

UDC 930(477)(092):821.161.2-92.09(092)"185/19"
DOI: 10.24919/2312-2595.9/51.254461

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Бібліографічний опис статті: Telvak, V.V., Kurylyshyn, K., & Telvak, V.P. (2022). Mikhailo Hrushevskiy's journalistic work on the pages of the "Dilo" newspaper in the late 19th – early 20th centuries. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*, 9/51, 126–141. doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.9/51.254461>.

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Проблеми гуманітарних наук. Серія Історія. Випуск 9/51 (2022)

ПУБЛІЦИСТИКА МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО НА СТОРІНКАХ ГАЗЕТИ «ДІЛО» НАПРИКІНЦІ ХІХ – НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у з'ясуванні особливостей співпраці М. Грушевського з часописом «Діло» протягом кінця ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. **Методологічне підґрунтя** становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності й історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексної реконструкції співпраці М. Грушевського з часописом «Діло» до початку Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Як свідчить наведений матеріал, співпраця М. Грушевського з часописом «Діло» протягом кінця ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. мала системний та інтенсивний характер. Історик розглядав медійну трибуну опозиційних народовців головним інструментом комунікації з галицькою громадою. Тож більшість газетних дописів львівської доби життя та діяльності М. Грушевського припадає саме на «Діло». Ці дописи мали різножанровий і багатотематичний характер. До 1894 р. в них домінували белетристичні та науково-популярні сюжети. Натомість, протягом 1894–1914 рр. бачимо поступове зростання публіцистики громадського характеру. В ній пропонувалося відкрите обговорення найбільш важливих для поступу тогочасного українства проблем. Усі ці дописи об'єднувала соборницька ідеологія та об'єднавча риторика. У підсумку, за посередництва «Діла» громадські ініціативи М. Грушевського здобували все більше прихильників по обох боках Збруча, ставши вимогами українського руху в роки війни та революції.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський; часопис «Діло»; редакційна політика; співпраця; реценція.

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To cite this article: Telvak, V.V., Kurylyshyn, K., & Telvak, V.P. (2022). Mykhailo Hrushevskiy's journalistic work on the pages of the "Dilo" newspaper in the late 19th – early 20th centuries. *Problemy humanitarnykh nauk: zbirnyk naukovykh prats Drohobyt'skoho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Ivana Franka. Serii Istorii – Problems of Humanities. History Series: a collection of scientific articles of the Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University*, 9/51, 126–141. doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.9/51.254461>.

MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYI'S JOURNALISTIC WORK ON THE PAGES OF THE "DILO" NEWSPAPER IN THE LATE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURIES

Summary. *The purpose of the research is to discover the peculiarities of M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with the "Dilo" newspaper during the late 19th – early 20th centuries. The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach with particular emphasis on the structural-functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative-historical method, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. The study also used methods of periodization, classification and typology. The article's scientific novelty lies in an attempt to comprehensively reconstruct the full extent of M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with the "Dilo" newspaper before World War I.*
Conclusions. *According to the provided materials, M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with the "Dilo" newspaper during the late 19th – early*

20th centuries was systemic and proactive. The historian considered this opposition activists' media tribune to be his primary communication device with the Galician community. Therefore, most of M. Hrushevskyyi's opinion pieces during the Lviv period of his life were written for "Dilo". These opinion pieces represented a wide variety of genres and themes. Until 1894, they mostly consisted of fiction and popular science articles. During 1894–1914, however, we see a gradual increase in his appeals to the public. He offered an open discussion of the most important issues for Ukraine's progress of that time. All of these opinion pieces share a common conciliar ideology and unifying rhetoric. To sum everything up, M. Hrushevskyyi's public initiatives exponentially gained more supporters on both sides of the Zbruch river due to the efforts of "Dilo", influencing the goals set by the Ukrainian movement during the Ukrainian War of Independence.

Key words: M. Hrushevskyyi; "Dilo" newspaper; editorial policy; cooperation; reception.

Formulation of the problem. Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi's relationship with publications of his time is a rather popular fodder for literary works of various genres which explore the scientist's life and career. There is a lot of material that covers the establishment and running of written press by the historian, his collaboration with numerous newspapers and various publications, and, finally, the reception of the intellectual's opinion pieces in the pages of contemporary press. Such considerable research interest reveals a number of promising topics for discussion in this field. Among the most important is the multifaceted issue of M. Hrushevskyyi's relationship with Lviv's foremost newspaper – "Dilo". Comprehensive research of this issue is necessitated by the fact that the historian had the longest and most intensive cooperation with the mouthpiece of Galician social activism. Let us recall the creative debut of the then student of Tiflis's (Tbilisi) First Classical Gymnasium, which happened on the pages of "Dilo". Since then, the Galician newspaper did not lose sight of the Great Ukrainian until its forced closure in 1939, hospitably providing its columns for numerous texts by the historian and devoting many diverse articles of a wide spectrum of evaluations. It should be noted that not all of these publications came to the attention of researchers, instead, many of them shed light on little-known or completely obscure facts of the scientist's biography. Therefore, as the first step towards a holistic understanding of the "Hrushevskyyi and Dilo" problem,

we will try to clarify the features of his collaboration with the principal Galician publication in the late 19th – early 20th centuries.

Source studies and recent research analysis. M. Hrushevskiy's multi-genre publications on the pages of the "Dilo" newspaper, published in the late 19th – early 20th centuries are the main source of our research. M. Hrushevskiy's relationship with the "Dilo" newspaper often came to the attention of researchers of his legacy. Most often it related to the historian's collaboration with the Lviv newspaper. Svitlana Pankova's attempt to generalize his opinion pieces of 1905–1917 could be one such example. The problem of reception of M. Hrushevskiy's diverse heritage in "Dilo" has been repeatedly addressed by V. Telvak. However, there is no comprehensive analysis of M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with Galician Ukraine's leading newspaper in pre-revolutionary times as of today. This determines the relevance of our study's topic.

The purpose of the research is to discover the peculiarities of M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with the "Dilo" newspaper during the late 19th – early 20th centuries.

The article's **scientific novelty** lies in an attempt to comprehensively reconstruct the full extent of M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with the "Dilo" newspaper before World War I.

Presentation of the main material. It is well-established that M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with "Dilo" began under the influence of his literary mentor Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi in 1885. In fact, during the three June issues of the newspaper, a famous story of the then Tiflis First Classical Gymnasium student, titled "Beh al-Jugur", was published, which introduced him to the relatively small circle of Ukrainian writers. Instead, until recently, it remained unknown that the collaboration of the novice fiction writer with the Galician publication did not cease there, but continued in the following years. In fact, we, to our enormous surprise, came across previously unknown prints of two of M. Hrushevskiy's early written works of fiction. The first story, "The Silent Witness", was published in three "Dilo" issues, beginning with April 11 (23), 1887 ("Nemyi svedok", 1887). It was signed by one of the most common literary pseudonyms of the fledgling writer – Mykhailo Serhienko Zavoloka. The second short story, The Last Corner, appeared in two Christmas issues of Deeds, beginning December 24, 1887 (January 5, 1888) (Mykhailo Z-ka, 1887). It was signed by an abbreviated version of the same pseudonym – Mykhailo Zavoloka. This find becomes sensational due to

fact that neither the author nor his mentor knew about the publication of these works, despite discussing their preparation for publication at length. Therefore, these works were not included in any of M. Hrushevskyy's bibliographies and it was believed that they were first published only recently as part of the well-known "From Literary Heritage" collection. Looking ahead, we have to say this was only the first of many finds of such previously unknown publications of the historian in "Dilo".

The interest of the newspaper's editorial board in M. Hrushevskyy quickly increased after the first rumors about V. Antonovych's refusal to become the Chair of Ukrainian History at the Lviv University as was projected, and following the patronage of Kyiv's most prominent student in historical and source study circles by sympathizers of the "new age" policy, who preferred him at the professorial position. In their coverage of the founding and establishment of a new department, "Dilo" provided a lot of information previously unknown to us. In particular, we learn about the existence of many contenders from the "gente Rutheni natione Poloni" group of historians (the name of Krakow professor Anatol Levytskyi was mentioned the most), whom the Polish administration of the region considered for possible participation in the elections, but ultimately backed down, anticipating considerable opposition from the local activists ("Katedra", 1893, p. 2). Another little-known detail is the planned participation of well-respected Galician figure Yulian Tselevych, whom many wanted to see in the Chair's position, but the untimely death of the historian curtailed such plans. Lastly, "Dilo" also provided detailed information about the possible participation of candidates from the Russian-controlled parts of Ukraine, in particular those from V. Antonovych's school ("U Lvove", 1894, p. 1).

After the final approval of M. Hrushevskyy's candidacy, several biographical articles about the candidate appeared on the pages of "Dilo", alongside several Ukrainian translations of his works – articles, speeches at meetings of scientific societies and excerpts from major feature papers translated by Anatol Vakhnianyn. The most relevant of these is the published report of the Kyiv undergraduate student: "Conditional Forms of Aristocratic Land Ownership in Ukraine", presented at a meeting of the Nestor the Chronicler Historical Society, which was not included in any of his bibliographies (Hrushevskyy, 1894, p. 1). Despite the fact that M. Hrushevskyy's attainment of the Chair position was a consequence of O. Barvinskyi's actions, which went against the position of the "Dilo"

editorial board, the publication openly sympathized with the young historian, understanding the national importance of the department's opening and the assumption of its leadership by a young and powerful intellectual force. Such sympathies are evident in numerous articles devoted to the M. Hrushevskiy's dissertation defense or descriptions of well-attended celebrations organized by Ukrainians in Kyiv in honor of the now master's student ("Mahisterska dysputa", 1894).

It's clear that the period of M. Hrushevskiy's most intense collaboration with "Dilo" was during the historian's twenty-year stay in the Galician capital. This fact is corroborated by the largest number of articles of various genres written about Hrushevskiy. The young professor gladly accepted the offer of cooperation from the "Dilo" editorial office, understanding the importance of a daily newspaper's existence for direct communication with Galician Ukrainians. Such initiative of the historian would sometimes cause conflicts with his senior colleagues. We could mention O. Barvinskyi's emotional letter to his protégé, for instance, in which he expressed dissatisfaction with the promptness of M. Hrushevskiy's delivery of his inaugural speech for publication in "Dilo", which thus appeared earlier there than in the "Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society", where it was intended to be published. He even asked the historian, "Perhaps, therefore, we should initiate a countdown report in "Dilo", until the article is published in the "Notes"?" (Telvak & Diadiuk, 2019, p. 67).

Well aware of the reasons for the confrontation between the "Dilo" editorial office and his mentor's political camp, M. Hrushevskiy tried in every way to resolve this conflict, but without success. In particular, in the historian's letters to O. Barvinskyi we repeatedly come across mentions of approving assessments of his political steps by the mouthpiece of the Galician opposition activists (Telvak & Diadiuk, 2019, p. 63). According to their correspondence, M. Hrushevskiy even managed to persuade O. Barvinskyi to not publicly criticize the editorial policy of "Dilo" (Telvak & Diadiuk, 2019, p. 80), but another confrontation between representatives of the opposition and unionist camps revoked this agreement.

In turn, the newspaper reciprocated such support, enthusiastically promoting M. Hrushevskiy's public and scientific initiatives for many years. "Dilo" also defended the historian in many misunderstandings between him and opponents of his many endeavors. This was the case, for

instance, during the first public conflict between M. Hrushevskyy and O. Barvinskyy, caused by the distancing of the Lviv professor from the unionist camp (Telvak, 2017). The historian, sending his emotional replies to O. Barvinskyy's accusations of ingratitude of his former friend, referred to "Dilo" as "the intelligentsia's sole independent authority" (Hrushevskyy, 1898).

Due to such close cooperation, the pages of "Dilo" became an extremely informative source for understanding the rich and complex events of M. Hrushevskyy's life and work in 20th century Lviv. Let us briefly mention the publications containing information which is little-known or obscure to modern researchers. In particular, the newspaper heavily informed its readership about the lectures of the Ukrainian professor. Such information was mostly provided in the "Novelties" section. In particular, we find out little-known facts about the historian's workload, the nomenclature of his historical courses, their popularity among young students, etc. The "Dilo" materials also contain data on other pedagogical duties performed by M. Hrushevskyy, such as his appointment as a member of the examination commission in Lviv for teacher candidates in gymnasiums and schools.

"Dilo" also reported quite comprehensively on the growing interethnic conflict within the walls of Lviv University, in which M. Hrushevskyy, against his will, had to take on the leading role of defender of Ukrainian youth, while facing mostly passive attitude to these events from other Ukrainian professors. The newspaper, in particular, cited previously unknown facts of Ukrainian students' admiration for the bold public position of their teacher. In fact, they gave M. Hrushevskyy a standing ovation at the start of his lecture in the University on October 8, 1903, expressing sincere gratitude for his consistent defense of Ukrainians within the walls of Lviv University ("Novynky", 1903b). M. Hrushevskyy responded to this expression of gratitude of his younger colleagues with a short speech, which is also currently unknown to modern researchers. The historian said: "Thank you, gentlemen, for your expressions of sympathy. Indeed, every honest man should be outraged by the behavior of a certain clique of the Polish press, the efforts of which turned into weapons against me the cordial relationship that I share with my audience from the very beginning, which is the kind of relationship that every professor should have with their audience. But don't let such antics throw you off your guard" ("Novynky", 1903a).

"Dilo" also provided significant coverage of M. Hrushevskyi's cultural and educational activities – first in Galicia, and then in the Upper Dnieper region after 1906. And these publications contain numerous little-known trivia. At the same time, the newspaper's biggest concern were the historian's activities in the Shevchenko Scientific Society. In fact, "Dilo" provides the most comprehensive account of the somewhat scandalous general meeting of the Society on January 27, 1897, at which M. Hrushevskyi was appointed the Society's Chairman. As far as we know, O. Barvinskyi opened the meeting by stating that he was stepping down from his position of Chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which left M. Hrushevskyi as the only viable candidate for the now vacant position. On the other hand, the proposal to appoint the historian foregoing a vote was for some reason not supported by non-Lviv members, many of whom attended this particular meeting. The results of the vote showed the reason for such reluctance and unusual activity of provincial representatives, because despite the absence of O. Barvinskyi's name on the electoral list, as many as 34 delegates still voted for him, which gave the newspaper good grounds to attribute all of this to pre-planned machinations. O. Barvinskyi's sympathizers justified such actions by the sentiment to honor the long-serving leader of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. However, the psychological discomfort of the newly elected Chairman was understandable, who, despite the apparent lack of competition, received only a marginally bigger share of the votes comparing to his predecessor ("Zahalny zbory", 1897).

Since M. Hrushevskyi's appointment as Chairman of the soon-to-be Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, "Dilo" has constantly covered his activities in this position with many important nuances, especially in terms of detailed coverage of discussions at meetings of the Society. We will learn a lot of interesting things about the organization of sponsored cultural and educational events. In particular, the publications of "Dilo" are the most informative source for the reconstruction of the Higher Summer Vacation Courses in Lviv. Also noteworthy for research purposes are the historian's numerous speeches at the Society's general meetings or various cultural events published by the newspaper. Many of these speeches, some of which were abbreviated, did not get mentioned in any of M. Hrushevskyi's bibliographies, perching them in obscurity to the general public, since the complete set of "Dilo" issues is hard to come by in our libraries. For instance, the historian's extensive speech at the cele-

brations dedicated to the 35th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's passing is particularly noteworthy, since it allows us to trace a lot of the references to Shevchenko's work scattered throughout Hrushevskyy's "History of Ukraine – Rus", giving it a new dimension ("Vecher", 1896).

The historical work of M. Hrushevskyy was also highlighted by the "Dilo" contributors. Particularly informative to the scientist's biographers would be the articles detailing his frequent travels to the many academic centers of Europe, where he collected materials for his work and established professional acquaintances. For instance, the account of M. Hrushevskyy's first archeographic trip to the Moscow and Warsaw archives in 1895, after moving to Lviv, where he conducted research and prepared materials for the projected "Sources for the History of Ukraine-Rus" publication, is full of little-known details ("Novynky", 1895). The newspaper also provides unknown details regarding the implementation of the translation and publication of the first German-language volume of "History of Ukraine-Rus". In fact, "Dilo" provides an exclusive account of the considerable difficulties with the translation of the scientist's work or the fact that the Taybner Publishing House received a 15-year copyright for the book. Relatively few of M. Hrushevskyy's historical investigations can be seen in the pages of "Dilo", and almost all of them are reprints or excerpts from previously published studies. As far as it could be established, only one scientific text was written by the scientist specifically for the newspaper. This is the "Andrii Pototskyi on Ukrainian relations from 1659" (1908) article, which was inspired by Myroslav Sichynskyy's assassination. This investigation has only recently come to the attention of bibliographers.

As expected, M. Hrushevskyy's multifaceted socio-political service received the most significant amount of coverage from the "Dilo" authors. His initial attempts to acquaint himself with the intricacies of Galician public life and to critically comprehend the "New Age" policy have enhanced his reputation in the eyes of the newspaper's editorial board, resulting in praise for the newly arrived professor's independence of thought and well-adjusted nature. Unusually, the newspaper covered in great detail the professor's research trips to Chernivtsi and Kolomyia in the autumn of 1894, despite his clear attempts to distance himself from politics at the time ("Hostyna", 1894). The historian himself soon realized that his professorship was not only of understandable cultural significance, but also of considerable public importance, obliging him to

respond to society's topical issues. Since then, he has become more and more immersed in the discussion and practical implementation of ways to solve the national progress problem – first in the Austrian-controlled, and then in the Russian-controlled parts of Ukraine. Given the considerable diversity of socio-political Hrushevskiyi-related articles in the pages of "Dilo", we will only mention ones that shed new light on seemingly well-publicized issues.

Thus, the attention of "Dilo" columnists was focused on important issues for Galician Ukrainians, in which M. Hrushevskiyi chose a position, which went against the prevailing opinion of the public. In particular, the newspaper diligently reported on the notorious controversy caused by M. Hrushevskiyi's proposal to direct funds initially raised to build a Ukrainian theater in Lviv to expand the network of primary and secondary schools in Eastern Galicia, which was a record holder in the number of illiterates in the Empire. Of note to researchers would be M. Hrushevskiyi's and I. Bryk's previously unknown appeals on this case (Hrushevskiyi & Bryk, 1910). Many obscure "Dilo" materials cover the discussion of changes in the statute of "Prosvita" – Galicia's most respected cultural institution, which is another instance of the Lviv professor "swimming against the tide", defending the right of ordinary members to take a more active participation in the Society's activities.

"Dilo" devoted a substantial amount of its materials to the coverage M. Hrushevskiyi's editorial policy in the "Literary-Scientific Bulletin" ("LNV") that he himself established, and which quickly gained popularity in intellectual circles. Despite frequent opposition to the political line of the Galician activists exhibited by "LNV", "Dilo" openly sympathized with M. Hrushevskiyi's conciliar ideology, supporting the idea of moving the newspaper to Kyiv. Numerous reprints of texts from "LNV" (often authored by the founder himself) were a further sign of support, and the editors always accompanied them with favorable comments. For example, let us mention the reprint of a series of articles by M. Hrushevskiyi, which were later combined by the author into the resonant "Our Politics" collection. Despite the fact that the mentioned articles were full of sharp criticism of politicians closely associated with the newspaper, the editorial board explained the need to acquaint their readers with them in the following way: "Given the importance of the topic and the author's personality, as an expression of the political views of our historian-scholar,

who dwells on the same issues as the "People's Committee" of the People's Democratic Party" ("Dva roky", 1909).

Another obscure tidbit is that "Dilo" often became a platform for operative communication between M. Hrushevskiy and the Galician subscribers of the "LNV". It is known that Galicians failed to financially maintain the region's only intellectual publication, which was often publicly and privately criticized by the editor-in-chief. Therefore, its transfer to Kyiv was intended, among other things, to improve the financial situation. Instead, this caused considerable delays in the delivery of "LNV" issues to Galician subscribers, which was a constant problem that M. Hrushevskiy had to face. Until now, his emotional response on the subject remained unknown, and was only published in early 1908, exhibiting complete solidarity with the "Dilo" editor-in-chief. Given the curiosity of this response, which represents the historian's mood at the time, we provide a slightly longer quote: "Galician subscribers must be more empathetic to the extended delivery time of the issues. They have no idea what kind of technical and material difficulties the current management of "LNV" is facing [...]. And the money? The only thing that has to be said is that having gained new subscribers with the transition to Kyiv, "LNV" didn't improve its financial situation at all [...]. The moral and ideological achievements of made possible by this resettlement are great: "LNV" attracted Ukrainian writers, influenced Ukrainian life in Russia, neutralized, tightened the bond between Russian Ukraine and Galicia, making them feel closer to one another. All of this is crucial, and it couldn't be achieved in any other way rather than moving the "LNV" to Kyiv. But in the end, the urgent need to increase material resources, that is, in the growth of subscriptions still remains. And Galicia [...] only provides about 700 subscribers [...]. This is a sad thought. Are we not through with the Ruthenian times in our country yet? Is the understanding of the need for close ties with Ukraine and Ukrainian life still so weak? [...] It is very unfortunate that Galicia's lonely newspaper, the only one in the region, still cannot reach a mere thousand subscribers after ten years of existence. A very sad and unfortunate fact!" (Hrushevskiy, 1908).

Along with M. Hrushevskiy's social activism in Galicia, "Dilo" also covered his activities in the Russian Empire. Despite the fact that such information was taken by the newspaper mainly from other publications, it sometimes contains interesting details. In particular, the newspaper covered in great detail the meetings of the Chairman of the Shev-

chenko Scientific Society with many public figures during his research trips. The newspaper's account of M. Hrushevskiy's competition for the Kyiv University Cathedra is also very informative. It reveals the unfavorable position held by Hrushevskiy's former close associate and senior colleague Volodymyr Ikonnykov, who led a reactionary campaign to prevent the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus'" from holding any positions in the St. Volodymyr's University, which is little-known ("Shehe v spravi", 1908).

Finally, we should mention M. Hrushevskiy's extremely prominent use of "Dilo" columns to popularize his own vision of how to solve contemporary Ukraine's problems. It should be noted that it's difficult to name even one of the historian's resonant public speeches, which were not published fully or in shortened form in "Dilo". Also, the historian's texts were usually published on the newspaper's front page, which gave them extra significance in the eyes of the readers. M. Hrushevskiy himself understood the importance of his public appeal speeches, insisting that they should be published on the front pages of "Dilo" issues.

The least known today are M. Hrushevskiy's numerous refutations or explanatory statements, which we printed in the "Dilo" columns, mostly in the "Novelties" section. Most of them are absent in the historian's bibliographies and therefore rarely come into the view of researchers. In fact, such publications allow us to trace the scientist's instantaneous change of public sentiment and to reproduce his reactions to current events. For instance, let us recall M. Hrushevskiy's barely-known explanation regarding his reservations about the reformation of "Prosvita". Reiterating his position, the historian emphasizes the need for an open discussion of important public affairs: "However, I cannot avoid generalization here: this resistance to criticism, unwillingness to participate in open discussions at the meetings, is not manifested for the first time and was reflected again in this episode. I don't think that this can be considered a normal manifestation and does not benefit a healthy society, which is still in its development period and has no reason to hide the flaws or to fear criticism, even of the sharpest kind, because only by broadening public interest in national affairs can we move forward" ("Vod prof. Mykhaila Hrushevskaho", 1900). No less interesting are M. Hrushevskiy's justified refusals to join the committee for the construction of the Ukrainian Theater in Lviv or the People's Committee of the People's Democratic Party. Sometimes, M. Hrushevskiy would publish such explanatory

statements in co-authorship with his associates. His repeated explanations to the public, made alongside Ivan Franko, about the real state of affairs concerning the "LNV" editorial board are of undeniable interest to researchers, as rumors of friction among the publication's staff have been repeatedly circulated in Lviv.

Conclusions. According to the provided materials, M. Hrushevskiy's collaboration with the "Dilo" newspaper during the late 19th – early 20th centuries was systemic and proactive. The historian considered this opposition activists' media tribune to be his primary communication device with the Galician community. Therefore, most of M. Hrushevskiy's opinion pieces during the Lviv period of his life were written for "Dilo". These opinion pieces represented a wide variety of genres and themes. Until 1894, they mostly consisted of fiction and popular science articles. During 1894–1914, however, we see a gradual increase in his appeals to the public. He offered an open discussion of the most important issues for Ukraine's progress of that time. All of these opinion pieces share a common conciliar ideology and unifying rhetoric. To sum everything up, M. Hrushevskiy's public initiatives exponentially gained more supporters on both sides of the Zbruch river due to the efforts of "Dilo", influencing the goals set by the Ukrainian movement during the Ukrainian War of Independence.

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*Стаття надійшла до редакції 11.01.2022 р.
Стаття рекомендована до друку 11.03.2022 р.*