

Wasył Luciw, Ph. D.

UKRAINIANS AND THE POLISH  
REVOLT OF 1863

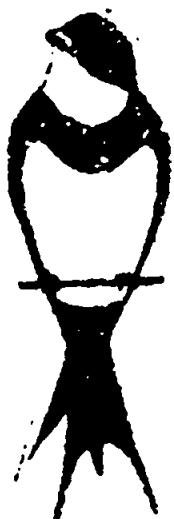


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POLISH REVOLT OF 1863



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Wasył Luciw, Ph. D.

*Ukrainians and the*

*Polish Revolt of 1863*

(A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN-POLISH RELATIONS)



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**TO THE MEMORY OF  
T A R A S S H E V C H E N K O  
1814 - 1861**





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**Margrave Alexander Wielopolski.**

## UKRAINIANS AND THE POLISH REVOLT OF 1863

### I. INTRODUCTION

Much has been written and discussed among the Ukrainians and Poles concerning Polish-Ukrainian relations. One of the reasons for this has been that historical circumstances united the fate of Ukraine and Poland for long years. This unfortunate union brought the Ukrainian nation much misfortune. As a result of it, the Ukrainians lost almost all their leading class, and some of the Ukrainian territories were threatened with complete and irretrievable annexation.

True, Ukrainians fortunately survived this period of their history; only the Ukrainian lands west of the Curzon line lost their national character, while on the other hand, historical Poland fell—declined to a second-class role, and today finds itself in the same circumstances as Ukraine.

Considering the importance of the Ukrainian-Polish problems, it is worthwhile to review some of the dust-covered, forgotten pages of history and throw an objective light on matters about which the public should know.

Among the forgotten historical events lies the Polish revolt of 1863, or more specifically, the Polish-Ukrainian relations of that time. It is surprising that work on this subject has been limited to small newspaper items or articles and some small mention in literature; up to this time, we have no broad work on the subject. The author of this paper has attempted to fill this gap on the basis of collected material. This work attempts to provide material for a history, and therefore, does not pretend to be a full and exhaustive work. Lack of archival material may possibly have been the cause of certain deviation and inaccuracy; if so, I ask the reader's pardon. One purpose of this work is to uncover that which

has overgrown with moss, and depict it in the aspect of historical events and situations. Another purpose of this work is—instead of creating barricades and entanglements of barbed wire—to endeavor to carry the attack to the conscience and spirit of our neighbors who are experiencing the same fate as ours.

## II. POLISH-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS BEFORE THE REVOLT

In this chapter we will consider Ukrainian-Polish relations in the years 1860-1863, the period directly prior to the revolt. First, it is our belief that Moscow's failure in the Crimean War (1853-56) revealed all the ills of the state system, thus forcing the administration to carry out a number of reforms. Most important of these were the abolishment of slavery in 1861, and the reformation of the judiciary. In addition, municipal self-administration was reformed, length of military service was reduced from twenty-five years to three or four years, and there were even expectations of a constitution. Tsar Alexander II gave permission for the return from exile of members of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, and social life was reborn following the decade of Nicholas's despotism. Initially, Ukrainian life was centered in St. Petersburg; later, it was transferred to Ukraine. In the cities, *Hromady* (communities) were organized which published and propagated Ukrainian books, established "Sunday Schools" for children and adults, and organized exhibits and concerts, through such activities strengthening the Ukrainian ideal.

Kiev became the center of the social-cultural movement. It is proper to note that the Tsarist government spared no efforts to demoralize the youth of the University of Kiev, established in 1834. Bibikov, governor of Kiev, could boast before the Tsar that "the youth of Kiev dances but does not think."<sup>1</sup> A year after the Crimean war, the youth began to organize. Clandestine, humorous newspapers such as the *Bigus Hultajski* appeared in Polish denouncing the errors of youth. The Polish student youth of Kiev established *Gminy*

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<sup>1</sup>) Review of the Teofil Szumaki's story *Na gruzach* in "Stolo" (Village), ed. by Paulin Świenicki, Lviv 1886, No. 2, p. 159.



**Leaders of the January's Revolt (1863.)  
Chmielinski, Sierakowski, Mackiewicz,  
Langewicz, Bosak, Lelewel-Borelowski,  
Taczanowski, Kruk and Dabrowski.**

(Polish for "communities") based on the Ukrainian "communities." The more affluent taxed themselves for the benefit of the poor, established libraries, and completed collections of banned works. The *Gmina* in Kamenets-Podilsky established a store where goods could be purchased at a minimum price and instituted a six-month period of credit for the poor.<sup>2</sup>

Democratic youth of noble extraction met with the people and came to the conclusion that the populace should not be identified with the Polish gentry—that their paths diverged because the populace had enough power for an independent life. The fiery works of Shevchenko awakened ardor in the youth, and the Ukrainian people found among the Polish university students devoted friends who desired to work for the Ukrainian good and to demand for Ukrainians the land appropriations and education which, as a minority, they lacked. The nobility attacked the youth for their acts, calling them "demagogues;" ideas about citizenship for the peasantry were called "mania," and all friends of the common people were called *khlopomany* (common-man maniacs). True, these endeavors were not without results. The aforementioned democratic youth (gentry and Catholics), now called *khlopomany*, separated and created an independent group—*Hromada* (Community). They rejected the slogan of nobility—"to elevate the populace," and did not act superior in any way. Rather, they became one with the common people; they accepted the Ukrainian tongue, Ukrainian customs, manners, and dress. In brief, in their struggle for the welfare of the common people they became *khlopy* (commonmen), from which term the contemptuous name *khlopomany* was derived.

In 1860, the youth who had not become a component of the *Hromady* united the gymnasium *Gminy* into provincial ones. Five *Gminy* were established: the Podolian, Volynian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and that of Congress Poland. These *Gminy* united into the *Ogól* in opposition to the Ukrainian *Hromada*. Only later did the more poorly organized Muscovites and Jews follow.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>) Szumaki, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 160.

The Ukrainian *Hromada* in Kiev was headed by Volodymyr Antonovych, who left the camp of the nobility for the *hlopomany*, explaining this step as follows:

Fate willed me to be born in Ukraine a nobleman; since childhood my customs were those of the gentry and for long I have shared all the principles and national prejudices of the people among whom I was reared. Then when the time came for self-appraisal, I serenely weighed my position in the country, weighed all the errors, all the aspirations of the society in which fate placed me—and I observed that its moral position was hopeless if it did not diverge from its viewpoint of exclusiveness, from its pretenses to the country and its populace. I saw that the Polish gentry who reside in Ukraine had before the tribunal of their own conscience only two ways out: either, to love the people among whom they resided, to concern themselves with the people's interests, to return to the nationality abandoned at one time by their predecessors, and, in the measure of their power, with untiring labor and love, to do penance for all the evil which they caused the populace that had reared many generations of aristocratic colonists, said populace having been repaid by the Polish gentry only by jealousy, quarrels, degradation of its religion, customs, morals, and dignity; or, in the event that there was not enough moral strength, to settle on Polish soil, populated by Polish people, so that each man might finally acquit himself in his own heart of the following sad accusation: "I, too, am a colonist. I directly or indirectly feed on foreign labor, block the road to the development of the people into whose homeland I came without invitation, with ambitions alien to it. I, too, belong to the camp which desires to block the development of the natives, and although without guilt, I share responsibility for its deeds."<sup>4</sup>

The above declaration by Volodymyr Antonovych was not only his creed but it was also the creed of other Polish polonized gentry who went over to the Ukrainian camp. The name of Antonovych, as well as that of the renowned researcher on Slavic culture, Konstantyn Mychalchuk, the economist Tadey Rylsky, the ethnographer Borys Poznansky, and other outstanding scientists who dedicated their works

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<sup>4</sup> M. Holubeć: *Velyka Istoria Ukrainy*, Winnipeg 1948, p. 696; I. Cholm-y: *Istoria Ukrainy* (History of Ukraine), p. 821.



to the Ukrainian people, became famous in the European scientific world.

The above members of the *Hromady*, especially Professor Antonovych, were, at that time, a threat to the *Moshrodiyi* (as the nobility was called) who could not ignore the declaration of Antonovych because it had touched the depth of their conscience.

Of the *Gminy*, it should be said that each of them was comprised of several hundred members. Every member considered it an honor to belong to the *Ogól*. Leaving a *Gmina* was considered a "disgrace," and those who had done so were not even accepted in the homes of the gentry.<sup>5</sup>

The *Gminy* held sessions twice a year. In cases of necessity, special sessions were held. At meetings they elected representatives. Five representatives of the *Gminy* constituted the representative committee, which resolved minor general matters of the *Ogól*, and the complete *Gminy* considered and resolved local matters of greater importance. In cases of differences, each *Gmina* elected representatives to the General Meeting, which, under the guidance of a president elected by the representatives, resolved the matter. Meetings were held in private homes, and an attendance of several hundred people was not uncommon. The police pretended they were unaware of this and created no obstacles, although the speakers were very outspoken. In addition to the representative committee, there were others: administrative, library and educational. Later, premises called *Hospoda* (inn) were hired for meetings. The *Hospoda* contained a collection of books and a reading room where they also filed copies of newspapers, the majority of which were illegal. The Tsarist government *de jure* did not recognize the *Ogól*, but *de facto* was forced to contend with it and, out of necessity, to negotiate with it. Not only that, but individual citizens considered it an honor to be a member of any type of *Gmina* and even placed their personal problems before the *Ogól* for decision.

And now, a few words concerning the principles and character of the *Gminy*. Members of the Podolian, Volynian and Ukrainian *Gminy* considered themselves citizens of the

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<sup>5</sup>) "Stolo," *op. cit.*, p. 180.

country; they did not renounce leadership of the given areas, but they endeavored conscientiously to fulfill all their obligations toward the country. They did not segregate themselves from the Ukrainian populace; they called themselves *Rusyny* (meaning Ukrainians) and they tried to represent the Ukrainian interests.<sup>6</sup> Because, during the course of centuries, great changes had taken place and the people, as was averred, had appropriated the Polish culture from the gentry and entered into the composition of the Polish state, the citizens of three Ukrainian provinces (Podilia, Volynia, and Ukraine), in addition to their own designation of *Rusyny*, preserved the name of the Poles, and called themselves *Poliako-Rusyny* (Poles-Ukrainians). This youth, although Polish, was active in educating the populace. It established schools in which the Polish language was not even taught—only the Ukrainian. For instance, in Kiev a model three-class school was established in which the Ukrainian language was used in lectures. This School Committee published a Ukrainian dictionary, and the Pedagogic Council published several popular books for the populace.<sup>7</sup> The "Society of Friends of the Populace" was organized, the members speaking Ukrainian among themselves.

The activities of the *Ogól* and the *Gminy* interested the "Catholic Gentry Society," and they demanded from the *Ogól* recognition of their political credo. The youth of three provinces called a conference of their *Gminy*, and later, at a general meeting, issued a written proclamation that, although they did not intend to break with the Polish element, they considered themselves to be Ukrainian (*Ruski*) citizens; therefore, the defense of the rights of Ukraine, with which they were federatively connected, was their first concern and Poland their second, inasmuch as they united with Poland as an equal with an equal and the free with the free. The *Ogól* decided to print this proclamation in the foreign press.<sup>8</sup>

To all the announcements and activities of the *Poliako-Rusyny*, Congress Poland and the Lithuanian *Gminy* took a passive attitude, participating only in matters which con-

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6) "Siolo," *op. cit.*, p. 102.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 162.

8) *Ibid.*, p. 164.

# CENTRALNY NARODOWY KOMITET

jako tymczasowy

## RZĄD NARODOWY

zważywszy, że uwłaszczenie włościan pomimo ogłoszeń obci kraju, z powodu stawianych przez Rząd Najmniejszą przeszkod dotąd do skutku nie doszło—obok tego

zważywszy, że oddanie gospodarcom rolnym na własność gruntów, dotąd przez nich tytułem czynszów, pańszczyzny lub innych obowiązków posiadanych, zmniejsza mienie dotychczasowych właścicieli,

postanowił i stanowi:

Art. 1. Wszelka posiadłość niemiecka jaką każdy gospodarz dotąd tytułem pańszczyzny, czynszu lub innym tytułem posiadał—wraz z należnymi do niej ogrodami, zabudowaniami mieszkalnymi i gospodarskimi, tudzież prawami i przywilejami do niej przywiązanymi—od daty niniejszego Dekretu staje się wyłączną i dziedziczną dotychczasowego posiadacza własnością, bez żadnych jakichkolwiek hań obowiązków, danin, pańszczyzny lub czynszu, z warunkiem jedynie opłacania przypadających z niej podatków i odbywania należnej służby krajowej.

Art. 2. Dotychczasowi właściciele nadanych gospodarcom rolnym gruntów, otrzymają odpowiednią wartość tychże indemnizacji, z funduszu narodowych za pośrodstwem długu Państwa.

Art. 3. Zasady do oznaczenia wysokości szacunku ziemi, oraz rodzaj instytucji kredytowej w osobnych dekreтах wskazane będą —

Art. 4. Wszelkie Ukazy, Restrypcja przez Rząd Najmniejszą w przedmiocie tak zwanych stosunków włościańskich wydane znoszą się, a tóż samem nikogo nie obowiązują —

Art. 5. Dekret niniejszy stosowany być winien tak do własności prywatnych, jako też i do własności Rządowych, Donacyjnych, Kościelnych i wszelkich innych

Art. 6. Ogłoszenie i wprowadzenie w wykonanie niniejszego Dekretu, Centralny Narodowy Komitet jako tymczasowy Rząd Narodowy Naczelnikom wojskowym i wojewódzким poleca.

Dan w Warszawie 22 Stycznia 1863 r.

# CENTRALNY NARODOWY KOMITET

jako tymczasowy

## RZĄD NARODOWY

zważywszy, że wymaga jak największej liczby walczących i nikt od pełnienia służby wojskowej wymowie się nie może, zważywszy nadto, że każdy obywatel z pracy rąk utrzymujący się skoro pojźdź na wojnę mieć winien zapewniony być tak dla siebie jak i dla swęj rodziny

postanowił i stanowi:

Art. 1. Chłapiacy, Zagrodziacy, Komornicy, Parobcy i w ogóle wszyscy obywatele z zarobku jedynie utrzymanie mający, którzy powołani do broni, w szeregach wojska narodowego za Ojczyznę walczyc będą otrzymują a w razie ich śmierci żony i dzieci na własność po ukodczeniu wojny z Długu Narodowych dział gruntu najmniej mórg trzy przeszerzeń otrzymają.

Art. 2. Ogłoszenie i wprowadzenie w wykonanie niniejszego Dekretu Centralny Narodowy Komitet jako tymczasowy Rząd Narodowy Naczelnikom wojskowym i wojewódzким poleca.

Dan w Warszawie 22 Stycznia 1863 r.



The edict of the Polish Central National Committee  
(January 22, 1863.)

cerned the *Ogól*, because they always considered themselves aliens in Ukraine.

The main difference between the *Gminy* of the *Poliako-Rusyny* and members of the *Hromady* was that the principal purpose of the members of the *Hromady* was to broaden education among the populace, and in the political aspect to lean or to depend on the strength of the Ukrainian nation whereas, at that time, the *Gminy* had a distinct purpose: to liberate themselves from Muscovite domination and to unite with Lithuania and Congress Poland as one federative state. In political affairs, the *Hromady* depended upon Providence and the destiny of the Ukrainian nation; they frequently broke with certain moments of the past, yet they had no plans for the future, and they acted according to the needs of the day. On the other hand, the *Ogól* had a definite political purpose; they distinctly noted positive moments of Polish-Ukrainian mutual relations in the past, and dreamed of the greatness of the "Polish Republic" in the future.<sup>9</sup>

Members of the *Hromady* were called *rizuny* (butchers) by the gentry, while the *Poliako-Rusyny* were more often called *khlopomany*, although there were other less popular names for both. In the *Gminy* there was a certain faction of the youth at the helm. This faction of the youth was impressed by their position since, after all, it was a certain honor to administer the affairs of the country. In order not to lose that power, this faction of the youth permitted no parliamentarianism which might have taken that power away from them. The youth, in general, opposed them, nicknaming them *coryphaei* (l. corypheeus) and pointing out all their errors. A fierce struggle began between the *coryphaei*, the students, and the other members of the *Gminy*. First, Lithuania got rid of the *coryphaei*; then a movement against them started in Ukraine. This led to serious changes, especially in the Podolian *Gmina* where an internal reorganization was carried out. After the reform, the Podolian *Gmina* differed very distinctly from the two other *Gminy* in Ukraine. True, in general matters the students continued to discuss affairs together, while the *Ogól* decided everything. For instance, in 1862, in the uni-

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<sup>9</sup>) "Stolo," *op. cit.*, p. 162; *Encyklopedija Ukraïnoznavstva*, vol. I, p. 11, p. 478.

versity auditorium in Kiev, conferences and heated discussion lasted three weeks because the Tsarist government intended to promulgate certain laws which would limit the freedom of the students. Indignation rose to such a point that all government papers were destroyed, and the majority of the students declared that the university must cultivate not only scientists but also good citizens of the country.<sup>10</sup>

This was the period before the Polish revolt. The agitated youth began demonstrations. The *Ogól* consented to this and did not order the arrested to deny their guilt. Polish student leaders were arrested and imprisoned. The Polish youth in Ukraine began to see matters more soberly. Despite the resolutions of the *Gminy* of Lithuania and Congress Poland the Ukrainian *Gminy* resolved that the prisoners should plead not guilty of singing national songs and anthems because the government released such cases. To this, one of the members of the Congress Poland *Gmina* became impassioned and shouted that it was for Congress Poland to give orders and for Lithuania and Ukraine to obey. Then Stephen Bobrowski rose and announced that it was nonsense to advance such pretenses, and that if other members of the Congress Poland *Gmina* were in accord with such ideas, the Rus' (Ukraine) did not want to have anything to do with them and would break off reciprocal relations.<sup>11</sup> This had a positive influence, and thenceforth the members of the Lithuanian and Congress Poland *Gminy* never again expressed themselves in matters strictly Ukrainian. True, in a very short time, members of the aforementioned *Gminy* left Ukraine for the eventual organization of the revolt.

The members of the *Gminy* in Ukraine were also active in this direction. Thus, the memorable "January Revolt" (Polish Revolt of 1863) approached for the Poles, together with events tragic in their culmination for Poland.

### III. UKRAINIANS AND THE POLISH REVOLT OF 1863

Since our purpose is to investigate the Polish revolt of 1863 from the aspect of the Polish-Ukrainian relations, we

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<sup>10</sup>) "Stolo," No. 2, Lviv, 1866, pp. 163-4.

<sup>11</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 164.

shall not go into a lengthy review of the revolt itself because for this there is ample Polish literature. We give here only a general outline of the insurrection itself and the preparations for it, placing special emphasis on the activity of the insurgents among the Ukrainians.

On closer examination, we see to our astonishment that this outstanding but saddest page in the history of the Polish nation, the "January Revolt," enveloped the major portion of the Ukrainian national territory. The majority of the battles and skirmishes took place on Ukrainian soil. Ukrainians, not only by origin or blood, but also those who possessed a definite Ukrainian national identity played a dominant role in its preparation and in the revolt itself. At the same time, the Ukrainian populace decided it was a lost cause, although, under other circumstances, it could have supported the Revolt and brought about victory.<sup>12</sup>

Among the Polish citizenry, two political parties were in the lead--"Whites" and "Reds." Their policies and methods of struggle were varied. The "Whites" were the gentry and wealthy burghers who gathered for conferences at the home of Count Andrew Zamojski. The "Reds" endeavored at all costs to bring about war with Moscow and maintained a more democratic character. A third party, headed by Marquis Alexander Wielopolski, asked for peace with the Tsarist government.

At that time, the Tsarist governor in Warsaw was M. Gorchakov. He saw that Moscow must resort to concessions and give Poland some relief. For that reason, he received permission from the Tsar to organize an administrative commission for education and religion, headed by a Polish minister. The Russophile, Marquis Wielopolski, was appointed. He distinguished himself by severe treatment of the democratic youth and by disbanding the "Agricultural Society," which act brought about one of the most bloody manifestations in Warsaw. In the demonstration over 200 people were killed and as many wounded. Nevertheless, this was only a spark to the explosion; these victims did not

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<sup>12)</sup> O. Nazariyiv: *Povstannia 1863 r. i Ukraina in "Ilustrovana Ukraina"* Lviv, Dec. 1, 1913, p. 4.

quench the resistance but brought about a whole series of manifestations in Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine. The "Reds" were especially active. Fear overcame the Tsar. He dispatched Prince Konstantyn to Poland as governor, and he appointed Wielopolski as chief of the civil government. On June, 8, 1862, Congress Poland received full autonomy. Despite this, the "Reds" did not interrupt their revolutionary activities and they committed several outrages. The populace was rebellious and restless; the number of arrests and exiles to Siberia increased. Wielopolski saw that matters were nearing an explosion and for that reason ordered compulsory military service in the Russian army. This decree hastened the revolt. Conscription into military service was to take place on January 17, 1863, and on January 22nd insurrection broke out simultaneously in several places.<sup>13</sup>

Polish sources report that initially there were only 10,000 insurgents, poorly clothed and lacking in weapons. For the most part, these were youths unaccustomed to hardships and untempered in battle. The Russians appeared with a much larger army—almost 83,000 men armed and equipped with 120 cannons—while the insurgents had none.<sup>14</sup>

Polish revolutionary committees were formed in Warsaw and Vilna. The administration of the Committees was recognized by the lesser gentry and priests, while the more important gentry and magnates offered no resistance to them. The Committee members conducted broad scale propaganda among the peasantry, especially among the Ukrainians, and some of the villages, or sections of the peasantry as a whole, swore allegiance to them. The insignificant participation of the peasantry in this revolt might be explained by the revolt's intelligentsia-aristocratic character. The organizers of the revolt did not properly recruit the peasantry. True, special circulars, a few articles and two types of the so-called "Golden Writs"<sup>15</sup> were issued for the Ukrainian population. The populace did not rally to the obscure promises and did not support the insurrection. The organizers of the revolt on

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<sup>13</sup>) Watra-Przewłocki: *History of Poland*, publ. in Stevens Points, U.S.A.

<sup>14</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 526.

<sup>15</sup>) O. Nazariyiv, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-7; D. Doroshenko: *Istoria Ukrainy*, Crakow, 1942, p. 209.

the right bank acted very unwisely and frivolously. Let us cite an example. A group of armed Kievan youth marched on the villages for the purpose of inciting the populace to revolt. The "Golden Writ" was to serve as a means of propaganda and verbal agitation. Some villages received them sympathetically, even with favor. By accident, they came to the village of Soloviyiwka in Radomyshl county, a village unfamiliar to them. The local population adopted a hostile attitude toward them because the villagers were unsuccessful in reaching an understanding with the Kievan youth. Motivated by the lack of tact on the part of the Kievan youth, the peasants surrounded the insurgents, murdered a majority of them by brutal methods, and captured the remainder by using units of the Russian army.<sup>16</sup> Polish historians attribute this incident to anti-Polish propaganda by Moscow. In our opinion, this is not so. Undeniably, Moscow waged its propaganda, but in this instance the outcome was decided by the indifference and even hostility of the Ukrainian peasantry toward the insurgents, which attitude was caused by the everlasting serfdom of Ukraine under Poland, the exploitation of Ukrainian peasants by the Polish nobility, and an improperly prepared political program for the Ukrainians.

The later course of this revolt is known. Unnecessarily, two administrations were formed. One, the so-called "Central Committee," elected Mieroslawski dictator, and declared itself the "Popular Government." The "Whites," fearing that the "Reds" would incite a social revolution, proclaimed Marian Langiewicz dictator. Langiewicz succeeded in gathering together a more significant rebel force, and he waged successful battles in Sandomierz province in the Swietokrzyski Hills. The Muscovites finally defeated the forces of Langiewicz who then fled to Galicia where the Austrians interned him. Mieroslawski was not so fortunate in battle; the Muscovites defeated him earlier and he saved himself by fleeing abroad. Taczanowski was active in Poznań province, but the stronger foe defeated his divisions. The "Popular Government" issued an order that the populace lay down their arms and depart to their homes. The peasants became in-

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<sup>16</sup>) Nazarlyv, *op. cit.*, p. 5.



dignant and complained, "You gentry are always the same! The time will come when we, the peasants, will incite a revolt without you." 17 Fighting continued in various parts of the country, as well as in Lithuania, Byelorussia and in Ukraine. The insurgents fought heroically, attacking the many times stronger enemy, and frequently achieving miracles. The leaders constantly buoyed the spirits of the insurgents, believing that help would shortly come from France and Austria. The principal representative of Polish affairs abroad was Prince Wladyslaw Czartoryski. It was he who influenced Romuald Traugut to accept secret dictatorship in the middle of November, 1863. Traugut was an unusually capable officer of the Tsarist army. He joined the revolt, advanced on Byelorussia, and defeated the Muscovites several times. He selected the most capable people for his administration but by April of the following year the Muscovites had arrested them all, and in August 1865, they were hanged in Warsaw. The revolt commenced to wane and end.

In Galicia, on the Austrian side, remnants of the insurgents met at the estate of the landowner Rozwadowski, an insurgent general, in the village of Hliadky. Here he re clothed them, issued money to them from the insurgent funds, and dispatched them with letters to other landowners, where they entered into service as lackeys, valets, managers, or secretaries, because many of them were educated.

The revolt lasted longest in Pidliashia (Northwest Ukraine). A priest, Father Brzóska, fought against the Muscovites until April 26, 1865. After the failure of this heroic revolt, the Tsarist government commenced brutal repressions against the insurgents. The Tsar dispatched his executioner, Alexander Berg, to Warsaw. In Lithuania, Muravyev was nicknamed "the hangman." The notorious Muscovite brutalities commenced, ignoring the fact that thousands had already perished in lesser and greater skirmishes and battles. According to Polish historians, 30,000 insurgents were killed in battle, over 1,500 were shot by the Muscovites, and 150,000 men and women were exiled into Siberia. 18

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17) Watra-Przewłocki, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

18) *Ibid.*, p. 534.



*Persecution of the revolutionary youths.*

Persecution of the revolutionary youths.

In Ukraine, on the right bank of the Dnieper, the Tsarist government closed all Polish schools and Catholic monasteries and confiscated many Polish estates. In this manner, Moscow rid itself of Polish influences and commenced to russify Ukraine. All of Poland's heroic efforts came to nothing. Moscow brutally punished the insurgents and the more nationally-conscious citizens, and also advanced against the Ukrainian movement. Had the Poles adopted the principle of real freedom, equality, and brotherhood instead of endeavoring to reconstruct the historical Poland of 1772, the Ukrainian people would have supported them because they would have felt that they were fighting for their own rights—for their own statehood. The Ukrainian peasants were reluctant to fight for a renewed Polish serfdom, and in retribution, they even captured insurgents and handed them over to the Tsarist government, or themselves defeated the insurgent bands, although there were exceptions to this.

The peasants in the village of Horodyshche in Podilia, relate the following incident:

In the unit led by the landowner Cinski there was among the rebels a Ukrainian. When the landowner was severely wounded by a Cossack spear and fell unconscious at the edge of the forest near the border, this Ukrainian picked him up and carried him half alive through the forest to the Austrian side. There the rest of the insurgents helped bring their officer to his manor. In appreciation the landowner presented the Ukrainian with twenty *morgues* of land, and built him a house.

Although this Ukrainian fought for Polish interests, he was, nevertheless, a sincere Ukrainian and remained so until his death.<sup>19</sup>

The January revolt was one more practical lesson for the Polish nation, or better, for the Polish leading circles. It is well to remember that in addition to heroism and self-sacrifice, concrete political plans and proper understanding of others are necessary.

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<sup>19</sup>) Ya. K.: *The Traces of the Polish Insurrection of 1863*, "The New Pathway," Winnipeg, June 24, 1955, No. 50.



**The memorial medal of 1863.**

#### IV. INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLT OF 1863 UPON POLISH-UKRAINIAN RECIPROCITY

The year 1863 had an effect on Polish-Muscovite mutual relationships similar to the effect that the year 1709 had upon Ukrainian-Muscovite relations. Outwardly, the defeat in 1907 of Hetman Ivan Mazepa at the City of Poltava brought no unusual changes; the consequences were of an internal character. After Poltava, Moscow hated the Ukrainian resistance — in fact, the whole Ukrainian people. The “January Revolt of 1863” was of similar consequence to the Polish liberation movement, bringing down lasting Russian antagonism upon the heads of the Polish people.

After these dates, Moscow breathed with vengeance upon both nations. Following the January Revolt, reactionary Muscovite circles (publicist M. Katkov) commenced simultaneously to campaign against the Ukrainian cultural rebirth movement. The Minister of Internal Affairs, P. Valuyev, came to the assistance of Katkov with his famous injunctions and secret circulars. It was then that all Ukrainian Sunday schools were closed, issuance of books for educational work was prohibited, publication of the “*Chernyhiivsky Lystok*” (Leaf), a publication, was discontinued, and a series of arrests conducted. Among others arrested were O. Konysky, P. Chubynsky, P. Yefymenko, V. Loboda, and S. Nis.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> *Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Science*, p. 4-478.

Repressions against the Ukrainians were the result of Polish armed revolt. Moscow, destroying Polish cultural and political activities, decided to ruin, at the same time, the Ukrainian rebirth movement; accordingly, it began forcibly to Russify Ukraine. The Polish revolt was to the Russians a threatening "memento", for they feared that the Ukrainians would follow suit.

Following the unsuccessful insurrection, Polish-Ukrainian mutual relationship definitely cooled. The Ukrainian populace was inimical toward the Poles. True, the attitude of the intellectuals was less inimical. Intellectuals expressed opposition towards the intentions to revive Great Poland and annex Ukraine to it, but they sympathized with the Poles, especially exiles and emigres, and accepted the struggle against Muscovite imperialism and despotism. Maria Markovych (Marko Vovchok), during her stay beyond the border, kept up lively communications with former Polish insurgents.

Sigmund Sierakowski, who was hung by Muravev, was enchanted with Shevchenko's works, and he called Shevchenko "brother and father". Sierakowski was born in Wolyn and was one of the few Poles who understood Taras Shevchenko's works well. He helped immensely in ransoming Shevchenko from serfdom, and was frequently a mediator in the sale of the latter's painting. After his return from exile, Sierakowski wrote the verse, *Poslaniye* (Appeal), which was an appeal to the Poles in Ukraine to reconcile themselves with the Ukrainian nation in accordance with ideas announced by Shevchenko. At that time, there existed for both Shevchenko and Sierakowski two enemies — the Muscovite Tsardom and the Polish gentry — the magnates. As early as 1849, Shevchenko was on friendly mutual relations with Przewlocki, Staniewicz, Zeligowski (Sova), and other rebels.

A majority of them participated in the "January Revolt". If the Polish nobility, like this group of Poles — friends of Shevchenko — had followed the ideas expressed by the Ukrainian national prophet, matters would have been different. The failure of the revolt in Ukraine in 1863 was the natural result of the class egoism and politico-national shortsightedness of the Polish chauvinists. These "former Poles" (*chlopomany*) — Antonovych, Rylsky, Poznansky, Mychalchuk,

and others — were the ones who endeavored, without success, to correct the serious errors in thinking of the Polish majority.

Kulish's attitude toward the Polish revolt of 1863 was inimical. He considered that the reconstruction of historical Poland of 1772, of which the Polish rebels dreamed, would be disastrous for the Ukraine. He was commissioned by the Moscow government, in 1864, to quite an important position in Warsaw. Other Ukrainians did not regard this appointment favorably because they thought it improper for a Ukrainian to be an instrument of the enemy in the depression of another nationality. True, in 1882, Kulish changed his ideas, wrote *Krashanka* (Easter Egg), dedicated to Shevchenko and Mickiewicz, and summoned the Ukrainians and Poles of Galicia to a peaceful and brotherly understanding. Naturally, when he met up with the Polish-Ukrainian reality face to face, he abandoned his ideas and journeyed to Vienna.<sup>2)</sup>

Kostomarov was also in lively communication with Polish political groups. In the summer of 1863, on the brink of the uprising, he resided in Vilno. Here, he became acquainted with the old Polish poet and archeologist Odyniec, who was a friend of Mickiewicz. He also met Count Tyszkiewicz and others. He was invited to a session of the Archeologic Commission, which adopted a purely Polish character. The head of the Commission, Tyszkiewicz, greeted him, and Kostomarov thanked him — in Polish. These events were turbulently received by those present, although later, Moscow chauvinists reproached Tyszkiewicz and Kostomarov for their activities. In 1869, Kostomarov commenced to print his work, *The Last Years of the Polish Republic*, in the Russian *Vestnik Evropy* (European Herald). He displayed complete respect toward the efforts of Poland to achieve its statehood and even, to a certain degree, based his *Book of the Existence of the Ukrainian Nation* on Mickiewicz's *Księgi Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego* (Books of Polish Pilgrimage). However, he never agreed with the aggressive plans of the Polish chauvinists.<sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>2)</sup> Dm. Doroshenko, *Panteleymon Kulisch*, Leipzig, pp. 191-193.

<sup>3)</sup> Dm. Doroshenko, *Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov*.

Leipzig, p. 64 et seq. It is well to state here that concerning his attitude toward the Poles, he expressed himself thus: "Polish 'T' and Ukrainian



T. Ryl's'kyi, M. Ryl's'kyi and V. Antonovych

The question arises — why, despite sufficiently good propaganda among the Ukrainian populace, did the Ukrainians oppose the insurrection rather than to support it. There are many answers to this. The most important factor was that the revolt was conducted not for the Ukrainian cause but for Polish Empire ideals of a Utopian nature, such ideals being anti-Ukrainian statehood ideals. Only slightly less important was the fact that the revolt itself was prepared and conducted rather frivolously, and it was — of vital importance in subsequent events — unconsolidated. Some of the participants in the insurrection wrote very illuminating reports. Joseph Janowski, a member of the "Popular Government", wrote that all the work of the Central Committee was not seriously treated by the "Whites" who called it the contemptuous work of "snobnesses" and "fools".<sup>4)</sup> At the brink of the insurrection, the administration of the "Whites" commissioned Klemens Junosza to investigate the leaders of the insurrection to determine their value. Junosza carried out his mission and wrote that the representative of the "Reds" in that particular town was a local apothecary, a known idiot, whom it was not worthwhile to visit.<sup>5)</sup>

Good! But someone will say, "But these are the thoughts of political opponents", therefore, we shall listen to the words of the "Reds". The chief of the "Reds", Sigmond Padliewski, dispatched Oksinski to the terrain where the insurrection was to occur, and he stated, as recorded by Oksinski, "I am sending you to your doom; the "Whites" dominate there; there are no Poles". Therefore, he sent him to members of the Muscovite organization, "Land and Will", thinking them to be closer to Oksinski than his brother Poles who were of a different political conviction.<sup>6)</sup>

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'I have separated during the span of centuries to such a distance that a Pole in his demands or efforts cannot comprehend the nature of a Ukrainian, and a Ukrainian does not want to enter into the nature of a Pole'. (Ivan Cholmskyj. *History of Ukraine*, p. 820).

<sup>4)</sup> Joseph Kajetan Janowski, *Memorials of January Insurrection*, Lviv, Library "Ossol"., p. 25.

<sup>5)</sup> Joseph Pilsudski. *Year 1863*. Palestine, 1944, p. 15.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.



And what was the attitude of the Polish priesthood toward the revolt? Here is an example. The rebels from Bila Pidlaska, on the brink of the insurrection, went to church to "reconcile themselves with the Lord". They went to confession en masse, but the priest refused absolution. He said, "Go, murder! Plunder!... No absolution, absolutely none!" The author of these notes, Roginski, saw that his idea was collapsing; therefore, he entered the church and ordered the pastor to give absolution, shouting, threatening him with a death sentence, and, in general, forcing his submission.<sup>7)</sup>

And here is another picture from Langiewicz's camp. A Polish delegation went to him and requested that, in consideration of monetary ransom, he release the people and forsake the irrational deed. Langiewicz declined the proposition, and the delegates then denounced him to the Moscow government.<sup>8)</sup>

This was not the only method of denunciation and reports by the enemy. How many "Whites" went, together with sympathizers of Wielopolski, to the enemy in Warsaw, demanding from the Muscovites suppression of the "madness" in the blood as quickly as possible?

Joseph Pilsudski, in his report entitled *Year 1863* gives the characteristics of the commanders of the revolt. This characterization is not at all complimentary.<sup>9)</sup> Stated briefly, there was no agreement among the Poles concerning the problem of the revolt and the revolt itself. It is obvious that even the most revolutionary and indulgent elements of the Ukrainian groups observed this disorder and were aware of all the rivalry. Seeing no advantage for Ukrainians in this revolt, they did not desire to participate in this insurrection even though they hated the Muscovites and sympathized with the Poles as a nation and as revolutionists.

After the unsuccessful revolt and after brutal settlement with the rebels, and, in fact, the entire Polish populace, Polish-Ukrainian reciprocity cooled even more. The foolishness in the preparation of the revolt and lack of consolidation of

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<sup>7)</sup> Joseph Pilsudski, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>8)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>9)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1-34.

all creative Polish forces were forces resulting in the inability of the Poles to awaken sympathy in Ukraine. But what was the attitude of the Poles toward Ukrainians? The best document of that period was a book written by Teofil Szumsky.<sup>10)</sup> This book describes the events which occurred directly before and during the revolt in Ukraine. The author depicts the Polish-Ukrainian reciprocity during those times. It would appear that the narrative is taken from life, and, therefore, truthful; however reviewing the criticism at that time and analyzing the events, we see that this is not so.

The principal heroes of the narrative are the gentry and intelligentsia -- Polish as well as Ukrainian. The names are fictitious. Much space is dedicated to community, *gminy*, *oguls*, and *chlopomany*, members of the community, but all of it is befuddled and entangled, which evidences that the author is not familiar with the subject matter -- that he was writing from hear-say.

In his tale, the Ukrainians are depicted in dark shadows while the Poles are heroes and knights. Not one of the Ukrainian characters is perfect -- all have some "sins" or "faults", while the Poles are ideal. We are interested in the revolt, itself. Arms were brought to a nobleman's estate in the village of Trochyska. The Muscovite administrators, together with the peasants, surrounded the estate and a skirmish ensued. Secretly, the arms were successfully transported to Kiev, but either the defenders of the revolt perished under the blows of the peasants' helms and Muscovite bullets, or they were exiled to Siberia.

As we see it, the book is paradoxical in content, but because of this, it expresses beautifully the general opinion of the Poles regarding Ukraine and Ukrainians. It is, therefore, valuable as a contemporary document on Polish-Ukrainian relationships.

After their defeat, the majority of the former participants of the insurrection were also inimical toward the Ukrainians. The Galician Liam, a Polonized German, and an active member of the "Reds", the editor of underground publications (*Comet I*, *Ovad (Insect)*, *Comet II*, *Shouter*, *Forge*)

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<sup>10)</sup> Teofil Szumsky. *On the Ruins*. Lviv. 1866.

and a participant in the revolt, took a radical chauvinistic stand toward the Ukrainians. His criticism of the insurrection, itself, especially its leadership, was very accusing and severe. . .)

Other participants in the revolt — the Galician group, in general — took an inimical attitude toward the Ukrainians, although their voices were sober or semi-sober. One of the participants of the revolt, the known Polish agent in Galicia, S. Tarnowski, acknowledged the Ukrainian problem and even defended or justified a whole series of minor incidents. He stated:

Give it (Ukraine) a chance to grow and develop. When it matures, it will discard the belt and push the protector aside. Give it all that is necessary for development; give even that which today it cannot utilize. Give it all it desires. Naturally, not forests or pastures, because to begin the rebirth of Rus' (Ukraine) from the demoralized populace would be disgraceful and foolish; not division of Galicia, for this would be a solemn maneuver against the Polish campaign. But give them immediately and without deliberation whatever they demand for the schools, courts, and government.<sup>12)</sup>

There were political heads who fully comprehended the weight of the Ukrainian problem in the struggle of Poland with Moscow. This same S. Tarnowski perhaps characterized it best:

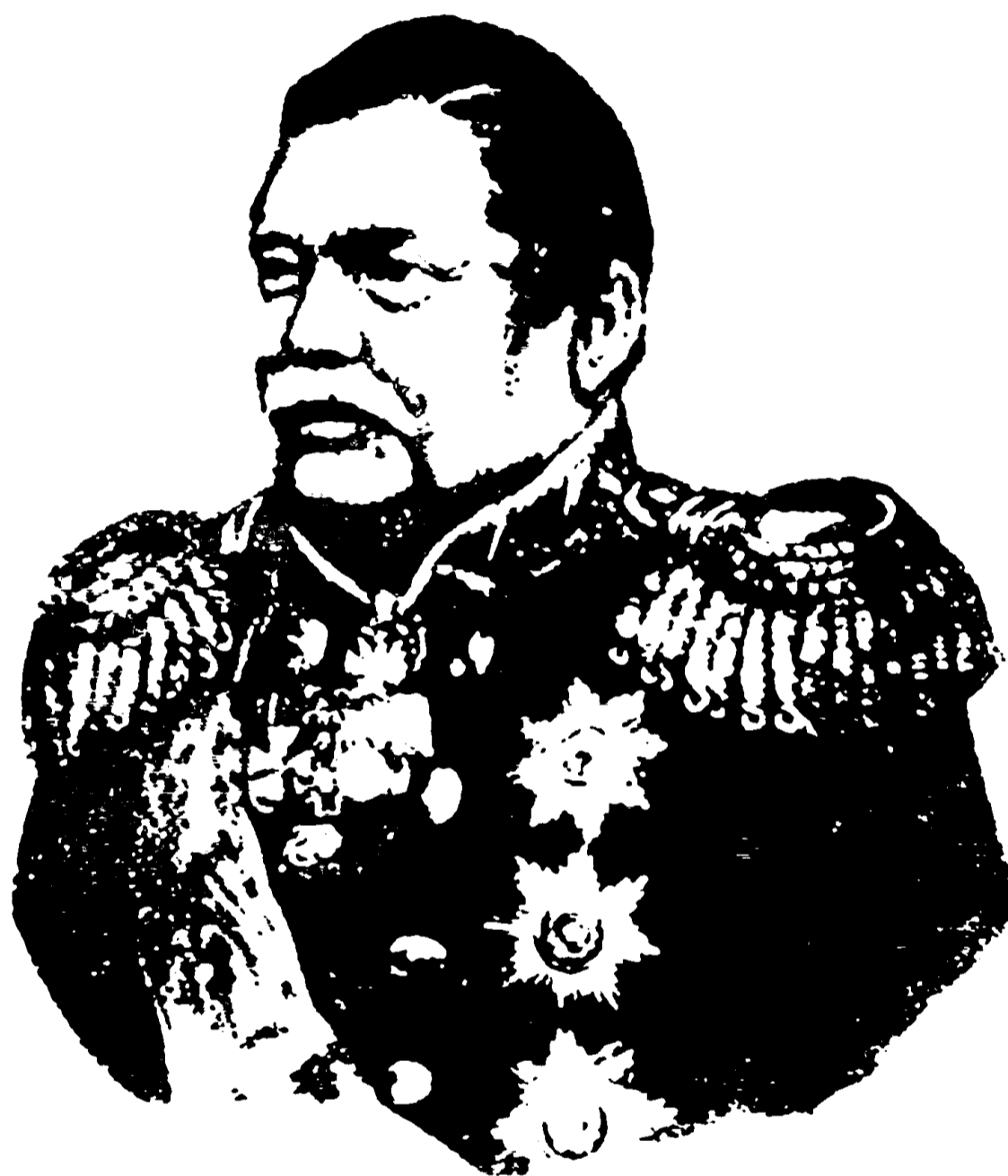
Here in Galicia, we should not destroy the Ukrainian populace, but, rather, we should properly support it; by so doing, we shall strengthen it on the sub-Dnieper. Here in Lviv, let us give it the opportunity to develop, and, within a short time, it will absorb the juices of Wolyn, Podolia, and Ukraine. Here, it will be reared in the school of western culture; there, it will wage war. There will be a Ukraine ("Rus'" in the original), but a Ukraine fraternal with Poland, both dedicated to one cause.<sup>13)</sup>

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11) Jan Liam, *Wybor Kronik*, Warsaw, 1854, pp. 107-108.

12) Kazimierz Wyka, *Stanczyk's Portfolio on the Background of Galician History in the Years 1850-1860*, Wroclaw, 1951, pp. 137-138.

13) Kazimierz Wyka, *op. cit.*, p. 138.



**M. N. Muravev-Vilenskii.**

It is another thing that these Polish politicians gave no thought to the independence of Ukraine; they dreamed of a reciprocal union of Ukraine with Poland (obviously, advantageous to Poland), but this dream was unrealistic even at that time, for there could be no thought of such a union when Ukrainian national consciousness in Galicia had already outgrown those ideas. The Ukrainian national movement began to take on more concrete form and changed in aspect from the idealistic to the positive. Polish-Ukrainian mutual relationship almost broke, and a portion of the "former Poles" took an all-Ukrainian attitude, while others opposed all that was Ukrainian -- everything that was not yet Polonized or in the Polish interest. A portion of those who were undecided ("in the middle") had little influence and were disliked by both Ukrainians and Poles.

## V. CONCLUSION

Preparation for the "January Revolt of 1863" and the revolt, itself, indicate how improper it was to approach a problem just to preserve good neighborly Polish-Ukrainian relations. The Poles should not only have provided for consolidation of all their forces but also they should have reviewed their political aspirations. They should not have approached the matter fantastically, but realistically. The Ukrainian publicist, O. Nazariyiw, wrote on this subject in the journal, *Illustrated Ukraine*, in 1913. He said:

An aureole of victory and martyrdom surrounds the people who died heroes and non-heroes; a fond, pleasant memory remains of the long ago, supposedly beautiful, gigantic, past act. There exists a colossal mass of various articles about events and people who died their own or "not their own" deaths; there is a heap of written and printed material, not all of which meets the tests of validity. It is most important for us to remember that amid this wealth of materials, a valuable historical lesson for the future has been lost by misinterpretation and distortion.<sup>14)</sup>

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<sup>14)</sup> O. Nazariyiw, *1863 Uprising and Ukraine*. "I. U.", p. 5.

Historians should analyze these matters more deeply; they should analyze them, not for the purpose of obtaining favors from the Poles, but to comprehend the objective truth regarding these painful matters. Historians also should analyze the facts, cast off the false reflection of these events by Polish historians and pseudo-historians, and refurbish our past. It is proper to reveal in a true light that which is painted in the most black colors by some Polish chauvinists. This effort is essential for the mutual interests of both the Polish and Ukrainian nations. There are many documents in Polish historical literature on this subject. This matter has been considered from all angles; there has been both praise and criticism, but — what is most important (and all historians agree on this) — there persists the idea that the Ukrainian lands are a sort of *lebensraum* for the Poles. No one anywhere ever properly explained this matter. When it is discussed, it is spoken of only in operating phrases. Even the Polish Socialist, Limanowski, wrote in his brochure entitled *Socialism as an Essential Symptom in the Development of History* (Lviv, 1879):

In the last revolt in 1863, the "Gold Act" assured and promised the Rus' populace for eternity "freedom of rights and religion of whatever denomination, use of their language in schools, courts, and other civil offices".<sup>15)</sup>

These distorted phrases were analyzed by M. Drahomanov (see his work, *Historical Poland and the Great Russian Democracy*, Geneva, 1882, and the article, "Ukrainian Communities Prior to Polish Socialism and Polish Patriotism") who stated:

... this "Gold Act", to which Limanowski referred, refers not at all to the "Rus' people", — independent of Poland — but to some sort of "village people of Podolia, Wolyn, and Ukraine" (Kievan province). At the time of the Polish revolt of 1863, the "Gold Act" had already shown its weakness (May 1863), and, in the first summons on January 22, 1863 of the "Polish Popular Government" to revolt, there was reference

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<sup>15)</sup> Mychałło Drahomanov, *Selected Works*. Prague-New York, 1987, p. 222. See also p. 82.

to one "Polish-Lithuanian-Rus' nation". In addition, among the patriots, leaders of the revolt, and even among democrats such as Mieroslawski, there were those who found that the "Popular Government" agreed to "divide Poland", relegating too much freedom to "Lithuanian and Rus'".<sup>16)</sup>

Unquestionably, there was reaction among the Ukrainians to the Polish activity -- even to the revolt itself -- at that time. An abstract from Podniprovetz's letter entitled, "Where There Is No Independence, There Is No Federation" is the best document on this subject:

... now Polish letters clamor - Poland to the Dnieper - stating that Lithuania and Ukraine not only should, but would, voluntarily, follow the Poles. They forget, or want to forget, that 16 millions of common people, who think of nobility as one with the Poles and from whom gentry-Poles now suck blood and plunder their last crumb of bread, will never serve to free the Poles from Muscovite serfdom, because they have not yet forgotten Polish slavery."<sup>17)</sup>

A more decisive answer to the Poles is given by Ivan Franko in his article, "Our Viewpoint of the Polish Problem". Franko writes:

Whoever reviews the history of Polish insurrections in our era -- in 1831, 1846, and 1863 -- will read in it, in bloody print, the written history of a systematic and incurable blindness. Time after time, loud unmerciful facts warned the Poles that in our era the ideas of an old Polish state, and of a historical Poland, must be considered outmoded and irretrievably fatal; however, with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, with an enthusiasm arousing profound pity, with true tragic fatality, one generation of Poles after another trusts itself into this bottomless abyss and perishes in it. Time after time, the Poles have been convinced that all peasants of former Polish lands, without regard to nationality, abhorred even the mention of a historical Poland; nevertheless, the Polish nationalists live in the conviction that the slogan, "Poland from Sea to Sea".

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<sup>16)</sup> Mychajlo Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>17)</sup> Podniprovetz, "Where There Is no Independence, There Is No Federation", *Slovo*, No. 16-19, Lviv, 1863.

is some sort of charm word which, in time, if it is thrust among the masses of the populace, will, like an electrical current, agitate all hearts and raise all hands toward the reconstruction of this paradise.')

It is understood that with such a policy the Poles not only could not unite the Ukrainians, but, to the contrary, could only repel them. In fact, this professed ideology succeeded in making the Ukrainians extremely hostile toward the Poles. Because of this, as M. Slavinski writes in his *History of Ukraine*, "the peasants replied en masse by the production of simple spears in the village smithies (forges), and the members of the Ukrainian Kievan community, not knowing how matters would turn, began to organize cossack corps in Kozhemiaka, in Preortsi, and in Demiyiwtsi (in Kiev) with a view to advancing, armed, against the Poles in the event of Polish victory".<sup>19)</sup>

It is because of this policy that the insurgents and the Polish upper strata impelled a section of the Polonized gentry to return to the lap of the native populace. They broke with Poland and coalesced in the Ukrainian riverbed. Joseph Pilsudski considers the "January Revolt" a result of a Polish provocation, incited by the military conquest of Marquis Wielopolski.<sup>20)</sup> The revolt brought about greater Muscovite terror, which, as we know, had painful consequences not only upon the Poles but also upon the Ukrainians.

The Utopian Polish slogan, "From Sea to Sea", which the Poles still popularize, not only among themselves, but also among foreigners, should once and for all be eliminated from the ideas of Polish statehood. Such slogans are, as I. Franko wrote, "a betrayal of Polish nationality".<sup>21)</sup> To state at the present date that such a Poland existed at one time is futile. There is no justification for such a statement for two reasons; firstly, there should be deep analysis into the question of how this conglomeration of international elements existed; secondly, it should be remembered that history gives no examples of a

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18) Franko, "Our Views on the Polish Problem", *Dilo*, No. 36, 37, 38, and 39, Lviv, 1888.

19) Maksym Slavinski, *History of Ukraine*, Podobrady, 1934, p. 157.

20) Joseph Pilsudski, *op. cit.*, p. 1-31.

21) I. Franko, *op. cit.*, No. 38-39.



state (not people) which, having rolled to a downfall, has later risen again in its past form. Referral to treaties concluded several hundred years ago is also unrealistic. Conditions of an union or treaty are not similar to the state of matrimony which exists to the end of life. Ukraine has signed hundreds of treaties with its neighbors, but it would be ridiculous to refer to these treaties today for the purpose of returning to the conditions existing at the time such treaties were signed. Concerning Polish messianism in the East, much can also be said, but in our era, it is unworthy of criticism.

We conclude our brief research with the words of B. Didycky:

... We recommend that our neighbor brothers endeavor first to erase with good deeds the memory of the dark past; then they could count on some sort of sympathy that much sooner.<sup>22)</sup>

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22) Reply of B. Didycky in article "Polemics against 'General Survey' and 'Glos'," published in No. 2 of *Storo* in 1881.



**A P P E N D I X**

## POLACY - LITWINI - RUSINI!

Wainą br. zaprzeczenia Uroczystością narodową był obchód Unii Litwy z Polską dopięciomiej z Zygmunta Augusta II<sup>o</sup> w Lublinie - Unia ta jednak była tylko formalnością i niako zatwierdzeniem rzeczywistego i dobrowolnego połączenia - narodów za panowania Władysława Jagiełły - Wypadek ten stanowi jedną z najpiękniejszych pamiątek w naszych dziejach - Pominąc podobne wydarzenia drugome br. nadania mu właściwego znaczenia dla obywateli nie ustronieć powszechnym narodowym obchodem tak drogiej dla nas pamiątki byłoby zaparnąć się w obrę Europejskich narodów i sumienia własnego swojej przeszłości i przyszłości - Wzywamy więc trzy narody połączone, aby tem sercem przysły odeszłą naszą jakimi ich przodkowie przyjęli rozwiązanie na zjazd Horodolski i tu:ymy sobie, ze gloszą nas: w każdym miłym dniu: w każdy i w każdy, zyska przychylnie uszanowanie. Obchód rocznicy braterskiego połączenia narodów odbywać się będzie w mieście Horodło nadbruniem polowianem w Województwie Lubelskiem, Ziemi Chełmskiej na dniu <sup>21 Września</sup> 10 Października 1861 r. -

Dla nadania obchodowi Unii Horodolskiej znaczenia na jakie zasługuje, mzymamy najpierw Szanowne Duchowieństwo katolickie, Słowiańskiego i Łacinińskiego obrządku, aby tak przez jedność cierpienia i nadziei z narodem, jako i przez interes hościółta ściśle połączonego z interesem Polki, zechciały przysłać publiczne i jak najszerszy udział w obchodzie przez swoich Biskupów, Deputację Kapituł, Zgromadzenia Zakonnych i wosiedkich Korporacji Duchowieńskich w granicach dawnej Polski będących. -

Wzywamy Towarzystwa, Wzrostu Literackiego, Uniwersytety, Redakcyje Polskich i Russkich Dzienników, Towarzystwa i Spółki Przemysłowe, Miasta i Korporacyje Polakoio Wyznawców, Mieszczanostwa i w ogóle wosiedkie ciała społeczne mające pewną organizacyję, aby przysłać Deputację w obchodzie Horodolskim udział przysłać zechciały. Narod nasz w ten tylko sposób reprezentowany potrafi obchodowi Horodolskiemu nadać powszechnie i narodowe znaczenie. Dla odżywienia zatem tradycyi naszej jako i dla historycznych i politycznych względów zechcą przysłać wosiedzy do Miasta Horodła na dniu <sup>21 Września</sup> 10 Października 1861 roku o godzinie 9<sup>o</sup> rano. -

### WYKAZ ZIEM I WOJEWÓDZTW

mających się znajdować w Horodle 10. Października 1861 r.

Województwa: Poznańskie, Kaliskie, Sieradzkie, Ziemia Wieluńska, Województwa: Łęczycki, Brzesko-Kujawskie, Inowrocławskie, Ziemia Dobrzyńska, Województwa: Płockie, Mazowieckie, Ziemia Rawska Województwa: Chełmińskie, Malborskie, Pomorskie, Pruskie, Bydgoskie, Ziemia Oświęcimska, Łódzka, Województwa: Sandomirskie, Kielecki, Siewierskie, Województwa: Kijowskie, Russkie, Ziemia Zydaczowska, Przemyska, Halicka, Chełmska, Województwa: Wołyńskie, Podolskie, Lubelskie, Belskie, Podlaskie, Braclawskie, Czernihowski, Wileński, Trocki, Kijowski, Smoleńskie, Nowogrodzkie, Połockie, Wileńskie, Brzesko-Litewskie, Mińskie, Inflantzkie, Kurlandzkie. -

invitation to the four hundred fiftieth  
anniversary of Horodlo.

## "GOLD ACT" OF 1863.

### Content of "Gold Act" No. 1:

In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost!  
Gold Act to the peasant populace:

Having risen together with Poland and Lituania against Moscow domination, to win eternal freedom and prosperity for our entire country, we declare before God, the whole world, and its people, that we desire no other happiness for our dear country and will achieve it nowhere else but in the will, freedom, equality, and happiness of all citizens, of all faiths, and conditions. Desiring the greatest happiness for the peasant populace, for eternity, we resolve, that —

1. The peasant populace in villages, in the gentry and state granges, freeholders, tenants, and emancipated people, will be, as of today, forever free, at liberty and equal in rights with other citizens of our country;

2. They can have and do have the right freely to migrate from place to place; no one will interfere with this.

3. They can have and do have the right to attend all schools and serve in the civil service, just as other citizens.

4. Every proprietor, whether of gentry or state villages, each tenant, gentry and freeholder, receives irreversibly and for eternity, squireship of that land which he holds to this date, together with the orchards, gardens, and whole farmsteads, without any payment, obligation, bondage, or rent, and he will only pay land taxes and perform public service. The squires will be paid for those community lands from the general national treasury.

5. The principal National Administration will designate monetary fees from the hierarchal funds and income for village priests so that they will not need to take money from the populace for spiritual services.

6. Estate employees, lodgers, ex-soldiers, and all those who are self-employed who join us in freeing our country from under Moscow domination, whether they return from war in good health or wounded, will receive for eternity three acres of land from the regal estates.

7. Investing the village populace with the above proclaimed rights, freedom, equality, and land ownership, we guarantee and everlastingly promise them the right of free religious worship of whatever denomination they wish, and the use of their language in schools, court, and in all land settlements.

All the above written declaration to the village populace of Wolyn, Podolia, and Ukraine, is preserved for the protection of rights under this Act and proclaimed before the people of the entire world and the Almighty God.

Let there be peace and prosperity for all from today to eternity! We place the fate of the nation in God's keeping, wishing all people eternal happiness, and we issue this Act to the Provincial Administration of each province.

National Government

In Warsaw, on the Resurrection of Christ, March 31 (April 12), 1863.

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Content of "Gold Act" No. 2.

To the Village Populace:

We, together with Poland and Lituania, having risen against Moscow domination in order to achieve eternal freedom and prosperity for the entire country, declare before God, the whole world, and its people that we desire no other happiness for the good of our country and seek it nowhere else, except in the liberty, freedom, equality, and happiness

of all our residents, regardless of their faith and position. Desiring the greatest happiness for our village populace, for all eternity, we resolve that:

1. The populace in the villages, in the gentry and state granges, freeholders, tenants, and the like, are from this date free, at liberty and equality in all rights with other citizens of our country.

2. They can have and do have the right to migrate from place to place, at their discretion, and no one will interfere in this.

3. They can have and do have the right to attend all schools and be elected to serve their country equally with other citizens.

4. They have the right, together with others, to elect from among themselves voters to courts, councils, and to administrations of village, county, land, and the supreme national council.

5. Equally with others, they will judge and counsel only through their own courts and powers, composed of the elected, who must protect sacred justice, laws, safety of persons, and the property of each.

6. National taxes, land obligations, and the drafting of people for national military service will be rendered only according to the decisions and permission of the supreme national council, composed of electors from the whole country.

7. The arable fields, hayfields, and orchards, whether of gentry or state holding, which the villages held on rental or exchange for labor, or ransom basis, from this date and for all time will be the property of each proprietor free of cost. The squires will be paid for these lands from the State Treasury.

8. The allotment of land to the village populace who up until now did not possess it because of poverty, or who got nothing for their trouble (bobyli), to tenant-farmers, estate employees, etc., will be duly decided by the Supreme State Council.

9. Freeholders and tenant-gentry will have for eternal holding, equally with the villagers: orchard fields and arable land from landed estates, wherever they are abundant, for payment from the National Treasury or Crown estates.

10. We declare monetary payments to the peasant orthodox priests, in addition to land grants, so that they will accept no payment from the populace for spiritual services; the amount to be paid to all priests will be decided by the Supreme Council of the State.

11. In addition to the aforestated, to everyone who takes up arms with us against Moscow domination, and returns, either in good health or wounded, an allotment will be made of not less than six acres of land and orchards from the Crown estates, or a lifelong equity from the National Treasury.

12. Investing the village populace with the above declared rights, liberties, civil equality in all before each, and land ownership, we guarantee and forever promise them the right of freedom of religion of whatever denomination, use of their language in schools, courts, and in other civil settlements.

We swear before the people, the whole world, and Almighty God that all the aforementioned as written and announced to the village populace of Podolia, Wolyn, and Ukraine is given in defense of rights under this Act. Into God's keeping, we place the fate of our people, tho whom we wish all prosperity, and we issue this Act to the District Administration of each province.

#### Provisional National Officers



Extract from "Moskovskie Vedomosti"  
N. 105. 1861.

Въ Богуславѣ, Кіевской губерніи, въ имѣніи графа Константина Браницкаго, Поляки, служащіе при экономіи, въ числѣ 300 человекъ (иные говорятъ 500), собрались передъ костеломъ, гдѣ всендѣ благословилъ ихъ оружіе и отслужилъ молебенъ. Послѣ того толпа мятежниковъ послала къ православному священнику съ требованіемъ, чтобъ онъ прочелъ крестьянамъ грамоту, въ силу которой имъ даруются помѣщичьи земли и усадьбы, а равно и земли принадлежащія къ государственнымъ имуществамъ, подъ тѣмъ лишь условіемъ, чтобы Украина стала дѣйствовать за одно съ Польшей. Священника не нашли, и одинъ изъ мятежниковъ прочелъ православному народу эту грамоту, напечатанную золотыми буквами и сѣрпленную печатью. Потомъ бунтовщики роздали народу множество прокламацій такого же содержанія. Крестьяне спокойно смотрѣли на это зрѣлище и какъ будто изъ любопытства пошли въ слѣдъ за вооруженною толпой, которая стала пробираться въ лѣсъ, гдѣ находился ея обозъ. Но не успѣли гости убраться, какъ крестьяне вооружились чѣмъ попадо, топорами, кольями, косами, окружили лѣсъ и бросились на мятежниковъ. Запомъ изъ ружей мятежники убили и ранили нѣсколько крестьянъ. Завязался бой. Раздраженные крестьяне перебили до сотни своихъ благодѣтелей, столько же перевязали и доставили начальствующему надъ подоспѣвшимъ войскомъ, которое явилось во время чтобы довершить побѣду крестьянъ. Крестьяне не успокоились пока не обшарили всѣ лѣса и не переловили бѣжавшихъ бунтовщиковъ.



# КОМИТЕТ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ

ЯКО ТУМАЗАКОВУ

## Rząd Narodowy.

Editorial firm "Moskovskie Vedomosti"  
6.2.1861

Интрига, вездѣ интрига, коварная іезуитская интрига, іезуитская и по своему происхожденію, и по своему характеру!

Еще задолго до вооруженнаго возстанія въ Польшѣ, эта интрига начала свои дѣйствія. Все что въ нашемъ обществѣ, до сихъ поръ еще не признанномъ какъ слѣдуетъ и существующемъ какъ будто въ тайнѣ, все что завелось въ немъ нечистаго, гнилаго, сумасброднаго, она сумѣла прибрать къ рукамъ и организовать для своихъ цѣлей. Наши жалкіе революціонеры, сознательно или безсознательно, стали ея орудіями. Нашъ нелѣпый матеріализмъ, атеизмъ, всякаго рода эманципациѣ, и смѣшныя и возмутительныя, нашли въ ней дѣятельную себѣ поддержку. Она съ радостію покровительствовала всему этому разврату, и распространяла его всеми способами. Она умѣла вызывать нѣкоторыя выгодныя ей административныя распоряженія; она отлично умѣла пользоваться крайнею анархіею въ системѣ нашего народнаго просвѣщенія; она садилась на школьную скамью, она взлѣзала на учительскую кафедру, и безъ сомнѣнія нерѣдко случалось, что иной либераль-наставникъ, еще менѣе зрѣлый умомъ чѣмъ его двѣнадцатилѣтній воспитанникъ, проповѣдуя космополитизмъ или безвѣріе, служилъ чрезъ десятыя руки органомъ іезуитской интриги и очень определенной національности, рывшейся подъ землю и во мракъ подкапывавшейся подъ всѣ корни русской общественной жизни.

Эта интрига, разумеется, не упустила воспользоваться и украинско-польскими тенденціями, на которых наше общественное мнѣніе еще не обратило должнаго вниманія, потому что общественнаго мнѣнія у насъ не существовало, потому что общественное мнѣніе было у насъ случайнымъ сбродомъ всякихъ элементовъ преданнымъ на жертву всякому вліанію и всякой интригѣ.

Дѣло вотъ въ чемъ:

Русская народность несравненно менѣе чѣмъ какая-либо другая великая народность въ Европѣ заключаетъ въ себѣ рѣзкихъ оттѣнковъ. Въ Германіи, въ Италиі, даже во Франціи, несмотря на сильную централизацию этой послѣдней страны, вездѣ есть рѣзкія особенности и мѣстныя нарѣчія до такой степени своеобразныя, что еслибы не было общаго государственнаго и литературнаго языка, то люди одной страны и одной народности не могли бы понимать другъ друга и должны были бы разойтись на множество особыхъ центровъ. Если бы не было одного италіанскаго языка, то жителю Милана почти также трудно было бы понимать Сицилійца, какъ и Пешанца, или даже какъ своихъ вѣчныхъ враговъ Тедесковъ. Въ Германіи что ни мѣстность, то особенное нарѣчіе, и до такой степени особенное, что человекъ, отлично знающій по-нѣмецки, не пойметъ ни слова въ иномъ мѣстномъ говорѣ. Во Франціи то же самое, и то же самое въ Англии. Во всѣхъ этихъ странахъ, при могуществѣ общей всѣмъ цивилизаціи и литературнаго языка, существуютъ рѣзкія народныя особенности и рѣзкія мѣстныя нарѣчія, которыя гораздо болѣе разнятся между собою чѣмъ даже языки русскій и польскій. Въ Россіи несравненно менѣе розни въ языкѣ чѣмъ гдѣ-нибудь, и менѣе чѣмъ гдѣ-нибудь рознь эта значительна. Ступайте по всей Русской землѣ гдѣ только живетъ русскій народъ всѣхъ оттѣнковъ, и вы безъ труда поймете всякаго, и васъ безъ труда пойметъ всякій. Наиболѣе рѣзкую особенность встрѣтите вы въ малороссійскомъ и бѣлорусскомъ говорѣ. Но почему это? Заселены ли эти мѣста какими-либо особыми народностями, случайно присоединившимися къ русской, и вошедшими въ

составъ ея государства? Нѣтъ, здѣсь нескони жилъ русскій народъ, здѣсь началось русское государство, здѣсь началась русская вѣра, и здѣсь же начался русскій языкъ. Здѣсь впервые родилось историческое самосознаніе русскаго народа, здѣсь явились первые памятники его духовной жизни, его образованія, его литературы. Южное и сѣверное, западное и восточное народонаселенія Россіи съ самаго начала сознавали себя какъ одинъ народъ, да и нѣтъ ни одного признака въ исторіи, чтобы между ними была какая-нибудь народная рознь, какой-нибудь племенной антагонизмъ. Но Монголы и Литва разрознили на нѣкоторое время русскія народонаселенія, и югозападная часть нашего народа, подпавшая подъ польское иго, долго страдала, долго обливалась кровью, и хотя отстояла себя, но тѣмъ не менѣе время разъединенія съ Россіей внесло въ южно-русскую рѣчь нѣсколько польскихъ элементовъ, и вообще нѣсколько обособило ее, болѣе чѣмъ на сколько разнятся между собою другіе мѣстные говоры въ Россіи.

Какъ есть вездѣ, такъ естественно были и у насъ любители мѣстныхъ нарѣчій. Дѣлались попытки писать стихи и разказы съ поддѣлкою подъ малороссійскій говоръ, но дѣлались безъ всякой цѣли, ради куріоза, или для мѣстнаго колорита, и вообще въ видахъ чисто литературныхъ, подобно тому какъ во Франціи сочиняются стихи на мѣстныхъ жаргонахъ, подобно тому какъ нѣмецкій поэтъ Гебель писалъ свои идилліи на аллеманскомъ нарѣчій. У писавшихъ не было и тѣни замысла создать изъ мѣстнаго нарѣчія особый языкъ и возвести его въ символъ особенной народности. Если же и встрѣчались нѣкоторые позывы сепаратизма, если и зараждалась иногда темная мысль о разъединеніи единой и нераздѣльной народности, то эта мысль оставалась безвредною по своей несостоятельности; она не могла дѣйствовать въ жизни, и была только фальшивымъ литературнымъ направленіемъ. Положительно вредною она могла стать только какъ примѣсь къ чему-нибудь другому, какъ готовое пособіе для какихъ-нибудь болѣе практическихъ доктринъ, какъ готовое орудіе для какой-нибудь болѣе серіозной пропаганды.

Года два или три тому назадъ, вдругъ почему-то разыгралось украинофильство. Оно пошло параллельно со всеми другими отрицательными направленіями, которыя вдругъ овладѣли нашею литературой, нашею молодежью, нашимъ прогрессивнымъ чиновничествомъ и разными бродячими элементами нашего общества. Оно разыгралось именно въ ту самую пору, когда пришлось дѣйствовать іезуитская интрига по правиламъ извѣстнаго польскаго катихизиса. Польскіе публицисты съ безстыдною наглостію начали доказывать Европѣ, что русская народность есть призракъ, что юго-западная Русь не имѣетъ ничего общаго съ остальнымъ народомъ русскимъ, и что она по своимъ племеннымъ особенностямъ гораздо болѣе тяготеетъ къ Польшѣ. На это грубѣйшее искаженіе исторіи наша литература, къ стыду своему, отозвалась тѣмъ же ученіемъ о какихъ-то двухъ русскихъ народностяхъ и двухъ русскихъ языкахъ. Возмутительный и незлѣный софизмъ! Какъ будто возможны двѣ русскія народности и два русскіе языка, какъ будто возможны двѣ французскія народности и два французскіе языка! И вотъ мало-по-малу изъ ничего образовалась цѣлая литературная украинофильская партія, вербуя себѣ приверженцевъ въ нашей беззащитной молодежи. Истощались все прельщенія, чтобы связать съ этою новою неожиданною пропагандой разные великодушныя порывы, разныя смутно понимаемыя тенденціи, разныя сердечныя чувствованія. Изъ ничего вдругъ появились герои и полубоги, предметы поклоненія, великіе символы новосочиняемой народности. Явились новыя Кирилы и Меѳодіи съ удивительнѣйшими азбуками, и на Божій свѣтъ былъ пущенъ пучокъ какого-то небывалаго малороссійскаго языка. По украинскимъ селамъ начали появляться, въ бараньихъ шапкахъ, усердные распространители малороссійской грамотности, и начали заводить малороссійскія школы, въ противность усилямъ мѣстнаго духовенства, которое вмѣстѣ съ крестьянами не знало какъ отбиться отъ этихъ непрошенныхъ просвѣтителей. Пошли появляться книжки на новосочиненномъ малороссійскомъ языкѣ. Наконецъ, однимъ профессоромъ, составившимъ себѣ литературную извѣстность, тор-

жественно открыта національная подписка для сбора денег на издание малороссійскихъ книгъ и книжекъ.

Мы далеки отъ мысли бросать тѣнь подозрѣнія на намѣренія нашихъ українофиловъ. Мы вполне понимаемъ что большинство этихъ людей не отдають себѣ отчета въ своихъ стремленіяхъ. Мы отдаемъ должную дань и легковѣрію, и легкомыслію, и умственной незрѣлости, и безхарактерности. Но не пора ли, по крайней мѣрѣ въ настоящую минуту, подумать о томъ, что мы дѣлаемъ? Не пора ли этимъ українофиламъ понять, что они дѣлають нечистое дѣло, что они служатъ орудіемъ самой враждебной и темной интриги, что ихъ обманываютъ, что ихъ дурачатъ? Изъ разныхъ мѣстъ Малороссіи получаемъ мы вопіющія письма объ этомъ злопредномъ явленіи, которое тревожитъ и возмущаетъ тамъ мыслящихъ и серьезныхъ людей. Нити интриги обнаруживаются все яснѣе и яснѣе, и нѣтъ никакого сомнѣнія, что українофилы находятся въ рукахъ интригановъ; нѣтъ никакого сомнѣнія, что українофилы служатъ покорнымъ орудіемъ заклятыхъ враговъ своей Украіны. Нашимъ українофиламъ пора одуматься и понять, въ какую бездну хотять ихъ свергнуть. Мы знаемъ, что самые фанатическіе изъ польскихъ агитаторовъ ожидаютъ рано или поздно особенной пользы своему дѣлу отъ українофильства, что они радуются этому движению, и поддерживаютъ его всѣми способами, разумѣется, прикрывая себя разными масками. Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, ставя вопросъ о существованіи русскаго народа, чего лучшаго могутъ ожидать польскіе фанатики какъ не разложенія въ собственныхъ нѣдрахъ русскаго народа? Они не прочь и сами прикнуться завѣтыми українофилами; имѣя на мысли великій идеалъ въ лицѣ Конрада Валленрода, они великодушно отрекутся отъ собственной народности въ пользу украинской и отрекутся тѣмъ охотнѣе, что украинской народности не существуетъ, а существуетъ только возможность произвести въ русскомъ народѣ броженіе, которое всего дѣйствительнѣе можетъ послужить цѣлямъ враговъ Россіи, поднимающимъ вопросъ о самомъ существованіи ея.

Польскіе повстанцы, которые дерутся и гибнутъ въ лѣсахъ, знаютъ по крайней мѣрѣ чего они хотять. Польская изродность

жила когда-то особымъ государствомъ и имѣла самостоятельное историческое существованіе; польскій языкъ есть языкъ существующій, языкъ обработанный, имѣющій литературу. Польскіе повстанцы знаютъ чего они хотятъ, и желанія ихъ, при всей своей безнадежности, имѣютъ смыслъ, и съ ними можно считаться. Но чего хотятъ наши украинофилы? Украина никогда не имѣла особой исторіи, никогда не была особымъ государствомъ: украинскій народъ есть чистый русскій народъ, коренной русскій народъ, существенная часть русскаго народа, безъ которой онъ не можетъ оставаться тѣмъ что онъ есть. Несчастныя историческія обстоятельства, оторвавъ Украину отъ русскаго корня, насильственно соединили ее на время съ Польшей: но Украина не хотѣла и не могла быть частью Польши, и изъ временнаго соединенія съ нею, вмѣстѣ съ колонизмами своей мѣстной молвы, вынесла вѣчную, неугасимую національную ненависть къ польскому имени. Нигдѣ въ Россіи, даже теперь, Поляки не возбуждаютъ противъ себя собственно-національной ненависти; а въ Украинѣ кипитъ непримиримая національная ненависть къ Полякамъ. Малороссійскаго языка никогда не было, и несмотря на всѣ усилія украинофиловъ, до сихъ поръ не существуетъ. Во множествѣ особенныхъ говоровъ югозападнаго края есть общіе оттѣнки, изъ которыхъ искусственнымъ образомъ можно, конечно, сочинить особый языкъ, какъ можно сочинить особый языкъ, пожалуй, даже изъ востромскаго или рязанскаго говора. Но спрашивается, изъ какихъ побужденій можетъ возникнуть желаніе сочинить такой особый языкъ, какъ будто не достаточно уже существующаго русскаго языка, принадлежащаго не какой-либо отдѣльной мѣстности, но цѣлому народу нераздѣльному и единому, при всѣхъ мѣстныхъ особенностяхъ и мѣстныхъ нарѣчіяхъ, впрочемъ несравненно менѣе рѣзкихъ чѣмъ во всякой другой европейской странѣ? Откуда у насъ въ Россіи могло бы вѣзаться такое побужденіе устраивать школы для преподаванія на мѣстномъ нарѣчій и для возбужденія антагонизма между имъ и общепринятымъ государственнымъ и литературнымъ языкомъ? Кто, кромѣ мономановъ, могъ бы придти къ такой мысли во Франціи, Германіи и Англии, и каков

общество допустило бы эту мысль до осуществления въ раз-  
мѣрахъ сколько-нибудь значительныхъ? Общепринятый русскій  
языкъ не есть какой-нибудь мѣстный, или какъ говорятъ, ве-  
ликороссійскій языкъ. Можно съ полною очевидностію дока-  
зать, что это языкъ не племенной, а историческій, и что въ  
его образованіи столько же участвовала сѣверная Русь, сколько  
и южная, и послѣдняя даже болѣе. Всякое усиліе поднять и  
развить мѣстное нарѣчіе, въ ущербъ существующему общена-  
родному историческому языку, не можетъ имѣть другой логи-  
ческой цѣли кромѣ расторженія народнаго единства.

Въ письмахъ, которыя мы получаемъ изъ Украйны, намъ  
сообщаютъ о рѣшительномъ противодѣйствіи крестьянъ всѣмъ  
этимъ попыткамъ. Въ живомъ народѣ крѣпко сказывается ин-  
стикъ самосохраненія. Но интриганы прибѣгаютъ къ раз-  
нымъ хитростямъ. Дерзость свою они простираютъ до того  
что выдаютъ себя за агентовъ правительства, отпавленныхъ  
будто бы съ цѣлю расшевеливать крестьянъ и допытываться  
не пожелаютъ ли они, чтобы дѣтей ихъ въ школахъ учили  
малороссійской грамотѣ. Сельскій людъ Малороссіи отличается  
особеннымъ довѣріемъ къ правительству, и не разобравъ въ  
чемъ дѣло, крестьяне могутъ попадаться на эту удочку и за-  
являть такія желанія, которыхъ они не имѣютъ, и которыя про-  
тиворѣчатъ ихъ дѣйствительнымъ желаніямъ и самымъ суще-  
ственнымъ интересамъ.

Въ дѣлѣ народности и языка само общество должно быть  
на стражѣ. Все что есть соріознаго, зрѣлаго, мыслящаго въ  
Украйнѣ, особенно духовенство, должно энергически противо-  
дѣйствовать интригѣ и изобличать интригановъ. Мыслящіе лю-  
ди должны ограждать сельскій людъ отъ происковъ, объяснять  
ему въ чемъ заключается ихъ смыслъ и куда они клонятся,  
раскрывать обманъ и растолковывать ему что правительство  
никакъ не можетъ заводить школы для развитія мѣстнаго на-  
рѣчія въ ущербъ государственному языку; не можетъ употре-  
блять народныя деньги на такое дѣло, которое явно клонится  
къ ослабленію и расторженію народнаго единства. Всякій  
сколько-нибудь мыслящій человекъ, всякій способный принять

въ сердцу общее дѣло и серьезно подумать объ интересахъ отечества долженъ понять, что нѣтъ ничего пагубнѣе какъ систематическими усиліями поднимать мѣстное нарѣчіе на степень языка, заводить для него школы, сочинять для него литературу, что никакая другая рознь не можетъ произвести такихъ пагубныхъ послѣдствій, и что одна и та же интрига, которая старалась ополячить народъ въ Бѣлоруссін, старается создать призракъ особой народности въ Украинѣ, и что послѣднее еще горше перваго.

Въ Галиціи, несмотря на давнее отдѣленіе этого края отъ родной Россіи, писали языкомъ подходящимъ къ типу общепринятаго русскаго языка, и только въ последнее время, благодаря усиліямъ нашихъ украинофиловъ и настойчивымъ требованіямъ Поляковъ, львовская газета *Слово* начала отдаляться отъ этого типа: она представляетъ теперь самый уродливый маккаронизмъ. Но въ Угорской Руси (въ Венгріи), куда польское вліяніе не простирается, сохраняется и блюдетъ въ возможной чистотѣ русскій языкъ, такъ что все что тамъ писалось и все что оттуда пишется въ львовскомъ *Словѣ*, кромѣ нѣкоторыхъ неловкостей въ оборотахъ рѣчи, почти не разнится отъ обыкновеннаго русскаго языка. За то теперь австрійское правительство запретило журналъ выходившій въ Угорской Руси: оно требовало чтобы наши родичи отказались отъ настоящаго русскаго языка и писали тою же уродливою рѣчью, какою пишутъ львовскіе литераторы, подъ фирмою русскаго языка: но угорскіе Русины объявили, что они другаго русскаго языка не знаютъ, кромѣ существующаго, и предпочли замолкнуть.

Какой же смыслъ можетъ имѣть въ самой Россіи это такъ-называемое украинофильское направленіе? Грустная судьба постигаетъ эти украинофильскія стремленія! Они точь въ точь совпадаютъ съ праждебными русскою народности польскими интересами и распоряженіями австрійскаго правительства.

Неужели наши украинофилы, безсознательно завлеченные въ интригу, будутъ работать на нее даже и теперь когда народъ на Украинѣ такъ энергически доказалъ свою преданность



общему отечеству, и когда, по селамъ Русскаго царства, у всѣхъ въ устахъ и на сердцахъ имя Кіева, алатоверхаго Кіева — имя производящее могущественное дѣйствіе на всякаго русскаго человѣка, какой бы онъ ни былъ уроженецъ, — имя, въ которомъ быть можетъ еще болѣе единящей силы чѣмъ въ имени самой Москвы? Наши українофилы должны пристальнѣе взглянуть въ лицо софизмамъ, которыми ихъ обольщаютъ. Если русская земля должна быть одна и русскій народъ долженъ быть одинъ, то не можетъ быть двухъ русскихъ народностей, двухъ русскихъ языковъ: это очевиднѣе чѣмъ дважды два четыре. А если Украина не можетъ имѣть особаго политическаго существованія, то какой же смыслъ имѣютъ эти усилія, эти стремленія дать ей особый языкъ, особую литературу, и устроить дѣло такъ чтобъ уроженецъ кіевскій современемъ какъ можно менѣе понималъ уроженца московскаго, и чтобъ они должны были прибѣгать къ посредству чужаго языка, для того чтобъ объясняться между собою? Какой же смыслъ искусственно создавать преграду между двумя частями одного и того же народа и разрознивать ихъ силы, между тѣмъ какъ только изъ взаимодѣйствія ихъ силъ можетъ развиваться жизнь цѣлаго, благотворная для всѣхъ его частей?

Давно уже замѣчали мы признаки этого фальшиваго направленія въ нашей литературѣ, и неоднократно изъявляли сожалѣніе о томъ, что люди тратятъ свои силы на дѣло, отъ котораго ни въ какомъ случаѣ добра ожидать не должно. Мы, въ *Русскомъ Вѣстникѣ* и *Современной Литературѣ*, обращались къ здравому смыслу господъ поднизавшихся на этомъ поприщѣ, но не могли удержаться отъ негодованія, когда нѣкоторые изъ этихъ господъ вздумали было дѣйствовать посредствомъ литературнаго застращиванія, которое было у насъ въ большемъ ходу въ послѣднее время, и которое состояло въ томъ чтобы забрасывать грязью всякаго, кто рѣшался поднять независимый голосъ. Мы были очень рады, когда спустя нѣкоторое время нѣсколько кіевскихъ українофиловъ прислали для напечатанія свою исповѣдь, въ которой свидѣтельствовали о чистотѣ патріотизма и чистотѣ своихъ намереній. Мы напе-

чтала ихъ исповѣдь; намъ пріятно было вѣрить чистотѣ ихъ намѣреній, и мы не сочли нужнымъ пускаться съ ними въ толки о безплодіи ихъ украинофильскихъ стремленій, тѣмъ болѣе что въ это время начинали уже разыгрываться польскія смуты. Но за это посыпались на насъ сильные укоры изъ Малороссіи, и насъ обвиняли въ ослабленіи. Каемся въ грѣхъ и постараемся загладить его.

Кстати, мы считаемъ своимъ долгомъ объявить г. Костомарову, чтобъ онъ не трудился присылать въ редакцію нашей газеты объявленія о пожертвованіяхъ собираемыхъ имъ въ пользу изданія малороссійскихъ книгъ. Такихъ объявленій мы печатать не будемъ, и каемся, что въ началѣ этого года, по случайной оцлошности, эти объявленія раза два появлялись въ *Московскихъ Вѣдомостяхъ*. Мы искренно сожалѣемъ, что г. Костомаровъ ссудилъ свое имя на это дѣло, и позволяемъ себѣ надѣяться, что онъ оцѣнитъ наши побужденія и, размысливъ, быть-можетъ и самъ согласится съ нами. Мы думаемъ, что общественный сборъ на такой предметъ по своимъ послѣдствіямъ, если не по намѣреніямъ производящихъ его лицъ, гораздо хуже чѣмъ сборъ на Русіи доброхотныхъ подаяній въ пользу польскаго мятежа. Въ замѣнъ того мы охотно вызываемся печатать объявленія г. Костомарова, если онъ будетъ собирать пожертвованія на развитіе провансальскаго жаргона во Франціи или нортумберландскаго въ Англии. Или пусть эти суммы передастъ онъ въ кассу нѣмецкаго національнаго *ферейма* на постройку германскаго флота. Лучше бросить эти деньги.... Богъ съ ними! Онъ жгутся.





One of the battles

Extract from "Moskovskie Vedomosti"  
N. 193. 1861.

Частный приставъ г. Житомира Тамочкинъ нѣсколько дней тому назадъ замѣтилъ въ городѣ неизвѣстнаго ему Поляка, который показался ему лицомъ подозрительнымъ. Собирая негласно о немъ свѣдѣнія, онъ узналъ что этотъ незнакомецъ есть помѣщикъ Подольской губерніи, Дружбацкій, кандидатъ мирового посредника, что отецъ его сидитъ въ Каменецъ-Подольскѣ въ тюрьмѣ за участіе въ мятежѣ, что самъ онъ остановился въ домѣ помѣщицы Червинской и что о прибытіи его въ Житомиръ полиціи заявлено не было.

Предложивъ незамѣтно слѣдить за Дружбацкимъ, приставъ Тамочкинъ узналъ что лица конхъ посѣщаютъ Дружбацкій сами давно уже давным на себя подозрѣніе если не въ содѣйствіи, то въ явномъ сочувствіи мятежу. Наконецъ 24-го іюля, поутру, Тамочкинъ получилъ уведомленіе что Дружбацкій въ слѣдующую ночь уѣзжаетъ изъ города на почтовыхъ, но куда—не было извѣстно, такъ какъ подорожная была выдана неопредѣленно на проѣздъ изъ Кіева въ Житомиръ, въ Подольскую губернію и обратно. Поэтому, куда и по какой дорогѣ предполагать Дружбацкій направить свой путь, оставалось тайной. Считаая задержаніе Дружбацкаго и произведеніе у него обыска необходимымъ, Тамочкинъ немедленно какъ о своихъ подозрѣніяхъ, такъ и о своихъ наблюденіяхъ доложилъ начальнику губерніи и получилъ разрѣшеніе взять съ собою нѣсколько жандармовъ, задержать Дружбацкаго по выѣздѣ его изъ города и обыскать, такъ какъ предполагалась что обыскъ его квартиры едва ли бы привелъ къ полезнымъ результатамъ. Такъ и было сдѣлано: въ пяти верстахъ отъ города, въ селеніи Станищевкѣ Дружбацкій былъ арестованъ и со всеми своими вещами отведенъ въ волостное правленіе, гдѣ въ присутствіи волостнаго старшины, добросовѣстныхъ и жандармовъ, произведено у него самый тщательный обыскъ.

Этотъ обыскъ вполне подтвердилъ и подозрѣнія Тамочкина. У Дружбацкаго найдены, между прочимъ, слѣдующіе предметы: двѣ желтоушкіи печати, съ вырѣзаннымъ на пятъ гербомъ, составленнымъ изъ изображеній одноглаваго орла всадника на конѣ и образа Божіей Матери. На одной печати была слѣдующая польская надпись: „Komisarz Rząduwoy Rodol“ (Комиссаръ подольскаго управленія), а на другой было написано также во-польски: „Rząd Narodowy—Zagrad Rodol“ (Народное правительство—отдѣлъ подольскаго управленія) денегъ 2.757 р и портфель съ разными письмами и бумагами. Наконецъ въ сапогѣ, на лѣвой ногѣ, найдены особыя запечатанныя конверты съ бумагами.

Разумѣется портфель и конверты были тотчасъ же представлены начальнику губерніи, въ присутствіи котораго они и были формально разсмотрѣны и описаны разными подлежащими властями. Въ пакетѣ отысканномъ въ сапогѣ у Дружбацкаго оказались официальные бумаги польскаго революціоннаго правительства, обнаружившія что Дружбацкій былъ одинъ изъ главныхъ агентовъ этого правительства, принимавшій самое дѣятельное участіе во вновь затѣваемомъ мятежѣ.

Обнаруженныхъ бумагъ найдено шесть. Къ нимъ были приложены гербовыя печати найденныя у Дружбацкаго: всѣ бумаги имѣли видъ предписаній и указовъ народнаго правительства и установленныхъ комиссаровъ. Число ихъ составленія, именно 23-го іюля, когда Дружбацкій находился въ Житомирѣ, указываетъ прямо что онѣ тутъ были написаны! Вотъ оглавленіе этихъ бумагъ

1) Отзывъ народного правительства, отдѣленія исполнительнаго на Руси, къ членамъ бывшаго подольскаго комитета, 23-го іюля 1863, № 42.

2) Предисловіе о назначеніи помѣщика Станислава Ложинскаго прокураторомъ при народномъ подольскомъ трибуналі. 23-го іюля 1863, № 19.

3) Отзывъ комиссара, уполномоченнаго на Руси, къ подольскому комиссару, 23-го іюля 1863, № 18.

4) Отзывъ народного правительства, исполнительнаго отдѣленія на Руси, къ подольскому управленію, 23-го іюля 1863, № 43.

5) Отзывъ къ комиссару чрезвычайнаго народного правленія въ восточной Галиціи, 23-го іюля 1863, № 16.

6) Конія съ письма посланнаго въ Галицію, къ главнокомандующему генералу Эдмунду (Фронтини Ружинскому).

Изъ содержанія этихъ бумагъ обнаружено слѣдующее:

1) Въ скоромъ времени предполагается вторженіе Поляковъ изъ Галиціи въ предѣлы западныхъ губерній. Одновременно съ этимъ вторженіемъ вспыхнетъ мѣстное возстаніе. Благоприятнымъ для того временемъ считается время уборки хлѣба съ полей, когда крестьяне заняты жатвой и не въ состояніи будутъ препятствовать возстанію.

2) Перевозка оружія черезъ австрійскую границу, какъ предполагаетъ революціонное правительство, будетъ воспрещена, а потому сдѣлано распоряженіе о доставленіи оружія чрезъ Одессу. Въ одномъ извѣстномъ торговомъ домѣ въ Одессѣ приготолено значительное количество оружія: перевозить же это оружіе на Волынь, Подолію и Украину подрядились Евреи въ Житомирѣ и Бердичевѣ, съ обязательствомъ представить залогомъ равняющіеся стоимости оружія.

3) Народная власть распространяется все болѣе на Волыни и въ Подоліи, и есть надежда основанная на фактахъ что на Волыни и въ Подоліи всѣ распоряженія этой власти будутъ исполняться со скоростію и энергіей (?).

4) Главная станція народныхъ сообщеній находится въ Бердичевѣ, въ домѣ банкира Макса Шафнагеля.

5) „Провинціальная власть“ отправила уже агентовъ для осмотра пограничныхъ мѣстъ, съ цѣлію сдѣлать въ нихъ нужныя приготовленія для облегченія дѣйствій повстанцевъ.

6) Въ пограничныхъ пунктахъ Голочинцахъ, Кутыче, Стшремыльче предполагается учредить арсеналы.

7) Въ уединенныхъ мѣстахъ отдаленныхъ отъ селеній, какъ-то: на сѣнкахъ, хуторахъ и фольваркахъ, предполагается завести пороховыя заводы. Преимущественно рекомендуется открыть такіе заводы въ Подольскѣ и на границахъ Подольской губерніи съ Кіевскою.

8) Въ самомъ Кіевѣ учреждена уже лабораторная школа для обученія выдѣлкѣ пороха.

9) Учреждается народная почта. Съ этою цѣлью въ каждомъ уѣздѣ должно находиться довѣренное лицо, которому отдавалась бы корреспонденція какъ приходщая, такъ и отходящая.

10) Во всѣхъ уѣздахъ назначены уже гражданскіе чиновники, которые будутъ вспомоществовать народу во время до окончанія военныхъ дѣйствій.

11) Предполагается учредить жандармовъ-вѣдатель изъ отчаянныхъ молодыхъ людей, которые должны исполнять порученія революціоннаго комитета.

12) Генералу Эдмунду т.-е. Ружницкому \*, бѣжавшему за границу послѣ пораженія мятежниковъ на Волыни, предоставлено составить планъ военныхъ дѣйствій, какъ знающему отлично мѣстность здѣшняго края.

13) Народное правительство имѣетъ уже въ виду офицеровъ готовыхъ принять начальство надъ отдѣльными отрядами. Списки этихъ офицеровъ посылаются генералу и отъ него будутъ бѣжаться назначеніе ихъ въ должности.

14) Собраны нужныя свѣдѣнія во всѣхъ мѣстахъ гдѣ расположены русскія войска и открыто уже агентство въ штабѣ Кіевского военнаго округа.

15) Получены свѣдѣнія о движеніи 4-го корпуса къ берегамъ Чернаго моря и Прута. Корпусъ этотъ захватить и часть Украины.

16) Всѣ повстанцы должны быть обмундированы эффектно, чтобы произвести впечатлѣніе на крестьянъ.

17) Въ Варшаву вызванъ изъ Кіева представитель *русской интеллигенции* (1). Ему вмѣнено въ обязанность избѣгать всякихъ недоразумѣній съ Русскими, а напротивъ содѣлать вои въ дружескія отношенія съ ними, и такимъ способомъ указывать все то что необходимо для пользы народа. Подобное распоряженіе послѣдуетъ въ Подоліи и Волыни.

18) Предполагается во что бы то ни стало снискать расположеніе православныхъ священниковъ.

19) Упомянется о содѣйствіи польскому дѣлу *какихъ-то сановниковъ*

20) Золотыя грамоты предписывается объявлять со всею торжественностью и вѣсть съ осторожностью и не являть какъ только послѣ одержанія повстанцами какой-либо побѣды.

Кромѣ того, во время содержанія Дружбацкаго подъ арестомъ, замѣчено было часовымъ что къ голому тѣлу Дружбацкаго привязанъ былъ какой-то пакетъ. Пакетъ этотъ былъ тотчасъ снятъ и въ немъ

\* Ружницкій былъ начальникомъ революціоннаго штаба гдѣ рашскіе войска.

оказались революціонныя газеты: 1) „Walka“ (98 экземпляровъ), 2) газета „Polska“ и 3) газета „Wiadomości z pola bitwy“.

Изъ всего этого видно что Поляки упорно и съ энергіей пресла-  
ютъ свою преступную революціонную цѣль, а мы въ западномъ краѣ  
въ отпоръ имъ противопоставляемъ только рутинную отписку бумагамъ и  
совершенное бездѣйствіе. Побили повстанцевъ и успокоились на за-  
рахахъ. Даже теперешнее, весьма важное, открытіе пристава Тамочкина  
есть только счастливая случайность не болѣе, а не послѣдствіе пра-  
вильной, постоянной и серьезно-направленной къ извѣстной цѣли поли-  
цейской дѣятельности. Самое это изложенное мною открытіе служитъ  
тому доказательствомъ. Въ Житомирѣ, въ небольшомъ городкѣ, гдѣ  
всѣхъ знаютъ наперечетъ—существуетъ исполнительное отдѣленіе ре-  
волюціоннаго комитета, а мы до сихъ поръ и не подозревали этого,  
не знаемъ изъ кого оно состоитъ! Бездѣйствіе полиціи очевидно,  
да и какіе дѣйствовать полиціи, когда она сидитъ въ канцеляріяхъ  
и упражняется въ отпискѣ бумагъ (большая часть) ни къ чему не ве-  
дущихъ, когда она бѣгаетъ по посылкахъ, когда она занята чрезвычай-  
но важнымъ дѣломъ—крашеишемъ заборовъ и тротуарныхъ столбиковъ,  
когда для открытія какого-нибудь подозрительнаго лица ей, подобно  
какъ Тамочкину, нужно тратить собственные деньги для разныхъ разъ-  
ѣздовъ и для найма агентовъ? Съ другой стороны, развѣ possible бы  
Поляки учреждать пороховые заводы и школы для обученія какъ со-  
ставлять порохъ, еслибы не надѣялись вылить на польскую админис-  
трацію всего краѣ? Пусть кто-нибудь донесетъ что тамъ-то или тамъ-то  
открытъ пороховой заводъ—послать для изслѣдованія донесенія ти-  
вовника-Поляка, и донесеніе окажется клеветой, и все дѣйствительно  
будетъ скрыто! У насъ же въ отрасли управленія и суда буквально  
въ рукахъ Поляковъ. Канцелярія губернатора и губернское управленіе  
преимущественно состоятъ изъ Поляковъ или, что еще хуже, изъ ош-  
лаченныхъ Русскихъ. Секретныя бумаги, прежде чѣмъ поднесутъ ихъ  
къ поднеси начальнику губерніи, уже дѣлаются извѣстными Полякамъ.  
При обыскахъ у пановъ неоднократно находили копія съ такихъ се-  
ретныхъ бумагъ. Управленіе государственныхъ имуществъ состоитъ  
изъ Поляковъ; акцизное управленіе тоже польское; казенная палата  
преимущественно состоитъ изъ Поляковъ и уѣздные казначеи—всѣ  
почти Поляки; на почтѣ, въ приказѣ общественного приращенія, въ су-  
дебныхъ палатахъ и уѣздномъ судѣ также преобладаетъ польскій эле-  
ментъ; вся врачебная управа состоитъ изъ Поляковъ; всѣ мировые по-  
средники Поляки, всѣ уѣздные стряпчие, за исключеніемъ двухъ—По-  
ляки, судебные слѣдователи на половину Поляки. Въ Житомирскомъ  
сиротскомъ домѣ начальница заведенія и надзирательницы Поляки и  
самое заведеніе служитъ только къ тому чтобы на русскія деньги  
русскихъ дѣвочекъ обращать въ Полякъ. Вся эта администрація

враждебная Россия, служить могущественнымъ орудіемъ при настоящихъ польскихъ замълахъ и вообще для усиленія польскаго элемента въ край. Укажу, въ доказательство послѣдняго, на слѣдующее обстоятельство. Вездѣ мало по вѣдомству государственныхъ имуществъ устроить фермы на казенныхъ земляхъ и отдать ихъ въ аренду желающимъ на долгіе сроки. Несмотря на просьбы государственныхъ крестьянъ, рѣдко кто изъ нихъ получилъ фермы, болѣею частью онѣ розданы Полякамъ. Вотъ дѣйствіе польскаго управленія, и такъ вездѣ. Русскіе чиновники преслѣдуются здѣсь всеми возможными способами, и въ случаѣ увольненія отъ должности никогда почти вновь не получаютъ мѣста; Полякъ же уволенный отъ должности вездѣ найдетъ покровителей и защитниковъ. Изъ многихъ примѣровъ приведу одинъ. Никто Шостатскій, служившій при дѣйствіи откупной системы акцизнымъ надзорителемъ, человекомъ, по собраннымъ мною свидѣніямъ, знавшимъ дѣла, честный, остался на штатомъ по уращенію откупа. Онъ обратился съ просьбою къ управляющему акцизнымъ управленіемъ о принятіи его въ службу по его вѣдомству и получилъ отказъ. Отказъ этотъ можно объяснить только тѣмъ, что Шостатскій—Русскій, а Русскихъ въ акцизное управленіе мѣстная власть вовсе не принимаетъ. Напротивъ, Полякъ Горскій, дубенскій уѣздный казначей, человекъ, по собраннымъ о немъ свидѣніямъ генераломъ Семякинскимъ и чиновникомъ особахъ порученій министра финансовъ Казинскимъ \*, самый неблагопадежный, тотчасъ по увольненіи его, Горскаго, отъ должности казначея, вновь получаетъ мѣсто въ казенной палатѣ, и получаетъ по предложенію изъ Кіева, написанному на имя предѣдателя казенной палаты!

Священники православные, которыхъ теперь старается привлечь Поляки на свою сторону, находятся въ крайне незавидномъ положеніи. Они не смѣютъ объяснить крестьянамъ никакого ихъ недоразумѣнія о новѣйшемъ Положеніи 19-го февраля. Случись это, паны тотчасъ шлютъ доносъ, что священникъ пьяница и подстрекаетъ крестьянъ къ неповиновенію. Были примѣры что по такимъ доносамъ, вслѣдствіе распоряженія административной власти, невинные священники удалены съ приходомъ... (Левъ.)

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\* Г. Казинъ былъ посланъ въ Волынскую губернію для свидѣтельства о вѣдѣніи уѣздныхъ казначейскіхъ.



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