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BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE: MASS RALLIES
AS THE STAGING OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL PROJECT
(1911–1914)

Introduction

A correspondent for the radical Ukrainian newspaper *Hromadskyi Holos* (*Public Voice*) reported enthusiastically:

“I was watching the march from the balcony of one of the hotels. My description won’t do justice to the mile-long procession of “Sich”, “Sokil”, and “Plast” [Scout] societies, their shining faces, the participants dressed in bright costumes, waving flags. The inspiration drawn from that Ukrainian audience was so delightful that I wanted to experience it all over again...”¹

Another correspondent, however, for the Polish newspaper *Dziennik Polski* (*Polish Daily*) wrote:

“On the entirely Polish territories, in the capital of Galicia, a rally of the Ruthenian [Ukrainian] “Sokil” and “Sich” societies was held, unlike similar Polish festivities, which are natural national manifestations, it presented to the eyes of the public an artificial nationalistic demonstration”.²

This description of the last pre-war Ukrainian mass rally, held in Lviv on 28 June 1914, marked the centennial of the birth of the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko and was one of a number of commemorative events and festivities typical of the political, social, and cultural life of Galicia at the turn of the twentieth century.

Scholars often point to the Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian narratives that characterized the political life in Lemberg (Pol.: Lwów; Ukr.:

¹ O. Nazaruk, “Zdvyg (vrazhinnia)”, *Hromadskyi Holos*, 2 July 1914.

² “Zjazd sokołów ruskich i siczy”, *Dziennik Polski*, 30 June 1914.

Lviv), the capital of Galicia, in the early twentieth century;³ nevertheless, the internal dynamics of the national movements, which greatly influenced the relations between the various national groups, has not been studied in detail. This paper analyses the internal interactions between the Ukrainian political groups, while the two rallies of 1911 and 1914, commemorating Taras Shevchenko, serve as a lens through which to view the complex nature of the “Ukrainian national project.”

When looking at the Ukrainian rallies of 1911 and 1914, the author focuses specifically on the internal and external factors which led to the restructuring of the Ukrainian national project. In particular, she pays attention to the organization, structure, and the contexts of these events, as well as the organizers and people who attended them centering on their political views, socio-economic background, age, gender, and education therefore allowing her to trace the appearance of new symbols, new ways of using public space in the city, the dissemination of rituals and, finally, to comment on how these new approaches shaped the commemorative landscape in general.

The author argues that to understand the modes of political interaction and transition of the Ukrainian narrative from cultural nationalism to military nationalism, we have to consider three interwoven perspectives: revision of the Taras Shevchenko cult; the creation of a new historical narrative and the new approach to public space, used as a stage for national ideas.

Mass Rallies: Establishing a New Commemorative Practice

The 1911 and 1914 rallies followed a well-established tradition of celebrative and commemorative practice in Galicia. Exercises of this kind

³ In the past two decades there have been many publications discussing the three national projects (Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian), or attempting to compare and analyze the interplay between two or more ethnic projects. E.g. see: H. Binder, *Making and defending a Polish Town: “Lwów (Lemberg), 1848–1914”*, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 34, 2003, pp. 57–81; J. Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*, Cambridge, 2012; Ph. Ther, “War versus Peace: Interethnic Relations in Lviv during the First Half of the Twentieth Century”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 2000, pp. 251–284; M. Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772–1914*, Purdue, 2008; W. Wierzbieniec, I.D. Kogut, P. Dabrowski, “The Processes of Jewish Emancipation and Assimilation in the Multiethnic City of Lviv during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 24, 2000, pp. 223–250.

were enormously popular in nineteenth-century Europe, which the historian Eric Hobsbawm has characterized as “the commemorative age”. Celebration and commemoration were held as essential to the invention of tradition. Hobsbawm defined ‘invented traditions’ as

“a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past...”⁴

These practices were incorporated into official rituals (anniversaries of monarchs, coronations, birthdays, etc.). Such commemorations could also have played a potentially important role in the shaping of nations.⁵ In Galicia, commemorations were directly related to the promulgation of national issues. Public events were used as a primary educational and representational tool by both Poles and Ukrainians involved in promoting national projects in Eastern Galicia – a place where loyalties and identities were interwoven, shared, and shaped. Commemorated events often acted as a source of rivalry between varying national and social contingents, reflecting the discrete fashion through which each group came to interpret the historical past, allegiance, and control over the public sphere. Furthermore, the events offered an opportunity for self-identification against the imagined “Other”. In their introduction to the volume of essays on commemorations in the Habsburg Empire, Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield have called attention to the idea that “commemorations seek to validate feelings of pride and entitlement among these groups; they also attempt to legitimate distinct legacies and to cultivate pride about specific moral and cultural traits that differ from those of other groups”.⁶

Commemorations also proved to be mass expressions of the collective psyche, where even those participants who bore no particular relationship to the person or event being honoured experienced intense emotional engagement. The cyclical repetition of certain emotionally-laden practices fostered a sense of solace and social orientation at that time, a membership of the individual in certain collective cycles.

⁴ *The Inventing of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, Cambridge, 1983, p. 1.

⁵ P.M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland*, Indiana, 2004, pp. 4–5.

⁶ M. Bucur, N.M. Wingfield, “Introduction”, in: *Staging the Past. The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, ed. by M. Bucur, N.M. Wingfield, Purdue, 2001, p. 3.

This provided a point of demarcation which facilitated planning for the future, by way of attention paid to specific dates from the past. Thus, commemorative practices offered a form of control over both past and future, control which stemmed from a shared human need for orientation.⁷

Commemorative practices included a variety of activities – the unveiling of monuments, public readings, the dissemination of literary and musical works in forms accessible to wider audiences.⁸ Rallies were another form of mass public event. They took shape as enormous paramilitary parades featuring ceremonial marches, public proclamations and speechmaking, as well as gymnastic, athletic, and various scheduled cultural events. The holding of mass demonstrations and ceremonies as rallies was not a new idea. Rallies had long given shape to mass public activism throughout the Slav “Sokol” Movement. The movement, a popular initiative in the latter half of the nineteenth century, combined athletic and gymnastic training within a broader framework of patriotic and paramilitary education. Ukrainian rallies were organized by the “Sokil-Batko” and “Sich” societies: the former being the Ukrainian incarnation of the Slav “Sokol” society ideal; the latter, combining an ideology similar to that of “Sokil” with the Cossack tradition.

Rallies organized by the “Sokil” and “Sich” societies were aimed at the narrowly-defined goals of group promotion, the demonstration of both individual and organizational achievements, and of membership recruitment. They were successful in attracting a considerable following throughout the cities and towns of Eastern Galicia in which they were held. In the first decade of the twentieth century “Sich” festivals were organized exclusively by the Sich Society in Eastern Galicia – in Stryi (1907, 1909), Ternopil (1910) and Stanislav (now Ivano-Frankivsk) (1911).⁹ Similar conventions were held by the “Sokil” society in Stryi (1909), Ternopil (1910), Stanislav, Berezhany (1911), Kalush, Zhovkva, Snyatyn, Pidhaytsi (1912), Olesko and Rava-Ruska (1913).¹⁰

The Ukrainian rallies (*krajovi zdvygy*) of 1911 and 1914 solidly established a new commemorative practice. These marked the first

⁷ N.H. Frijda, “Commemorating” in *Collective Memory of Political Events. Social Psychological Perspectives*, ed. by J.W. Pennebaker, D. Paez, B. Rimé, Mahwah, 1997, pp. 107–108.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ O. Vaceba, “Sokilskyj ruch v Galychyni naprykinci XIX – na pochatku XX st. (idejni ta organizacijni aspekty)”, in: “*Sokil-Batko*”. *Sportyvno-ruchankove tovarystvo u Lvovi. Almanach. 1894–1994*, Lviv, 1996, p. 21.

¹⁰ I. Dacyuk, “Vynyknennia sportyvnoho tovarystva ‘Sokil’ ta jogo dijalnist naprykinci XIX – na pochatku XX stolittya”, in: “*Sokil-Batko*”. *Sportyvno-ruchankove...*, p. 25.

attempts at using the rally format in a nationwide commemoration of a significant personage to the benefit of the Ukrainian movement – in this case, the revered poet, Taras Shevchenko. Apart from the nineteenth-century figure of the poet and prophet, these practices reworked the stories of the past, focusing in particular on stories and symbols connected with the Cossacks.

Shevchenko: A Reinterpretation of National Symbols

The figure of Taras Shevchenko had a strong symbolical meaning for Ukrainians in both the Russian and Habsburg Empires. At the turn of the century, commemorations of Shevchenko symbolically were overcoming the existing political boundaries between the two empires. They were not only a form of political manifestation but also a way to represent the Ukrainian national project in both Russian and Austrian territories. Shevchenko was not only a poet, he stood for the Ukrainian nation, imagined as both powerful and ready to wrestle for its own nation-state. Celebrating Shevchenko, a Russian subject, Galician Ukrainians symbolically emphasized not only the unity of the Ukrainian nation, but also a freer political and cultural climate of the constitutional Habsburg state, as opposed to the oppressive autocratic Russian Empire.

The commemorations marking fifty years since Shevchenko's death in 1911 and the centennial of his birth in 1914 provoked controversial discussions about his role, in particular, and the very nature of the Ukrainian national project, in general. These discussions signalled serious changes in the balance of power between various Ukrainian political parties, and new approaches towards states and ethnic groups on behalf of the Ukrainian national project. The power of parliamentary political representation, of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party and of the Greek Catholic clergy was declining, while the influence of newly-founded paramilitary groups was growing.

The tradition of honouring Shevchenko was established immediately following the poet's death in the second half of the nineteenth century, and could be traced back to the work of unofficial Ukrainian circles (*hromady*) active in the Russian Empire. The first commemoration of the poet in Lviv took place on the first anniversary of his death, in 1862, when a solemn memorial service was organized in his honour. It was held in the Orthodox Church, since Shevchenko was Orthodox, but was controversial since the absolute majority of Galician Ukrainians were

Greek Catholics.¹¹ The tradition of commemorating the anniversary of the poet's death with a liturgy continued until 1880, although it had largely lost its relevance already by the mid-1860s.¹² With the advent of new cultural institutions in Galicia, liturgies were replaced with annual commemorative evenings. Young Ukrainian activists organized the first such evening in Przemyśl on 10 March 1865, consisting of musical and poetry readings and the public recitation of Shevchenko's poems. A memorable speech delivered by Danylo Tanyachkevych became a model for many similar speeches given over the next decade. In addition to the government-sanctioned meeting, clandestine Shevchenko gatherings were held in honour of the poet, usually among students, lending a discreet and sacred significance to the poet, his works, and commemorative events. Those memorable public evenings helped make Shevchenko a Ukrainian icon, a recognized symbol of the national idea instrumentalized by the national movement in Eastern Galicia. By the end of the nineteenth century Shevchenko's anniversary celebrations had become a traditional component of the public and political life of Ukrainians in Galicia, reaching beyond the circles of the educated urban public and becoming popular among peasants.¹³

On the eve of World War I, the commemoration of the poet took on a particular significance: the poet's work would undergo an ideological and interpretative transformation within the context of the Ukrainian national movement. The younger generation, mostly students and members of gymnastic and fire-fighting "Sokil" and "Sich" societies, would now reinterpret Shevchenko's heritage to reflect their philosophy of armed struggle for the independence of the Ukrainian lands. They sought a new sense in the poet's words: faith in the Ukrainian nation as capable of own statehood, a strong critique of Russia, and a call to the struggle for the creation of that state.¹⁴

On 10 March 1899, student representatives were not admitted to the official Shevchenko evenings, and differences in opinion on the parsing of the poet arose between the older generation of National Democrats

¹¹ O. Sereda, *Shaping of a National Identity: Early Ukrainophiles in Austrian Eastern Galicia, 1860–1873 (Dissertation in History Presented to the Faculties of the Central European University in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy)*, Budapest, 2003, p. 223.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁴ "Pid hvylyu Shevchenkovogo sviata", *Shliahy*, February–March 1914; M. Zavoilyuka, "Shamenitsya, budte lyudy!", *Moloda Ukraina*, 1 March 1910; O. Kovalevskiy, "Rol Shevchenka v zhytti ukrainskoji naciji", *Shliahy*, February–March 1914; K. Zaklinskyj, "Samostijnist Ukrainy v Shevchenka", *Shliahy*, February–March 1914.

and the radical youth.¹⁵ In response, the leader of the student “Academic Society” (*Academichna Hromada*), Lonhyn Tsehelskyy, sharply criticized the older generation of National Democrats and Greek Catholic clergy. This critique was directed against the formalization and the perceived loss of relevance of the Shevchenko commemorations.¹⁶ Expressing his views on Shevchenko’s ideas in a speech in honour of Shevchenko in 1910, the young literary critic and scholar Mykola Yevshan claimed that the figure of the poet was to be an example of the indestructibility of the spirit, of the citizen-activist, of self-sacrifice, and tireless effort on behalf of the Ukrainian nation.¹⁷ A leading figure in the Sich movement, Kyrylo Trylovskiy, called for a reconsideration of Shevchenko’s heritage, and a renewed promotion of his work, emphasizing the desire of the oppressed for independence, as well as their willingness to fight for it.¹⁸

The appearance of this new interpretation and emphases in Shevchenko’s work was advanced through the search for other methods of promoting the Ukrainian national project. These new methods were imagined as an alternative to the non-dynamic and feckless – in the view of the younger generation – legal struggle going on within the constitutional Habsburg monarchy. The slow changes through the monarchy’s political institutions, aimed at giving equal status to Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, were dismissed as passive half-measures. If the political template for the older generation was built around Vienna’s willingness to legitimate the Ukrainian project, for the radical youth the solution to the Ukrainian question rested elsewhere: in the ramifications of interdependent and complex international politics, in the impending war (Austro-Russian, or, perhaps all-European), which would result in the redrawing of political boundaries. In their political calculations, the war would not merely act as a catalyst for internal national processes, but would also create a radically new context in which the implementation of national aspirations would not meet with resistance from either the Austro-Hungarian or the Russian monarchies. Thus the younger generation was resolved to addressing Ukrainian national issues via international conjuncture,

¹⁵ M. Galushchynkyj, “Ukrainska molodizh u 1899 r.”, *Moloda Ukraina*, 1900, no. 2.

¹⁶ M. Vitoshynskyj, “Kilka zamitok pro kult Shevchenka u Galyckij Ukraini”, *Moloda Ukraina*, 1 March 1910.

¹⁷ M. Yevshan, “Zaklyk mynulogo... (Promova nakoncerty v 49-I rokovyny smerti Kobzaria u Lvovi dnia 10 bereznia 1910 roku)”, *Moloda Ukraina*, 10 March 1910.

¹⁸ K. Tryliovskiy, “Na strichu sviata”, in: *Vstavajte, kajdane porvite! Na spomyn krajevogo Shevchenkovoga sviata u Lvovi 28.06.1914*, Lviv, 1914, p. 3.

and sought in Shevchenko's works a call to struggle and action, a declaration of power, unity, and the will of the Ukrainian people. Among other things, these visions were enacted via mass, public paramilitary demonstrations.

Interpreting the Past, Staging the Present, Envisioning the Future

The celebration and commemoration of anniversaries provided a rare opportunity for Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia to present their narrative of the past to a wider audience. Unlike the complex, elusive, and conflictual present, the historical past provided a nearly clean slate on which core national aspirations could be drawn up.¹⁹ Thus narrating national history was a process of stimulation and imperative for action. The Galician Ukrainians would choose from a variety of potential historical narratives, in the hope of meeting the demands of the modern era. A lack of meaningful local events, and the willingness to examine nationally unifying themes with Ukrainians living on the territory of the Russian Empire led to the circumstances in which the Cossack period was adopted as an acceptable model for the depiction of the national spirit. In the mass consciousness, the Cossack epoch was viewed as a heroic period in Ukrainian history, a time in which Ukrainians established their own state, actively defending it against external enemies. In the Galician context, an important event in this history was the confrontation between the Cossacks and the Poles, with the Cossacks serving as a symbol of the fight against Catholicism and Polish domination.

Public practices in the early-twentieth century left significant evidence of numerous appeals to the Cossack tradition. One example of this restoration of the Cossack heritage was embodied in the Ukrainian "Sich" gymnastic society. The name was drawn directly from the Cossack polity – *Zaporizhska Sich*. Members of the organization employed Cossack military ranks – *koshovyi*, *osavul*, *surmach*, *horunzhyi*, *oboznyi* – in their structure.²⁰ Cossack symbols were depicted on the official materials of the Sich Society. In particular, in an effort to promote

¹⁹ J.R. Gillis, *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton, 1994, p. 9.

²⁰ Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (further on TsDIAUL), collection (*fond*, further on – f.). 847, list (*opys*, further on – op.) 1, file (*sprava*, further on – spr.) 1, sheet, (*arkush*, further on – ark.) 2.

itself, “Sich” issued a series of thematic stamps.²¹ Sich Society members residing in villages were often called the Cossacks.²²

Legend and literature were crucial to this useful historical construct, emphatically so in the interpretation of Cossack history, of which Galician Ukrainians were virtually devoid of any historical memory. Books provided a key source for forming a broader view of the Cossack past. In the shared memory of the Galician Ukrainians, knowledge of the Zaporizhska Sich was drawn from Nikolai Gogol’s novel *Taras Bulba* and works by Taras Shevchenko.²³ The re-parsing of Shevchenko’s poetry by the radical youth movement presented the Cossack as a collective symbol of the ideal Ukrainian citizen – a man with an unbroken spirit, freedom loving, conscious, and resolute.²⁴ The newspaper *Visty z Zaporozha* (*News from Zaporizhia*) attested: “We associate the word Cossack with the time of our national strength and power, pivotal in our national life, the representation of our Ukrainian *Self*.”²⁵

The celebration of the Shevchenko anniversaries (50 years after his death in 1911 and the centenary of his birth in 1914) would serve to link the heroic Cossack past, skilfully presented in the poet’s legacy, and the coming events in which the people would be called upon to preserve the valiant tradition of Ukrainian struggle. Thus, the main focus of the events was, of necessity, the Cossack army – the heroes of Shevchenko’s work—parading through the streets. Rally participants were positioned as the heirs of the Cossacks – the modern Ukrainian army, symbolizing the continuity of historical tradition.²⁶ As an eyewitness of *zduyg* admitted, “now modern Ukrainian Cossacks were representing the strength and power of the Ukrainian nation”.²⁷ The figure of the Cossack was a main symbol of the 1914 rallies. The Cossack with a trumpet near the Shevchenko site and the River Dnieper, ostensibly issuing the call for the defence of the Ukrainian sanctuary, was depicted on posters informing about the rally. By the Cossack trumpeter a regiment of Cossacks was “charging”, “awakened by the sound of trumpets from their rest in earth, and was going to join him, the trumpeter called them to action, resolute in life and labour, as in the teachings of Taras [Shevchenko]”²⁸.

²¹ *Hromadskiy Holos*, 23 July 1914.

²² TsDIAUL, f. 847, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 2.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Dilo*, 15 September 1911.

²⁵ S. Shebec, “Nynishni kozaky”, *Visty z Zaporozha*, 31 December 1912.

²⁶ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 19.

²⁷ *Dilo*, 15 September 1911.

²⁸ “W sprawie zlotu ukraińskich sokołów i siczy”, *Wiek Nowy*, 24 June 1914.

This appeal to the Cossack tradition was made in the preparations of the rally programme. The promotional magazine, established in 1910 specifically to promote the rally, appealed to the Cossack past. The organizers called it *Visty z Zaporozha*. Remarkably, during discussions on the publication's name an alternative was suggested which also appealed to Cossack symbolism – *Malynovyj Prapor* (the crimson flag) – widespread during the Cossack era.²⁹ The newspaper, apart from current organizational affairs and news about the Sokil Society, published short historical articles, portraits of captains, significant depictions of Cossack life, and events from Cossack history.³⁰

The musical accompaniment to the gymnastic and firefighter events, which accompanied rallies, also included songs on Cossack themes. In particular, Stanislav Lyudkevych's *Zaporizhski March*, Volodymyr Yaroslavenko's *March of the Sichovyks*, and Denys Sichynsky's *Sahaidachny March* about the famous Cossack hetman, Petro Konashevich Sahaidachny, were commissioned especially for the rallies.³¹ The Cossack past was also demonstrated in the popular songs *Sokoly*, *Zasvystaly Kozachenky*, *Hej Tam na Hori Sich Ide*, *My Hajdamaky* performed during gymnastic exercises.³² Cossack history was the major ideological platform on which the rally was built.

A reinterpretation of the historical past was burdened with the task of demonstrating the principles with which to shape the modern Ukrainian nation. Yet Cossack history and heritage were a poor symbol for those who believed that the Ukrainian nation already had a strong and uninterrupted historical tradition, as well as a historical right to build its own state.

Transition Power to New Elites: From Managerial Issues to Political Claims

Chiefly the atmosphere of social and political tension in Europe at the time – e.g., the Bosnian crisis of 1908–1909 and the two Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 – provided both the impetus behind the transform-

²⁹ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 78–78zv.

³⁰ “Petro Doroshenko”, *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 March 1912; [Portrait of Ivan Mazepa and Petro Doroshenko], *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 October 1913; [Canvas “Bohdan Khemelnysky arriving in Kiev”], *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 October 1913.

³¹ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 26; “Krajevyy zdvyg”, *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 December 1911.

³² P. Franko, “Fachovyj oglyad vprav z I Krajevogo Zdvygu ‘Sizhyj’ i ‘Sokoliv’ u Lvovi”, *Narodne slovo*, 14 September 1911.

ation of the Shevchenko centennial celebration into a paramilitary parade, and the key to the spread of paramilitarism and the establishment of corresponding organizations. These geopolitical events complicated relations between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, stirring up rumours of coming war in which Galicia would certainly find itself embroiled in a military campaign.³³ These war plans and preparations prompted the founding of a number of paramilitary organizations among Ukrainians and Poles.³⁴ Thus Ukrainians constituted the “Ukrainian Sich Union” based on the Sich Society, the “Sich Riflemen I”, the “Sich Riflemen II”, and the “Riflemen’s Kurin” of the Sokil Society.³⁵

A number of discussions held in autumn 1912 and winter 2013 showed growing tension between different players, which represented the idea of cultural nationalism and military nationalism. In 1912 the majority of politically engaged Ukrainians still supported the idea of legal political struggle in parliament against Poles. They hoped to gain the support of Austrian authorities. Hence, they remained loyal to the Habsburg policy. In contrast to them, representatives of paramilitary organizations actively criticized these politics as too restrained and incongruous to the situation. They tried to attract the attention of the wider audience to the idea of an Austro-Russian war, in which Galician Ukrainians should fight for the Ukrainian independent state as a separate military unit. The heated character of these debates could be illustrated by the series of public events where these two positions were discussed. Starting from 12 October 1912, the Drahomanov Ukrainian Student Alliance Section organized a series of discussions under the heading *In the Current Wave*, where the idea of the military struggle of Ukrainians was actively promoted in contrast to the legal methods of parliamentary debates used by the National Democrats.³⁶ Student circles which supported the National Democrats argued that the idea of military nationalism was not relevant. Instead they pro-

³³ “Z balkanskogo pivostrova”, *Hromadskyj Holos*, 9 October 1908; “Vijna z Serbijeyu”, *Dilo*, 10 October 1908; “Zanosytsya na vijnu”, *Hromadskyj Holos*, 17 April 1912; “Ne bude vijny”, *Hromadskyj Holos*, 8 May 1912; “Scho chuvaty v sviti”, *Hromadskyj Holos*, 11 September 1912.

³⁴ P.M. Dabrowski, op. cit., p. 188.

³⁵ M. Ugryn-Bezgrishnyj, “Ukrainski Sichovi Strilci (V desitylittia 1914–1924)”, in: *Kalendar Chervonoyi Kalyny na 1924*, Lviv, 1923, p. 37; Boj, “Ukrainski Sichovi Strilci (U.S.S.) i Sichovi Strilci (S.S.)”, in: *ibid.*, p. 70; O. Dumin, *Istoriya legionu Ukrainskykh Sichovykh Strilciv*, Lviv, 1936, p. 17.

³⁶ O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyy, *Znachenia samostijnoi Ukrainy dlia evropeiskoi rivnovahy*, Vienna, 1916, p. 15.

moted the idea of ongoing cultural work.³⁷ They gained the majority at a meeting organized by the Ukrainian Student Union, one of the most influential student organizations, on 15 December 1912.

Despite the resolution voted at the meeting, some radically oriented students continued to participate in military training. The number of followers of the paramilitary movement increased notably in the first half of 1913. At the Ukrainian Student Congress, held in Lviv on 2–4 July 1913, most participants supported the idea of the need for military training. During the congress a programme of military nationalism was proclaimed by Dmytro Dontsov *The Social and Political State of Nation and its Tasks*. He claimed that the Ukrainians' task was to work out a consistent action plan according to which Ukrainians should decisively work on military training of youth and raise the nation in a nationalistic mood.³⁸

These moods were less influential among Ukrainian politicians. Representatives of the three main Ukrainian political parties – National Democratic, Radical and Social Democratic – cautiously declared their support and loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian empire and their allies in the event of military conflict against the Russian empire on 7 December 1912.³⁹ However they partly began to support the paramilitary movement through “Sokil” and “Sich” societies. The former received the support of the National-Democrats, while the latter was supported by the Radical Party.

As the official political strategy of the Ukrainian parties remained the same, the discussions on the Shevchenko commemorations illustrated the radicalization in the political views of the Ukrainian political milieu. Thus, the most appropriate form for the Shevchenko commemoration provided fodder for lively debate in both Ukrainian public and political circles during the lead-up to the rallies, and resulted in a marked departure from the previously accepted commemorative paradigm, earlier defined by cultural and educational programming.

Gradual and persistent activism resulted in the burgeoning influence of the new generation of radicals in Galicia, who inundated debates with their views of the Shevchenko anniversary. *Pershyj krajevyj zdyg* (the First Regional Gymnastic Rally) of 1911 was initiated by the “Sokil-Batko” society, the vast majority of which consisted of National Democratic Party members – the most influential Ukrainian Party in Galicia.

³⁷ O. Stepaniv, *Napereodni velykykh podij. Vlasni perezhyvannia i dumky. 1912–1914*, Lviv, 1930, p. 11.

³⁸ D. Dontsov, *Suchasne polozhenie natsii i ii zavdania*, Lviv, 1913, p. 27.

³⁹ TsDIAUL, f. 387, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 27.

Planning for the commemorations demonstrated an existing tension between the “cultural” and “military” visions of the Ukrainian nation. Preparations for the 1911 rally began about nine months in advance with a meeting in Lviv on 25 December 1910, bringing together representatives of different “Sokil” branches to discuss rally principles.⁴⁰ The leaders of the “Sokil-Batko” society, who were close to the National Democratic party, took a neutral position, trying to combine a paramilitary march with the cultural programme – concerts, lectures, special guests’ speeches, etc. Their main aim was to represent the organizational strength and mass character of the Ukrainian movement, to use it as an instrument of political pressure in the Ukrainian-Polish argument. The organizers tried to involve representatives of different political parties and public organizations. Their other goal was to bring to Lviv large numbers of Ukrainian peasants from different parts of Eastern Galicia to participate in the commemorations. Rally organizers readily found consensus with the Greek Catholic clergy. The clergy lobbied the idea of placing the religious ritual at the very centre of the rally, which would prove the importance of the Greek Catholic Church and of religion in Ukrainian society and Galicia’s politics. They insisted that the Divine Liturgy should be included in the rally programme, and priests should be invited to deliver speeches.⁴¹ The priests also publicly declared and widely advertised their help and practical assistance in organizing “Sokil” society branches.⁴²

On the other hand the “Sokil” Society started negotiations with the “Sich” Society – a large, separate radical rural gymnastics’ organization – headed by an influential political leader of the Radical party Kyrylo Trylovskiy. “Sich” societies and the Radical Party were the main ideological opposition to the Galician clergy. They struggled against the clergy for influence over the Ukrainian peasantry. The Radicals claimed that the clergy was too conservative and passive, and without a fundamental grasp of the needs of the Galician peasantry.⁴³ According to Kyrylo Trylovskiy, clerical activism hindered the emancipation of the Ukrainian peasantry.⁴⁴ The Radicals saw this rally as a mass paramilitary demonstration, which would broaden the repertory of political

⁴⁰ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 1.

⁴¹ “Krajevyy zdvyg”, *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 December 1911; *Narodnya chasopys*, 13 September 1911.

⁴² “Vytajte, garazd!”, *Ruslan*, 10 September 1911.

⁴³ “Z tyzhnya (Sokilskyy zdvyg)”, *Ruskyj selyanyn*, 20 September 1911.

⁴⁴ K. Trylovski, “Z mogo zhyttia... (uryvok zi spogadiv)”, in: *Hej, tam na gori “Sich” ide!.. Propamiatna knyga “Siczej”*, Edmonton, 1965, p. 60.

pressure on the Austrian authorities. The clergy's participation in the 1911 rally was the main reason behind the refusal of "Sich" members to join the rally.⁴⁵ In response, the Greek-Catholic clergy argued they were the main organizational power in the Galician countryside, including the activities of "Sokil" and "Sich" societies.⁴⁶

In the 1911 rally "Sokil" wagered on the clergy, still considering their support to be of crucial importance. In the period between the first and second rally, however, a shift in the organizers' ideological priorities occurred. Previously mentioned international tensions between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires changed priorities for leaders of the "Sokil" Society. On the days leading up to the 1914 rally, organizers representing the "Sokil" Society reluctantly agreed to seek a compromise with representatives of the "Sich" Society.⁴⁷ By the time of the 1914 rally, the clergy had been expelled from participating in the organization,⁴⁸ and the "Sokil" leadership was free to invite not only "Sich" groups to join the organizational committee, but also other, newly-formed paramilitary groups. Thus, the final rally organizing committee was made up of a broad representation of delegates from the "Ukrainian Sich Union" (Kyrylo Trilovskiy, Dmytro Katamay, Oryp Semenyuk, M. Balytsky), the "Povitova Sich" and "Sich Riflemen II" societies (Roman Dashkevich, Grits Nychka), the "Sokil" Society (Ivan Boberskiy, Semen Horuk, Stepan Haiduchok, M. Levitsky), and the "Ukraine" sports association.⁴⁹

In the period from 1911 through 1914, radical groups were able to strengthen significantly their position in the Ukrainian movement. They managed to secure influential roles in organizing the 1914 rally and to dictate their vision of the rally's implementation. The subsequent organization of mass public events in the city and their ongoing inclusion as a central component of the Shevchenko commemorations were subjected to an ideological fracture and a change in the wind for the Ukrainian national movement at large.

⁴⁵ *Russkoje slovo*, 1 September 1911.

⁴⁶ "Vytajte, garazd!" *Ruslan*, 10 September 1911.

⁴⁷ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 115–117.

⁴⁸ "Krajeve Shevchenkove sviato u Lvovi", *Hromadskiyi Holos*, 2 July 1914; "W sprawie zlotu ukraińskich sokołów i siczy", *Wiek Nowy*, 24 June 1914.

⁴⁹ L. Riznyk, "Velykyj Zdvyg", in: *Sokil-Batko*. *Sportyvno-ruchankove...*, p. 31.

Spatial Wars: The Urban Landscape as a Space for Representing a New Ukrainian National Narrative

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Polish Lwów / Ukrainian Lviv possessed a singular status within both the Polish and Ukrainian national narratives. Lviv served as a stage for the implementation of both Polish and Ukrainian national projects and their discrete goals of expansion into other regions.

Issues concerning the practical and notional ‘ownership’ of the city held a primary position in Polish-Ukrainian debates at the start of the century.⁵⁰ The Polish numerical and organizational preeminence in Lwów recast the city as a hub of Polish national expression not only before the Austro-Hungarian, but also before the German and Russian monarchies. This virtually unchallenged Polish domination of the urban environment began to experience radical shocks at the turn of the twentieth century. Generally amenable relations between the two peoples began to be recast with the onset of the politicization and institutionalization of the Ukrainian national movement.

The battle for the legitimization of Ukrainian Lviv concentrated around two areas: the recognition of the Ukrainian character of the city on the level of municipal institutions and initiatives, and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian centre in the urban public space. Among the boldest early-twentieth century ideas in this respect were the creation of a Ukrainian university, the building of a Ukrainian theater, and the acquisition of land for the construction of a stadium, the so-called “Ukrainian Garden” – all of which figured prominently in Polish-Ukrainian rivalry at the time. The rallies of 1911 and 1914 became a new method to foster effective implementation of these Ukrainian projects in Lviv. One of their aims was to demonstrate a mass Ukrainian presence in Lviv’s public space, thus proving the city’s Ukrainian character.⁵¹

The central streets of a provincial imperial capital were transformed into a stage where participants and audiences were invited to experience Lviv as a Ukrainian city. The events unfolding on the streets of Lviv were eventually duplicated all over the province, and eventually

⁵⁰ In the early days of the twentieth century, Lviv’s urban population boasted an ethnically Polish majority, followed by an ethnic Jewish population (30%), while the ethnic Ukrainian population was in third place (18%). The countryside presented a different picture, where – in the eastern parts of Galicia – the majority of the population were Ukrainians.

⁵¹ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 63, ark. 10.

on a national level that transcended state boundaries taking the movement into the realm of geopolitics.

On the scale of Lviv, the Ukrainians declared their symbolic right to the city, substantiating and popularizing it as a Ukrainian city. The organizers worked tirelessly to demonstrate the unified – and massive – organizational force of the Ukrainian movement to the watchful eyes of the city’s Polish community and elected officials. The representative function of the rallies required more than merely casting “Greater Lviv” as the centre of activities and events, it was vital to concentrate those events in the city centre.⁵² The organization of the Shevchenko ceremonies in concert halls, reading rooms and other confined locations, limited the number of potential participants and spectators, and for all intents and purposes, eliminated the possibility of any observers simply “dropping in”. Prior local celebrations, anniversaries and commemorations of all types had been largely restricted to premises rented far in advance and were only temporarily made “Ukrainian”, judging by the dominance of ethnically Ukrainian participants who attended said functions. By bringing its main programme to the city streets where Ukrainians were in the minority, the movement was making a bold declaration to both the city’s Ukrainian population as well as its Polish majority.

The “Ukrainianization” of Lviv’s public space during these rallies was achieved using a variety of methods. First, the city streets were filled with Ukrainian symbols. In the days prior to the 1911 and 1914 rallies, a general informational campaign was mounted encouraging Ukrainians to decorate their homes in yellow and sky-blue national symbols and with portraits of Shevchenko.⁵³ The aim of the rally was to persuade the Ukrainian peasantry of the organizational vigour of their national movement, to inspire pride, and thus strengthen their patriotic fervour and belief in a Ukrainian national idea.⁵⁴

A central component of the rallies was the thousands-strong ceremonial procession through the city.⁵⁵ The organizers lobbied officials to receive permission for the procession to pass through the city’s

⁵² “Krajeve Shevchenkove sviato u Lvovi”, *Hromadskiyi Holos*, 2 July 1914.

⁵³ O. Grycaj, “Zi zdvygu. Lysty uchasnyka”, *Dilo*, 3 July 1914; V. Stryj, “Pershyi krajevyyi zjizd ukrainskych Sokoliv u Lvovi”, *Rada*, 16 September 1911; “Zjizd ruskogo Sokolstva i ‘Siczy’”, *Kurjer Lwowski*, 29 June 1914.

⁵⁴ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 63, ark. 14.

⁵⁵ “Galychyna”, *Rada*, 15 September 1911; D. Doncov, “Sjezd ukrainkich ‘sokolov’ (ot nashego lvovskogo koresspondenta)”, *Utro Rossii*, 3 September 1911; “Zjizd sokolov ruskich i siczy”, *Dziennik Polski*, 30 June 1914.

central thoroughfares. The 1911 rally followed a route along the most important streets in the city: Stryyska, Kadetska (now Hvardiska), Kopernyka, Karola Ludwika, Mariyska Square, Teatralna, Trybynalska, Rynok Square adjacent to the buildings of the Ukrainian organizations *Prosvita* and *Narodna Torhivlya*, Halytska, Zyblikevych, and Stryyska (Ivan Franko Street between Zelena Street and Stryyska Street).⁵⁶ The 1914 rally made its way along the main streets of Kadetska (now Hvardiska), Kopernyka, Trybunalska, Rynok Square near the Prosvita Building, Halytska, Akademychna (now Shevchenko Prospect), St. Mykola, and Zyblikevych streets (now Ivan Franko Street between Zelena Street and Stryyska Street). The marches conducted along these central streets gave the rallies additional significance and weight, serving to legitimate Lviv – in the eyes of the Ukrainian community – as the vital hub of the national movement.

Inasmuch as the processions provided the form in which the Ukrainian movement would present itself, their organization and the visual appearance of the participants bore no less significance. It was crucial that the Ukrainians appear confident, in control of the situation, and not just mere visitors to the city.⁵⁷ To ensure the processions were of a holistic, unified and organized character, marchers were divided into squads along geographical and organizational lines.⁵⁸ Each squad had its own leader, an approach which gave the processions a paramilitary character.⁵⁹ The squads wore the uniforms of their organizations, often reminiscent of military dress.⁶⁰ Those who did not possess the standard uniform were to walk in designated athletic gear. In certain cases, decorations and other organizational insignia were used: organizational sashes, badges, and caps.⁶¹ The residents of villages which had no uniform were compelled to dress in similar national (traditional) clothing.⁶² The processions were to appear as coordinated and formal

⁵⁶ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 26.

⁵⁷ Blue boy, "Po uvilejnim zdvyzi", *Dilo*, 4 July 1914; "Zdvych" ukrainskich Sokolów i Siczy", *Gazeta Wiecorna*, 29 June 1914; O. Nazaruk, op. cit.

⁵⁸ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 66; *Narodna Chasopys*, 13 September 1911.

⁵⁹ O. Grycaj, "Zi zdvygu. Lysty uchasnyka", *Dilo*, 2 July 1914; L. Riznyk, op. cit., p. 31.

⁶⁰ "Vidznaky", *Visty z Zaporozha (Kalendar na 1914 Rik)* (Lviv, 1913), pp. 150–158; "Zlot ukrainski", *Słowo Polskie*, 29 June 1914.

⁶¹ "Sche odyn golos prosokilskyj zdvyg", *Ruslan*, 14 September 1911; "Zjazd jubileuszowy ruskich stowarzyszeń gimnastyczno-sportowych ku czci Szewczenki", *Przegład*, 1 July 1914; "Zlot ukrainski", *Słowo Polskie*, 29 June 1914.

⁶² TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 63, ark. 14; "Zi zdvygu. Lysty uchasnyka", *Dilo*, 10 July 1914; *Russkoye Slovo*, 1 September 1911.

as possible.⁶³ Occasionally less-than-well-organized walkers, uncoordinated military, athletic and national formations lent the marches a certain carnival quality.⁶⁴ Yet the declared intent of the rallies resulted in both well-wishers as well as opponents attempting to match the processions by staging military rallies, marches and the like of their own. One section of the Polish press characterized the processions as being “a march by a hostile army along the streets of Lviv”. The Polish newspaper *Czas* wrote about the atmosphere of the 1911 rally: “The cold and calm [reception of a largely Polish audience] proffered the strange impression of an enemy army marching through the city in calmness and suppressed silence”.⁶⁵

What was the impact of these rallies in the province as a whole? Beyond this one city with its sizeable Polish majority and scores of Ukrainians in need of mobilization, the rallies also held strong appeal for vast numbers of people in the countryside and small towns of Galicia. This is particularly true of its eastern part, where a large Ukrainian population comprised the primary audience. These rallies came to be seen as the single most effective attempt at the mass mobilization of the Ukrainian population in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the period leading up to the First World War, with large event turnouts ensured with the general willing participation of the rural populace.⁶⁶ An achievement of this scale was primarily a question of logistics. Rural inhabitants were enlisted through a well-planned organizational and informational appeal, which covered the whole of Eastern Galicia.⁶⁷ A separate organizational committee was established to guide this extended informational campaign.⁶⁸ As early as the lead-up to the 1911 regional rallies, the organizational committee had begun publishing a periodical entitled *Visty z Zaporozha* (*News from Zaporizhia*).⁶⁹ Published until 1914, the magazine worked to promote the concept of the “Sokil” Society in general, as well as the upcoming rallies being organized. Advertisements promoting the rallies regularly appeared in Galicia’s Ukrainian press.⁷⁰ Handbills promoting the rallies were

⁶³ “Pershyi krajevyyi”, *Narodne Slovo*, 12 September 1911.

⁶⁴ *Głos polskiej partji socjalno-demokratycznej*, 12 September 1911; “Zi zdvygu. Lysty uchasnyka”, *Dilo*, 10 July 1914; “Zlot ukraiński”, *Słowo Polskie*, 29 June 1914.

⁶⁵ “Kronika”, *Czas*, 12 September 1911.

⁶⁶ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 85zv.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ark. 71.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ark. 85zv.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, ark. 78–78zv.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ark. 85zv, 98zv.

distributed throughout the province.⁷¹ A special appeal was sent out to each branch of the “Sokil” society in the region encouraging members of the organization to travel to Lviv for the rallies.⁷²

Separately, instruction in gymnastics was conducted for the rural residents. Representatives from Lviv’s “Sokil-Batko” society organized training for Sokil representatives from the provinces and sent emissaries to the outlying regions running classes for the members of local organizations.⁷³ The sport-gymnastics training programme was organized to include athletic training for potential participants from the countryside, and the organization of local observances, during which reviews were conducted to screen rural participants for their readiness, and to select the most impressive members of the rural groups to participate in the “Great Rallies”.⁷⁴

The region’s transportation infrastructure was also adapted to meet the particular needs of the rallies. Additional, affordably priced trains were scheduled from the outlying areas to Lviv.⁷⁵ A special network for coordinating sales of train tickets was also organized.⁷⁶

The inclusion of the rural populations in the commemoration activities was a top priority. If, at the outset, concerts and evening social events dedicated to Shevchenko’s anniversary had been the prerogative of a small band of ‘enlightened citizenry’, elites from the regional capital and the provinces, the driving force behind its manifestation now became the rural masses, moving along the streets of Lviv, tangible evidence of the general dedication to Shevchenko as a symbol befitting the Ukrainian national idea. It was during one of the organizational meetings of the 1911 rally that “Sokil” member Longyn Cegelskyi stressed that at least 10,000 participants from the provinces were necessary for a successful rally. The result was a massive rural recruitment campaign throughout Eastern Galicia.⁷⁷

And yet the reach of the rallies extended beyond the city and the province, into the space where the Habsburg and Romanov Empires overlapped. An imagined territory known as Ukraine was there, absent

⁷¹ Ibid., ark. 71.

⁷² Ibid., ark. 85zv.

⁷³ “Velykyj Zdvyg”, in: *“Sokil-Batko”. Sportyvno-ruchankove...*, p. 31; TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 87–87zv, 94, 101; TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 49, ark. 35.

⁷⁴ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 78, 100.

⁷⁵ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 9; *Galichanin*, 12 September 1911; “Po uvilejnim zdvyzi”, *Dilo*, 3 July 1914.

⁷⁶ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 9.

⁷⁷ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 49, ark. 35.

from the contemporary political maps. For this imaginary territory Lviv proved to be exceptional. Ukrainian intellectuals and activists had long considered the city to be the centre of the Ukrainian movement for both empires.⁷⁸ The comparatively favourable situation in Austro-Hungary permitted implementing a number of initiatives in Lviv unfeasible in the Russian Empire, where a much larger number of Ukrainians lived. The situation surrounding the Shevchenko rallies provides an excellent case in point. The poet's life and works were connected with the Dnieper Ukraine in the early twentieth century known as the South-Western Krai (Region) of the Russian Empire. His tomb in the town of Kaniv near Kiev was a common pilgrimage site for Ukrainians.⁷⁹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ukrainians in the Russian Empire initiated a campaign for the construction of a Shevchenko memorial in Kiev.⁸⁰ There were high hopes of completing the project before the centenary of his birth and to hold a mass commemoration event there. These plans, however, failed to come even to partial fruition.⁸¹ A lack of project coordination, and the inability to reach an agreement with the Kiev city authorities left the monument unbuilt, and a further City Council (Duma) ban of any public commemorations of the anniversary. Lviv, therefore, became the centre of the Shevchenko commemorations, further transforming the city into the symbolic hub of the Ukrainian movement. The Galician Shevchenko commemorations of 1911 and 1914 enjoyed publicity and support throughout the Dnieper Ukraine.⁸² For example, Ukrainian women's communities in the Russian Empire sent special greetings to Lviv in the form of embroidered towels.⁸³

The Lviv rallies achieved global recognition since organizers managed to enlist support from the Ukrainian Diasporas in Europe, in North and South Americas. Organizers also managed to ensure nominal support from a number of non-Ukrainian partner organizations in

⁷⁸ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 1.

⁷⁹ S. Yekelchuk, "Tvorenna sviatyni: ukrainofily i Shevchenkova mohyla v Kanevi (1861–1900-i roky)", in: *Ukrainofily. Svit ukrainskykh patriotiv drugoi polovyny XIX stolittia*, Kyiv, 2010, pp. 51–73.

⁸⁰ "Na pamiatnyk Shevchenku", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1907, no. 1; "Zasnuvannia pamiatnyka T.H. Shevchenko u Kyjevi", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1907, no. 13; "Na pamiatnyk Shevchenku", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1907, no. 16; "Na pamiatnyk Shevchenku", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1908, no. 30; "Na pamiatnyk Shevchenku", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1908, no. 31; "Na pamiatnyk Shevchenku", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1911, no. 13.

⁸¹ "Na pamiatnyk Shevchenku", *Ridnyi Kray*, 1912, no. 6.

⁸² D. Doncov, op. cit.; *Dniprovi Hvyli*, 24 September 1911.

⁸³ *Dniprovi Hvyli*, 24 September 1911.

Europe, accomplished chiefly through the “Sokol” network.⁸⁴ Organizations and individuals sent congratulatory telegrams.⁸⁵ Guests who had travelled from other continents delivered greetings from abroad during the rallies.⁸⁶ Typical examples were greetings extended by members of the “Zaporizhia” society based in Prudentopolis, Brazil and the “Hamburg Sich”⁸⁷. Brazilians of Ukrainian descent were represented by Klim Hutkovskiy.⁸⁸

As these episodes illustrate that event organizers ensured that the message of the rallies would resonate beyond the borders of Ukraine and bring international recognition.⁸⁹ The invitation of foreign guests and their public appearances lent a particular symbolic significance to these events, helping to localize the events in the city of Lviv, and to enhance their potential impact on both supporters, observers, and rivals alike. The Ukrainians were hopeful of gaining recognition from the Austro-Hungarian “Sokol” Movement through these mass rallies. At the international gatherings of the “Sokol” Society, Ukrainian chapters were routinely overshadowed by their Polish compatriots, and thus the Shevchenko rallies were to provide the opportunity for the Ukrainian groups to manifest their organizational maturity. Above all, organizers hoped to attract the attention of the Czech “Sokol” societies, whose structure was a model for the Ukrainian groups. The 1911 rallies were attended by representatives of Czech “Sokol” groups from Vysočany and Prague, namely František Mašek and Bohumil Hovel.⁹⁰

Rally organizers solicited media coverage extending beyond that of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Calling attention to the Ukrainian question in Western Europe gained prominence in the appeals of Ukrainian groups at home and abroad, and in particular following the tension in the Balkans which resulted in the 1908–9 Bosnian Crisis and Balkan Wars of 1912–13. The attendance by the British journalists of the 1914 rallies was of particular importance for the Ukrainians,

⁸⁴ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 41, ark. 71; “Zdvyg u Lvovi”, *Narodne Slovo*, 12 September 1911.

⁸⁵ V. Stryj, op. cit.; “Yuvilejnyi Shevchenkivskiy zdvyg”, *Dilo*, 2 July 1914.

⁸⁶ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 18–21, 63–64; “Krajevyy zdvyg”, *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 December 1911; “Po yuvilejnim zdvyzi”, *Dilo*, 3 July 1914.

⁸⁷ “Krajevyy zdvyg”, *Visty z Zaporozha*, 30 December 1911; *Narodnya chasopys*, 13 September 1911.

⁸⁸ “Zdvyg u Lvovi”, *Narodne Slovo*, 12 September 1911.

⁸⁹ TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 62, ark. 1; TsDIAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 63, ark. 10.

⁹⁰ “Zdvyg u Lvovi”, *Narodne Slovo*, 12 September 1911.

providing an opportunity to explore broader European interests regarding the Ukrainian question.⁹¹

In this way, Ukrainians were able to employ their mass rallies as an instrument for promulgating the concept of Lviv as both a Ukrainian city, and as the hub of the Ukrainian movement, with the further goal of popularizing the Ukrainian question on both local and international level. Despite the short duration of the events themselves, through careful preparation the organizers aroused general interest in the rallies, attracted participants and audiences with the promise of spectacle and entertainment, and assured wide international exposure by inviting foreign guests, and popularizing events around the globe.

Conclusions

The rallies held in 1911 and 1914 created a new commemorative paradigm for a Ukrainian national symbol – the poet Taras Shevchenko. Traditional cultural celebrations, popular at the turn of the twentieth century, were replaced by paramilitary rallies. In the wider perspective, the commemorative shift marked the development of new approaches to the implementation of the Ukrainian national project in the years preceding the outbreak of World War I. In addition to the political debates in Parliament and the Galician *Sejm* (Diet), public debates in the press, and the struggle to establish Ukrainian institutions, a mass national paramilitary demonstration taking place in the urban public space became a new valuable tool to assert the agenda of the Ukrainian national movement.

One of the most important consequences was the restructuring of the Ukrainian movement and the formation of new actors pursuing new priorities, and the deployment of radically novel forms of political and social activism. While this shift marked the decline of the political influence of the Greek Catholic clergy, who came under fire for their conservative and even retrograde attitudes, it was also marked by the appearance of a young generation of lay *intelligentsia* claiming to provide the new leadership for the movement.

The international situation also played a significant role in the Ukrainian context. The 1908–9 Bosnian Crisis and the 1912–13 Balkan Wars were instrumental in spreading the concept of military intervention

⁹¹ “Po krajevim sviati”, *Hromadskyj Holos*, 9 July 1914; O. Hrycai, “Zi zdvygu. Lysty uchasnyka”, *Dilo*, 3 July 1914.

and military struggle. The threat of a war between Austro-Hungary and Russia led to the appearance of new paramilitary organizations and the formation of a political ethos embracing as legitimate military solutions to the question of Ukrainian statehood.

Oksana Dudko

Between the past and the future: Mass Rallies as the staging
of the Ukrainian National Project (1911–1914)

(Summary)

In this paper the internal interactions between the Ukrainian political groups are analyzed. Two rallies, commemorating the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, serve as a lens through which to observe the complex nature of the “Ukrainian national project.” When looking at the Ukrainian rallies of 1911 and 1914, specific focus is paid to the internal and external factors which led to the restructuring of the Ukrainian national project. In particular, the paper focuses on the organization, structure, and contexts of these commemorative events, as well as the organizers and people attending them. The analysis is centered of their political views, socio-economic background, age, gender, and education, thus allowing the author to trace the appearance of new symbols, new ways of using public spaces in the city, the dissemination of rituals and, finally, to comment on how these new approaches shaped the commemorative landscape in general.

The author argues that to understand the political interaction and transition of the Ukrainian narrative from cultural nationalism to military nationalism, three interwoven elements should be taken into consideration: the revision of the Taras Shevchenko cult; the creation of a new historical narrative and the new approach to public space, used as a stage for national ideas.

Key words: Galicia, Ukrainian Rallies, Taras Shevchenko, paramilitary movement, commemorations