," attained considerable popularity in the Lemko Region with its reports on the progress of the electoral campaign of 1928, and henceforth established its position among other periodicals which reached the Lemko region. As the popularity of Old Rusyn slogans grew, the editors of "Holos Naroda" acquired a gradually increasing circle of associates. In 1930 the editors' correspondents were Lemkos living in the counties even furthest from Lviv: Nowy Sącz, Grybów and Gorlice.

Beginning in November 1929 a change occurred in the attitude of the government authorities toward the RAP. It was perceived in government milieux that the Old Rusyns' declared loyalty to the state could lead to the rise of a strong pro-Polish party in southeastern Poland, which fit its concept of national assimilation proposed a few years earlier by Prime Minister Władysław Sikorski. The earlier mentioned open letter of Lysiak and Yablonsky published in the "Illustrated Daily Courier" linked the RAP with government circles, and more closely with the BBWR, the pro-government political bloc which since that time had tried to take control over the socioeconomic and political life of the Old Rusyns. The consequences of this rapprochement were the results of the 1930 election. From the BBWR list the Old Rusyns gained two seats in the Sejm, for Mykhailo Bachynsky and Fr. Yosyf Yavorsky.¹¹⁹ To a considerable degree, the election was decided by the votes of Lemkos, who

¹¹⁶ AAN, MSW, ref. # 1038, p. 6.

¹¹⁷ AP R, AKL, ref. # 72, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ SN, 1929, no. 6, p. 815.

¹¹⁹ AAN, MSW, ref. # 945, p. 8.

in cooperation with state authorities expected to solve many problems in the life of their region. If in 1928 both Moscovophiles and Ukrainian politicians could indulge in statements undermining the RAP's political influence in the community (e.g. deputy V. Mudry at the Third Congress of UNDO in December 1928, speaking of RAP, stated that it was “a fictional party”¹²⁰), then in 1930 such accusations had no justification, although the local structure of RAP remained feeble.

A year later the RAP changed its name to the Rus Agrarian Organization (RAO, the *Russka Agrarna Organizatsiia*), which took place at the general meeting of the party in Lviv on 25 February 1931, led by Fr. Yevhen Montsibovych.¹²¹ It is difficult to unambiguously elucidate the reasons which led to the change in party name. It would appear that the reasons were propagandistic in nature. The intention was probably to obtain some share of supporters from the pro-Russian milieu (the new name sounded similar to RSO), considering the great differentiation in political attitudes among Rusyn peasants.

The RAP congress on 25 February had real significance for the further crystallization of the Old Rusyns' political program. In the first resolution of the congress, the group affirmed its loyalty to the Polish Republic: “We Rusyns of Red Rus, gathered at the general assembly of the Rus Agrarian Organization, declare firmly and decidedly that the Republic of Poland is also our nation and we declare decisive and permanent loyalty to her.”¹²² Subsequent resolutions expressed protest against the policies of the Moscovophiles and the Ukrainian parties, judging their activities to be attacks on the values of Rusyn culture. In matters interdenominational, they expressed aversion to the clergy, who were accused of “using the Church for Ukrainian political propaganda hostile to Rusyns and the Nation.”¹²³

In spring of 1931 the RAO central authorities set about expanding the local structure through creating county party committees. In April successive district congresses took place in Zolochiv (15 April), Ternopil (22 April), Halych (25 April), Sokal (26 April), Kolomyia (27 April), Kalush (28 April) and Sanok (29 April).¹²⁴ The Sanok congress drew approximately 200 delegates from 20 villages situated in the counties of Brzozów, Lesko and Sanok. Among them, a considerable portion were Lemkos, and two, Petro Kozak of Besko and Yosyf Sobolevsky of Kostarowce held the highest functions in the congress presidium — chairman and deputy chairman.¹²⁵

The district congresses led to the general RAO congress, held in Lviv on 2 May 1931, which gathered 160 representatives from the Lviv, Stanyslaviv and Ternopil voivodeships. Sanok district was represented by Ivan Fedorenko, Emanuil Mokrytsky, Yakov Mytsko, Yosyf Perelom and Petro Zapotochny. Among the issues touched upon was the question of reaching the widest possible masses of peasants through the party's sphere of action. Focusing on peasants who self-identified as Ukrainian could be a tactical operation calculated to take the peasant voting electorate away from the Ukrainian parties. The programmatic concept of the party would not be changed, launching the slogan “absolute loyalty to the Polish state”¹²⁶ and striving to enhance Rusyn rather than Ukrainian national consciousness among the peasants. This was the program promoted by Bachynsky and Yavorsky during their journeys as party spokesmen.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ V. Mudry, *Ukrainske Nacionalno-Demokratychnе Obiednannia i ioho nacionalne seredovyshche*, in: *III Narodnyi Zizd Ukrainskoho Nacionalno-Demokratychnoho Obiednannia*, p. 89; “Holos Naroda,” 1929, no. 23, p. 1.

¹²¹ SN, 1931, no. 1, p. 102.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 103.

¹²⁴ DALO, f. 1. op.51, case # 1231, pp. 50, 51.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 51.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 53.

¹²⁷ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 352, p.n.n.

The work begun in 1930 on behalf of building local RAO structure and elevating its political importance brought the anticipated results. In the period 1930–1931 the party developed much more formidably than during the period 1926–1930. This change took place as a result of Bachynsky and Yavorsky's efforts: they developed a detailed RAO program of activity and presented it to the Lviv voivodeship in May 1931. In this plan they proposed designating a paid farming instructor for each county (if necessary, one instructor for two or three counties) in order to increase the number of the trade cooperatives they owned and the inclination of cooperatives subject to Ukrainian institutions to subordinate themselves to RAO. The plan also anticipated the creation of a permanent position for a political organizer with the task of “[...] founding reading rooms and creating in each village a [...] [cell — JM] consisting of at least five dedicated people.”¹²⁸ Both deputies attached a warning to the plan presented to the voivodeship in which they cautioned that the success of the party's development in the area depended on “purely financial factors” and presented a request for subsidizing of the RAO by the BBWR and the government.¹²⁹

Only in provinces with weak Ukrainian influence could the RAO count on meaningful successes. One of the regions which met this criterion was the Lemko region, which more or less at the same time was encircled by a program of operations, wide in scope, implemented by the Ukrainian movement. It should suffice to note that in 1932 the Lemko Commission appointed by *Prosvita* developed its activities spreading Ukrainian national consciousness among Lemkos. In view of the intensifying struggle — which from the perspective of the passage of time and the transformations which have since taken place can be called intra-Ukrainian — government circles faced the necessity of taking a definite position in agreement with Polish *raison d'etat* and surrounded the RAO with full political and financial protection.

B. 2 Lemko Association (*Lemko-Soiuz*), 1933–1939

The formal proposal for the creation of a Lemko Association (*Lemko-Soiuz*) was announced at the RAO congress in Sanok on 8 December 1933, attended by approximately 200 delegates from the counties of Gorlice, Grybów, Krosno, Lesko, Nowy Sącz and Sanok and by representatives of the party's central authorities: deputy Bachynsky and Ivan Slezziuk — director of the “Narodnyi Dom” (“National Home”) Institute in Lviv.¹³⁰

Bachynsky and Slezziuk arrived in Sanok with a prepared plan for creating a new Lemko organization whose program and sphere of activity were accepted by the BBWR and discussed with Lemko leaders Hnatyshak and Trokhanovsky.¹³¹ The nature of Bachynsky and Slezziuk's mission is confirmed by the content of their speeches, which had many criticisms of Ukrainian political parties and the Greek Catholic clergy representing the Ukrainian movement.¹³² As a result of the discussion of Bachynsky's program paper, the congress took a series of resolutions in which it addressed the government with an appeal for the quickest possible resolution of the most pressing problems for the Lemko community, indicating the necessity of creating a Greek Catholic bishopric independent of the Przemyśl hierarchy for the Lemko region, the issuance of a ban on “dissemination of harmful agitation in school or churches” by teachers or Ukrainian clergy, and taking care to ensure that vacant positions were filled by candidates of Old Rusyn orientation. The congress's fifth resolution contained

¹²⁸ DALO, f. I., op. 51, case # 1231, p. 55.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ M. Baczyński. *Kwestia mniejszościowa*, p. 29; SN, 1933, no. 6, p. 697; J. Moklak, *Political Orientations Among the Lemkos*, p. 19–20.

¹³¹ The personal relationship of Hnatyshak and minister B. Pieracki with the starosta of Nowy Sącz, M. Łach, is worthy of note — they were classmates in school at the Nowy Sącz middle school. See Homo Politicus (I. Kedryn), *Przyczyny upadku Polszczy*, Kraków 1941, p. 117.

¹³² SN, 1933, no. 6, p. 696–697.

the decision to open a Lemko Association with headquarters in Sanok, which would face the task of supervising socioeconomic and political action throughout the entire Lemko region. In the last resolution the congress approved in its entirety the policy direction theretofore pursued by deputies Bachynsky and Yavorsky and expressed “loyalty and deep obeisance to Mr. President of the Republic of Poland and Mr. Marshal Piłsudski.”¹³³

At the end of the congress the board of the newly founded organization was selected, with 11 regular members. The majority were members of the intelligentsia: O. Hnatyshak (Krynica), M. Trokhanovsky (Krynica), Y. Siokalo (Gorlice), L. Yavorsky (Sanok), Y. Perelom (Sanok) and E. Mokrytsky (Sanok). Two were involved in trade: the merchant Mykhailo Muzychka (Sanok) and managing director Beskydu Teodor Stefanyshyn (Sanok). Peasants were represented by: D. Halytsky, Y. Fedak and O. Ivanysyk. Bachynsky, Yavorsky and Sleziuk were chosen as honorary members.¹³⁴

The Lemko Association owed its existence entirely to Bachynsky and Sleziuk, who — starting from the assumption that RAO (despite the recent change of name) was not a popular party in the Lemko region and yielded in popularity to the RSO — created it with the intention of putting the Lemko population in the column of citizens loyal to the Polish state. Executing this goal depended on the effectiveness of the operations carried out in order to tear the Lemkos away from the RSO, which is why from the very beginning of the Association's formation, its program was shaped in opposition to the pro-Russian orientation.¹³⁵ Important ideological differences between the RSO and the Lemko Association frequently led to conflicts between them, which were usually registered in the press of both organizations. Local and regional RSO congresses repeated their protests against the activities of the Lemko Association in their resolutions, accusing it of Lemko separatism.

At the Fourth Nationwide Congress of RSO delegates on 26 December 1934, Mykhailo Muzychka justified his accession to the Lemko Association by his conviction that the organization had been created for the purpose of strengthening the Rusyn intelligentsia, promoting the development of the level of teaching, letters, etc., about which one of the founders of the Association, Metody Trokhanovsky, spoke at the confidential meeting before the congress in Sanok. Meanwhile — as Muzychka expressed his indignation — the term “Rusyn” was quickly eliminated from use and replaced by the term “Lemko.” The Association's press organ, “Lemko,” originally published in Krynica, was intended to be called “Rus Lemko.” The change in terminology defining membership in an ethnic group had the purpose of gradually eliminating the feeling of Rusyn consciousness among Lemkos, a development calculated to make a lasting break of ties with the Moscopophile movement. Muzychka spoke in the name of the wider group of participants in the Sanok congress and stated that: “We were deceived. All of Lemko Rus protests against the Lemko Association, which has only a few individuals remaining with it.”¹³⁶

In the wake of the nationwide RSO congress's resolutions, criticism of the Lemko Association spread throughout the provinces. Lemkos themselves protested against being called Lemkos in a national sense, and against the introduction of the “Lemko language” in schools.¹³⁷ The Lemko Association was denied the right to represent the Lemko region to the outside world, and was accused of Polonizing the Lemkos. Typical of these reactions were the resolutions of local RSO congresses in several localities in the counties of Gorlice, Jasło, and Sanok. For example, resolution no. 5 at the RSO congress in Kwiatów announced: “We

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 279, *Sprawozdania sytuacyjne miesięczne wojewody krakowskiego, I–XII, 1933*, p. 404; SN, 1933, no. 6, p. 697.

¹³⁵ AAN, MSW, ref. # 945, M. Baczyński, *Kwestia mniejszościowa*, p. 20.

¹³⁶ “Zemlia i Volia,” 1935, no. 4, p. 4.

¹³⁷ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 459, p. 35.

definitively condemn the political activity of the Gorlice Lemko Association, which is leading only to intensification of the Polonization of the Lemko region, and we simultaneously state that the Lemko Association has not the slightest right to represent us outside our community.”¹³⁸

The protests advanced against the Lemko Association did not hold back the development of that organization. Its activists conducted their campaign in the area, winning over new associates with promises of developing the cultural, educational, and economic activity of the Lemko region. At the meetings organized in many places, the Association's charter was talked over. It was asserted that the Lemko Association was not a political organization, but rather, like the Kachkovsky Society, was working for the “welfare of the Lemko countryside,” and was not in opposition to Moscovism, but that its members had full freedom of choice whether to join the RSO or not.

A basic method for arousing the interest of Lemkos in the activities of the Lemko Association was organizing different types of courses in the area of husbandry. They were conducted in cooperation with the Kraków and Lviv Agriculture Chambers and district farming associations in Nowy Sącz and Sanok. Lemkos were encouraged to take part in various disciplines of arts and crafts: sculpture, masonry, etc. especially in health resort areas visited by recovering patients and holidaymakers.

Until 1936 the Lemko Association engaged in dynamic cultural, educational and economic activity. As long as it had full support from state actors, it could compete with the RSO, and also with the Ukrainian movement. Among the important successes of the organization was the introduction of Trokhanovsky's primer into schools everywhere, designated for teaching in the Lemko dialect. The Rusyn Dormitory in Gorlice remained under the influence of Lemko Association activists and fulfilled an important role in the formation of Lemko youth.¹³⁹ A whole row of other achievements (of local significance) on behalf of raising the civilizational and cultural level of the Lemko region could also be counted among the organization's successes.¹⁴⁰

Beginning in 1935, however, the importance of the Lemko Association in the Lemko community decreased noticeably. At the general meeting in Gorlice on 22 December of that year, led by Lev Yavorsky (a notary from Bukowsko), M. Trokhanovsky, summarizing the results of the previous work of the Association, stated that they were unsatisfactory. Searching for the reasons behind this phenomenon, he pointed to the weak level of activity among members of the organization, but also spoke of the external difficulties which the Lemko Association encountered in its statutory work, indicating the Ukrainian movement and the RSO. Trokhanovsky's statement, and those of other speakers in the same vein, revealed the actual position of the Association in the Lemko region. It soon became apparent that it was an elite organization, gathering mainly members of the Old Rusyn intelligentsia, and, in spite of many efforts to do so, unable to compete with the RSO which predominated in the area. Nonetheless, despite the organizational difficulties referred to during the discussion, a program of further social initiatives was drafted and a new Executive Board selected. Orest Hnatyshak was again made chairman.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Ibid., case # 479, passim, and case # 459, p. 35.

¹³⁹ The Dormitory's Board in 1933–1934 consisted of Y. Siokalo — chairman, M. Yurkovsky — deputy chairman and the following members: T. Yadlovisky, O. Vislowsky, K. Bodak, V. Maletsky and E. Fedorchak. See *Ruska Bursa w Horlyciach*, “Holos Naroda,” 1928, nos. 36,43,44,45; T. Kuryllo, *Nashi bursy*, “Kalendar «Lemka»,” 1936. See P. Fetsitsa, *Povernuty nam Rusku Bursa*, “Nasze Słowo,” 1994, no. 24, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ See “Lemko,” 1936, no. 1, p. 1–2.

¹⁴¹ The full membership of the Executive Board of the *Lemko-Soiuz* in 1935: O. Hnatyshak — chairman, Y. Siokalo and Y. Perelom — deputy chairman; members: S. Barna, K. Bodak, L. Yavorsky, O. Kantsler, V. Maletsky, I. Poliansky, V. Telesnytsky, M. Trokhanovsky, Y. Valevsky, Y. Venhrynovych, T. Voitovych, S. Vozniak, and L. Zhelem; deputy board members: S. Tsiuryk, O. Ivanysyk, I. Lakus, E. Mylanych, M. Tylka, V.

The decline of the social and political importance of the Lemko Association had begun as early as the run-up to the parliamentary elections of 1935. A general weakening of the Old Rusyn movement as a result of Polish-Ukrainian agreement occurred at that time — the compromise with the Polish government known as “Normalization.” Toward the new course of government nationality policy, the role theretofore played by Old Rusyns was now to be taken by Ukrainian groupings loyal to the government. The Old Rusyn question gradually lost its political dimension, which meant that the Lemko Association lost its previous privileged position. This course in government policy was decisively defined in the speech of Prime Minister Marian Zyndram-Kościałkowski in January 1936 at the meeting of the Committee on Nationality Issues, at which it emerged that the area of the Lemko region, since it belonged to ethnically Polish lands, was to be designated for the implementation of assimilation policy, i.e. Polonization.

The change in the position taken by government circles toward Old Rusyns put a question mark over the future of the Lemko Association, since its previous initiatives had been executed with the acceptance of state actors. The visible lack of support from the state deepened the internal crisis of the organization. In order to enliven its activities, a congress of Lemkos from Nowy Sącz County was convoked and took place on 19 April 1936 in Muszyna. BBWR deputy Jakub Bodziony was invited to the congress and handed the resolutions passed consequent to the discussion, with a request that he push for them in government circles. One resolution stated that “the Polish government has not kept its promises, in view of which the population of the Lemko region was supposed to be given their own representative, in whose place they got a Ukrainian. The congress demands that in the next elections the Lemko region be given a Lemko representative in both houses.”¹⁴² Further, the congress protested against the “usurpation by Ukrainian deputies of the right to represent the Lemko region,” and demanded teaching posts “in all Rusyn villages” be offered first to Lemko teachers, and the creation of a Pedagogical High School in Gorlice for the purpose of shaping Lemko cadres of teachers for the Lemko region. Among the chief authors of the contents of these resolutions was M. Trokhanovsky.

Resolutions passed at the congress in Muszyna made the Lemko Association a party opposed to the government's nationality policy. The Association also found itself at a disadvantage because of deepening conflicts with the RSO, which for a while had continued to operate with the argument of the Lemko Association's amical relations with the state. Soon, however, the RSO drew conclusions from the new political situation in which the Lemko region found itself, and in the summer of 1936 it intensified its agitation there. It was counting in particular on the part of the undecided population which since the early 1930 had oscillated between the Lemko Association and the RSO.¹⁴³

It is remarkable that until the fall of the second Polish Republic, i.e. until September 1939, the Lemko Association opposed the campaign conducted by the RSO and simultaneously looked for support among government circles, despite the state's known position on the Lemko issue. In autumn of 1936 the Executive Board of the Lemko Association developed a memorial to the state authorities in which it directed some criticism at the RSO, accusing it of undermining the Association's authority among the Lemko population and discrediting its organizational activities. From the government's point of view the rivalry between the Moscovophiles and Old Rusyns was accepted to the extent that it paralyzed the possibilities of political development on both sides. This fit the theses of

Zviryk. The Controlling Commission consisted of: T. Yadlovsky, H. Fedorchak, Ms. Kuryllo-Haidova, O. Mylanych, M. Perelom. See “Lemko,” 1936, no. 1, p. 2.

¹⁴² “Lemko,” 1936, no. 17, p. 2–3.

¹⁴³ AAN, MSW, ref. # 963, *Sprawozdanie Wydziału Narodowościowego MSW, z życia mniejszości narodowych za kwartały, IV 1935, I, III, IV 1936*, p. 316.

nationality policy announced by Prime Minister Kościółkowski.¹⁴⁴

As a result of government and administrative circles' withdrawal of their support and the constant presence of the RSO and Ukrainian movement in the Lemko region, the Lemko Association's work was practically defunct as early as 1937. Trokhanovsky, Hnatyshak, and others — although they remained faithful to the Association and still at the general meeting of the organization in Sanok on 14 May 1938, with approximately 40 delegates participating, demanded the restoration of school textbooks drawn up “in the Lemko spirit” in their resolutions¹⁴⁵ — still remained members of the RSO. They took part in the Lviv congresses of that party, joining its highest organs, i.e. the Central Council, and simultaneously reached an understanding with government actors whenever they perceived even a minimal chance of obtaining concessions on economic or cultural and educational development of their region. RSO headquarters looked favorably on this position, recognizing that exclusion of Lemko separatists from the party could lead to the weakening of its influence in the Lemko region. Despite many opinions to the contrary, it must be admitted that the Lemko Association had the support of a part of the Lemko community and the RSO central authorities appreciated that state of affairs, taking no steps which could cause the group's loss of favor.

The positions of Hnatyshak and Trokhanovsky mentioned earlier were not exclusively held by those two. Other members of the Lemko Association, e.g. Siokalo, Vozniak, and Yavorsky also represented those views. The phenomenon of double allegiance to the two organizations, grown from one seed but ideologically opposed, had been seen earlier; it occurred in the RNO (1923–1926), and in the years 1928–1933 certain members of the RAP and RAO were simultaneously members of the RSO, e.g. P. Kozak, E. Mokrytsky, Y. Mytsko, Y. Perelom, and T. Voitovych. Accession to ideologically opposing organizations was undergone for reasons common in the provinces. Peasants took part in enterprises which brought concrete benefits for their households, rarely getting involved in rivalries at the level of the central authorities. The intelligentsia's intentions were undoubtedly similar — both groups underscored the necessity to raise the level of the Lemko countryside. Still, unlike the simple peasant population, the intelligentsia gathered around the Lemko association took upon itself the weight of forming relations with the state authorities, and also with Moscovophile and Ukrainian organizations. In the course of these relationships the political maturity of the Association's leaders took shape. In the organization they definitely saw a guarantee for the development of local Lemko values. For this reason the initiative of its creation, though executed by Bachynsky and Sleziuk in agreement with the BBWR, must have had deep underpinnings in the mood of the local intelligentsia.

C. The Kachkovsky Reading Rooms — developing local structure

These reading rooms were run by the central authorities of the Kachkovsky Society in Lviv. During the interwar period, as in earlier periods, they were closely linked with the pro-Russian movement. They attracted a great deal of interest in the community, grouping around themselves all who were willing, regardless of ideological differences existing between the Old Rusyns and Moscovophiles and of the members' religious denominations. A separate issue is the participation in the work of the reading rooms by adherents of the Ukrainian idea, which had, it is true, an incidental character, but happened especially in areas where the *Prosvita* Ukrainian local structure was weak, or for the purpose of taking over reading rooms with national activists.

Beginning in summer 1921, the first attempts were made to reactivate the work of the reading rooms, which had declined during the war. The residual preserved source materials

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ AAN, MSW, ref. # 1058, p. 56.

allow for the inference that the initiative of restoring the reading rooms came from the residents of particular villages, former reading room members. In 1925 the reading rooms in r. Węglówka and Wróblík Królewski were revived. By 1926 four reading rooms had been revived in the Lemko region, though efforts were undertaken toward reviving others in several other places.¹⁴⁶

The first such efforts were spontaneous. The systematic development of the reading room movement was only opened by the congress of the Kachkovsky Society which met in Lviv on 8 December 1925.¹⁴⁷ The congress stood decisively on the platform of the Russian idea, producing a plan for introducing a double “s” (“ss”) in the Society's documentation,¹⁴⁸ which was related to the general activation of Moscovophile forces in the southeastern voivodeships. Among the resolutions passed at the congress were also some which drew attention to the necessity to actuate the development of reading rooms in the area. The congress chose a new Society chairman, Marian Glushkevych.

In 1926 the number of reading rooms grew slightly. The four reading rooms in Florynka, Krynica Wieś, Radocyna and Uście Ruskie were revived.¹⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that while the reading room in Florynka was being renovated, the initiators of that enterprise, Vasyl Dubets, Hryhorii Habura, and Vasyl Kuryllo in a letter to the executive board of the Society in Lviv dated 5 February 1926 made a proposal for the revival of the Kachkovsky Society branches (not reading rooms) in Krynica, Grybów, and Gorlice. In view of the scant number of reading rooms at that time, however, the plan was not implemented.¹⁵⁰

In summer 1927 the board of the Society released a plan for statutory changes, justifying their position by the necessity for adapting the organization to new sociopolitical conditions. The plan posited resignation from Kachkovsky's patronage and endowing the Society with the name “Nauka” (Study), an idea which was, however, rejected. Furthermore, statutory goals regarding the “Russian people” were clearly enunciated, to be achieved with the help of “Russian-language” publishers. A new statute expanding the zone of the Society's activity to the entire area of the Polish Republic was approved at the general assembly on 1 November 1928, and confirmed by the Lviv Voivodeship Office on 2 August 1929.¹⁵¹

The most extensive development of Kachkovsky reading rooms in the Lemko region took place in 1927 — 12 such institutions were founded during that year.¹⁵² In the years that followed, during the presidency of Symon Bulyk¹⁵³, the number of reading rooms founded decreased slightly: in 1928 only five were founded,¹⁵⁴ in 1929 — eight,¹⁵⁵ and in 1930 — seven.¹⁵⁶

In August 1929, after direct observation of the reading room movement in the Kraków

¹⁴⁶ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 272, *Hazetni povidomlennia, zvity ta inshi materiialy pro (...) diialnist v seli Vanivtsi, Korosnivskoho povitu, 1925–1939*, p. 9 i case # 284, *Hazetni povidomlennia, zvity ta inshi materiialy pro (...) diialnist v seli Voroblyku Korolivskym, Korosnivskoho povitu, 1925–1939*, p. 35; case # 290, *Hazetni povidomlennia, zvity ta inshi materiialy pro (...) diialnist v seli Mshana, Korosnivskoho povitu, 1925–1938*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ DALO, f. 1, op. 51, case # 1229, *Dielo obshchestva im. Mikhaïla Kachkovskogo vo Lvovie*, vol. 2, 1922–1927, pp. 127, 128.

¹⁴⁸ MSW rejected a plan calling for use of the double “s” (ss) due to political considerations. See DALO, f. 1, op. 51, case # 1230, *Dielo obshchestva im. Mikhaïla Kachkovskogo vo Lvovie*, vol. 3, 1929, p. 141.

¹⁴⁹ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 230, *Lystuvannia, hazetni povidomlennia ta inshi materiialy pro orhanizaciinu, finansovo-hospodarsku diialnist chytalni v seli Ustia Ruske, 1921–1938*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., case # 306, pp. 2, 5.

¹⁵¹ DALO, f. 1, op. 51, case # 1232, *Dielo obshchestva im. Mikhaïla Kachkovskogo vo Lvovie*, vol. 5, p. 58

¹⁵² Bartne, Binczarowa, Bodaki-Przegonina, Gładyszów, Grab, Hańczowa, Kamianna, Milik, Polany (Grybów County), Ropki, Śnietnica, Tylicz.

¹⁵³ AAN, MSW, ref. # 961, p. 225.

¹⁵⁴ Królowa Ruska, Kunkowa, Olchowce, Rozdziele, Wierchomla Wielka.

¹⁵⁵ Andrzejówka, Bogusza, Desznica, Mochnaczka Niżna, Mszana, Myscowa, Skwirtne, Tylawa.

¹⁵⁶ Bartne, Czarna, Nowa Wieś, Powroźnik, Smerekowiec, Świętkowa Wielka, Zdynia.

voivodeship by the board of the Society, the Lemko region was set aside as a distinct region of influence. This was because it turned out that the number of reading rooms founded in the Lemko region surpassed areas in the former Eastern Galicia. However, the year 1930 closed this propitious stage in its development. In 1931 barely two reading rooms were founded.¹⁵⁷

Beginning in 1932 and up until 1935 the number of reading rooms founded yearly began to grow again. This was connected to the favorable attitude of state administrative organs, which acted according to government guidelines and favoritized the Kachkovsky reading rooms ahead of the *Prosvita* reading rooms. In 1932 eight reading rooms were opened,¹⁵⁸ in 1933 — 10¹⁵⁹, in 1934 — 15¹⁶⁰ and in 1935 — 16 reading rooms.¹⁶¹

Among the reading rooms founded in the years 1922–1935, many failed, largely through lack of member activity. Frequently it happened that not long after the founding, a second opening took place, as took place in the case of Bartne (1927 and 1929), Bodaki–Przegonina (1927 and 1935), Florynka (1926 and 1935), Gładyszów (1927 and 1932), Kamianna (1927 and 1935), or sometimes there were even three openings — as happened in Wierchomla Wielka (1928, 1931 and 1935), Mszana (1929, 1932 and 1935) and Śnietnica (1927, 1932 and 1935).¹⁶²

After 1935 the number of newly founded reading rooms diminished. In 1936 five institutions were founded,¹⁶³ in 1937 — only one (in Brunary Wyżne), and in 1938 — two reading rooms.¹⁶⁴ This phenomenon resulted from the policy called “normalization” in Polish-Ukrainian relations, which were affected the development of the network of Kachkovsky reading rooms negatively. The amplitude of their development over the course of the two decades between the world wars is shown in Illustration no. 2.

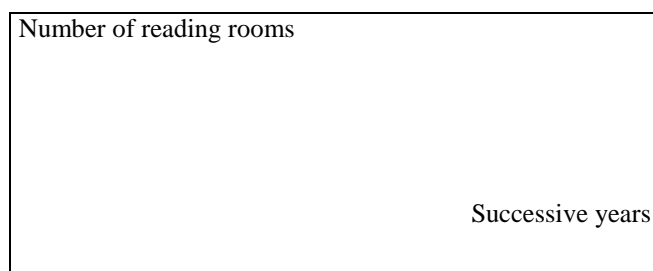


Illustration no. 2. The number of Kachkovsky reading rooms founded in the years 1918–1939. *Source:* CDIAL, f. 182, op. I, many pages

The scheme of the Moscovophile reading room movement's development I have outlined thus far demands to be filled in by establishing the intensity with which reading rooms

¹⁵⁷ Wierchomla Wielka and Krynica Zdrój.

¹⁵⁸ Gładyszów, Klimkówka, Nowica, Radocyna, Śnietnica, Tyrawa Solna, Zawadka Rymanowska, Złockie.

¹⁵⁹ Banica, Czarne, Kostarowce, Łabowiec, Łosie (Nowy Sącz County), Polany (Krosno County), Szczawnik, Wapienne (re-opening), Wojkowa.

¹⁶⁰ Bieliczna, Końskie, Kotów, Kwiatów, Lipowiec, Maciejowa, Mochnaczka, Muszynka, Pietrusza Wola, Radoszyce, Ropki, Trepcza, Trzciana, Zyndranowa, Żydowskie.

¹⁶¹ Bodaki-Przegonina (re-opening), Ciechania, Długie, Florynka, Izby, Jaskowa, Kamianna (re-opening), Kożuszne, Królik Wołoski, Mszana (re-opening), Pętna, Roztoka Wielka, Sieniawa, Śnietnica (re-opening), Uhryń, Wierchomla Wielka (re-opening).

¹⁶² “Zemlia i Volia,” various numbers from the years 1927–1935.

¹⁶³ Czarnorzeki, Hyrowa, Jastrzębik, Nieznajowa, Słotwiny.

¹⁶⁴ Szklary and Zboiska.

developed in particular counties. From the very beginning they did not develop at an even pace. The new reading rooms appeared mainly in the western and central parts of the Lemko region — rarely in Sanok County, as a result of the greater popularity of the Ukrainian *Prosvita* reading rooms in that region. In Sanok, moreover, many Kachkovsky reading rooms had naturally died out in the 1920s. In 1930 the county authorities conducted a campaign of eliminating them from the register of associations. Most often this occurred due to a lack of public engagement of the institutions, which since 1914 did not conduct statutory work.¹⁶⁵ The reading rooms closed down in this fashion included those in Czeremcha, Czerteż, Olchowce, Oslawica, Prusiek, Sanoczek, Sanok, Siemuszowa, Stróże Wielkie, Surowica, Tarnawka, Trepcza and Tyrawa Solna.¹⁶⁶ To justify the closing, the Sanok starost gave several reasons, e.g. in the case of Sanoczek he wrote that the reading room there “has been completely out of service since 1914, has no members, does not hold board elections, and does not reveal its existence in any other way, so that the local population has completely forgotten about the fact that the association at one point existed.”¹⁶⁷ The content of the quoted justification shows the process, which took place starting at the end of the nineteenth century, of pushing Moscophile influence away from centrally situated areas of former Eastern Galicia toward the West, to provincial areas minimally touched by the Ukrainian regions, which Sanok no longer belonged to in the 1920s.

In spring of 1934 the central authorities of the Society in Lviv named a special instructor for the Lemko region with the task of monitoring reading rooms' condition, finances, and meeting protocols. Volodymyr Kutsii (perhaps Kornel?) became the first instructor.¹⁶⁸ The Society's work in the area was done through the intermediacy of delegate-organizers (who were simultaneously inspectors) acting within counties. They included: A. Batenchuk, M. Tsebrynsky, Y. Yanovytsky, O. Yaskov, Yuliiian Yurchakevych, A. Kopystiansky, V. Kutsii, O. Lutsyk, D. Protsyk and V. Vavryk.¹⁶⁹ They visited the Lemko region many times, gave program speeches, explained the Society's statutory goals, and encouraged people to participate in education outside of schools. In the activities performed they cited the nineteenth-century leaders of the pro-Russian current: Ivan Naumovych and Adolf Dobriansky. They also traded on Kachkovski's name despite his not having been a Moscophile but rather one of the “hard-line Rusyns.”¹⁷⁰

The activists from the Lviv authorities of the Society mentioned above had ties with the RSO. What is more, Tsebrynsky and Yurchakevych belonged to the party's Central Council. The Society's personal connections with the RSO at the highest levels permit the inference that the network of Kachkovsky reading rooms developed in the Lemko region was intended to supplement the influence of the pro-Russian party and to some extent was subordinate to it.

The “shop-stewards,” who generally belonged to the intelligentsia and lived in the cities and towns of districts, acted as liaisons between the Lviv headquarters and local centers of the Kachkovsky Society. In Sanok County these were E. Mokrytsky, M. Muzychka, and Y. Perelom; in Krosno, S. Vozniak; in Gorlice, S. Krushynsky, R. Maksymovych, Y. Mokhnatsky and Y. Siokalo; in Grybów and Nowy Sącz, S. Durkot, O. Hnatyshak and M. Trokhanovsky.¹⁷¹ They looked after the supply of books and periodicals to reading rooms and promoted particular titles. Aside from “Nauka,” which was the Society organ edited by

¹⁶⁵ DALO, f. I, op. 54, various numbers.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., nos.: 7603, 7604, 7606, 7608, 7611, 7614, 7617, 7618, 7619, 7620, 7624, 7626.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., case # 7611, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ “Zemlia i Volia,” 1934, no. 18, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ DALO, f. I, op. 51, case # 1230, p. 20; “Lystok,” 1939, no. 2, p. 17.

¹⁷⁰ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 51, [p.n.n.] On Kachkovsky's political stance, see J. Moklak, *Myhajło Kaczowski i czytelnice jego imienia na Łemkowszczyźnie*, “Magury '87,” Warszawa 1987, pp. 53–64.

¹⁷¹ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 279, p. 84. Numerous mentions in “Zemlia i Volia.”

Tsebrynsky, they provided “Zemlia i Volia,” the RSO organ, “Lemko,” the Lemko Association organ, and “Holos Naroda,” the RAO organ. It should be noted that the Society received a small subsidy from the MWRiOP (the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education) for the distribution of books in its libraries.¹⁷²

The largest group of Society associates in the area consisted of teachers, priests, and many farmers, who actively participated simultaneously in building RSO structure in their localities. On their shoulders lay the task of establishing libraries and conducting statutory activities.

In the 1930s the Moscovophile reading room movement reformed its organizational structure, creating affiliated branches of the Kachkovsky Society. The first branches took shape in the late '30s in Brody, Sambir, Sokal and Zhovkva; and in 1931 in Stanyslaviv and Zolochiv.¹⁷³ The locations of the first branches to be revived indicate that the area of the former Eastern Galicia was the main focus of the Lviv authorities' interest; it was there that they first made an effort to reconstruct the Society's prewar substance. It was soon revealed, however, that those branches were rather keeping alive smouldering pro-Russian sentiment than developing it in a forward direction. On the other hand dynamic growth of the number of Kachkovsky reading rooms was observed in the areas west of the San River, culminating in the establishment of branches in Ustrzyki Dolne (4 March 1934) and Sanok (23 March 1935).¹⁷⁴

The Sanok branch was in charge of the reading rooms in the counties of Krosno, Lesko and Sanok and the single branches in Brzozów County (Jabłonica Polska and Końskie) and Dobromyl County (Kreców). The reading rooms in the area of the Kraków voivodeship had a separate affiliate structure — their governing authority was the reading room in Gorlice founded in 1933.¹⁷⁵

At first the reading rooms were located in private homes, and it happened that some householders donated unused buildings for the purpose. Some rooms were leased from municipal authorities for a rental fee. In other cases they were located in church buildings. The wealthier reading room branches built their own buildings, fully adapted for execution of statutory goals, with a library, a theatrical stage, and rooms for holding each type of husbandry course, etc. In the first half of the 1930s the state administration encouraged these initiatives, though the reading rooms acquired funding themselves. Often it came in contributions from the more affluent intelligentsia, e.g. O. Hnatyshak donated 100 zloty to the fund to build a reading house in Krynica,¹⁷⁶ and sometimes the practice of self-taxation among reading room members was invoked. A particularly important source of financial support was the group of Aid Committees organized by Lemko emigrants in North America. Aid also came from organizations and individuals in Czechoslovakia.¹⁷⁷

The essence of the Kachkovsky reading rooms' success among Lemkos was based not so much on the Society program as the concrete social benefits which the reading rooms brought the population. Generally speaking, they developed the cultural and educational life

¹⁷² CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 422, *Hazetni vyryvky z statiamy V. R. Vavryka*, p. 3.

¹⁷³ “Nauka,” 1931, no. 4, p. 105.

¹⁷⁴ The founding assembly took place several months before legal registration (1 November 1934). The first Board was then elected, consisting of Y. Perelom as chairman, I. Tylka of Tyrawa Solna as deputy chairman, V. Mikhnovsky of Olchowiec as secretary, Y. Shatynsky and Y. Fedak as members and L. Yavorsky of Bukowsko and O. Ivanysyk of Łukowe as deputy members. See CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 470, *Hazetne povidomlennia, zvity i inshi materiialy (...) pro diialnist chytalni w misti Sianoku*, pp. 4, 6, 7; DALO, f. 1, op. 54, case # 7610, *Filia russofil'skogo tovarishchestva im. Mikhaïla Kachkovskogo v Sanokie*, 1935, p. 1.

¹⁷⁵ The board of the first reading room in Gorlice consisted of Y. Bishko as chairman, S. Baidovych, M. Yurkovsky, E. Kuryllo, P. Seifert, Y. Siokalo, I. Siokalo, and O. Vislowsky. See “Karpatorusskii Kalendar Lemko-Soiuz na god 1954,” Yonkers, p. 59.

¹⁷⁶ APK,UWKr, ref. # 352, p. 171.

¹⁷⁷ “Zemlia i Volia,” 1933, no. 3, p. 5.

of the countryside. The academies and occasional evenings they organized demanded the preparation of an artistic program. Many reading rooms had their own choirs. To ensure a high level of artistic quality, top-notch instructors were brought in. For example, in Krynica the reading room members taxed themselves and thus acquired the means to maintain an instructor-conductor, a post filled by Oleksandr A. Ropytsky from Lviv.¹⁷⁸ In Żegiestów, the choir and orchestra were conducted by Izydor Iacenyk, a student of Ropytsky, who conducted the choir in Andrzejówka.

In the 1930s amateur theater circles also grew increasingly active. Plays featuring multiple acts were even mounted, some written by Fr. K. Chaikovsky and I. Lutsyk. Preparation of theatrical productions featuring amateurs, most of whom were acting for the first time in their lives, demanded a great deal of work from the instructors.¹⁷⁹ Theatrical circles achieved recognition not only from the Lemko public, but also in surrounding Polish cities, e.g. the group from Wróblík Królewski had successful performances in Iwonicz and Łęczany. The theatrical shows dealt with topics relating to the Lemko tradition, but also fulfilled propaganda functions. Beside homegrown creations, works of Russian poetry were recited. At the ceremony in honor of the Kachkovsky reading room in Węglówka's silver jubilee on 25 October 1931, the repertoire included Aleksandr Pushkin's tale of the golden fish. The Kachkovsky reading rooms in Florynka and Czarne, for their part, organized a special ceremony for the centenary of the death of Pushkin, "the greatest Rusyn poet."¹⁸⁰ Interest in the art of acting grew relatively quickly, and by 1935 there were 37 reading rooms with their own theater groups.¹⁸¹

Despite the enormous success of the Kachkovsky reading rooms among Lemkos, sources also reveal a weak side of their work. There were reading rooms burgeoning with activity, such as those in Andrzejówka, Jabłonica Polska, Pielgrzymka, Tylicz, Węglówka, Wróblík Królewski, and Zawadka Rymanowska, but a considerable number of reading rooms showed scanty involvement. The reports of inspectors monitoring the execution of reading rooms' statutory obligations, Y. Yanovytsky and N. Kohut, often contained language stating a lack of activity, e.g. "the reading rooms exist only on paper" or "there is no sign of life." The inspectors enumerated a series of violations of the duties of reading room boards: no registers of members, no protocols of meetings, no cashbooks, and others.¹⁸²

The inspectors also recorded the prevailing conditions in supervisory units, i.e. Society branches. Inspection of the Sanok branch brought to light the same defects observed in many reading rooms. Lutsyk, arriving in Sanok on 17 April 1937 with the goal of making an inspection, stated in a letter to headquarters in Lviv that "conducting an inspection is impossible, because the branch shows no activity whatsoever [...], does not keep a register of members [...], books of meeting protocols [...], cashbooks [...], a list of library books [...]."¹⁸³ The same day, 17 April, as a result of harsh criticism of the chairman of the board of that branch, Yosyf Perelom, he resigned from his the post he had theretofore filled, and Fr.

¹⁷⁸ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 462, p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ The instructors were O. Gromosiak in Kamianna, I. Hychko in Trepca, T. Yadlovsky in Smerekowiec, I. Yurkovsky in Skwirtne, S. Varkholiak in Wróblík Królewski, M. Voloshynovych in Królik Wołoski. See "Lemko," 1936, no. 39, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ "Zemlia i Volia," 1931, no. 45, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ Andrzejówka, Bieliczna, Bogusza, Desznica, Florynka, Gładyszów, Hańczowa, Jabłonica Polska, Klimkówka, Kostarowce, Krynica Wieś, Królowa Ruska, Królik Wołoski, Kunkowa, Labowa, Łosie, Milik, Mochnaczka Niżna, Mochnaczka Wyzna, Nowa Wieś, Nowica, Pietrusza Wola, Powroźnik, Radocyna, Regetów, Rozdziele, Skwirtne, Smerekowiec, Świątkowa Wielka, Trepca, Wapienne, Węglówka, Wojkowa, Wysowa, Zdynia, Złockie, Zyndranowa. See CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 542, *Vidomosti pro naiavnost hurtkiv bibliotek pry chytalniakh, 1938–1939*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁸² CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 475, *Zvity instruktora tovarystva Osypa Janovytskoho pro svoiu robotu ta lystuvannia z nym, 1934–1938*, p. 13.

¹⁸³ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 470, p. 27.

Volodymyr Venhrynovych of Kostarowce was appointed chairman.¹⁸⁴ This disorder in documentation to a greater or lesser degree was evident in all of these institutions, but the reasons for the phenomenon should be identified not as aversion to the Society or the reading rooms, but rather a lack of organizational discipline.

In general, beginning in the mid-1930s, a crisis descended upon the development of Kachkovsky reading rooms in the Lemko region. The Moscovophile publication “Russkii Golos” issued a proclamation to the Society on 27 September 1936 in which we read: “The crisis and the financial state of our Society are not allowing us to develop our cultural and educational operations as is needed [...]. Meager resources keep the Society from implementing the plan for reviving and expanding its operations among the broad masses of the Russian population. The work of the Society cannot take on broad dimensions and for that reason the plans remain [mere] plans.”¹⁸⁵ An appeal was made for contributions to the community and October 1936 was declared Kachkovsky Society Month throughout the entire country. Ukrainian publications commented on this fact as a testimony to the decline of the Moscovophile idea in the Lemko region and in Poland.

Nonetheless the Kachkovsky Society was an institution which penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the Lemko population, because it did not foist on its audience the Russian idea outright (in contrast to Ukrainian institutions¹⁸⁶), but operated according to values accepted by the peasants and tried to defy their social and economic expectations. Among Moscovophile and Old Rusyn institutions, the Kachkovsky Society thanks to the reading rooms had the furthest-reaching organizational structure, surpassing even the extremely well-organized RSO in this aspect.

The Kachkovsky reading rooms were used by both Moscovophiles and Old Rusyns. The attitudes among Lemko members of the reading rooms varied. The decisive majority took part in the work of the rooms from practical incentives and the need to develop culture and education in rural areas, and were politically indifferent. A determinant related to political criteria was their ties to the Rusyn tradition, which, however, was often understood as a cultural or religious value; hence Lemkos' difficulty with national identification.

D. Orthodox faith and political consciousness

Both the Eastern Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy played important roles in the development of Lemko confessional and political consciousness. The majority of Greek Catholic priests supported the development of Ukrainian socioeconomic and political institutions, but a certain number promoted the Old Rusyn dispensation, and even a few the pro-Russian one. Orthodox clergy appointed by the Orthodox Metropolitan in Poland, Dionizy Valedinski, to come to the Lemko region had a significant influence on the development of Moscovophile institutions.

Conversions of Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy began in late 1926 in the central Lemko region, and next spread to the western part. As a result of Metropolitan Dionizy's efforts, the first centers of Orthodoxy were legalized by the MWRiOP in March and April 1928.¹⁸⁷ Though it is true that state authorities did not immediately accept the convert community, responding negatively to the Metropolitan's subsequent requests, but in the end — recognizing the durability of the Orthodox faith in the Lemko region — they established six permanent Orthodox affiliates, of which five: Czarne, Desznica, Mszana, Radocyna and

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted from “Dilo,” 1936, no. 226, p. 1

¹⁸⁶ Y. Tarnovych, *Ilustrovana istoriia Lemkivshchyny*, Lviv 1936, pp. 246–247.

¹⁸⁷ AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 1086, *Miesięczne listy dotacji dla parafialnego duchowieństwa i służby cerkiewnej: woj. lwowskie i łódzkie, 1928–1933*, p. 5, 25.

Tylawa were subordinate to the Lviv parish, and one (Bogusza) — to the parish in Piotrków.¹⁸⁸ Table 1 contains a statistical comparison of Orthodox believers in those affiliates.

Table 1. The structure of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Lemko region as determined by MWRiOP in 1928.

parish affiliate	Parish	County	Affiliate location	Number of Eastern Orthodox adherents
Bogusza	p	Grybów	Bogusza	539
			Królowa	697
Czarne	l	Gorlice	Czarna	280
			Wołowiec	187
			Nieznajowa	131
			Lipna	160
Desznica	l	Jasło	Desznica	200
			Świątkowa W.	400
			Świątkowa M.	250
			Swierzowa	350
			Hałbów	100
Radocyna	l	Gorlice	Radocyna	353
			Długie	176
Mszana	l	Krosno	Mszana	800
			Smereczne	200
			Wilsznia	280
Tylawa	l	Krosno	Tylawa	700
			Trzciana	540

abbreviations: p — Piotrków, l — Lviv.

Sources AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 1043, pp. 185–186; *ibid.*, ref. # 1075, [p.n.n.] Another statistical configuration prepared in the Jasło district provides the following number of Orthodox believers in the respective municipalities of Świątkowa Wielka — 350, Świątkowa Mała — 150, and Świerzowa Ruska — 225. See *ibid.*, ref. # 1043, p. 219.

¹⁸⁸ The approval process for the Orthodox Church in the Lemko region took place in two stages. In the first stage, in its rescript of 3 March 1928 MWRiOP established permanent affiliates in Desznica, Czarne and Radocyna (parish in Lviv) and affiliates in Bogusza (parish in Piotrków). In the second stage, by the decision of 26 April 1928, two further affiliates were established, in Tylawa and Mszana, which were joined to the Lviv parish. See AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 1049, *Wykazy parafii i filii etatowych i nieetatowych oraz etatów duchowieństwa według diecezji*, pp. 15, 162, 177. See J. Moklak, *Kształtowanie się struktury Kościoła prawosławnego na Łemkowszczyźnie w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Przez dwa stulecia, XIX i XX w.*, Kraków 1993, pp. 51–77.

The structure of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Lemko region, established in 1928, did not at the time of its approval include all of the areas immersed in Orthodox faith. In a letter to the MWRiOP dated 21 September of that year, Archbishop Feodosii put forward a plan to make many changes to the structure. He proposed developing affiliates in Bogusza, Czarne, Desznica, Mszana and Radocyna and establishing a new affiliate of the Lviv parish in Świątkowa Wielka. He even tried to institute a parish (not an affiliate) for Bartne and Przegonina.¹⁸⁹ The authorities of the Warsaw metropolity made a fruitless effort to obtain the status of parish or affiliate for many other localities, including some only partly comprised by Orthodox believers.

In the second half of May 1935 at the meeting of the Missionary Commission of the Warsaw–Chełm Orthodox diocese, which was chaired by Metropolitan Dionizy, the decision was taken to modify the structure of the Orthodox church in the southeastern voivodeships. The entire area was divided into two districts: the Eastern Galician district, which coincided with the Greek Catholic Przemyśl diocese (not including the Lemko region), under the leadership of archimandrite F. Narko, and the Lemko district, coinciding with the AAL (Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region), under the leadership of Fr. Yurii Pavlyshyn, provost of the affiliate in Czarne.¹⁹⁰

From then on the Warsaw metropolity conducted a separate mission campaign among Lemkos, but until 1939 the Orthodox church structure in the Lemko region remained unchanged, and the number of adherents of Orthodox faith recruited from Greek Catholic parishes oscillated within the environs of 19,000.¹⁹¹

The tendency shown by Lemkos to convert from the Greek Catholic confession to the Orthodox was a direct result of the ministerial methods of the Greek Catholic clergy. Since the late nineteenth century the term “ortodoxus” (“true-believing”) had been deleted from the liturgy and replaced with the word “ortopistos” (“true-faithful”). These acts had a political basis, and were explained by the desire to eliminate mental associations with Russian orthodoxy, which functioned as a political actor in internal and foreign policy in Russia, among the faithful. Thus young Greek Catholic priests in particular fostered an attitude toward Orthodoxy built on feelings of an external Russian threat. This behavior did not, however, have canonical justification, and contravened the resolutions of the Holy See of 19 May 1887, as well as the position of the Lviv provincial synod of 1891, which clearly underscored the words addressed to the faithful by the deacon: “All of you Orthodox Christians.”¹⁹²

A direct cause of conversion was the liturgical question. The population, accustomed to a fixed mode of worship, expressed its dissatisfaction with the clergy, who omitted the word “Orthodox” from the liturgy. The attachment to this word was so strong that when the rector introduced it into the liturgy at the request of the faithful, e.g. at Christmas, an immediate healing of relations with parishioners occurred. One priest who permitted this described his impression thus: “[...] in order to make people happy, I said 'All of you Orthodox Christians.' And truly, the joy this caused was tremendous. Since that time people began to take a liking to me, and this in spite of my distinct political and party convictions.”¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Feodosii proposed joining Bartne and Przegonina to the affiliate in Bogusza, showing a lack of familiarity with the geography of the Lemko region — it was considerably closer from there to Czarne, Desznica or Radocyna, see AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 1043, pp. 194–195, 217.

¹⁹⁰ J. Moklak, *Kształtowanie się struktury Kościoła prawosławnego*, pp. 65–66.

¹⁹¹ The statistical configuration for 1933, prepared for the needs of the Polish government, gives the number 18,022, see AAN, MSZ, ref. # 5219, *Komisja Kresów Wschodnich. Materiały programowe i organizacyjne*, p. 3.

¹⁹² See *Chynnosti i rishennia provincialnoho Soboru w Halychyni 1891 r.*, Lviv 1894, p. 170.

¹⁹³ I. Polianskii, *Perebih sporu o slovo “pravoslavnyi” v Tylavi, ta jeho vyslid: vybukh religiinoho rozdoru*

Religious feeling in the Lemko region was closely observed by the Greek Catholic consistory in Przemyśl. Signs of conflicts between believers and some Greek Catholic clergy had been flowing to the diocese since the beginning of the 1920s. The prevalent mood among the faithful in Tylawa and Trzciana before the conversion was known in Przemyśl. The Orthodox movement in the interwar period had begun in those cities and quickly spread to the other parts of the Lemko region.¹⁹⁴ Father Ivan Poliansky, an Old Rusyn faithful to the Greek Catholic church, chancellor of the AAL, stated that the Przemyśl ordinariate could with relative ease hold back the development of Orthodoxy in the Lemko region through some concessions of a terminological nature. According to Poliansky, it would suffice to reintroduce the word “Orthodox” in Greek Catholic liturgy in order to effectively master the mood of the population leaning towards conversion. The diocesan visitation to Tylawa conducted on 17 July 1926, three months before the conversion, did not resolve the conflict, however, despite the parish administrator's efforts to secure the visitor's agreement to introduce the word “Orthodox” into the liturgy.¹⁹⁵ The absence of a compromise between parishioners and diocesan authority in the matter was effectively used by Moscovite activists in other places, too, and for a long time constituted a barrier which prohibited the defusing of growing religious conflicts.

A convergence of events seizes the scholar's attention. On the one hand strenuous efforts by Metropolitan Dionizy to increase the importance of the Orthodox Church in southeastern Poland were taking place, while on the other the pro-Russian RSO reorganized, establishing ever closer contact with the Russian National Union. It is difficult to definitively state how closely the Metropolitan circles cooperated with the RSO. It seems that lasting associations existed only at intermediate levels: between the Warsaw Metropolis and the RZN, and between the RZN and RSO.¹⁹⁶ In the former relationship, the common ground was Orthodox confession understood as a pan-Russian idea, in the latter — coinciding political and confessional programs resulting from obeisance to Russia and hostility to the Ukrainian movement. Hence the RSO at first supported the development of Orthodoxy, and its activists also included Greek Catholic clergy. Attitudes to the denominational issue would change only in the 1930s, when the RSO approved a resolution on the necessity of preventing religious disputes.¹⁹⁷

Before that came to pass, however, conversions to Orthodoxy became a mass phenomenon and nurtured the strengthening of the pro-Russian current. They were accompanied by public speeches against the Greek Catholic church and Ukrainian secular institutions. Several times the mood grew to such a pitch of fanaticism that people were incited to commit crimes.

The first social conflicts in a religious context occurred in the summer of 1927. They were initiated by the so-called “attack of the broads,” which was conducted in Tylawa on 3 July 1927, and consisted in the demolition of the Greek Catholic presbytery by a group of irate women. The attackers' fury only subsided when “a bed that was too big would not fit in the window.”¹⁹⁸ The women served an ultimatum on the Greek Catholic rector, Fr. Ivan Shkilnyk: he had 14 days to leave Tylawa or they threatened to repeat the assault. The women's storming of the presbytery was calculated to avoid repressions from the authorities, but further attacks were begun without deception. During a repeat attack the police

na *Lemkivshchyni*, “Visti Apostolskoi Administratsii Lemkivshchyny”, 1936, vol. 10, p. 148.

¹⁹⁴ See A. Kruhelsky, *Tylavska skhizma na Lemkivshchyni, ii istoriia i teperishnyi stan*, Lviv 1933; J. Moklak, *Życie polityczne i religijne ludności łemkowskiej powiatu krośnieńskiego w latach 1918–1939 (na tle całego regionu)*, in: *Krosno. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, vol. 3, Rzeszów 1995, pp. 206–208.

¹⁹⁵ I. Polianskii, op. cit., pp. 151–152.

¹⁹⁶ AAN, MSW, ref. # 961, p. 228; SN, 1927, no. 3, pp. 289–290.

¹⁹⁷ SN, 1935, no. 6, p. 651.

¹⁹⁸ A. Kruhelsky, op. cit., p. 30.

intervened, as property belonging to the Greek Catholic Church (goods and real estate) were legally protected by a concordat concluded between Poland and the Vatican in 1925. Henceforward the watchfulness of posts in regions threatened with interdenominational conflicts was intensified. In subsequent years, as a result of numerous attacks on Orthodox churches from which liturgical objects were spirited away, the police often had to intervene.¹⁹⁹

Some Orthodox priests got involved in campaigns whose aim was the seizure of Greek Catholic parish property: church buildings and presbytery. In Krosno County Fr. Mikhail Ivaskov, appointed to Tylawa by Metropolitan Dionizy in January 1927, played an inspiring role. He replaced Fr. Panteleimon Rudyk, who returned to his position of rector in Lviv. In one of his reports to the MWRiOP Lviv voivode Piotr Dunin-Borkowski wrote on the basis of dispatches from the starost of Krosno: “the Orthodox population of these municipalities [Hyrowa, Mszana, Trzciana, Tylawa — JM] is consumed with religious fanaticism fomented by the priest responsible for shepherding the Tylawa flock, Fr. M. Ivaskov, and by his minions. That population, as a rule unintelligent and ill-informed, lives in the belief that it is persecuted for having converted, and that because it considers the property of church and parish to be its own [...] and is of the opinion that the authorities are acting illegally by not transferring that property to the Orthodox faith, since the whole village has gone over to Orthodoxy.”²⁰⁰

Attempts to seize Greek Catholic property occurred in municipalities where civil tension was at its highest and where the priest's approach was to excuse such efforts or even give them his blessing. They included cities and towns in the Gorlice and Jasło counties, where energetic pro-Orthodox activity was led by Fr. Mykhailo Hrytsai. In autumn of 1927, at his initiative, and often with his participation, the converts made a series of attempts to seize Greek Catholic churches in Świątkowa Wielka, Radocyna Długie, Czarne and other places.²⁰¹ The tension among the embittered population was so great that threats to burn down churches and presbytery buildings were made, and Gorlice district saw fit to set up a permanent National Police Post in Nieznajowa with the task of maintaining public order in municipalities populated largely by Orthodox believers.²⁰²

In the spring of 1928 social conflicts once again broke out, leading for the first time to an interventionist reaction from the government. On the eve of the Easter holiday, 12 April, the Orthodox populace of Świerzowa Ruska and Kotań took over the Greek Catholic church buildings in both places by force. The church in Kotań, robbed of its liturgical objects, was soon abandoned, while in Świerzowa ceremonial night watches were organized. The rector of the local Greek Catholic parish, Fr. Petro Kalamunetsky, lost whatever influence he had had on the course of events. The problem reached the MWRiOP in Warsaw as a matter of professional duties. A hastily organized expeditionary unit consisting of about 30 police functionaries set off for Desznica late at night in a truck. Jasło County starost Antoni Zoll took part in the operation, as did Commissioner Stańko, representative of the National Police Headquarters in Kraków, armed with tear-gas pellets. From Desznica the unit went on foot to Świerzowa and Świątkowa Mała. The next day order was restored in both places, and the Greek Catholic churches sealed shut.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 278, *Sprawozdania sytuacyjne miesięczne wojewody krakowskiego, I–XII, 1930*, p. 61; see ref. # 279.

²⁰⁰ AAN, MWRiOP, ref. # 1043, p. 33.

²⁰¹ Ibid, pp. 27, 31, 43, 48, 57–60. The starosta of Gorlice, A. Ricci, in a letter to the Kraków voivode L. Darowski defined the activities of Fr. Hrytsai as “intensive agitation” on behalf of Eastern Orthodoxy, adding that “instead of having a calming influence on the excited minds of the population, he uses his sermons to incite the population to take the church by force.”

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ AP K, UWKr, ref. # 32, *Sprawy wyznaniowe. Prawosławie na Podkarpaciu*, p.n.n.

In the first years of Orthodoxy's growth, the clergy in their organizational work placed priority on their pastoral duties. Nonetheless some of them actively participated in developing Kachkovsky reading rooms and maintained contact with the RSO. Among those involved in this current were Fr. Stepan Pashkevych, who revived the reading room in Grab in 1927 and for a certain time fulfilled the function of chairman of the board, Fr. Oleksandr Ivanovych and his wife (took part in the revival of the reading rooms in Królowa Ruska in December 1928 and Bogusza in June 1929), Fr. Kostiantyn Sheremeta — provost of the Orthodox affiliate in Mszana (beginning in summer 1928 personally ran the Board of the Kachkovsky Society in Lviv and the effort in Krosno district to legally register the reading room in Mszana), and M. Ivaskov, who organized a network of libraries “for the enlightenment of the Lemko region.”²⁰⁴ There were some incidents of sociopolitical journalism engaged in by Orthodox priests (e.g. M. Dolnytsky, M. Ivaskov, P. Shvaika).²⁰⁵ During this first period of the spread of Orthodoxy, social engagement, especially of a political type, was trumped for most priests by efforts on behalf of strengthening the Orthodox faith and the structures of the Orthodox Church in the Lemko Region.

Things were different in the 1930s. The active involvement of some priests in the reading room movement increased. There were several factors contributing to this change. Firstly, the fascination with Orthodoxy had weakened and interdenominational conflicts were becoming less and less frequent. The clergy were forced to look for new areas of dialogue with the population. After the wave of socioreligious upheavals, there now began the term of trial, which would show how capable the Orthodox clergy were of participating in the daily life of the Lemkos. Among over 40 priests²⁰⁶ working in affiliates or outposts before 1939, a certain number were engaged in village issues. These priests, opposed to the Greek Catholic Church which supported the Ukrainian movement, stood with the pro-Russian orientation, or much less frequently the Old Rusyn one. There were exceptional cases of participation by Orthodox priests in the Ukrainian movement, e.g. Fr. Volodymyr Okhab of Mszana.

The Orthodox clergy's involvement caused certain Kachkovsky reading rooms to become an integral part of the Orthodox mission in the Lemko region. In many cases they were located in Orthodox parish buildings, e.g. in Czarne. In the reading rooms themselves, which were statutorily interfaith, the cult of Maksym Sandovych spread. Reading rooms took active part in the mourning ceremonies in honor of the Talerhof dead. The ceremonies in Czarne, organized jointly on 1 September 1935 by the local reading room and the Orthodox affiliate, gathered over 8,000 participants from 27 villages. Several Orthodox priests took part in them (A. Krynytsky, V. Lutkevych and Y. Pavlyshyn).²⁰⁷

Beginning in the mid-1930s, the RSO and Kachkovsky Society central authorities influenced their local chapters in the area for the purpose of neutralizing the interdenominational conflicts smouldering in some places. The aim was to gain Greek Catholic converts of Old Rusyn orientation. Above all they proposed to organize general assemblies with the involvement of clergy from both confessions. The idea was to prevent religious disputes and “unite on the soil of cultural and educational activities.”²⁰⁸ Thanks to preserved archival records, we are well-acquainted with the course of inspections conducted by Y. Yanovytsky at the Kachkovsky reading room in Czyrna in May 1936. The inspection

²⁰⁴ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 363, *Hazetni povidomlennia, zvyty i inshi materiialy pro [...] diialnist chytalni v seli Tylava, Korosnivskoho povitu, 1929–1938*, p. 1.

²⁰⁵ CDIAL, f. 129, op. 3, case # 269. *Rukopysy statei, vidozv, povidomlen ta in. nadeslani z Lemkivshchyny do redakcii pravoslavno-tserkovnoho zhurnalu “Voskriesiennia” u Lvovi*, pp. 86, 99, 117, 158–163.

²⁰⁶ Priest's (incomplete) statement, see J. Moklak, *Kształtowanie się struktury Kościoła prawosławnego*, pp. 76–77.

²⁰⁷ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 427, pp. 21, 26.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., case # 383, *Informatsiia, zvyty i inshi materiialy pro [...] diialnist chytalni v seli Chyrynii, Novosanchivskoho povitu, 1930–1936*, p. 13.

revealed that the reading room's operations had ceased due to religious disunity in the village. As inspector, Yanovytsky bound the reading room officials to renew its activity with the help of clergy from both denominations: Orthodox — Fr. Stepan Pashkevych of Piorunka, responsible for Czarna, and Greek Catholic — Fr. Stepan Kuzyk.²⁰⁹

In the 1930s the most active involvement in the Moscophile movement's development was shown by Fr. Yurii Pavlyshyn. He fulfilled the function of provost at the Orthodox parish affiliate in Czarne, with authority over Lipna, Nieznajowa and Wołowiec. Pavlyshyn led the Orthodox mission campaign in the Lemko region, which consisted of, among other things, founding the Sandovych Orthodox Brotherhoods and supporting Moscophile reading rooms. He set in motion particularly energetic operations in the area of his affiliate, especially in Czarne, where he was chairman of the Kachkovsky reading room.²¹⁰ He represented the strictest Russian orientation. In public appearances he often used the Russian literary language, and he conducted his correspondence with the central board of the Kachkovsky Society in Lviv entirely in Russian.²¹¹ Thanks to his involvement reading rooms took shape in the local vicinity, e.g. in Pętna — an area with strong Ukrainian influence.²¹²

Among the many Kachkovsky reading rooms in the Lemko region, only one was explicitly denominational, formally enunciating its statutory goals in terms of Orthodox religious values. This was the reading room in Bartne, which took the official name: Kachkovsky II Orthodox Reading Room in Bartne.²¹³ Its inception was the result of interdenominational conflict between Orthodox and Greek Catholic members of the previous reading room. On 23 April 1930 the members of Orthodox faith finally seceded, having chosen as their leader Stepan Felenchak. The reading room's split into two separate units had ideological and confessional significance largely at the local level, because elsewhere, despite equally dramatic interconfessional conflicts, the phenomenon did not recur. The Society's central authorities in Lviv recognized that reading room as Orthodox, but neither it nor its predecessor engaged in statutory activity. The conflict was motivated rather more by the desire to exhibit attitudes than different views on methods of social action, its scope or goals. The reading room in Bartne was finally revived by the Orthodox priest Balyk in 1936.²¹⁴

An important role was also played in the development of the pro-Russian dispensation by the Greek Catholic clergy. Old Rusyn sentiments within the Greek Catholic church lived on into the 1930s, despite the tendency toward nationalization (Ukrainization) in the Church since the mid-nineteenth century. There were considerably fewer Moscophiles among the Greek Catholic clergy than Old Rusyns, but they played a more prominent role. With regard to the years 1911–1919 it is worth remembering the activities of Fr. Yurchakevych. In the interwar period the leading figure was Fr. Chaikovsky, who had a high function in the central RSO and Kachkovsky Society authorities. He was a self-declared Russian, a member of the RZN (Russian National Union). He had no hesitation, publicly, about working together with Orthodox clergy, when at issue was the development of the pro-Russian idea.²¹⁵ A politician, social and religious activist, and sociopolitical journalist, he achieved fame through his feuilletons printed over the years in “Zemlia i Volia.” Particularly well-known were his articles written under the pseudonym “Dido Torochylo,” in which he showed great

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

²¹⁰ “Zemlia i Volia,” 1934, no. 45, p. 4. The following local farmers actively cooperated with Pavlyshyn: D. Baisa, V. Baisa, S. Barna, Y. Motyka, Y. Pryslopsky, P. Pryslopsky, P. Zhydiak.

²¹¹ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 427.

²¹² Ibid., case # 470, pp. 7, 8, 9; “Nauka”, 1935, no. 1, p. 12.

²¹³ CDIAL, f. 182, op. 1, case # 349, *Hazetni povidomlennia, zvity i inshi materiialy pro [...] diialnist chytalni v seli Bortne, Horlytskoho povitu, 1930–1937*, p. 3.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 27, 28.

²¹⁵ Ibid., case # 290, p. 8. On the list of Kachkovsky reading room members in Mszana he was preceded by the Orthodox priest Sheremeta.

journalistic talent, familiarity with reader psychology, and ease in acquiring the reader's sympathy. He had no equal in his own camp and very few in the Ukrainian camp could measure up to him. He himself, however, was a Lemko — he came from the Boiko region. In 1933 by order of the tutelary authorities in Przemyśl he was transferred to the environs of Stryi Sambir.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ “Zemlia i Volia,” 1933, no. 1, p. 4.