

sense about them; still, their enthusiastic attitude toward you springs from such a pure and noble source that you ought not to have betrayed them neck and crop to both your common enemies and accused them into the bargain of wanting to misinterpret your works. You, of course, did that while carried away by the main idea of your book and through indiscretion, while Vyazemsky, that prince in aristocracy and helot in literature, developed your idea and printed a personal denunciation against your admirers (and consequently mostly against me). He probably did this to show his gratitude to you for having exalted him, the poetaster, to the rank of great poet, if I remember rightly for his "pithless, dragging verse." That is all very bad. That you were merely biding your time in order to give the admirers of your talent their due as well (after having given it with proud humility to your enemies)—I was not aware; I could not, and, I must confess, did not want to know it. It was your book that lay before me and not your intentions: I read and reread it a hundred times, but I found nothing in it that was not there, and what was there deeply offended and incensed my soul.

Were I to give free rein to my feelings this letter would probably grow into a voluminous notebook. I never thought of writing you on this subject though I longed to do so and though you gave all and sundry printed permission to write you without ceremony with an eye to the truth alone. Were I in Russia I would not be able to do it, for the local "Shpekings" open other people's letters not merely for their own pleasure but as a matter of official duty, for the sake of informing. This summer incipient consumption has driven me abroad, [and Nekrasov has forwarded me your letter to Salzbrunn which I am leaving today with Annenkov for Paris via Frankfort-on-Main]. The unexpected receipt of your letter has enabled me to unburden my soul of what has accumulated there against you on account of your book. I cannot express myself by halves, I cannot prevaricate; it is not in my nature. Let you or time itself prove to me that I am mistaken in my conclusions. I shall be the first to rejoice in it, but I shall not repent what I have told you. This is not a question of your or my personality, it concerns a matter which is of greater importance than myself or even you; it is a matter which concerns the truth, Russian society, and Russia. And this is my last concluding word: If you have had the misfortune of disowning with proud humility your truly great works, you should now disown with sincere humility your last book, and atone for the dire sin of its publication by new creations which would be reminiscent of your old ones.

Salzbrunn, July 15, 1847.

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Russo-Ukrainian Relations in the Nineteenth Century

Russo-Ukrainian relations have for years been one of the most misunderstood, not only by Russians and Ukrainians themselves, but even more importantly by the outside world. Misconception on all sides has stemmed primarily from a mistaken belief that the two peoples are the same; that is, both are Slavic, both are predominantly Orthodox in faith, and since the middle of the seventeenth century they have had political, administrative, and economic links.

These simplistic perceptions (that have some adherents even today) were first seriously challenged in the nineteenth century when, influenced by a rising tide of national awakening, Ukrainians began to search for their national roots as the first step to independent political existence. This search assumed numerous forms, including organization in the 1840's of the Saints Cyril and Methodius Society. Russian authorities became greatly alarmed by Ukrainian aspirations for independent (or even equal) existence, since they were well aware that the loss of Ukraine, rich in natural resources, would create catastrophic economic and geopolitical consequences for Russia. For that reason harsh measures were taken against any manifestation of "Ukrainophilism," including prohibition of publishing anything in the Ukrainian language. It goes without saying that it was an ill-advised and short-sighted policy.

Statute and Rules of the Cyril-Methodius Society

Main Ideas

1. We believe that spiritual and political unity of Slavs is their true destiny toward which they all should strive.
2. We believe that after the unification each Slavic nation should have its own independence. We recognize the following [Slavic] nations: South Russians, North Russians and Belorussians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Lusatians, Ilirian Serbs and Croats, and Bulgars.
3. We believe that every nation should have its own national government

The following text of the program of the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius and two of its appeals are from *Byloe (The Past)*, No. 2 (February 1906), pp. 66-68. Translation mine. Words in brackets are mine.

and should subscribe to complete equality of citizens regardless of their birth, religious belief, or social status.

4. We believe that governments, laws, right of private property, and education of all the Slavs should be based on the teachings of the Holy religion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. We believe that under such equality both education and moral standards should serve as a basis for participation in the affairs of government.

6. We believe that there should exist a general Slavic Assembly consisting of representatives of all [Slavic] nations.

Basic Rules of the Society

1. We are organizing a society whose basic aim is to disseminate the above stated ideas, primarily through the education of youth, through literature, and through the increase of membership of the society. The society selects as its patrons the saintly educators Cyril and Methodius, and accepts as its symbol a chain link and an icon with the name or image of these saints.

2. Upon joining the society every member will take an oath pledging gifts, work, fortune, and public contacts to attain the aims of the society; and should he undergo persecution or even torture for ideas advocated by the society, after taking the oath, no member is allowed to compromise other members who are his brothers.

3. In case a member falls into enemy hands and leaves behind a needy family the society will help it.

4. Every member who joins the society can opt a new member without revealing to him the names of other members of the society.

5. Slavs of all nations and occupations are eligible to become members of the society.

6. Absolute equality must prevail among members of the society.

7. Because Slavic nations currently profess diverse religious faiths and have national prejudices against each other, the society will strive to remove all national and religious animosities among them and will disseminate among them the idea that differences among Christian churches may possibly be accommodated.

8. The society will strive to eliminate at the earliest possible moment serfdom and all other forms of discrimination against lower classes, and at the same time will seek to spread literacy everywhere.

9. The society as a whole and every member individually should base their activity on Christian principles of love, kindness, and suffering. The society considers godless the maxim that the end justifies the means.

10. Those members of the society who live in a given area may hold their

own meetings and adopt their own rules to guide their activity. These rules, however, should not contradict the basic ideas and rules of the society.

11. No members shall reveal the existence and composition of the society to those who are neither joining it nor have expressed any desire of joining it.

Appeals of the Society

Brother Ukrainians!

We present for your consideration the following statements. Consider whether these points are beneficial:

1. We believe that all Slavs should unite.

2. But [at the same time we believe that] every nation should be an independent republic and should govern itself independently; that every nation should use its own language and its literature; and that it should have its own political system. We recognize the following nations [in the future Pan-Slav Union]: Great Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Lusatians, Croats, Ilirian Serbs and Bulgars.

3. There should be organized a parliament or a Slavic Assembly where deputies would come from all Slavic republics and would deliberate and decide on matters that affect the entire Slavic Union.

4. Every republic should have its own administrator elected for a specified period of time. The union as a whole should have a similar administrator also elected for a specified period of time.

5. Universal equality and freedom should prevail in every republic and classes should be abolished everywhere.

6. Elected representatives and other officials [in every republic] should be chosen by the people not on the basis of birth or property qualification but by virtue of their intelligence and education.

7. Christian belief should be the foundation for legislation and public order in the Union as a whole as well as in every republic.

Here, brother Ukrainians, inhabitants of the Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper [River], we offer you this for your consideration. Read it carefully and let each individual decide how best to accomplish all this or even to improve it. There is a proverb that says where there are many heads there is also much wisdom. Think seriously about all this, and when the time comes for you to express yourself God will endow you with reason and understanding.

Great Russian and Polish Brothers!

This appeal to you comes from the Ukraine, your younger sister whom you have crucified and divided, but who not only wants to forget this evil

but who actually sympathizes with your misfortunes and is ready to shed the blood of her children for your freedom. Read this brotherly appeal, consider the vital matter of your own salvation, and awake from your dream and drowsiness. Eliminate in your hearts the foolish hatred toward one another, as this hatred was implanted there by the tsars and masters in order to eliminate our freedom. Become ashamed of the yoke which you carry on your shoulders, become ashamed of your corruption. Place a curse on the sacrilegious name of the earthly tsar and the landlord. Abandon the spirit of distrust which you have acquired from German and Latin nations. Abandon the spirit of stubbornness which the Tartars have implanted in you. Adopt Slavic natural love toward mankind, and remember also your brothers who are still oppressed either in the silk chains of the Germans or under the rule of the Turks. Let the following be the aim of life of every one of you: Slavic Union, universal equality, brotherhood, peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

*A Report to Nicholas I by Count A. F. Orlov, Chief of Gendarmes,
Concerning the Activity of the Saints Cyril and
Methodius Society, May 1848*

Your Majesty!

It was discovered recently that young scholars in Kiev, almost all of whom are natives of Little Russia [that is, Ukraine], have organized the Ukrainian Slavic Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius. The organizers of the society include: Collegial Secretary [P.] Hulak[-Artemovskii], Adjutant [N.] Kostomarov, and Candidate Belozerskii. With them are also other young people, mostly students of Saint Vladimir University [in Kiev].

The principal aim of the Society is to help unite other Slavic nations to Russia, but their methods call for arousing their spirit of self-esteem. They hope to accomplish this goal by removing from their customs and traditions all foreign influences, by eliminating all hostilities and discords among them, by promoting the Orthodox faith among them, and by organizing schools among them and publishing books for common people.

A statute was found among some followers of this Ukrainian Slavic Society, who were not actual members. Its provisions call for the establishment among all Slavs of a national representative government. Also found was a manuscript whose treasonable content elaborated on the statute, and another manuscript called "God's Commandments" or *Podnestrianka*, which represents a paraphrase of [Adam] Mickiewicz's *Pilgrims*, and abounds in revolutionary and

communist slogans, seditious appeals to other Slavic nations, and other treasonous statements.

It is essential to note that the idea of trying to introduce an independent language and literature for each Slavic nation, and the suggestion that all Slavic peoples be united in one nation is not the work of individuals actually associated with this Society. It is the effort of many scholars [called Slavophiles] who are currently engaged in studying the Slavs.

In Kiev and throughout Little Russia this Slavophilism is being transformed into Ukrainophilism. There, young people are seriously trying to establish [an independent] language, literature and customs for Little Russia. They even hope to return to the earlier times of Cossack freedoms and to the Hetman state.

All of those who are associated with the Ukrainian Slavic Society are natives of Little Russia, and are also Ukrainophiles. All of them, including artist[-poet Taras] Shevchenko, and his former teachers Kulish and Kostomarov, have expressed in their works an erroneous view on current conditions in Ukraine. They argue that Ukraine is presently in a sad situation and they speak with great enthusiasm about the earlier days of Little Russia and attribute great significance to her. They portray her history as the most illustrious of all nations and describe the raids of the *haidamaks* as a manifestation of their knighthood. Finally, they also cite examples of their former freedoms, noting that this spirit of freedom has not vanished and that it is hidden within them.

Shevchenko's poetry in the Little Russian language, and especially such of his manuscripts as "The Dream," "A Message for the Living and the Dead," "The Three Souls," and others embody libelous and, to a considerable extent, insolent content, while the rest is really outrageous.

1. In accordance with [an earlier] imperial decree concerning this Ukrainian Slavic Society, all guilty persons have been severely punished and, in addition, it has been resolved that the following works, which already have been published, not be allowed to be distributed or sold: Shevchenko's *Kobzar* (1840); Kulish's *Ukraine* (1843), and *A History of the Ukrainian People* (1846); and Kostomarov's *Ukrainian Ballads* (1839), and his *A Branch*, published in 1840 under the pseudonym of Jeremiah Halka.

2. Adjutant-Generals Bibikov [in charge of Kiev, Podolie, and Volyn *Gubernias*] and Kokoshkin [in charge of Kharkov, Poltava, and Chernigov *Gubernias*] should be instructed that distribution of Shevchenko's poetry as well as the manuscript "God's Commandments" and similar disgraceful works not be allowed to be distributed [in those regions]. The same prohibition should apply to the idea of earlier [Ukrainian] freedoms, to the Hetman state and to the alleged right [of Ukraine] to an independent existence. They should

also be instructed to pay attention to the activities of everyone who is conducting research on the antiquity, history, and literature of Little Russia, and to use every subtle way and means, but without revealing any obvious evidence of persecution, to curtail every manifestation or abuse of inquiry in those areas without antagonizing the natives of Little Russia.

3. The Minister of Public Education, who already has taken appropriate steps in guiding scholarly research to deal with the nationality problem, the language, [and] the literary works of native Russians, should be instructed by an imperial decree that henceforth teachers and writers, acting in conformity with the spirit and intent of the policy of our government, should not introduce in their lectures, books, or articles any notion of Russia's trying to annex other Slavic nations; that they should not discuss any problem that is within the sphere of governmental and not of scholarly competence; that, as much as possible, they should avoid discussing the nationality and language problems concerning Little Russia and all other subject nations of Russia without giving preference to the love of family over that of country or empire; that they should avoid everything that in any way could harm affection for the empire, especially in light of current deplorable conditions and the alleged idyllic times [Russia's] subjects enjoyed in the past; that no research by scholars and popular writers should be allowed to depict Little Russia, Poland, and other countries as entities distinct from the Russian Empire and the unity it represents; and that all censors should pay very careful attention to works published in Moscow, Kiev, and Kharkov and to all books published in the Slavophile spirit which these people use and which, while containing no outright evil intentions, nevertheless may persuade some individuals with evil designs to conclude that there are some reasons for independence and freedoms for Russia's subjects.

An Anonymous Appeal to the Citizens of Kiev to Rebel, 1848

The hour of freedom has arrived at last. Finally we have an opportunity to take revenge against our oppressors and tyrants. All enlightened nations have thrown off their oppressive yokes. Now it is our turn to do the same in order to become, like them, free and happy. Freedom and equality, which have been emphasized in the Bible, have now been established in all states of Europe. Now Rus too is thinking of implementing this sacred goal.

Great people, take courage! You, too, will soon be freed from your shackles. All you have to do is gather your strength and move against your enemies with full determination and belief in the sanctity of your cause. Because God is with you, no human force is capable of stopping you.

Citizens of Kiev! We are directing our message especially to you. You live in a holy and good city which has fallen into the hands of a vicious Tatar servant named Bibikov [who, in 1848, was Governor-General of Kiev *Gubernia*]. With the help of his favorite and flatterer, [named] Pisarev, he is oppressing you in every possible way. He is even ready to drink your blood if you do not wake up and terminate his impudence.

Do not be afraid of bayonets or guns with which they may threaten you. Russian soldiers will not rise against Russian compatriots. On the contrary, they will join their own people and in concert they will rebel against the common enemies of the fatherland and of our faith. Russian warriors! Your superiors are directing you against many other nations, chiefly because those nations wish your well-being and freedom. For that reason do not believe the perfidious promises of your leaders and do not forget that when you suppress [other nations], you are actually creating for yourselves new shackles and new oppression.

An Anonymous Appeal to Ukrainian Peasants to Rebel, 1862

An Appeal to All Decent People!

Dear People! Every day you see fires [around you]. Every day you see that villages and towns are set on fire. Do you know what causes them? Nobles want to deprive the poor people of everything so they would then be forced to work for them to earn their daily bread; they know that when the poor have nothing, when they are unable to heat their homes, and when they are unable to replenish their livestock, they will be in a desperate situation to make a living. When that happens, these nobles will set their own prices and will even lend them money in order to enslave the poor again. We will witness a repetition of the same process that affected your ancestors who originally were free but who later became serfs.

Good people! Nobles may even poison your livestock. They have the power to do it. The resolve, however, is yours, not theirs. When villages that belong to nobles are sometimes set on fire, these fires are the work of the enemies of nobles. And nobles are your enemies. Good people, rise up! Ask the oldtimers to tell you what the *baidamaks* did to nobles, how things were then, and how the *baidamaks* thanked nobles. Do what your ancestors did. This will reveal your strength, your will and your justice. When all of you

rise at once, no one will be able to stop you. You have numerical superiority. Rebel at once, and neither nobles nor the Muscovites will be able to stop you. There are more of you and justice is on your side. Nobles are unwilling to surrender their land to you. Yet the land is yours. Your grandfathers either fought for it or purchased it with their blood.

How long will you allow these exploiters to torture you? Good people, listen to me! Wait until everyone is ready and then rise in common—all of you—that is, serfs, cossacks, townsmen, and all honest people. If you will not rise, you will perish. Your masters, your eternal enemies, will reenslave you. They are responsible for fires. They hire Germans, they place shackles on you, they incite the Muscovites against you, and they beat you up! And they will do all of this for quite some time because you are afraid and because you do not have intestinal fortitude. This is exactly what local nobles like very much. Corrupt nobles tell you to be quiet because God allegedly wills it so! Good people! Do you believe that God wants to deceive people so cheaply?

Has the cossack glory disappeared [from your midst]? Do you want to become old men and see your children enslaved? What do you prefer? To be enslaved by nobles or to be masters in your own homes? Think carefully what is written in this appeal. Is this statement in any way a lie? I am telling you the honest truth. The time will come soon when we will cry like little children. Take a common oath and struggle against nobles for justice, for freedom, and for cossack glory. Fight against inequity because the end is near for nobles. All of you are free. All of you are equal. Your land, your right, your freedom is the kingdom of God! Tell each other what you have learned from this proclamation and make certain that nobles do not see it; because if they should discover it, they would put you in shackles and send you to Siberia, since they are very skilled in such matters. Nobles are afraid of dangerous souls and will try to prevent people from learning the truth. But, before you act, be aware most of all of local officials. Keep the content of this proclamation among yourselves, but do not wait too long because next year nobles will destroy all of you. . . .

A Project for Official Restrictions Against Ukrainian Publications, 1875

In order to stop an activity of the Ukrainophiles that is dangerous for the Empire, it appears that it would be desirable to adopt, pending further review, the following measures:

Source: Fedir Savchenko, *The Suppression of the Ukrainian Activities in 1876*. Reprint of the Kiev 1930 edition with an editor's preface . . . by Omeljan Pritsak and with an introduction by Basil Dmytryshyn. Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), pp. 381–83. Translation mine.

A. By the Ministry of Internal Affairs

1. All books that have been published abroad in the Little Russian dialect [that is, Ukrainian language] should not be allowed to enter into the Empire without first receiving a special import permit from the Main Department for Printed Matters.

2. Within the Empire there should be issued a decree prohibiting the publication in that dialect of all original works or translations, except historical documents, provided that if the latter are a part of the oral national tradition (such as songs, stories or proverbs) they may be published only in accordance with the rules of Russian orthography (and they cannot be published in accordance with the rules of the so-called "Kulishovka") [that is, Ukrainian orthography popularized by Panteleimon Kulish, a well-known nineteenth century Ukrainian writer and scholar].

Note I: Adoption of these measures would not be more than an expansion of the Imperial Resolution of July 3, 1863, which allowed the publication in the Little Russian dialect of only those works which were in the realm of belle-lettres literature. All other printed material in that dialect, whether of religious content or instructional, and that intended for elementary schools, was ordered to be terminated.

Note II: While keeping in force the intent of the Imperial Resolution, it still would be possible to allow the publication in the Little Russian dialect of works other than historical documents and belle-lettres, provided such works adhered to the rules of Russian orthography and received publication permits from the Main Department for Printed Matters upon prior review of each case.

3. All stage plays, librettos to musical composition, and public announcements (which form the current Ukrainophile manifestations) should be denied the opportunity of publication.

4. [The pro-Russian] newspaper *Slovo*, which is currently published in Galicia and which is hostile to the Ukrainophiles, should be supported and perhaps given a small but permanent subsidy [a marginal remark suggested that a sum of 1000 rubles annually should be allocated for that purpose], because without such a subsidy that newspaper could not exist and would have to terminate its operations. A Ukrainophile newspaper, *Pravda*, which is quite hostile to Russian interests, is published in Galicia with a substantial subsidy by the Poles [sic].

5. Suspend the publication of the newspaper *Kievskii Telegraf* [a marginal note says: "Because of its harmful effects"]. This action should be justified by the fact that its nominal editor, Snezhko-Blotskii, is totally blind and therefore cannot participate in the editorial activity. As a result the editorial direction of the newspaper is currently manipulated by individuals from a