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COOPERATION OF UKRAINIAN AND SLOVENIAN DEPUTIES IN THE VIENNA PARLIAMENT IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

In the article are analyzed cooperation of the Ukrainian and Slovenian deputies in the Vienna parliament as a part of the group – “Slavic Christian national union”. Functioning of the group was a consequence of common interests of its participants on national equality. The main stages of activity of the group and also the factors which had an impact on its efficiency are considered. This group was nearly only in the Austrian parliament for 1897–1900 which was on positions of national equality and protected the interests of Slavs. The activity of the group's deputies regarding the improvement of the socio-economic, cultural and educational situation of Ukrainians and Slovenians in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was analyzed.

Keywords: Vienna parliament, Slavic Christian national union, social-christian movement, Slovenians, Ukrainians

COOPERAZIONE DEI DEPUTATI UCRAINI E SLOVENI NEL PARLAMENTO DI VIENNA ALLA FINE DEL XIX SECOLO

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza la cooperazione dei deputati ucraini e sloveni nel parlamento di Vienna che facevano parte del gruppo “Unione nazionale cristiano slava”. Le sue attività erano il risultato degli interessi comuni dei suoi membri riguardo all'uguaglianza nazionale. Sono state considerate le fasi principali

delle attività del gruppo, nonché i fattori che ne hanno influenzato l'efficacia. Durante il periodo 1897–1900 il gruppo era anche l'unico nel parlamento austriaco a rappresentare l'uguaglianza nazionale e nel difendere gli interessi degli slavi. È stata, inoltre, analizzata l'attività di questi deputati riguardo al miglioramento della situazione socio-economica, culturale e quella educativa di ucraini e degli sloveni nella Monarchia austro-ungarica.

Parole chiave: Parlamento di Vienna, Unione nazionale cristiano slava, movimento sociale e cristiano, sloveni, ucraini

INTRODUCTION

With independence declarations by the Republic Slovenia and Ukraine in 1991 there was a question of better establishment of the friendly relations between the countries, including in the parliamentary level. Therefore studying of positive experience of interaction of the Ukrainian and Slovenian deputies in the Vienna parliament at the end of the 19th century is important.

During the writing of this paper a number of sources is used. In particular, periodicals (newspapers “Ruslan”, “Slovenec”, “Slovenski narod”) in which it was regularly informed readers on internal meetings of members of SCNU, resolutions of meetings were published speeches of deputies of this club in the Vienna parliament and before voters.

“Stenographic protocols sessions of the House of Representatives of the Austrian Reichsrat” (SPSHRAR), where speeches of the Ukrainian¹ and Slovenian deputies were provided are extremely important for the research.

Memoirs of the Ukrainian and Slovenian deputies Olexander Barvinskyi, Fran Šuklje and Janez Evangelist Krek are one more important source of information.

Many valuable data contains also protocols of meetings of the Rus club of the Vienna parliament which were kept by Anatol Vakhnianyn. They are stored in fund 818 of the Central state historical archive in Lviv. It is, in particular, information on the constituent assembly of SCNU and the discussion about the nature of activity of this fraction.

Stenographic protocols of parliament are extremely big on the volume in German and in detail provide information on the course and content of discussions.

1 In this article, the terms “Ukrainian” and “Rusyn” are used interchangeably. These terms were used to denote the Greek-Catholic population of Galicia, which considered itself a separate nation, independent from both the Russians and the Poles.

In the historiography the issue of cooperation of the Ukrainian and Slovenian Christian parties in the Vienna parliament was little studied. Among the available works it is necessary to select the works of H. Binder (Binder, 2005), J. Cvirn (Cvirn, 2009), R. Lechniuk (Lechniuk, 2020), S. Matković (Matković, 2011), V. Melik (Melik, 1979), B. Radosavljevič (Radosavljevič, 1994), A. Špelec (Špelec, 2009).

Parliamentary elections of 1897 took place under new electoral laws according to which universal suffrage for men was introduced for the V curia. These elections changed balance of forces in a parliament a little, having reduced the German influence.

In election result Slovenes have received 16 mandates, and Ukrainians – 11 (the so-called moderate O. Barvinskyi, Anatol Vakhnianyn, Ivan Hrobelskyi, Modest Karatnitskyi, Kornylo Mandychevskyi and Ksenofont Okhrymovych who have formed “The Rus’ club”; so-called “independent” Danylo Tanyachkevych, Teofil Okunevskyi and Roman Yarosevych (has adjoined the Polish socialists under the leadership of I. Dashinski) and two Ukrainian deputies from Bukovyna). In a newly elected parliament moderate Ukrainians, Slovenes, Croats and two Czech representatives, at the initiative of Janez Evangelist Krek, have decided to create the joint fraction.

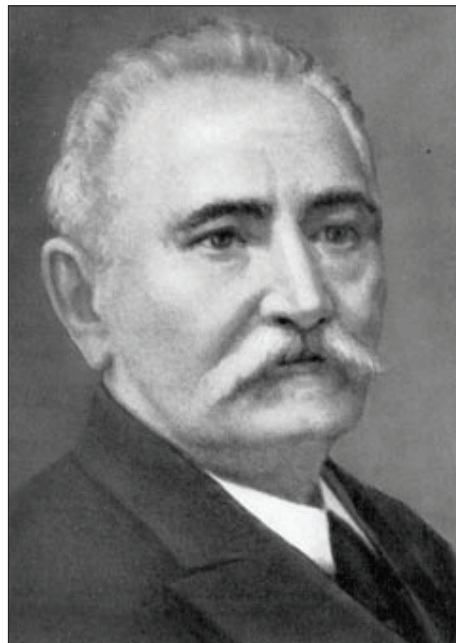


Fig. 1: Anatol Vakhnianyn (1841–1908) (Wikimedia Commons).

REASONS OF COOPERATION OF UKRAINIANS AND SLOVENIANS

It should be noted that the choice of allies was obvious to moderate Ukrainian deputies.

Firstly, both the Ukrainian and Slovenian public and Christian movements were based on the encyclical of the Pope Leo XIII of “Rerum Novarum” (1891). In it new reference points of social development based on traditional values of Christian ethics by the basic social principle. It embodied the new public concept forming more modern theoretical basis for counteraction to the socialist movement. If earlier the church considered a property difference natural, then its

task was limited only by philanthropy. The political catholicism and Christian democracy are tightly connected between themselves, tried to reform society, but by various approaches. Christian democrats got the liberty which is relating to fundamentals of Christianity and being implemented in the conditions of political democracy, however didn't hope for transformation of society by social policy of the state, and hoped that the church itself will become the engine of the restored society. "Rerum Novarum" was considered as the most important document of Catholicism of modern times and a basis of the main ideas of parties of the public and Christian direction of Europe.

Secondly, rather small deputy groups which could not play an important role without allies, made cooperation necessary for both Ukrainians and Slovenes in the Vienna parliament. Thirdly, both Ukrainians and Slovenes faced similar problems with recognition of their national rights in Galicia, Istria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria. Furthermore, this cooperation was made possible by the friendly attitude of Slovenes towards Ukrainians. One of the Slovenian leaders, J. E. Krek, was familiar with Ukrainian folklore and literature, and was fond of T. Shevchenko's creativity. He participated in Shevchenko's evenings in Vienna, popularized Ukrainian folk art among young Slovenian poets, including J. Abram, O. Župančič, J. Murn, A. Erjavec, and A. Merhar.

From the Ukrainian side representatives of the public and Christian society became initiators of cooperation with Slovenes, first of all O. Barvinskyi is a politician, the teacher, the organizer of numerous scientific and cultural institutions. He was one of initiators of transformation of literary society (Shevchenko's Society) into scientific association under the name Scientific organization of Taras Shevchenko, and then became its chairman during the period 1892–1897. Besides, he was the deputy of Galician diet (1894–1904), the House of Representatives (1891–1907) of the State Council, and for 1918–1919 the delegate of the Ukrainian National Council and the secretary of the State committee on religion and education in the First government of West Ukrainian People's Republic. Also O. Barvinskyi was an active popular writer of the Ukrainian history, the editor of a publishing series under the name Rus Historical Library – he was one of the first who used the term "Ukraine-Rus".

Contrary to the rapprochement of populist camp of the Ukrainian politics in Galicia with the Russophiles that was proclaimed in 1896, O. Barvinskyi's supporters tried to set up cooperation with national parties of other Slavic people living in the Habsburg Monarchy. It should be noted that the idea of creation of consolidation of Slavic parliamentarians was not new. In 1891 O. Barvinskyi had had thought to join Karl von Hohenwart's fraction. It was the conservative-clerical group that united German conservatives, Slovenian, Croatian and Romanian parliamentarians and was one of the largest, and therefore one of the most influential associations in the Vienna Parliament. However, then this idea was not supported by the Ukrainian deputies who decided to create separate fraction – "Rus Club" (Lechniuk, 2020, 285).

The purpose of creation of this consolidation, the Ukrainian deputies wanted to make use of the experience of the southern Slavs gained by them thanks to membership in K. Hohenwarth's club (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.708). Exchange of experience has to promote increase in level of political and parliamentary culture of the Ukrainian deputies (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 35, p.856). At the same time formation of rather numerically strong group could give chance to the Ukrainian deputies to play bigger, than still role in distribution of important state positions (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.737–738).

It is important to note that cooperation between Ukrainian and Slovenian politicians was not based on the so-called "Slavic idea", and was result of pragmatic cooperation as a result of a coincidence of conservative principles of the participants and concrete aspirations in changing the national, social and economic situation in the state. This is confirmed by protocols of joint preparatory meetings in anticipation of creation of the

SCNU. At the constituent meetings cofounders of the SCNU clearly noted that this cooperation is not based on a "Slavic community", but rather aimed to advocate for the national interests of each of the separate peoples. In the case of the Ukrainian politicians, this meant sharp opposition of "Neo-Slavism" of Russophiles (CSHAU 818, op. 1, c. 10, p. 68). The opposition of O. Barvinskyi's group to "the Slavic ideas" and their absolute rejection of a Russophilia became one of engines of the formation of their political organization – the Catholic Ruthenian-Social Union which six representatives – O. Barvinskyi, A. Vakhnianyn, M. Karatnytskyi, K. Okhrymovych, K. Mandychevskyi and I. Hrobelskyi – became the Ukrainian representative office in the general Slavic fraction. The representative of Bukovyna, S. Vinnytskyi, also joined them. The Slovenes considered that "the South Slavic deputies, first of all, should be independent of the government which they should support only if it is really fair to Yugoslavs" (Krek, 1933, 12).



Fig. 2: Olexander Barvinskyi (1847–1926)
(Wikimedia Commons).

“SLAVIC CHRISTIAN AND NATIONAL UNION”: COMMON FRACTION OF UKRAINIANS, SLOVENIANS AND CROATS

On March 27, 1897 in the Vienna parliament the Ruthenian Club faction fraction led by the oldest of the Ukrainian deputies K. Mandichevskiy was officially created, and the first general meeting of the Ukrainian, Slovenian and Croatian deputies at which there was also D. Tanyachkevych took place already on March 30, 1897 (Slovenski narod, 1. 4. 1897, 1). Ukrainians suggested not to call fraction Catholic as it was initially planned, but “Christian” to allow participation of orthodox Serbians in it (CSHAU 818, op. 1, c. 10, p. 67). However, Serbs were not a part of fraction. O. Barvinskyi explained it with Serbo-Croatian misunderstanding: “When Ruthenians, Slovenes, Croats and Serbs gathered for an optional meeting, such persistent turmoil came up between Croats and Serbs that the union with Serbians impossible seemed. Croats asserted the historical state law with which Serbs could not agree” (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.702). At this meeting the general committee for preparation of the charter of new fraction in which O. Barvinskyi, among others, was elected (CSHAU 818, op. 1, c. 10, p. 67). On April 1, 1897 the SCNU parliamentary fraction which consisted of 35 deputies was created: 16 Slovenes², 11 Croats³, 7 Ukrainians⁴ and 1 Czech (Radosavljevič, 1994, 336). The pastoral letter of the Catholic episcopate of Austria-Hungary on the eve of elections to the Vienna parliament became the basis of the SCNU program (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.705). At the heart of this message – a number of requirements to voters and also the program of necessary reforms in the state. First of all, from voters it was required to vote for those candidates who were sincere Catholics and in the program and activity did not encroach on authority of Church and religion in general (Ruslan, 16. 1. 1897, 1–2).

All members of SCNU with own hand signed the charter consisting of 12 paragraphs and undertaken to vote according to decisions of fraction (at the same time it was allowed to refrain when voting) (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.707). It is necessary to notice that at first German was language of communication at meetings of fraction, but subsequently Slavic deputies communicated mainly in their native languages (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.704).

The SCNU program so designated its task: “To contribute to the organization of public life in a religious, cultural, social and economic view on a positive and Christian basis and will defend with any determination on certainly equality of the slavyansky people on the basis of the national rights and Christians freedom of Church”. At a meeting three cochairmen of SCNU – O. Barvinskyi, K. G. Bulat, I.

2 Hugo Berks, Alfred Coronini, Lambert Einspieler, Andrej Ferjačić, Anton Gregorčič, Lavoslav Gregorec, Janez Ev.Krek, Josip Kušar, Viljem Pfeifer, Jožef Pogačnik, Ivan Povše, France Robič, Fran Šuklje, Ivan Šušteršič, Jožef Žičkar, Ignacij Žitnik.

3 Juraj Biankini, Lovre Borčić, Gajo Bulat, Mihovil Klaić, Matko Laginja, Ninko Perić, Vjekoslav Spinčić, Anton Šupuk, Ante Trumbić, Božo Vuković, Luka Zore.

4 Oleksander Barvinskyi, Kornyllo Mandychevskiy, Ksenofont Ochrymowych, Anatole Vakhnianyn, Sydir Vinnytskyi.

Šusteršič are elected. Speaking at a meeting, A. Vakhnianyn noted that SCNU has to become the first step to transformation of the Monarchy of Gabsburg into Slavic federation (CSHAU 818, op. 1, c. 10, p. 68).

The SCNU social and economic program looked quite organic, considering similarity of the problems facing members of fraction. If such Slavic people of Austria-Hungary as Poles and Czechs, kept the social elite – the land aristocracy, then Ukrainians, Croats and Slovenes were deprived it, their national movements including the conservative directions, derived the human strength mainly from clergy and quite small intellectuals, and were forced to look for a support in the peasantry making numerous social group among these people.

O. Barvinskyi and A. Vakhnianyn in the social sphere propagandized adopting of successful experience of other countries and states. Most it was shown in their parliamentary and provincial diet speeches. Creation of the agricultural unions for providing the peasantry from impoverishment and debts, so, and from the main problem of social and economic life of Galicia of that time – mass emigration had to become one of the main tasks (Ruslan, 9. 3. 1899; Ruslan, 19. 8. 1897). The beginning in the region of loan cash desks of a system of Raiffeisen was an important initiative of A. Vakhnianyn. The need for such institutions was shown by a series of materials in “Ruslan” on the history of loan cash desks (Ruslan, 17. 12. 1897; Ruslan, 12. 3. 1899). Despite declaration of narrow-mindedness and the peasantry as a basis of a social order (Ruslan, 30. 1. 1897, 1), Christian the public did not depart from conservative foundations, explaining it with attachment of the Ukrainian peasant to tradition, relying on which (Ruslan, 26. 1. 1897, 1). Also it was indicated an important role of the aristocracy (Ukrainians did not have it), and the property status and the authority is recognized a support of public order (Ruslan, 8. 2. 1897, 2).

The advantage of cooperation of the Ukrainian and Slovenian politicians within SCNU in the social and economic sphere was that Slovenes could serve as role model for the Ukrainian Christian social activists. So, J.E. Krek’s diligence in the Slovenian lands has created banks and cooperatives, extensive network of other non-political societies which conducted active social and economic, educational and organizational work with peasants and workers. 1892 the “Slovenian Christian and social labor union” which became the main Slovenian institute of such orientation was founded. Social and economic postulates of this environment were propagandized also during large-scale Catholic meetings, taking place in Ljubljana in 1892, 1900, 1906 and 1913 (Bobić, 2012, 11–12).

Loan sharking was a considerable problem in Galicia. It was caused by the absence of cheap credits for small farming enterprises. Ukrainian deputies tried to solve this problem in both state authorities and the society itself. On January 18, 1897, A. Vakhnianyn in the parliament named usury as the cause of mass emigration from the region (Ruslan, 14. 1. 1897, 1–2). Laws were passed to prevent this problem, but they were ineffective. The law of 1877 prohibited it, but in fact it continued to exist, in some places - openly. Galicia was divided into districts between the largest usurer families (Ruslan, 14. 1. 1897, 1–2). In addition to interest in money, interest in grain, livestock, and labor usury was also popular. O. Barvinskyi called usury one of the main reasons for the economic decline of Galicia⁵.

5 In 1882–1894, 1735 people, including 899 (51,8%) in Galicia, were sentenced for loan sharking.

The biggest problems related to usury were in Hutsul Region, where in the last decades of the 19th century. there was a moral and economic decline, various epidemics periodically arose, the arbitrariness of usurers reigned. At the end of the 19th century usury was extremely common among the Hutsuls. On March 2, 1900, O. Barvinskyi submitted a request to the Cabinet of Ministers regarding the government's intentions in regard with numerous illegal actions carried out in Hutsul region (Ruslan, 4. 24. 1897, 3).

Ukrainian deputies believed that spontaneous national-social conflicts were possible without state intervention (Ruslan, 26. 2. 1900, 1–2). During a meeting with the Minister of Justice of Austria Spence, O. Barvinskyi emphasized the passivity of the courts regarding illegal usury activities. In his opinion, court officials did not prevent usurers because they were their debtors. Instead, the minister promised to bring the guilty to justice (Ruslan, 10. 3. 1900, 2–3).

A. Vakhnianyn, with the support of the SCNU, repeatedly raised questions in the Vienna Parliament regarding the protection of the rights of the Greek-Catholic population of Galicia. In particular, he advocated for Ukrainian soldiers in the Austrian army to have the opportunity to celebrate religious holidays⁶, as well as for pensions for widows and orphans of Greek-Catholic priests (Ruslan, 21. 5. 1900, 1–2).

Despite declarations, in particular the Slovenian politicians, on priority of social and economic aspects (Ruslan, 21. 6. 1897, 1) the most important activity of SCNU was made in the sphere of national rights (Slovenski narod, 6. 4. 1897, 1). It is explained by the general situation in Cisleithania for the last decade of the 19th century, first of all sharp aggravation of national contradictions. Failure of the Ukrainian-Polish “new era” and Czech-German “agreements” of 1890 (attempt of achievement of a compromise in national political affairs, each of which, due to various reasons, was not crowned with success), aggravation of national opposition in Galicia (“Badeni” elections” 1897, and subsequently questions of the Ukrainian university and agricultural strikes of 1902), in the Czech lands – because of a language question and in Carniola – because of unwillingness of the Austrian Germans to allow teaching in Slovenian in a gymnasium in Celje – all this was symptoms of the state contradictions in the state. Along with strengthening of influence of more radical national Parties (Young Czech Party (Mladočeši), the German nationalists, the Polish and Ukrainian national democrats) the habitual political, cultural and social system of the monarchy was threatened what conservative-minded Ukrainian, Slovenian and Croatian politicians could not reconcile to.

SCNU representatives were active participants in parliamentary majority which was created after elections of 1897 and which “The Polish circle”, conservative German fractions which were successors of already nonexistent Gogenvart's club, Czechs and representatives of SCNU entered tried to realize the national and social and economic program principles.

The first attempts of the prime minister K. Badeni to create parliamentary majority from representatives of “The Polish circle”, Czechs and the German liberals failed because of the Czech-German antagonism caused by the new language rules for Bohemia

6 Unlike Catholics, Greek Catholics used the Julian calendar.

and Moravia promised by Badeni, giving equal rights to German and Czech languages (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.736). On the other hand, the attempt to create the “right” parliamentary coalition into which entered “The Polish club”, Czechs, the German Catholic group and SHNS successfully came to the end. The new majority contained 222 seats in parliament from 425. It meant that an exit of any fraction from the coalition led to its disintegration. For SCNU, according to O. Barvinskyi, this situation was ideal combination of circumstances, having 35 representatives, the union had “gold share”. It forced Poles, Czechs and the German conservatives to consider requirements of SCNU (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 35, p.856). For this reason the initiative of creation of the general fraction was very timely, only in a day after approval of SCNU negotiations on creation of the coalition began (IL NASU DMFT 135, c. 34, p.738).

The Slavic fraction was included into the majority, having declared own positions which sometimes differed from positions of other representatives of the majority, in particular “The Polish circle”. The conclusion of the text of the appeal of parliament to the emperor Franz Joseph I became the first showdown for SCNU. On May 6, 1897 the meeting of fraction on this matter at which the additions to the draft of the address concerning questions of national equality and an economic condition of the peasantry are discussed and put forward took place. In particular, the fraction insisted on introduction of national equality in public life, school and the government, reduction of expenses on imperious institutions, support of the peasantry. It was accented also on development of school according to the religious and national principles. It is also decided that in case these offers are not supported to send own appeal to the monarch (Ruslan, 27. 4. 1897, 1). O. Barvinskyi on behalf of SCNU submitted these proposals in editorial committee, and they were considered (Ruslan, 4. 5. 1897, 1).

The attitude of Ukrainians and Slovenes concerning expansion of autonomy of certain regions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was interesting. According to them *ce conditio sine qua non*⁷ was absolute protection of ethnic minorities in these territories (Ruslan, 7. 9. 1897, 2).

On March 21, 1898 A. Ferjančič was elected the senior vice president of the Chamber of Deputies (till October, 1899). The parliament made the number of proposals on the solution of the language question. In particular, on April 22, 1898 L. Gregorec, F. Šuklje and O. Barvinskyi on behalf of SCNU made the request, demanding from the government to adopt immediately the law, for implementation of Article 19 of the Fundamental state law of 1867 (Melik, 1979, 61; Špelec, 2009, 44). In it it was noted:

All people of the state are equal and each people have the firm right to protect and develop the nationality and language. The state recognizes equality of all of the languages used in the region at school, the government and private life. In the regions where there live several people, public institutions of training that each of these people received the necessary means for science in the language flat-out to studying of the second regional language have to be so arranged (Zöllner, 1990, 401).

7 Prerequisite – Latin.

This request was explained by Gregorec, having offered that all languages had to appear regional and to be equal before provincial and the government. Each citizen could look for and find justice in all instances in the language (Cvirn, 2009, 61–79).

Complexity of the language question forced the government to explain the position in relation to it. In particular, on April 27, 1898, Prime Minister Thun noted that the government is ready to meet all the legal requirements of individual nations, and linguistic ones Gautsch order is only a temporary solution. Respectively, he supported adoption of the language law though he knew about problems, related. It agreed with offers on election of special parliamentary (language) committee and promised it support and the help to the government. At the same time Thun reminded future members of the committee that in search of the solution of a language question they will deal not only with “one language issue”, but also “the whole complex of language questions” which it will be necessary to treat differently according to different circumstances. The main objective of language committee he saw in development of the basic principles of effective protection of ethnic minorities in certain lands, in unification of positions of use of languages at the schools and all other matters of argument generating national disagreements. According to him, the fact that all matters of argument can be resolved by a simple formula and only one law adopted by parliamentary majority is wrong. On the contrary, to receive the satisfactory final result, first it is necessary to approve the main principles of protection of minorities and only then to start development of the law. This statement caused the broad language debate continuing with breaks – because of technical obstacles – before postponement of the National Assembly for June 7, 1898 when to the forefront there were disagreements between separate parties and the nations again.

At the session on May 4, 1898. The position of SCNU was in detail stated once again by L. Gregorec supporting adoption of the difficult law on executive power in coordination with Article 19 (SPSHAR, XIV. sesija, 18. seja, 4. 5. 1898, 1040–1044).

The parliamentary majority was not monolithic, and it inevitably affected its capacity. Despite the edition of the manifesto calling for association of forces and refusal of the international conflicts (Ruslan, 23. 11. 1897, 2; Ruslan, 30. 11. 1897, 2), real activity of separate fractions of the majority testified to a divergence of declarations with practical measures. So, “The Polish circle” constantly tried to conduct separate policy, noting need of granting the bigger autonomy of Galicia. It meant strengthening of Poles in East Galicia for Ukrainians and weakening of their positions. SCNU said that it will maintain the majority on condition of upholding of national equality of all nationalities by it in all parts of Cisleithania (Ruslan, 8. 6. 1897, 1; Ruslan, 24. 6. 1897, 1). The example of disinterest of the “Polish circle” in real national equality was the language bill proposed by the deputy M. Bilinski, the bill that had not been even accepted for discussion in the parliament by the Polish faction itself. This decision caused protest and indignation of the representatives of SCNU, and “Ruslan” predicted the crisis of the parliamentary majority. It led to a protest and indignation of representatives of SCNU, and “Ruslan” provided crisis of parliamentary majority (Ruslan, 9. 10. 1899, 1; Ruslan, 19. 10. 1899, 1).

Unfortunately, the parliament could not elect language committee because of technical obstacles of some German parties. Therefore on June 7, 1898 the Prime Minister postponed a session for an indefinite term. On May 5, 1898 the deputy J. Švegel noted that the government itself developed the basic principles of settlement of a language question and began negotiations only with representatives of some German parties and Young Czechs (SPSHAR, XIV. sesija, 19. seja, 5. maj 1898, 1110–1111). However this “an action of reconciliation” completely failed as it was boycotted by representatives of the German People’s Party and German Progressive Party. The failure of negotiations was not only because of the Germans demanding immediate cancellation language orders of Gautsch, but also the Czechs insisting on that provincial, but not state authorities of the power were responsible for language policy (Urban, 1994, 689).

As the Prime Minister Thun has not invited the representative of SCNU, the fourth largest fraction, to negotiations, the Ukrainian and Slovenian deputies had opinions on transition to opposition. In the run-up to the autumn session the head of the government has held meeting with representatives of SHNS. However, instead of one of heads of fraction F. Povše, Thun has invited A. Ferjančič that has angered Catholic deputies led by J.E. Krek. In particular, on September 23, 1898 the leadership of the Catholic National Party has said that the Slovenian deputies have to leave the only government coalition and enter into opposition. J.E. Krek’s proposal on SCNU exit from the only government coalition did not receive the necessary majority at a meeting of fraction on September 29, 1898. Such idea was opposed also by the Ukrainian deputies (Krek, 1933, 82).

It is necessary to notice that insignificant progress of Ukrainians and Slovenes was caused also by internal contradictions in their environments. In particular, F. Šuklje noted incompetence of one of leaders of Slovenes of F. Povše: “Though Povše actually was considered as an expert in agriculture, he had no those qualities which are necessary for the chairman of bigger deputy group. Soon we understood lack of the higher education and communication with the head of club in because discussions in club became more and more seldom and, of course, really insignificant” (Šuklje, 1995, 82).

Crisis was the integral element of existence of parliamentary majority (and the Vienna parliament in a cadence of 1897–1900 in general). In parliament there was regularly a question of integrity and coordination of actions, an exit of separate fractions because of internal contradictions. On November 27, 1899 Young Czechs deputies actually destroyed the coalition, having announced obstruction, than paralyzed work of parliament. Ukrainians accused “The Polish circle” which blocked M. Bielinskyi’s project of aggravation of a situation (Ruslan, 18. 11. 1899, 1). The decision on convocation of the temporary parliamentary commission for development of the language bill is as a result made, however Czechs did not support this offer and continued to block work of parliament. On December 16, 1899 SCNU introduced the bill on nationalities providing a solution of the problem of national equality in monarchy (Ruslan, 8. 12. 1899, 2) in parliament but also it did not yield result. The publication of the Kracow conservatives of “Czas” was indignant with the Ukrainian initiatives, noting that they should not bring up the Ukrainian question in parliament. At the same time, the Czech conservative newspaper “Politik” warned Poles against the conflicts with SCNU, especially during crisis of the

parliamentary coalition. In return, “Ruslan” noted that indifference of the central and local authorities to the Ukrainian requirements induced the Ukrainian deputies to change tactics from SCNU (Ruslan, 1. 10. 1898, 1). Considering extremely tangled situation in the majority which did not suit any of its participants, the question of expediency of stay in the coalition became debatable not only for Young Czechs (obstruction turned out to be consequence of what), but also in Slavic fraction. In particular, the member of SCNU I. Hrobelskyi in the letter to O. Barvinskyi of October 30, 1898 noted inefficiency of stay in the coalition.

Considerably drawing up the mandate of one of his leaders of I. Šusteršič in connection with impossibility to combine deputy and lawyer activity influenced further work of SCNU.

Due to this situation in the agenda of SCNU there was a question of expediency and further to remain in parliamentary majority, so, to support the governments. Intense discussions took place in the autumn of 1898. Almost at the same time there took place congresses of the Slovenian politicians in Ljubljana (on September 22) and the Ukrainian deputies of Galician diet and Vienna parliament in Stanislavov (on September 23). At both meetings the attitude of the coalition and the government towards the Slovenian and Ukrainian national demands was criticized. Slovenes decided to leave parliamentary majority though they eventually did not realize this step.

Constructive work of parliament and the decision of social and national problems were made it impossible by also regular changes of the governments – during activity of their cadence there were 6 of them. Instability of the governments and consequently, the political situation, it is caused by the acute crisis caused by language decrees for the Czech’s lands of the Prime Minister K. Badeni, published on April 6, 1897. According to them, the German and Czech languages acquired the equal rights in office-work of administrative and legal agencies. Decreased to sharply negative reaction practically of all German political environments of the monarchy, mass protests, radicalization, growth of the German nationalism, Pan-German and, as a result, anti-Slavic moods among German population. With respect there to intense discussions in the Vienna parliament developed even into mass fights of deputies, and the German obstruction was replaced by Czech (Łazuga, 2013, 208–246).

Even under so extremely adverse conditions of policy with SCNU tried to convince all new prime ministers of need of implementation of their projects. During discussion of the government program of the Prime Minister F. Thun appointed in March, 1898 on behalf of SCNU his cochairman – the Slovenian deputy I. Šusteršič acted. He noted that the offered program “is too impartial” because of what it can be interpreted in different ways. Besides, in it the position of the government on national, peasant and religious questions is not opened. And still SCNU considered more important not the text of the program, but concrete work therefore I. Šusteršič on behalf of fraction trusted the government (Ruslan, 1. 10. 1898, 2). And though the prime minister declared desire to cooperate with the parliamentary coalition and created the special commission for preparation of the bill on the international relations in the empire, his focus only on the Czech-German problem caused discontent of Slavic fraction.

As a result – again there was a question of further stay of SCNU in parliamentary majority. “Ruslan” explained such discussions with an unwillingness of fraction to further expect favor from the government (Ruslan, 26. 6. 1898, 1).

In June, 1899 the meeting of committee of the parliamentary coalition with F. Thun's participation took place. Representatives of SCNU defended further need of the solution of a language problem at the same time for all edges, having secured with support of the Czech deputies. Together they suggested to bring this question in the program of the coalition, however this idea was supported neither by “Polish circle”, nor the Austrian “Catholic center”, nor the prime minister for whom and further priority was permission of the German-Czech conflict (Ruslan, 30. 5. 1899, 1).

Essential claims Ukrainians and Slovenes had also to the new government of M. Clary. On October 5, 1899 at the meeting of ruling coalition the decision on the fastest preparation of the bill on settlement of the language relations in the monarchy and also is made on appointment of the new government which would consider offers of parliamentary majority. The Ukrainian deputies positively apprehended this position of the coalition (Ruslan, 26. 9. 1899, 1), the similar position was taken by all SCNU fraction. But the role of the transitional government of M. Clary, according to wishes of the emperor, had to come down only to liquidation of language orders of K. Badeni and settling of the major affairs of the monarchy (Łazuga, 2013, 239). Considering it, the government did not even try to resolve the ethnic question in the state.

More positively cooperation with the following president of ministers – E. Körber whose negotiations with fractions of the majority were completed successfully began, and in March, 1900 the unity of the majority is renewed. However, the requirements of the Czech deputies were not fulfilled, and they continued blocking of work of parliament. “The Polish circle” left the coalition and SCNU addressed Czechs with the offer to suspend blocking and again to enter negotiations with the government. These attempts were vain. The coalition actually broke up, and possible dissolution of parliament became more and more real (Ruslan, 15. 2. 1900, 2; Ruslan, 24. 2. 1900, 1).

After final disintegration of parliamentary majority representatives of SCNU, Old Czechs and the Center decided to keep interfractional solidarity to demand from the government of specific actions on introduction of national equality. A new coalition, “New Right” (as it was dubbed in the press), which had only 57 members, the only one that declared its desire to protect the interests of all Slavic peoples of the Habsburg monarchy. The fidelity of the monarchy and Christian foundations, and a main objective – protection of the national and religious interests of the represented people were the main bases of new association. The new block intended to rely on Christian outlook in public and public affairs (Ruslan, 31. 5. 1900, 1; Ruslan, 22. 6. 1900, 1). However, because of incapacity of the Vienna parliament on September 8, 1900 the emperor Franz Joseph I issued the decree about dissolution of the lower house of parliament and called new elections.

It should be noted that Ukrainians and Slovenians tried to support each other not only in parliament. In particular, the Slov Carniolian enian diet in Ljubljana appealed to rise in common in Galician diet in defense of the rights of Slavic students against prosecution by the German students (Ruslan, 27. 1. 1898, 2). Ukrainians

welcomed Slovenes with transfer of relics of the outstanding Slovenian linguist and philologist of Jernej Kopitar from Vienna to Ljubljana. About it the editorial office of the newspaper “*Ruslan*” sent the telegram where, in particular, in Slovenian it was noted: “*Živeli Slovenci! Živela rusinsko-slovenska vzajemnost*” (Long live the Slovenes! Long live rusino-slovenian reciprocity) (*Ruslan*, 1.10.1897, 1897, 3). With assistance of Slovenians the Ukrainian deputies tried to improve cultural and educational position of Ukrainians of Galicia. In particular, O. Barvinskyi with assistance of the coalition demanded from the Minister of Education of establishment of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Ternopil. Thanks to what on October 14, 1898 it was solemnly open.

CONCLUSION

The union in one faction of southern Slavs and Ukrainians, two ethnic groups living far away from each other, was a unique phenomenon in Viennese parliament. They were also united by the fact that both Slovenes and Ukrainians were “small”, agrarian and Slavonic nations within the Habsburg empire. The research of cooperation of the Ukrainian and Slovenian deputies in the Vienna parliament shows that progress which all participants of SCNU managed to reach, including to the Ukrainian deputies. Nearly for the first time the Polish or Czech Slavic fraction played an important role in Vienna, was an active player as on directly parliamentary and secret stage. For the first time existence of parliamentary majority substantially depended on Ukrainians, Slovenes or Croats, and it was forced to consider the government. It is possible to assume that only deep crisis of parliament because of the German-Czech opposition and, as a result, a paralysis of its activity at first German left and nationalists, and subsequently Czechs, did not allow representatives of SCNU to increase the achievements. However, even reached it appeared enough to show success of real policy, sharply criticized at that time the Ukrainian oppositional *narodovets*, radicals and Russophiles. The context not only purely parliamentary, but also personal and cultural became important.

The prospect of a research of this perspective opens a possibility of comparative analysis of Social-Christians movements of the Slavic people of Cisleithania which representatives were the Christian public from SCNU.

SODELOVANJE UKRAJINSKIH IN SLOVENSКИH POSLANCEV V DUNAJSKEM PARLAMENTU KONEC 19. STOLETJA

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POVZETEK

V članku so analizirana sodelovanja ukrajinskih in slovenskih poslancev v dunajskem parlamentu kot del skupine – »Slovanska krščanska narodna zveza«. Delovanje skupine je bila posledica skupnih interesov njenih udeležencev za nacionalno enakost. Raziskane so glavne stopnje aktivnosti skupine in dejavniki, ki so vplivali na njeno učinkovitost. Ta skupina je bila skoraj edina v avstrijskem parlamentu za obdobje 1897–1900, ki je bila na pozicijah nacionalne enakosti in je varovala interese Slovanov. Analizirana je bila aktivnost poslancev skupine v zvezi z izboljšanjem socioalno-ekonomske, kulturne in izobraževalne situacije Ukrajincev in Slovencev v avstro-ogrski monarhiji. Metodologija raziskave temelji na principih historicizma, sistematičnega pristopa, znanstvenega pristopa, pristopa preverjanja, avtorjeve objektivnosti, zmernega pripovednega konstruktivizma, kot tudi na uporabi splošno-znanstvenih (analiza, sinteza, generalizacija) in posebnih zgodovinskih (zgodovinsko-genetskih, zgodovinsko-tipoloških, zgodovinsko-sistemskih) metod.

Ključne besede: Dunajski parlament, Slovanska krščanska narodna zveza, socialno-krščansko gibanje, Slovenci, Ukrajinci

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