

UDC 930(438):070(438):94(477)(092)"19"
DOI: 10.24919/2312-2595.5/47.217813

Вікторія ТЕЛЬВАК

кандидат історичних наук, доцент, доцент кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (viktoriatelvak75@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4671-743X>

Researcher ID: <https://publons.com/researcher/3026747/viktoria-telvak/>

Бібліографічний опис статті: Telvak, V. (2020). "Deadly enemy of the Polish people": images of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Polish journalism. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*, 5/47, 294–308. doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.5/47.217813>.

**«СМЕРТЕЛЬНИЙ ВОРОГ ПОЛЬСЬКОГО НАРОДУ»:
ОБРАЗИ МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО
У ПОЛЬСЬКІЙ ПУБЛІЦИСТИЦІ¹**

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні динаміки оцінних інтерпретацій суспільно-політичної діяльності М. Грушевського на сторінках польської періодики початку ХХ ст. *Методологічне підґрунтя* становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів та методі критичного аналізу документального матеріалу. *Наукова новизна статті* полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу польської грушевськіани в аспекті звернення її представників до суспільно-політичних ініціатив видатного українського вченого. *Висновки.* Проведений історіографічний аналіз показав, що польська публіцистика в аспекті сприйняття її представниками численних культурно-

© Viktoriia Telvak, 2020

¹ Стаття містить результати досліджень, проведених за грантом Національного фонду досліджень України «Аграризм: селяноцентричний феномен Української революції 1917–1921 рр.» (реєстраційний номер 2020.02/0120).

громадських ініціатив М. Грушевського була беззастережно критичною. Жодне із намагань ученого здобути більше прав для українців у Східній Галичині не знайшло співчуття. Прикметно, що в такому послідовному запереченні аргументів львівського професора об'єдналися польські публіцисти всіх партійних таборів. Натомість, можемо відзначити виразну зміну тональності у полеміці з М. Грушевським. Так, виважені критичні дописи, характерні для зламу XIX–XX ст., в останні передвоєнні роки змінилися демонстративною профанацією запропонованих ним рецептів нормалізації польсько-українських взаємин. При цьому образ вченого на сторінках польської періодики дедалі більше набував демонічних рис. Усе це було частиною загальної ідейної боротьби польських інтелектуалів з модерним українством, котра в останні роки Великої війни набула збройного характеру.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський; суспільно-політична діяльність; рецензія; «Gazeta Narodowa»; «Słowo Polskie»; «Świat Słowiański».

Viktoria TELVAK

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Str., Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (viktoriatelvak75@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4671-743X>

Researcher ID: <https://publons.com/researcher/3026747/viktoria-telvak/>

To cite this article: Telvak, V. (2020). "Deadly enemy of the Polish people": images of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Polish journalism. *Problemy humanitarnykh nauk: zbirnyk naukovykh prats Drohobytskoho derzhavnoho 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, 5/47, 294–308.* doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.5/47.217813>.

"DEADLY ENEMY OF THE POLISH PEOPLE": IMAGES OF MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY IN POLISH JOURNALISM

Summary. The purpose of the publication is to clarify the dynamics of assessments of M. Hrushevsky's socio-political activities

in the pages of Polish periodicals of the early twentieth century. **The methodological basis** is an interdisciplinary approach. Special emphasis is placed on the structural-functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts and the method of critical analysis of documentary material. **The scientific novelty** of the article lies in the attempt to comprehensively analyse the Polish Hrushevsky studies in terms of the reaction of its representatives to the socio-political initiatives of a prominent Ukrainian historian. **Conclusions.** The conducted historiographical analysis showed that Polish journalism was unconditionally critical towards M. Hrushevsky's numerous cultural and public initiatives. None of the scientist's attempts to gain more rights for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were met with sympathy. We would like to note that Polish publicists of all parties united in a consistent denial of the arguments of the Lviv professor. Instead, we can note a clear change in tone in the discussion with M. Hrushevsky. Thus, the balanced critical writings at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries were replaced in the last pre-war years by the demonstrative profanation of his suggestions for the normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations. At the same time, the image of the scholar in the pages of Polish periodicals became more and more demonised. All these actions were components of the general ideological attack of Polish intellectuals on modern Ukrainians, that in the last years of the Great War turned into an armed conflict.

Key words: M. Hrushevsky; socio-political activity; reception; "Gazeta Narodowa"; "Słowo Polskie"; "Świat Słowiański".

Problem statement. National traditions of reading and interpreting Hrushevsky's texts of various genres have currently become a popular subject of studies dedicated to his personality. However, the studies of the last thirty years put the emphasis mostly on clarifying the assessment of the scientific and organizational component of Hrushevsky's works. At the same time, the peculiarities of how contemporaries reacted to the socio-political work of M. Hrushevsky is extremely rarely articulated as an independent scientific problem. Such neglect of this topic does not correspond to the scientist's outstanding contribution to the modernization of the Ukrainian movement, nor to the solidity of the sources identified today, which contain reflections on the various public initiatives of the Great Ukrainian.

As a first step towards solving this problem, hereinafter we will try to explore the peculiarities of the attitude of Polish intellectuals to the socio-political work of M. Hrushevsky, which is reflected in nu-

merous journalistic texts, mostly published in Galician periodicals. We will focus on the period of the late nineteenth – early twentieth century. We decided to choose the said time limit due to the fact that after the beginning of the First World War M. Hrushevsky left the western Ukrainian lands forever, and his activities lost relevance for Polish publicists.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The main source for clarifying the reception of M. Hrushevsky's cultural and public initiatives was the critical articles devoted to him on the pages of the Galician periodicals "Dilo", "Słowo Polskie", "Swiat Slowiański" and others. Vitaliy Telvak has most fully researched the Polish Hrushevsky studies in different articles (Telvak, 2006) and monographic studies (Telvak, 2008, pp. 40–157). However, his texts present the analysis of the Polish reception of Hrushevsky's scientific and organizational work while assessments of cultural and social activities are mentioned occasionally. This determines the relevance of our study.

The purpose of the publication is to clarify the dynamics of assessments of M. Hrushevsky's socio-political activities in the pages of Polish periodicals of the early twentieth century.

The statement of the main material. The most important discussion during the period under study was the polemics of Polish publicists with educational proposals of M. Hrushevsky. The Ukrainian professor, having experienced the discriminatory attitude of the Polish administration of Lviv University to Ukrainians within its walls, supported the initiative of Ukrainian students to reorganize the main educational institution of the Galician capital (V.V. Telvak & V.P. Telvak, 2019a). His main idea was to divide the existing Lviv University into Polish and Ukrainian educational institutions. An alternative to this project was the proposal to establish a completely new higher educational institution in Lviv, designed for Ukrainians of the Danube Monarchy. M. Hrushevsky supported his younger colleagues, and later led the public movement for Ukrainian higher education in Eastern Galicia. He presented numerous journalistic pieces in Ukrainian periodicals about this problem, as well as prepared a memorial about the state university affairs, which was presented by the Ukrainian parliamentary delegation in Vienna.

To understand the logic of M. Hrushevsky's educational initiatives aimed at restructuring higher education in Eastern Galicia, here are

some of the most eloquent quotations from his journalistic pieces of that time. "The spiritual needs of the Ruthenian people are seriously neglected because of the lack of Rus' universities" (Hrushevskiy, 1899, p. 88). Long before tumultuous student riots of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Hrushevsky outlined a strategy for the fight for a Ukrainian higher education institution: "In Lviv, the capital of Galician Rus, and, considering modern circumstances, in Ukraine-Rus from the San to Kuban, every Ukrainian has the right for its own educational institution. Lviv University belongs to the Ruthenians! We do not try to tell the government what it should do with Polish education, maybe it would like to give the Polish people a second university in the region, maybe they would leave the current Lviv University in their hands and establish a new one for the Ruthenians. The most important thing is: Ruthenians must have a Ruthenian university in Lviv!" (Hrushevskiy, 1897, p. 1). "Of course, – as M. Hrushevsky added later, – as long as there is no separate university, it does not eliminate the need, does not relieve the burden of the current situation, to establish more Ruthenian departments at the current Lviv University" (Hrushevskiy, 1899, p. 90).

Polish intellectuals completely denied the expediency of the above-mentioned proposals of the Lviv professor, rightly seeing the emergence of Ukrainian higher education as a serious threat to their dominant position in the Ukrainian lands of Galicia. The first Polish reaction to M. Hrushevsky's initiative to Ukrainianize Lviv University was demonstrated in the context of a well-known conflict between a Ukrainian professor and his Polish colleagues in July 1901. M. Hrushevsky, who in communication with his Polish colleagues used Ukrainian exclusively, was interrupted by Dean Kazymyr Twardowski, asking to use Polish. When the Ukrainian historian did not heed this request, the chairman asked another Ukrainian professor, Kyryl Studinsky, to translate his colleague's speech. Instead, the latter, instead of explaining the essence of M. Hrushevsky's position, began to substantiate his own vision of the problem. Deprived of the opportunity to convey his position to colleagues in this way, M. Hrushevsky left the meeting room.

It should be noted that this was neither the first nor the last clash of M. Hrushevsky with Galician Poles about the right for education in one's native language. However, the events of July 1901 were

destined to become a turning point in M. Hrushevsky's permanent confrontation with the leadership of Lviv University, which was predominantly Polish. The Lviv press, both Ukrainian and Polish, enhanced the importance of this general everyday conflict. The Ukrainian press focused on the disenfranchisement of Ukrainians and their language within the walls of the university, portraying M. Hrushevsky as a fighter for the restoration of historical justice, because from the very beginning the school had a legal bilingual status. On the other hand, the Polish press portrayed Ukrainian historian as a vicious violator of written and unwritten corporate traditions and rules, a constant disturber of academic harmony – an image that was only more exaggerated by Polish journalism until the beginning of the First World War (V.V. Telvak & V.P. Telvak, 2019b). Moreover, in order to achieve the necessary emotional reaction from readers, the correspondent of the magazine "Gazeta Narodowa" reported that while leaving the meeting, M. Hrushevsky allegedly slammed the door.

Media coverage forced the parties of the conflict to explain to the public the reasons of their behaviour. The position of Polish professors was reflected in the journalistic letter of K. Twardowski's successor as dean, Ludwik Finkel. In a brief article in the pages of the Lviv newspaper "Dilo", he refuted the fabrication of "Gazeta Narodowa" about the behaviour of his Ukrainian colleague. Furthermore, the well-known Polish historian pointed out with considerable politeness the right of the Polish administration to demand from all its employees Polish-language communication given the fact that Lviv University was essentially Polish (Finkel, 1901, p. 2).

However, further conversation about the ways to Ukrainianize higher education in Austria-Hungary markedly radicalized the public discussion of this important issue for the East Galician community. Once again, M. Hrushevsky was put in the focus of critical articles in Polish journalism as he was rightly considered the creator of the idea of a Ukrainian university. The tone of Polish journalism of that time is well conveyed by the letter of another Hrushevsky's colleague at the University, the famous Polish biologist, geographer, physician and literary critic Benedict Tadeusz Dybowski. In the Lviv newspaper "Słowo Polskie", which opposed cultural and educational work of Galician Ukrainians the most, he published a journalistic reflection "On the article by prof. Hrushevsky" (Dybowski, 1906). The Polish author meant

the letters of the Ukrainian scientist about university affairs in Lviv, reprinted in Dnieper journals.

B. Dybowski's article marked a new quality in the Polish discussion of Ukrainian initiatives regarding a fairer solution to the language problem in the Galician region. At least some argument-supported polemics and attempts to understand the other side were replaced by the unappealable denial of any rightness of the opponent, the profanation of Hrushevsky's arguments, the dehumanization of the very image of Ukrainians. This was reflected at the very beginning of the scholar's text, where the Ukrainian resistance to the Polonization of the region and the behaviour of its leaders are depicted in the style of apocalyptic Polish stories about Khmelnytsky era: "This stream of hatred in the masses and among the leaders, has not decreased, but on the contrary, has been growing and growing, especially since Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky came here, to Lviv, and spoke in favour of Haidamak's propaganda" (Dybowski, 1906, p. 3). The unequal struggle of Ukrainian youth for the rights for the education in the native language at Lviv University was depicted with exaggerated emotionality and brutality. The Polish publicist describes the actions aimed at protecting the Ukrainian voice within its walls as "something wild, thoughtless, barbaric". At the same time, B. Dybowski rejected the naturalness of such resistance, emphasising that Ukrainian youth allegedly fell completely under the influence of their professor's anti-Polish views: "The barbaric struggle at the university and the whole Sich movement in general developed and flourished thanks to him" (Dybowski, 1906, p. 3).

After such characteristics of the Ukrainian youth and their defender, B. Dybowski's strong objections to the slightest validity of Ukrainian claims for equal rights within the walls of the main higher school of the Galician capital were fully expected. The author decided not to burden himself with the analysis of the issues raised by M. Hrushevsky in his articles, showing the cynicism of the Polish resistance to give Ukrainians proper rights at Lviv University, which were guaranteed by the state constitution. In the general context of profanation of Ukrainian claims, the Polish scholar does not acknowledge the conclusions of his Ukrainian colleague: "Coverage of Ruthenian secession at the university, as well as coverage of all other facts contained in the article by Mr. M. H. [Rushevsky] are biased and untrue" (Dybowski, 1906, p. 4). Moreover, at the end of the article B. Dybowski's polemic

acquires a distinctly personal character: rejecting elementary ethics, he gives the opponent the nickname "Haidamak's backer". It should be noted that due to such impolite wording, this nickname became popular among Polish publicists concerned about the progress of the Ukrainian movement.

Polish publicists criticised with the same recklessness other aspects of cultural and social work of M. Hrushevsky. Thus, they were greatly concerned with the influence of the Ukrainian professor on the Galician youth, who, according to Polish magazines, became "politicised" under the influence of their teacher, that is, became increasingly critical towards Galician realities. For example, here is a series of articles from the already mentioned Lviv newspaper "Słowo Polskie" authored by historian and teacher, public figure Jan Kamiński, devoted to the characteristics of the closest to M. Hrushevsky circle of Galician youth – representatives of his Lviv school (Kamiński, 1909a, 1909b). The content and tone of these articles could be predicted by the author's thesis "like father, like son". The Polish publicist convinces his reader that it is the influence of M. Hrushevsky that pushes his young students to reveal in their works the facts of national oppression in Eastern Galicia, while allegedly not avoiding falsification of historical evidence.

Polish publicists became especially critical after the revolutionary events of 1905, when M. Hrushevsky launched an active public activity in the Dnipro Ukraine which was under the rule of the Romanov Empire. The most notable component of this activity was the prolific cooperation of the Lviv professor with numerous Russian periodicals, where he paid a lot of attention to the nature of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Danube monarchy. The evidence-based critique of these publications, which portrayed Poles in an unfavourable light of the oppressors of the Slavic "brothers", frightened Polish intellectuals who sought national preference in the State Duma by manipulating with Slavophile rhetoric.

Therefore, when M. Hrushevsky published these articles in 1907 in a separate collection "The Liberation of Russia and the Ukrainian Issue", Polish journalism focused on criticizing the most irritating theses, trying to disavow them. Since it was impossible to argue the facts set forth by Ukrainian scientists in essence, Polish publications once again chose the tactic of desecrating M. Hrushevsky's accusations. Thus, instead of acknowledging the sad state of Ukrainian affairs in

Polish-led Eastern Galicia, or at least explaining the data he provided, opponents of the SSS chairman made comparisons of the achievements of Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. At the same time, they deliberately silenced the fact, which was emphasised by M. Hrushevsky, that the mentioned achievements happened not with the help of, but actually against the will of the Polish administration, as a result of a long exhausting struggle.

Feliks-Karol Koneczny, a well-known historian and historian, theatre critic, librarian and journalist, was the first to start the discussion with the Ukrainian author. In the pages of the Krakow monthly "Swiat Słowiński", he recognized for the first time among Polish publicists the leading role of M. Hrushevsky in the Ukrainian "camp", calling him "the head of the Ruthenian people in Galicia" (F.K. [Koneczny F.], 1907). Then the Polish author consistently deconstructs the thesis of the Ukrainian opponent about Ukrainian domination in Eastern Galicia. In his opinion, this problem is somewhat different: he convinces his readers that "Eastern Galicia was and is (and will forever be) Ruthenian-Polish land". Therefore, he considers M. Hrushevsky's attempts to present Eastern Galician territories as Ukrainian ones to be completely wrong.

Analysing the public work of the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus", F. Koneczny points out its two main shortcomings. The first is the inconsistency, which consists in M. Hrushevsky's recognition of the greater danger of Polish domination over Russian one. The second shortcoming of Hrushevsky, a politician, is "political dilettantism", meaning his allegedly incompetent immersion in Galician politics. We would like to note that this second accusation of F. Koneczny is borrowed from the arsenal of Ukrainian opponents of the Lviv professor. It was formulated by the leader of the Narodniks, Oleksandr Barvinsky, who considered the tactics chosen by M. Hrushevsky to combat Polish domination in all spheres of public life in the Galician region to be excessively radical and therefore erroneous (Telvak, 2017). Largely following the logic of O. Barvinsky, F. Koneczny points out that his opponent does not take into account the real distribution of power in the Dnister region while defending the equality of Poles and Ukrainians in education and administration. The Polish publicist considers such a historically formed domination of Poles to be normal, without noticing the incorrectness of such a statement.

At the same time, appreciating the high professional level of M. Hrushevsky's works, F. Koneczny found the strength to reject the most appalling characteristics formulated by his Polish colleagues in the journalism department. "We know that the head of the Galician Ruthenians is worthy of respect, and we do not hesitate to express our respect to him in this issue of «Świat Słowiański». – We also know that he is not as scary as he is portrayed, and even, not as scary as he portrays himself. We know that he does not have the features of Haidamaks at all (in the Polish sense of the word), and we are not afraid of him at all, differing from other Polish publications" (F.K. [Koneczny F.], 1907, p. 141).

Ludwik Kolankowski, a former student, historian, and politician, reacted somewhat more sharply to M. Hrushevsky's journalism in "The Liberation of Russia and the Ukrainian Issue". Continuing the discussion of the ideological principles of the Ukrainian scholar's journalism in the pages of the Krakow magazine "Świat Słowiański", he, like other Polish commentators, pointed to the key position of the author of the "History of Ukraine-Rus" in the Ukrainian movement on both sides of Zbruch. According to L. Kolankowski, his professor is "a political leader – if not of all Ukraine – then at least of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia" (Kolankowski, 1908, p. 19).

Then the Polish publicist analyses M. Hrushevsky's views on Polish-Ukrainian relations in Galicia in some detail. Like his other colleagues, L. Kolankowski appeals to the historical tradition, considering the situation of total domination of the Polish community in all spheres of Galician life to be quite normal. He considers the fight against this state of affairs to be detrimental to the preservation of interethnic balance, and the tactics of his former teacher to be exceptionally destructive. "Mr. Hrushevsky is a great and sincere Ruthenian, Ukrainian patriot. We are completely convinced of this, – says L. Kolankowski. – [...] But Mr. Hrushevsky is at the same time a mortal enemy of the Polish people. After reading his political thoughts, everyone will be convinced of this. Mr. Hrushevsky, apparently sincerely believes that the path to the future greatness of Ukraine leads through the non-recognition of Poland" (Kolankowski, 1908, p. 29). At the same time, rejecting the anti-Polish criticism of the Ukrainian professor, the correspondent of "Świat Słowiański" tries to offer unifying rhetoric. According to him, Poles and Ukrainians should unite against

the common enemy of their own independence aspirations – the Russian tsar, because "the path to a free Kyiv leads to a free Warsaw" (Kolankowski, 1908, p. 30). It should be noted that L. Kolankowski is to some extent naïve in his non-recognition of the fact that such a Polish-Ukrainian unification is possible only under the conditions that M. Hrushevsky has repeatedly written about.

The relatively calm and correct discussion around M. Hrushevsky's cultural and public initiatives during of the first years of the twentieth century became noticeably radicalized on the eve of the First World War, when it became clear that neither Poles nor Ukrainians would give up their claims to East Galicia. Since then, in the pages of Polish periodicals, the journalistic speeches of the Ukrainian scientist have been criticised more and more sharply, and the attempt to argue with them in a somewhat balanced way has been replaced by reckless profanation. An example of this tendency can be the journalistic activity of the Polish amateur historian, publicist and writer Franciszek Rawita-Gawronski, who considered M. Hrushevsky the personification of the anti-Polish policy of Ukrainians (V.V. Telvak & V.P. Telvak, 2013). His extensive article "The Ruthenian Issue in Austria and Russia" in the already mentioned Krakow monthly "Świat Słowiański" became a symbol of the progressive brutalization of the discussion with Hrushevsky (Rawita-Gawronski, 1912).

Already at the beginning of his publication, the Polish publicist deliberately called his opponent "the son of a priest from Kholm", knowing full well that in fact Serhiy Hrushevsky was not ordained a priest, but worked as a teacher in Kholm. In the following pages of his article, F. Rawita-Gawronski only increases the degree of brutality in the characteristics of the public activity of the Lviv professor. He convinces the Polish reader that M. Hrushevsky "with energy worthy of better use" used the possibilities of the constitutional system of the Danube monarchy to develop grassroots movement in two directions. The first is "anti-social" in Galicia, aimed at protecting Ukrainian interests at the expense of the Polish "prawo posiadania". This activity is described by F. Rawita-Gawronski as deeply insincere, because it was allegedly based not on the care for compatriots, but on the need of M. Hrushevsky to fulfil his own leadership ambitions.

The second direction was even more dangerous, in the opinion of the Polish publicist, as he had a powerful influence on the youth,

who allegedly, following the behaviour of their teacher, turned to a radical fight for their constitutional rights. Distorting historical facts, F. Rawita-Gawronski writes, "the Ruthenians gained these rights with the help of the Poles, often on their own initiative". Furthermore, the Polish publicist resorted to the complete dehumanization of the Ukrainian community: "The problem is that Ruthenians seek more than their mental, cultural, and material capacity allows, that their aspirations never take reality into account, and that there are no boundaries, that their chaotic character – ethnic trait – does them more harm than all, combined and described by Hrushevsky and his followers, [enemies]" (Rawita-Gawroński, 1912, p. 559).

Due to such alleged "immaturity" of Ukrainian grassroots movement, F. Rawita-Gawronski perceives the activity of radical leaders as a dangerous one. The Polish publicist especially antagonises M. Hrushevsky, nominating him as "the leader of the scientific and political radicalism of the Galician Ruthenians" and "a socialist by conviction". Illustrating the aforementioned "radicalism", the author points to the reluctance to accept the status quo and recognize Polish domination in Eastern Galicia. "Hrushevsky, using the socialist basis for his agitation disturbed the peace and complicated the proper development of the two people that had previously lived in Galicia in harmony" (Rawita-Gawroński, 1912, p. 570). Rejecting any constructiveness in the Hrushevsky's speeches, the Polish publicist sees in his rhetoric only anti-Polishness, allegedly aimed exclusively at "weakening the Polish people in both Russia and Austria". In view of the abovementioned facts, it is not surprising that F. Rawita-Gawronski draws the following conclusion: "All his pamphlets on this topic express conspiracy, inciting constant mistrust between Poles and Russia, between Austria and Poles" (Rawita-Gawroński, 1912, p. 572).

The brochure of the well-known revolutionary, sociologist, publicist and politician Ludwig Kulczycki "Uгода Polsko-Ruska" became a kind of a final chord of the Polish Hrushevsky studies that summarised the perception of Hrushevsky by Polish intellectuals (Kulczycki, 1912). Interestingly enough is the fact that this work belonged to one of the leading representatives of the Polish socialist movement that was in the opposition to the above-mentioned adherents of national democracy ideology. However, despite the completely different ideological position of the author-socialist, his critique of the public work

of M. Hrushevsky did not differ from the assessments of his opponents. Moreover, in his pamphlet L. Kulczycki actually synthesized both Polish and Ukrainian complaints about Hrushevsky, which were spread by scholar's opponents on both sides of Zbruch.

Nevertheless, the Polish publicist claims that the arrival of M. Hrushevsky in 1894 to Galicia "had a significant impact on the cultural and political life of the Ruthenians". Furthermore, he traditionally pays tribute to the energy, diligence and organizational skills of the Lviv professor. However, L. Kulczycki writes in more detail about the negative traits of the opponent, which are "overweigh the positive ones" Following Galician critics of M. Hrushevsky, the Polish author points to Hrushevsky's unhealthy ambition, despotic leadership style, intolerance of dissent, and so on. L. Kulczycki claims that these negative traits are caused by the fact that the Ukrainian scientist allegedly "has a very one-sided education, and his mindset, in a sense, has the features of barbarism" (Kulczycki, 1912, p. 39).

Manifestations of the mentioned "barbarism" are the alleged lack of a sense of reality, i.e., the unwillingness to accept Polish domination in Eastern Galicia, which was mostly inhabited by Ukrainians. L. Kulczycki calls M. Hrushevsky a "radical" and "the spiritual father of maximalist politics in the Ukrainian national democracy" (Kulczycki, 1912, p. 39). This policy, as the Polish publicist points out, does not have a significant impact on the older population of the Galician community, who are accustomed to Polish supremacy. Instead, as he complains, M. Hrushevsky's ideas have gained considerable popularity among Ukrainian youth, whose vigour threatens the stability of Galician political traditions. Putting all the responsibility for the sharp deterioration of Polish-Ukrainian relations on the author of the "History of Ukraine-Rus" in the early 1910s, L. Kulczycki emotionally concludes that his opponent "managed to do a lot of evil to Ruthenian national groups" (Kulczycki, 1912, p. 42).

Conclusions. The conducted historiographical analysis showed that Polish journalism was unconditionally critical of M. Hrushevsky's numerous cultural and public initiatives. None of the scientist's attempts to gain more rights for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia were met with sympathy. We would like to note that Polish publicists of all parties united in a consistent denial of the arguments of the Lviv professor. Instead, we can note a clear change in tone in the discussion with

M. Hrushevsky. Thus, the balanced critical writings at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries were replaced in the last pre-war years by the demonstrative profanation of his suggestions for the normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations. At the same time, the image of the scientist in the pages of Polish periodicals became more and more demonised. All those actions were components of the general ideological attack of Polish intellectuals on the Ukrainians that in the last years of the Great War turned into an armed conflict.

References

- Dybowski, B.** (1906). Z powodu artykułu prof. Hruszewskiego [On M. Hrushevsky's article]. *Słowo Polskie – Polish Word*, 377, p. 3; 379, pp. 3–4 [in Polish].
- F.K. [Koneczny F.]**. (1907, February). M. Hruszewskyj, Galicja i Ukraina [M. Hrushevsky, Galicia and Ukraine]. *Świat Słowiański – Slavic World*, III, 136–141 [in Polish].
- Finkel, L.** (1901). Yak to bulo [How it was]. *Dilo – Work*, 260, p. 2; 261, p. 2 [in Ukrainian].
- Hrushevskyi, M.** (1897). Dobyvaimosia svoho universytetu! [Let us strive for our university!]. *Dilo – Work*, 147, p. 1 [in Ukrainian].
- Hrushevskyi, M.** (1899). Lysty z nad Poltvy. Lyst tretii [Letters from Poltava. The third letter]. *Literaturno-naukovyyi visnyk – Literary Scientific Reporter*, VIII, 84–116 [in Ukrainian].
- Kamiński, J.** (1909a). Nowy przyczynek do charakterystyki szkoły historycznej prof. Hruszewskiego [A new contribution to the characteristics of the historical school of prof. Hrushevsky]. *Słowo Polskie – Polish Word*, 587, pp. 1–2; 589, pp. 1–3 [in Polish].
- Kamiński, J.** (1909b). Przyczynek do charakterystyki szkoły historycznej prof. Hruszewskiego [A contribution to the characteristics of the historical school of prof. Hrushevsky]. *Słowo Polskie – Polish Word*, 528, pp. 1–2; 530, pp. 1–2 [in Polish].
- Kolankowski, L.** (1908, January). Pomysły i idee ukraińskie Prof. M. Hruszewskiego [Ukrainian ideas of Prof. M. Hruszewski]. *Świat Słowiański – Slavic World*, IV, 19–30 [in Polish].
- Kulczycki, L.** (1912). *Uгода Polsko-Ruska [Polish-Ruthenian agreement]*. Lwów: z drukarni udziałowej we Lwowie [in Polish].
- Rawita-Gawroński, Fr.** (1912, August-September). Kwestya ruska wobec Austryi i Rosyi [The Ruthenian issue in Austria and Russia]. *Świat Słowiański – Slavic World*, VIII, 557–578 [in Polish].
- Telvak, V.** (2006). Postat Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v polskii istoriohrafii (kinets XIX–XX st.) [The image of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Polish his-

- toriography (late 19th – 20th centuries)]. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal – Ukrainian Historical Magazine*, 5, 67–82 [in Ukrainian].
- Telvak, V.** (2008). *Tvorcha spadshchyna Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v otsinkakh suchasnykiv (kinets XIX – 30-ti roky XX stolittia) [Creative heritage of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the estimations of his contemporaries (the end of the 19th and the 30th years of the 20th century)]*. Kyiv – Drohobych [in Ukrainian].
- Telvak, V.** (2017). Mykhailo Hrushevskiyi ta Oleksandr Barvynskiyi na tli ukrainskoho rukhu kintsia XIX – pershoi tretyny XX stolittia [Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Oleksandr Barvynsky in the context of the Ukrainian movement of the end of the XIX – first third of the XX century]. *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka. Prasi Istorychno-filosofskoi sektiï – Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Proceedings of the Historical and Philosophical Section*, CCLXX, 82–102 [in Ukrainian].
- Telvak, V.V., & Telvak, V.P.** (2019a). Mykhailo Hrushevskiyi ta polsko-ukrainske protystoiannia u Lvivskomu universyteti [Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation at Lviv University]. In V. Telvak (Ed.), *Ukrainski ta polski intelektualy v druhii polovyni XIX – pershii tretyni XX st.: spivpratsia, konflikty, retsepsiia – Ukrainian and Polish intellectuals in the second half of the XIX – first third of the XX century: cooperation, conflicts, perception* (pp. 35–48). Kherson: «Helvetyka» [in Ukrainian].
- Telvak, V.V., & Telvak, V.P.** (2019b). Obrazy Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v polskii intelektualnii kulturi kintsia XIX – pochatku XXI stolittia [Images of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the Polish intellectual culture of the end of the XIX – beginning of the XXI century]. In V. Telvak (Ed.), *Ukrainski ta polski intelektualy v druhii polovyni XIX – pershii tretyni XX st.: spivpratsia, konflikty, retsepsiia – Ukrainian and Polish intellectuals in the second half of the XIX – first third of the XX century: cooperation, conflicts, perception* (pp. 172–200). Kherson: «Helvetyka» [in Ukrainian].
- Telvak, V.V., & Telvak, V.P.** (2013). Hrushevskiana Frantsishka Ravity-Havronskoho [Hrushevsky studies of Franciszek Ravita-Gavronsky]. *Spheres of culture. Journal of Philological, Historical, Social and Media Communication, Political Science and Cultural Studies*, IV, 244–251 [in Ukrainian].

Стаття надійшла до редакції 23.10.2020 р.