# One Hundred Years in Galicia

## One Hundred Years in Galicia:

Events That Shaped Ukraine and Eastern Europe

Ву

Dennis Ougrin and Anastasia Ougrin

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



One Hundred Years in Galicia: Events That Shaped Ukraine and Eastern Europe

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Yosyfa Bienko, nee Vorobel 1886-1961 Mykhaylo Bienko 1872-1952 Andriy Shvak 1880-1946	Emiliya Shvak, nee Kanarchuk 1877-1959 Vladyslav Litynskyy 1863-1920 Yuliya Litynska, nee Bilynska-Slotylo	1868-1932 Antonina Melko, nee Melko 1885-1946 Yosyf Melko 1875-1934 Ivan Ougrin	1890-1930 Anna Ougrin, nee Voznichka 1887-1967 Kateryna Stawarska, nee Petryshyn 1895-1937 Mykola Stawarski 1875-1942 Mariya Hura. nee Karnyak	Tagorine Diaboha Tagorine Diaboha Tagorine Tagorine Diaboha Tagorine Tagori
Iryna Bienko-Schul 1918-2020 Marta Litynska, nee Schul 1949 Ivan Schul (Shvak)		Volodymyr Litynskyj 1946 Petronella Litynska, nee Melko 1912-2006	Mykhaylo Ougrin 1926-2016 Yaroslav Ougrin 1962 Kateryna Ougrin, nee Stawarska	Oksana Holovid, nee Hura 1920-2004 1962 Stepan Holovid 1918-1967
	Oksana Litynska 1976	Anastasia Ougrin 2002	Dennis Ougrin 1975	

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#### **FOREWORD**

My daughter Anastasia, who co-authored this book, was born on the 13th of June 2002 at Whipps Cross hospital in East London. She was the first child in my family to have been born outside of the Eastern European province of Galicia in approximately 1,000 years. This book is dedicated to understanding how the preceding 100 years had led to Anastasia's birth some 1,200 miles away from Galicia. Despite the bulk of this book addressing the last 100 years of Galician history, in this introduction, I will orient the readers to the origins of statehood in Galicia, which, like many other territories, claims a largely mythical 1,000-year-old story of state creation. The book is aimed at those people interested in Galicia and Galicians. I will aim to explain how Galicians perceive themselves, their neighbours and the world in general. Ultimately, should Anastasia or her children decide to live in Galicia, this book is designed to aid their understanding of Galician life.

Ukrainian Galicia is not to be confused with Spanish Galicia. Ukrainian Galicia, known as Galizien in German, Galicia in Polish, Галичина, Halychyna in Ukrainian and Rusyn, Галиция, Galiciya in Russian and גאַליציע, Galitsije, in Yiddish is seen through the eyes of Anastasia's ancestors. The story begins on the 13th of June 1902, exactly 100 years before Anastasia was born. Most of the events occur around two Galician cities, currently known as Lviv, in the West of Ukraine and Przemyśl in the East of Poland, where Anastasia's ancestors have lived for generations. After the Second World War, most events are linked to the city of Lviv. Over the 100 years, sovereignty over Galicia changed hands 10 times: the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire again, West Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainian People's Republic, Poland, Soviet Union, German Reich, Soviet Union again and finally independent Ukraine have all perceived Galicia to be part of their territory. Of all the major ethnic groups inhabiting Galicia, only Jews have never claimed Galicia as their own, much to my chagrin. I would much rather Galicia looked more like Israel and less like the Donetsk People's Republic. The official names of the two cities changed 10 times as well: Lemberg and Premissel in German, Львов (Latinised to Lvov) and Перемышль (Peremyshl) in Russian, Lwów and Przemyśl in Polish and x Foreword

Львів (Lviv) and Перемишль (Peremyshl) in Ukrainian. I will use the official names of these cities as they were used at the time about which I am writing, the idea originating from Phillippe Sands<sup>1</sup>.

Galicia, currently mainly within West Ukraine and South-East Poland and its smaller northern neighbour Volhynia, could be conceived of as a borderland of a borderland if one were to consider present-day Ukraine as a borderland between the Western and Eastern civilisations. Inhabited for many centuries by the omnipresent Celts, Galicia found herself on the migratory paths of many tribes during the Migration Period, eventually being populated by West and East Slavic tribes, again forming a borderline between the two. The fight between East Slavic tribes, primarily Ruthenians-Ukrainians and West Slavic tribes, primarily Lendians-Poles continued for some 1500 years until it was settled by none other than Generalissimo Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin who moved most Poles to present-day Poland and most Ukrainians to present-day Ukraine.

Galicia shared the fate of many other borderlands, such as Palestine and Lotharingia. As Lotharingia was given to one of the three sons of Charlemagne after the treaty of Verdun in 844, the principality of Galicia and Volhynia was eventually divided between the two sons of Roman the Great, a Ruthenian Prince of the Rurikid dynasty. Charlemagne King of Franks is not to be confused with Charlemagne tha God, an American rapper, whose work was highly regarded by Anastasia's friends in the early 21st century. Many of her friends were surprised to learn that Charlemagne tha God was not the only Charlemagne in the history of humankind. We don't know what Charlemagne King of Franks thought of trans women, unlike Charlemagne tha God who thought they "should go jail or something". We do, however, know that Charlemagne King of Franks thought Lotharingia had to be divided between his sons, the same thought that Roman had about Galicia-Volhynia. As a result of Roman's unexpected death, there was a long period of fighting between Galicia-Volhynia, Poland and Hungary, until eventually the land was returned to Ruthenian control and divided between Roman's two sons, Danylo (Daniel, later King Daniel the First and so far the last) who inherited Galicia and Vasylko (Basil) who inherited Volhynia. At times of political unity, Galicia-Volhynia stretched from nearly the shores of the Baltic Sea to as far south as Tyrras, Bilhorod Dnistrovsky of today, one of the oldest cities in Europe that still stands on the shore of the Black Sea near Odessa. King Daniel, or Daniel of Halych,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sands, Phillippe. East West Street: On the Origins of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity (2017) London: Weidenfeld&Nicholson

has a semi-mythical status amongst Ukrainians in Galicia. He was the ruler who built the biggest kingdom in Europe in the 13th century. He stopped the Mongol Empire from occupying the rest of Europe. He founded some of the key cities in Galicia, including Lviv, which he named after his son Leo, or Lev in Ukrainian. He was an astute diplomat who kept Galicia-Volhynia's powerful neighbours happy. He was the first Ruthenian prince to have been crowned a king, the honour having been bestowed upon him by a pope's representative in 1253. In return, Daniel was considering a unification of the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches in his kingdom, laying the foundations for the establishment of the Uniate Church in 1596. He clearly must have contributed to the fields of aviation and medicine as well. Both the main Lviv airport and the Lviv State Medical University bear his name.

Maps of Galicia, part of Austro-Hungarian Empire with current state borders.



West Galicia, predominantly populated by Poles is in dark grey and East Galicia, predominantly populated by Ruthenians (Ukrainians) is in light grey [A].

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A map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the district of Bukovina (Carte Nouvelle des Royaumes de Galizie et Lodomerie, avec le District de Bukowine, end of the 18th century) [B].

King Daniel, despite being clearly multitalented, was not able to guarantee the future of his kingdom. Similarly to Lotharingia, Galicia-Volhynia was repeatedly invaded by local powers: Hungary, Poland and Lithuania, eventually being partitioned in 1352 between Poland, that took over Galicia, and Lithuania, that took over Volhynia. The rivalry between Galicia and Volhynia continues to this day, including the all-important football rivalry between Karpaty Lviv and Volhyn Lutsk.

Galicia-Volhynia became known as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria when it became part of the Austrian Empire in 1772, following the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Anastasia benefitted from the partition in an unexpected way. As her parents became wealthier, they moved from Leytonstone in East London to Herne Hill in South London, a walking distance from Dulwich Picture Gallery. The Gallery is home to mostly 16th-18th century art, including some outstanding Flemish art collected for the last king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Stanisław Poniatowski. As the Commonwealth ceased to exist, the collectors found themselves in a rather delicate situation: they had a lot of art and no one to pay for it. The "Eureka" moment happened when they realised that local residents were prepared to part with their loose change to see a Rembrandt or two. That is how the world's first public art gallery opened its doors in 1817. Anastasia spent much of her childhood in or

around the gallery, including attending a wedding party with drunk guests having canapés next to the Old Masters.

From 1867, Galicia, by then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was predominantly administered by ethnic Poles as part of a general movement towards creating ethnic autonomies throughout the Empire. This was the time of a gradual restoration of the ancient Polish state that ruled Galicia, with a few brief interruptions, between 1352 and 1772. This was the time of a revival of Polish culture, political institutions and a restoration of privileges of the Polish nobility. Ruthenians, on the contrary, felt betrayed by Vienna. Galicia was predominantly populated by Poles in the West and by Ruthenians in the East. Ruthenians had demanded ethnic autonomy in the East of Galicia since at least 1848 and, when refused repeatedly, some turned towards Russia for support, creating a powerful Russophile movement. Those Ruthenians who were not content with the Russian vector created an alternative movement aimed at unifying Galician Ruthenians with their Eastern brethren, who were by then known as Ukrainians. Scared of Russia gaining influence in Galicia, Vienna agreed to offer some concessions to Ruthenians, including a wider range of village schools, allowing cooperative and credit union movements and emancipating serfs. Furthermore, Vienna agreed to appoint a pro-Ukrainian Andrey Sheptytsky as the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church aka the Uniate Church. a hybrid between Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic Churches, and equal status was given to Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Polish Roman Catholic priests. These concessions gave rise to a longstanding Russian claim that Ukrainians were invented by Austria. Be it as it may. Ukrainians who supported these reforms won decisively and the Russophile movement that opposed the reforms was substantially weakened by the beginning of the First World War.

The one person that Galicians associate most with the Austro-Hungarian Empire is *unser gutte Keiser Franz*, a Habsburg monarch of Galicia. Franz Joseph II ruled the Austrian, and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1848 to his death in 1916, one of the longest-reigning monarchs in the history of Europe. He went through a number of phases in his approach to keeping his Empire going, from a harsh suppression of any dissent early in his career, to proposing a voluntary confederation of nation states, not dissimilar to the European Union of today. The confederation was supposed to include a Polish autonomy in West Galicia and a Ukrainian autonomy in East Galicia. One of the problems of this division was the status of Lemberg, a predominantly Polish city surrounded by a sea of Ukrainian villages. The problem was not resolved during Franz Joseph's lifetime.

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An extension of his confederation policy was the innovative idea of creating a Habsburg monarch for each of the autonomous nation states. Franz Joseph's choice for the Polish sovereign fell on Archduke Karl Stephan. Karl Stephan grew up speaking Polish, showed a great admiration for the Polish culture and an even greater animosity to the enemies of the Polish state, including Ukrainians. In an ironic twist of history, his son, Archduke Wilhelm, decided to adopt a Ukrainian identity. He became an officer of a Ukrainian detachment in the Austrian army, chose the name of Vasyl Vyshyvany (Basil the Embroided), was a serious contender for the mantle of both Galicia and Eastern Ukraine, refused to collaborate with Soviet Ukraine and died, unrepentant, in a Kyiv prison in 1948.

The Empire and the House of Habsburg generally enjoyed popularity amongst Ukrainians which persists to this day. The Empire is referred to as "grandma Austria", West Ukrainian cuisine is similar to other Central European cuisines, and one of Lviv's most important cathedrals is named after Elizabeth, Franz Joseph's wife.

Unlike Poles and Ukrainians, Jews in Galicia had no realistic prospect of a nation state or a monarch of their own. Although they constituted over 10% of the population at the beginning of the 20th century and, despite a great deal of emancipation, the majority of Jews lived in poverty. The Jewish-Galician community, however, was politically active, culturally advanced and economically successful. They produced the first daily Yiddish language newspaper in the world, Lemberger Togblat, four Nobel Prize winners and a universally loved Gefilte fish, which sentimental Galitzianer Jews would add sugar to, an affront to Litvak Jews who considered themselves to be rational intellectuals, and despised emotional Galitzianers. Anastasia's ancestors would serve Gefilte fish which they called *ryba po zhydivsky* during Christmas and Easter holidays, with no irony detected by anyone.

Germanisation of Galicia, promoted by Franz Joseph at the beginning of his reign, was halted towards the end of the 19th century. Although less than 1% of the population considered themselves German, most educated people were nonetheless fluent in German and some families adopted an almost exclusively German way of life.

Despite the definite popularity of the Empire, Galicia was the poorest part of it. She had a status similar to that of a colony, with very little industrial development, and a focus on extracting natural resources such as oil (4% of the worldwide output in 1909) and agricultural produce as well as providing

an endless source of recruits for the Austrian army. Being a source of wheat and slaves seems to have been the main selling point of the territories that later became Ukraine, from the times of Greek colonies in the 6th century BC to the present day.

By June 1902, when I begin this story, Galicia was poor, with unresolved national conflicts and a great admiration for the Empire that ruled over her. She also provided fertile ground for the rapid development of Jewish, Polish and Ukrainian cultures and her GDP per capita was still about twenty-five percent greater than the per capita GDP of the Russian Empire. That Galicia, in many ways forgotten and overlooked, is still with us today. She looks over us through the green eyes of the muses on the roof of the Lviv Opera House. She offers us clothes made by the bronze Jewish Galician tailor on 7th Avenue in New York. She teases our noses and palates by offering us coffee with a poppyseed cake in the Rynek Square in Przemyśl. And she touches us ever so gently when on the 1st of January we sit down to listen to the Blue Danube waltz, alas not composed by Brahms, in the *sehr bequem* chairs of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in the former heart of the former capital of the former largest land empire within Europe. The first two chapters of this book cover the dying years of that Empire.

#### ANASTASIA'S FOREWORD

Despite spending most of my childhood in the greys and greens of South-East London, my upbringing was fervently blue and yellow. I would yearn for the long summer days I spent in my grandparent's village, sunlight beaming down on me. It was instilled in me that I was a Ukrainian girl, not an English girl with Ukrainian parents. With such an emphasis on taking pride in the country that I was from; it was hard to not take an interest in the history which shaped Ukrainians into the intensely nationalistic people that they are. I discovered a land of great suffering and trauma, the perpetrators of which had not yet been forgiven. I discovered a land often overlooked in Western history, associated with Russia to the extent that it took a war for many to realise that it was not the same country. I discovered a land of rolling hills, of golden fields of beauty and of soul. I hope that in reading this, you too will feel her sunbeams on your skin.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Our list of people to thank is both long and short. It would be extremely long if we were foolish enough to list all relatives and friends who contributed to this book by sharing their memories. It would become rather short if we would just acknowledge Oksana Litynska, our mum and wife. She has been both a critical eye and a supportive shoulder and, without taking this anatomical metaphor too far, a stable base. We would like to specifically acknowledge Sophie *Syniy Sveter* Kenelm, Anastasia's friend who was patient enough to read the entire book and kind enough not to slaughter it totally. We also must acknowledge Anna Shevchenko, who improved the book, Benny Dembitzer, Semyon Gluzman and Roald Hoffman who contributed to its content and, above all to Iryna Bienko-Schul, Anastasia' great-grandma who shared her incisive insights and astute observations spanning most of the 100 years in Galicia.

#### CHAPTER ONE

#### 1902-1914

On the 13th of June 1902, exactly 100 years before Anastasia was born, Wiener Zeitung promised a cold summer day. One of the oldest daily newspapers in the world still published today, Wiener Zeitung primarily featured articles about imperial business. Galicia, part of the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was hardly mentioned, except in relation to land taxes. Taxation was hotly debated in the parliament that week as the Empire needed money for the upcoming wars. Galicia had a second brief mention concerning a rather poor performance of the Galician banking sector. Even in the weather section, the news was not good: Wiener Zeitung was promising rainy weather in Galicia and throughout the Empire with temperatures ranging from 17°C in Lesina, modern-day Italy, to 13°C in Tarnopol and Bregenz. Neither Lemberg nor Premissel was featured in any way.

The Empire was dealing with an outbreak of swine flu, this emergency occupied the front page of the newspaper. Just over a hundred years later, Alleyns, Anastasia's school, would be the first to be closed due to the 2009 swine flu pandemic. The Empire was otherwise solid, and his Apostolic Majesty Franz Joseph II was steering it firmly towards further expansion into *Bosniens und der Hercegovina* whilst bestowing a rain of titles, state decorations and promotions onto his loyal subjects, all of which were listed by the newspaper. Anastasia's ancestors were spread out in the predominantly Ruthenian (later called Ukrainian) villages around Lemberg and Premissel and, with the possible exception of the outbreak of swine flu, were in all likelihood entirely uninterested in the activities of his Apostolic Majesty.



Wiener Zeitung, 13 June 1902 [C].

Closer to home, Gazeta Lwówska, a Polish daily published in Lemberg, was confirming in more detail all of the appointments, resignations and distinctions bestowed upon residents of Galicia, primarily Poles and Germans. The only part of the newspaper mentioning Ruthenians was again quoting the recent parliamentary debates, where Lew Lewicki, a Ruthenian ambassador to the Parliament was bemoaning the ever-growing Polish domination in Galicia, specifically pushing for the establishment of a Ruthenian university in Lemberg. Jews were not mentioned at all in that issue of Gazeta Lwówska.

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Which of these papers were Anastasia's ancestors likely to read? Here is the rough guide to those of her ancestors alive in 1902. There were sixteen great-great-grandparents.

The distribution of Anastasia's great-great-grandparents' backgrounds was a little atypical; most Ruthenians, who were just starting to call themselves Ukrainians, were either peasants or priests or, in Polish, "chlopy and popy". By adulthood, about 10 of the 16 great-great-grandparents would be able to read and write in Ruthenian, 8 in Polish and 4 in German. None were able to communicate in Yiddish, although all were using a substantial number of Yiddish words in the everyday speech, especially for comical effect, in anger or to indicate revulsion. To this day all Galicians know that a schnobel should be best kept out of your boss's tuches and a young schiksa could start a major reivach when cheated during a gescheft.

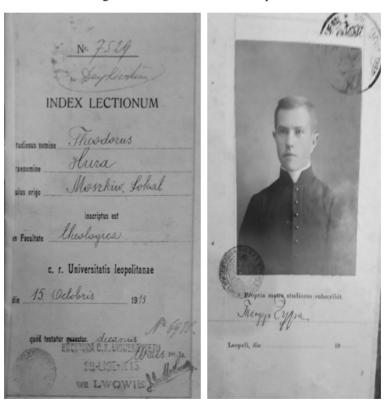
Life in Galician villages was harsh. The population of each of the villages consisted primarily of Ruthenians/Ukrainians of Greek Catholic faith, a version of the Catholic Church that retained traditions of Eastern Christianity. These included a married clergy and long Sunday masses that would sometimes last for two or more hours and would often result in children and the elderly having syncopal attacks. Religious ceremonies featured in all major social events in Galicia.

The unmarried clergy of the church, from which the higher ranks were chosen, provided a sanctuary for smart gay men. The problem of paedophilia in the church, due to a mostly married clergy, was less common than in churches with celibate priests. However, if these priests are not burning in hell for paedophilia, many might be singed by the infernal flames due to indulging in ceremonial wine beyond expectations. Andrey Sheptytsky, a recently elected head of the Greek Catholic Church, blew some of the dust off this venerable but suffocating social institution. The tweedier section of the church, under his command, worked on developing educational establishments, including the fight for a Ruthenian university.

Most villages had some Polish minority population. Poles were Roman Catholics, mainly involved with administration and teaching. Each village also had two or three Jewish families, mainly occupied in the inn-keeping business and a sprinkling of other nationalities, primarily itinerant Romanies who were Roman Catholic, but also retained elements of their traditional beliefs.

The demographic situation in most Galician towns was dramatically different from that in the villages. Poles, Ruthenians and Jews were roughly equal in numbers, with the exception of Lemberg, predominantly populated by the Poles at just over 50%, followed by Jews at 25% with a minority of Ruthenians of some 12%. The rest of the population was made up of Germans, Armenians and many others.

Let's introduce some of the family. On Anastasia's father's side, there were the Hura-Karpyak and the Ougrin-Stawarski tandems. The Huras and the Karpyaks were priests and landowners who enjoyed relative wealth, whereas both the Ougrins and the Stawarskis were peasants.



Academic records of Teodor Hura, Lemberg University 1913. Picture by Anastasia Ougrin

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Teodor Hura, Anastasia's great-great-grandfather was the first in his family to go to University. He worked as a priest in and around Premissel. He studied theology and then, just before his ordination as a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, married Mariya Karpyak. She was not the first in her family to finish a high school, in her case, the Premissel gymnasium for girls, but she was the first in her family to speak Ukrainian. Her parents, who spoke only Polish and German were, however, aware of their Ruthenian origins. Small landowners, they made a conscious decision to send their daughter to a Ukrainian school, in line with many other families who caught the bug of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian national revival. Oksana, Anastasia's greatgrandma, used to tease her Polish-speaking grandparents calling them Polish, which invariably led to a furious response which Oksana clearly enjoyed.

Caught in the wave of Ukrainian nationalism, Teodor realised that Ukrainian nationalists in Galicia were trying to present a joint front with East Ukrainians whose heroes were, Orthodox church leaders, Taras Shevchenko and Ukrainian Cossacks. East Ukrainians celebrated the Ukrainian Orthodox Church leaders who were fighting for independence from the Russian Orthodox Church. They also admired Taras Shevchenko, a Ukrainian poet and artist who, improbably, was bought out of serfdom to become a superstar of St. Petersburg's literary society. Ukrainian Cossacks were seen as symbols of the pro-independence movement. However, Teodor was aware of Cossacks instigating Jewish pogroms; he knew that a lot of Shevchenko's poems were anti-Catholic and he could not accept any form of Orthodox Christianity for fear of expulsion from his own Catholic church. Yet, somehow, Teodor and his family managed to reconcile these seemingly irreconcilable concepts. The family home had portraits of both Shevchenko and Catholic saints. Teodor was friends with Jews and sang Cossack songs. And he decided that, in time, Ukrainian nationalism would provide a glue that would unite the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox churches, something we begin to see in the 21st century.

The peasant part of the family from the village of Porshna, some 10 miles from Lemberg, was much less enthused by the Ukrainian political movement. The Ougrins were poor and their main concern was survival. The Stawarskis, who were richer, had clear Russophile leanings. Unlike nationalist Ukrainians, Russophiles emphasised the importance of the medieval Rus period, when all East Slavs were united in one state; they venerated medieval saints from the Rus period, and they hoped for Russian Orthodox Church to unite all Slavs under the auspices of the Moscow patriarchate. It is not entirely clear what the routes of the Russophiles'

admiration for Moscow were. Perhaps there were some memories of the common Orthodox heritage, even though the Greek Catholic Church had been the official religion of Galician Ruthenians since 1596. Perhaps there was some admiration of the power of the Russian military in various campaigns throughout the 19th century, including the campaign of 1848 when Franz Joseph relied on Russians in suppressing an anti-monarchy uprising in Galicia. Whatever the causes of Russophilia, as the tensions between Austria and Russia intensified, so did the tensions between Russophiles, who were calling themselves Russians and Ukrainians. As it happened, the Russophiles were fighting a losing battle. First, Franz Joseph, partly fearing the mounting Polish power in Galicia, and partly keen to remove a source of Russian support in case of a war, made a number of definitive moves to strengthen the Ukrainian movement. The peasants in Porshna experienced these in two ways. Firstly, they were able to educate their children in Ukrainian. Secondly, their priests, inspired by the Metropolitan Andrev Sheptytsky, started talking to them in their own language during mass. In addition, when they went to Lemberg, they were able to buy goods from Ukrainian shops, read Ukrainian newspapers published in a language they could understand, borrow money at favourable rates from Ukrainian credit unions and sell their produce to Ukrainian agricultural cooperatives at favourable prices. None of these developments were supported by the Russophiles. Worst of all, the language of their newspapers and the language that Russophile priests used was an artificial mixture of Russian, Ukrainian and Church Slavonic that sounded so peculiar that peasants were making jokes about it. St. Petersburg continued to finance Russophiles via the Galician-Russian Benevolent society, but the influence of Russophiles was diminishing.

Another contemporary trend that affected the Stawarskis was emigration. At the end of the 19th century, multiple agents from the rest of the Empire as well as the Americas conveyed promises of unimaginable riches and perpetual joy awaiting immigrants. About 2-3 million Galicians left their homeland in the 20 years before the First World War. Many of the emigrants that went to New York settled in the Lower East Side. National conflicts aside, Poles, Ukrainians and Jews still chose to live next to each other in their new homeland. After all, Gefilte fish ingredients had to be available to all who needed them. To this day the Katz Deli, Veselka and Little Poland are all a walking distance from each other in Lower Manhattan. The parents of Mykola Stawarski moved to Vienna, leaving their infant son to be raised by a distant relative in Porshna. They were never seen again. Thousands of impoverished peasants emigrated to North America, Brazil, Argentina and other parts of the Empire such as Bosnia. About 150 years later, one of

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Anastasia's best friends' mother turned out to be a fourth-generation Galician immigrant to Bosnia who moved to London and raised her family there. Both mother and daughter speak impeccable, although somewhat archaic Ukrainian, something of a rarity according to sociologists who predict total linguistic assimilation by the fifth generation of immigrants.

The Karpyaks, before their Ukrainian awakening, were participating in Polish politics on the pro-Austrian, monarchist side that was represented by Stańczycy in West Galicia and by Podolacy in the East. Podolacy were generally anti-Ukrainian and anti-Jewish, except for a faction called Ateńczycy led by young conservatives who were in favour of a Polish-Ukrainian dialogue. These groups later transformed into Stronnictwo Prawicy Narodowej, a right-wing monarchist party. Several alternative Polish movements existed in Galicia, including illegal organisations that favoured a re-creation of a fully independent Polish state as well as peasants' and workers' organisations that fought for the rights of these social groups. Following the partitions, by far the largest part of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth became part of the Russian Empire. which pursued oppressive policies towards Poles, as did Prussia who got the second largest part of the poppyseed cake. In the Russian-occupied territory, there was a considerable resentment to being ruled by what Poles perceived as an authoritarian and backward state. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was indeed a relatively democratic monarchy with elected monarchs whose power was significantly curtailed by the nobility. The Commonwealth had some of the more tolerant policies towards ethnic and religious minorities, including, very much unlike the Russian Empire, towards Jews. The Austrian part of Galicia was small (11% of the territory of the former Commonwealth) and poorer than the Russian or the Prussian parts, but it was by far the most liberal and it was in Galicia that Polish culture, art and science developed the fastest, especially after 1867. As the Karpyaks, along with other Ruthenian families were leaving the monarchist camp, and as the monarchy was becoming weaker, the Polish pro-independence movement was getting stronger and more united, culminating in a majority proindependence consensus.

The Jewish political movements in Galicia were even more complex. In addition to a small fraction proposing the establishment of a Jewish nation state within the Empire, there was a larger group advocating for a peaceful coexistence between Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in whatever nation state was to emerge, provided Jews had equal rights with other ethnic groups. There was also a strong Zionist movement aimed at establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Austro-Hungarian Empire could be considered the

birthplace of modern political Zionism. Theodor Herzl, a Hungarian-born journalist is considered the spiritual father of the movement. He met with the Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko in Vienna and Ivan Franko was one of the first people to offer a passionate support to Herzl's idea of restoring a Jewish State. Both writers shared each other's deep passion for re-establishing their national states. Both writers appeared on Ukrainian and Israeli banknotes.

As part of the Zionist revolution, Jewish scouting emerged. Formed in 1913 and named Hashomer Hatzair (The Young Guard), the movement was based on the ideas of Baden Powell as well as an unlikely mixture of Marxism and psychoanalysis. It promoted the idea of immigration to Palestine amongst Galician Jewish youth. It was one of the key factors that determined the success of the Zionist movement.

From 1902 to 1914, Anastasia's ancestors had intense interactions with Jews and, if DNA analyses are to be believed, may have even intermarried. Jews were significantly over-represented in the shopkeeping, money lending, alcohol manufacturing, inn-keeping, healthcare, clothes manufacturing and legal professions in Galicia throughout the 19th century. Anastasia's peasant ancestors were particularly aggrieved by what they perceived to be unjust prices paid by Jewish shopkeepers for peasants' produce and by punitive interest rates for the money they needed to borrow to avoid starvation in years of bad harvest. With the development of the Ukrainian cooperative movement and the establishment of credit unions, both inspired by Ukrainian nationalists, many Jewish businesses went bankrupt. Many poor East Galician Jews arrived in Vienna, looking very different from the Viennese residents, both Jewish and non-Jewish. These Galician Jews attracted the attention of one Adolf Hitler who, in Mein Kampf, commented on how alien Jews looked to him when he first encountered them in his vouth2.

Anastasia's richer great-grandparents had many common political interests with Jews, aimed at opposing the Polish dominance in East Galicia. As the Polish pro-independence movement was growing, it had to take into account that Poles were actually a national minority in East Galicia except in the city of Lemberg. As East Galicia was considered by Polish nationalists to be an integral part of the emerging independent Poland, strong anti-Ukrainian and even stronger anti-Jewish movements emerged, such as Roman Dmowski's Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne (National Democratic Party). These movements pushed Ukrainians and Jews into a close collaboration in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hitler, Adolf. Mein Kampf (2007) Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House

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the political sphere. Both ethnic groups were politically oppressed by the dominant Poles who were significantly over-represented in both the Lemberg Landstag and the Vienna House of Deputies and House of Lords, due to an electoral system that only allowed major taxpayers to vote. When the electoral system was reformed and universal suffrage for men was introduced in 1906, Ukrainian and Jewish parties struck an ingenious agreement whereby Ukrainians would vote for Jewish candidates in cities and towns and Jews would vote for Ukrainian candidates in rural areas. Owing to this agreement, in the 1907 elections Ukrainians significantly increased their parliamentary representation and Jews gained two members in the House of Deputies in Vienna for the first time in the history of the Empire.

As the summer of 1914 approached, Anastasia's great-great-grandparents' loyalties where predominantly with Ukrainian nationalists and they were predominantly loyal subjects of His Apostolic Majesty. The Russophile ideas were not dead, but much weaker than at the end of the 19th century. The richer ancestors had a generally symbiotic relationship with Jews, unlike the poor ones who felt unfairly treated by them. All the ancestors perceived Poles as the biggest threat to their political, economic and cultural future.