

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS (END OF THE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURY) ON THE EGO-DOCUMENTS OF THE KOSACH AND GRINCHENKO FAMILIES

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Abstract. *The formation of the women's movement in the Ukrainian lands at the end of the 19th – in the early 20th century is a fundamental subject as gender issues provoke discussions among researchers also in the contemporary Ukrainian society. Although the birth of feminism and the emergence of an organised women's movement in the Ukrainian territories have been sufficiently covered by documentary sources, the historians have not yet used the ego-documents. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to present the women's movement of that time, using the ego-documents (mostly correspondence) of Kosach and Grinchenko intellectual families, whose representatives played a prominent role in the fight for women's rights. The ego-documents are regarded as an indispensable source for reproducing not only facts but also reflecting the realities of that time and the epoch features. The research materials demonstrate the difference in the situation of the Dnieper Ukraine (in Russia) and Western Ukraine (in Austro-Hungary), as well as the contrast between the principles of the women's movement and the women's real position in society. The ego-documents reflect the inclusion of the fight for women's rights in the general context of the Ukrainian socio-political movement development caused by the conservative policies of the imperial governments and the preservation of patriarchal traditions in society.*

Keywords: *Women's movement, Dnieper Ukraine, Western Ukraine, ego-documents, women's rights, feminism, patriarchal traditions.*

Rezumat: *Mișcarea femeilor în teritoriile ucrainene (sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX) pe baza ego-documentelor familiilor Kosach și Grinchenko. Cristalizarea mișcării femeilor în spațiul ucrainean la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX este un subiect important din moment ce problematica de gen generează polemici atât în rândul cercetătorilor, cât și la nivelul societății ucrainene contemporane. Chiar dacă geneza feminismului și apariția unei mișcări organizate a*

femeilor în teritoriile ucrainene au fost suficient de bine ilustrate în sursele documentare, istoricii nu s-au folosit până acum de ego-documente. Prin urmare, scopul acestui studiu este de a prezenta mișcarea femeilor din perioada menționată folosind ego-documentele (în special, corespondența) familiilor de intelectuali Kosach și Grinchenko, ai căror reprezentanți au jucat un rol proeminent în lupta pentru drepturile femeilor. Ego-documentele sunt considerate drept o sursă indispensabilă nu numai pentru reproducerea faptelor, ci și pentru reflectarea realităților din acea vreme și a particularităților epocii. Materialele de cercetare demonstrează diferența dintre situația existentă în Ucraina Nipreană (aflată în cadrul Rusiei) și cea din Ucraina de Vest (parte a Austro-Ungariei), precum și contrastul dintre principiile mișcării femeilor și statutul real al acestora în societate. Ego-documentele reflectă încadrarea luptei pentru drepturile femeii în contextul general al dezvoltării mișcării socio-politice a ucrainenilor provocată de politicile conservatoare ale guvernelor imperiale și de păstrarea tradițiilor patriarhale în societate.

INTRODUCTION

The formation of the women's movement at the end of the 19th – in the early 20th century distinguishes explicitly from the starting points of emancipation in Western Europe. It can be attributed to the absence of Ukrainians' statehood and belonging of its territories to the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, as well as to the conservativeness of the social system and specifics of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches' doctrines.¹ At the same time, a fair point of view has been established in the historiography of gender issues assuming that the women's movement in the Over Dnieper (ukr. Naddniprianshchyna) and Western Ukrainian lands emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century under the influence of All-European emancipation, that is, women's longing to achieve equal status with men.

The Ukrainian women's movement of the investigated period has been widely highlighted in the scientific literature. Historiographical studies of the issue are combined into four groups.

The first group comprises works of the women's movement active leaders from the Over Dnieper and Western Ukraine, namely Olena Pchilka, Natalia Kobrynska, Olga Kobylinska, Lesia Ukrainka, Lyudmyla Starytska-Chernyakhivska, Sofia Rusova, Lyubov Yanovska, Valeria O'Connor-Vilinska, Christina Alchevska,

¹ Олена Ковальчук, Лілія Потапюк, *Причини та передумови виникнення жіночого руху в Україні на прикладі жіночих товариств (друга половина 19-го – початок 20-го століття)* [Causes and prerequisites for the emergence of the women's movement in Ukraine on the example of women's societies (second half of 19th – early 20th century)], in *Людинознавчі студії* [Human studies studios], Дрогобич, 2017, с. 60-70.

and others. These authors were contemporaries and also active participants in the struggle for the emancipation. Therefore, their works are filled with interesting and precise historical material supported by the original author's impressions and conclusions.

The second group consists of the historical investigations of the Ukrainian diaspora, in particular Ivan Kuzevich-Berezovskyi, Alexander Lugovyi, Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Lyubov Volynets, Olena Zalizniak, and others.² Foreign historiography focuses mainly on the role of the Ukrainian women's movement of both empires in national liberation struggles at that time, as well as the influence of international feminism on the self-awareness of Ukrainian womanhood.

The publications of Soviet researchers form the third group of studies. According to Olga Labur, studying the history of the women's movement in Soviet historiography was closely related to the Marxist-Leninist approach to the woman's rights movement.³ As Soviet historiography of the late 1920s – early 1930s became more filled with the communist-party principles, the "labour" theme of the women's movement was gradually pushed out by totalitarian ideologized approaches. For this reason, Soviet literature now seems to be of low importance in accumulating facts and assessing the issue raised.

The fourth group includes a considerable number of scientific works from the time of independent Ukraine. It is worth pointing out the monographs of Lyudmyla Smoliar. The researcher has introduced numerous archival sources that allow determining the main trends and stages of women's social activity. Spreading of emancipation in the Western Ukrainian lands have been thoroughly analysed by Oksana Malanchuk-Rybak, who focused on characterising the main discourses of the women's movement ideology in Western Ukraine.⁴ The research of

² Лілія Романишин, *Український жіночий рух у контексті національного відродження наприкінці ХХ – початку ХХІ ст.: історіографія проблеми* [The Ukrainian women's movement in the context of national revival at the end of XIX – early XX c.: historiography of the problem], in *Україна-Європа-Світ. Міжнародний збірник наукових праць. Серія: Історія, міжнародні відносини* [Ukraine-Europe-World. International collection of scientific works. Series: History, International Relation], 2012, Вип. 10, с. 347-353.

³ Ольга Лабур, *Радянська історіографія про "звільнення жінки" в Україні 1920-1930-х рр.: перетворення ідеї на догму* [Soviet historiography on the "liberation of women" in Ukraine in the 1920s-1930s: turning ideas into dogma], in *Сторінки історії: Збірник наукових праць* [History pages: Collection of scientific works], 2009, Вип. 28, с. 121-129.

⁴ Оксана Маланчук-Рибак, *Ідеологія та суспільна практика жіночого руху на західно-*

Oksana Kis contributed to complex historical and ethnological understanding of the situation in the Ukrainian peasantry based on the gender approach.⁵ Iryna Andrusiak has explored the issue of gender equality in Ukrainian legal thought in the second half of the 19th century.⁶

When studying the women's movement in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, Western researchers either did not pay attention to Ukrainian subjects like Richard Stites⁷ or were limited to analysing the activities of women's organisations like Karl Vocelka.⁸ This fact can be attributed to the fact that both official sources and ego-documents were rarely published in foreign languages.

This paper aims at studying the formation of the women's movement in the Ukrainian lands at the end of the 19th – at the early 20th century based on ego-documents of two prominent Ukrainian intellectual families of Kosach and Grinchenko. Their representatives determined the essence of the woman's rights movement at that time. In other words, an attempt was made to reconstruct the women's movement and the impact of emancipation on the everyday practices of Ukrainian womanhood in the late 19th and early 20th centuries based on their letters, diaries, memoirs, notes, drafts, etc. Besides, the authors tried to identify and compare features of the struggle for women's rights in Ukrainian lands under the rule of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires using ego-documents.

The concept of ego-documents was introduced into historiography in 1958 by Professor Jacques Presser from the University of Amsterdam as a neologism

українських землях XIX – першої третини XX ст.: типологія і європейський культурно-історичний контекст [Ideology and social practice of women's movement in the West Ukrainian lands of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century: typology and European cultural and historical context], Чернівці, Книги – XXI, 2006, 500 с.

⁵ Оксана Кісь, *Жінка в традиційній українській культурі (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)* [Woman in Traditional Ukrainian Culture (second half of XIX – early XX c.)], Львів, Інститут народознавства НАН України, 2012, 287 с.

⁶ Ірина Андрусяк, *Правовий статус жінки на українських землях в другій половині XIX ст.* [Legal status of women in Ukrainian lands in the second half of the nineteenth century], in *Конституція і державотворення: національні традиції та світовий досвід* [Constitution and statesmaking: national traditions and world experience], Київ, Інститут держави і права ім. В.М. Корецького НАН України, 2014, с. 388-394.

⁷ Ричард Стайтс, *Женское освободительное движение в России: феминизм, нигилизм и большевизм, 1860-1930* [The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930], Москва, Российская политическая энциклопедия, 2004, 616 с.

⁸ Karl Vocelka, *Geschichte Österreichs. Kultur – Gesellschaft – Politik* [History of Austria. Culture – Society – Politics, Verlag Heyne, 2002, 408 s.

summarising personal documents like autobiographies, memoirs, letters, diaries, descriptions of journeys, etc.⁹ A new term rose immediate discussions. Researchers Michael Mascuch (California Berkeley Institute), Rudolf Dekker (University of Amsterdam), and Arianne Baggerman (Erasmus University in Rotterdam) reported different approaches to exploring ego-documents in the historical literature.¹⁰

The scientific approach initiated by Kaspar von Greyerz deserves special attention. He believed that personal narratives are deeply embedded in the collective context while creating a particular discourse of the women's movement.¹¹ Broad involvement of the little-researched ego-documents of the Ukrainian intelligentsia representatives along with new feminist readings of Olena Pchilka, Lesia Ukrainka, Borys Grinchenko, Mariya Zagirna, Olga Kobylanska, and other writer's work, will contribute to accepting new facts about past women's movement, as well as understanding the features of its development highlighted by the feelings of its participants.

Ego-documents have not yet been widely used in the Ukrainian historiography of woman's rights movement. Olga Koliastruk points out that they are neglected due to its and are mostly used as additional illustrative material.¹² However, in the history "from below", they play a fundamental role as such sources contribute to understanding the atmosphere of events. This also applies to the ego-documents of the Kosach and Grinchenko families. Although their epistolary and memoir heritage is systematised and published, it has not been widely referred to by researchers when analysing the woman's rights movement in the Ukrainian lands of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. Thus, the attempt has been made to fill this gap in national historiography.

THE STATUS OF A WOMAN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE RUSSIAN AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRES

In Europe, the women's movement as a social phenomenon emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century during the period of nation-building and

⁹ Kaspar von Greyerz, *Ego-Documents: The Last Word?*, in "German History", Vol. 28, 2010, Issue 3, p. 273-282.

¹⁰ Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, Michael Mascuch, *Egodocuments and History: A Short Account of the Longue Durée*, in "The Historian", Vol. 78, 2016, No. 1, p. 11-56.

¹¹ Kaspar von Greyerz, *Ego-Documents...*, p. 273-282.

¹² Ольга Коляструк, *Документи особового походження як джерела з історії повсякденності* [Personal documents as historical sources], in "Український історичний журнал" [Ukrainian Historical Journal], 2008, № 2, с. 146.

progress in the implementation of democratic principles. In the women's organisations of that time important was social reforming with only a few societies striving to challenge the subordination of women to men. In the first decades of the twentieth century, these organisations started to be referred to as feministic after this term was introduced by French suffragist Hubertine Auclert.¹³ Noteworthy is that not all women's movements struggled openly against the gender hierarchy and considered themselves feminists, but all advocated electoral rights and the right to work.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the governments of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires started gradual democratic changes. Many researchers, like Yaroslav Hrytsak¹⁴ and Aleksey Miller¹⁵ considered these states as the most conservative in modernising public life. By addressing the woman's rights movement in mentioned states, researchers usually identify such essential components as the right to education, work, property, marriage, and various political rights and freedoms. In both empires, any efforts of reforming were hampered by the fact that the women's rights movement was closely related to the struggle for national identity in both parts of Ukraine. In particular, active womanhood demanded not only accessible quality education but also the possibility to learn their native language.

The Austrian government compromised earlier than the Russian. Karl Vocelka noted that the fight for women's rights first manifested during the "Spring of Nations" in 1848, when "one of the democratic women's unions protested against the reduction of women's wages."¹⁶ After the revolution of 1848-1849, the women's movement was developing mostly in a "non-political" form as women were prohibited from attending political organisations and meetings. However, the authorities gradually recognised individual women's rights. Thus, the imperial law of 1869 introduced mandatory education for girls. Since then, school education has opened the first area of intellectual work, namely, the profession of a teacher. In 1878, women were allowed to take the matriculation examination, although these certificates lacked the mark "qualified to enter the university." The

¹³ Laure Bereni, *Women's movements in Europe*, in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published, 2013.

¹⁴ Ярослав Грицак, *Нарис історії України. Формування модерної нації XIX–XX століття* [Essay from the history of Ukraine. Formation of the modern nation in the XIX–XX centuries], Київ, Yakaboo Publishing, 2019, 656 с.

¹⁵ *Западные окраины Российской империи* [Western outskirts of the Russian Empire], под ред. М. Д. Долбилов, А. И. Миллер, Москва, Новое литературное обозрение, 2006, 608 с.

¹⁶ Karl Vocelka, *Geschichte Österreichs...*, s. 292.

matriculation certificates granting the right to study at the University appeared only in 1901. Higher education became accessible slowly. Philosophy studying opened in 1897, pharmaceuticals and medicine is available since 1900.¹⁷

According to the civil law of Austria-Hungary, the man and the woman were equally obliged of matrimony and fidelity. Still, at the same time, the husband was recognised as the superior of the family. He determined the place of living for the family and had a powerful voice in household management. The law established the father as the head of the family and prioritised him in determining child custody. Parental authority lost its power only after the lawful age of the children, that is, after the age of 24.¹⁸

Russian imperial family law also enshrined the institute of husband's power when the wife was obliged to live together with him, follow him everywhere when they changed their residence, and to be in love and unlimited obedience to him. The law prohibited married women from signing a personal employment contract, obtaining separate residence permission, enter public services and educational institutions, or participate in civil proceedings while defending their rights without the consent of their husbands.¹⁹

During the 19th century, the social situation has changed. Last but not least, the role played in the economic situation. At the beginning of the 20th century, the share of female employees in factories and crafts had increased significantly due to the mechanisation of production and lower wages compared to that of male ones. This phenomenon revealed an urgent need for legislative regulation of the situation for working women in Russia. At that time, legislative initiatives concerned mainly factory work. The patriarchal nature of the legal policy of the Russian Empire was manifested in limiting women to be engaged in public service and take positions in the administrative decision-making sphere. The admission of women to the intellectual professions was strictly controlled as well.²⁰

The educational sphere remained difficult. In 1875, women were promised by the imperial government to receive the right to higher education. In 1878, the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 293.

¹⁸ Ігор Бойко, *Правове регулювання цивільних відносин на українських землях у складі Австрії та Австро-Угорщини (1772-1918 рр.)* [Legal regulation of civil relations in the Ukrainian lands within Austria and Austria-Hungary (1772-1918)], in "Вісник Львівського університету" [Bulletin of the University of Lviv], 2013, Вип. 57, с. 95.

¹⁹ С. В. Ворошилова, *Еволюція правового положення жінок в Росії в XIX – початок XX вв.* [The evolution of the legal status of women in Russia in the 19th and early 20th centuries], Саратов, Саратовский источник, 2011, с. 124.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, с. 122.

recruitment of female students for Bestuzhev Higher Female Courses (St. Petersburg) began, but they were chargeable and required certain political reliability. At the same time, the courses opened in Kyiv, Kazan and Tomsk (Siberian courses). According to the imperial decree, all existing Higher Female courses in the empire were closed in 1886 and resumed their work only in 1906.²¹

All these restrictions had an effect on daily life and provoked an emotional response among progressive women. Particularly, the patriarchy of the social system complicated the overall situation. Any attempts to implement the basic idea of the women's movement, including those already enshrined in the legislation, were met with condemnation. This is testified by the ego-documents of the Kosach and Grinchenko families.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT OF THE DNEPER UKRAINE IN THE EGODOCUMENTS OF THE KOSACH FAMILY

The Kosach family played a prominent role in the development of public and cultural Ukrainian life in the Over Dnieper. Thanks to Olga Kosach (Olena Pchilka), "intelligent female voice, along with it, a feminist idea" sounded in Ukrainian literature.²² Olena Pchilka and her daughters Larysa (Lesia Ukrainka) and Olga were conscious participants of the national struggle and actively advocated for the women's empowerment.

Researchers have different points of view on the feminist moods in the Kosach family. Some believe that feminism was one of the leading motives of Olena Pchilka's public activity. In turn, she influenced the daughters' interest in the women's rights movement. Others contradicted that the Kosach family had no interest in emancipation. The discussion was likely generated by the difference in understanding the essence of feminism within the family. Referring not only to works but also ego-documents, Lukash Skupeiko believed that feminism comprised a part of a much broader problem like the national self-affirmation of Ukrainians. "The Kosach women" are not likely to be suspected of being fascinated by feminism when it comes to the women's movement itself. In the Autobiography, Olena Pchilka focuses on the development of national sentiment among Ukrainian women, including those from Galicia. During her first trip abroad in 1872, the writer met with the Galicians in Vienna on behalf of Mykhaylo

²¹ *Ibid.*, c. 118.

²² Соломія Павличко, *Дискурс модернізму в українській літературі* [The discourse of modernism in Ukrainian literature], Київ, Либідь, 1999, с. 70.

Drahomanov. Among them was Sofia Okunevska, who impressed her by being a highly intelligent and passionate woman. Olena Pchilka wrote later that also among the Galician women existed the movement of national sentiments.²³ Liliya Sikora believed that "there is another type to embody of the feminist movement in life: not through creativity, but social activity aimed at the mainstream of the national movement."²⁴

Lesia Ukrainka's epistolary heritage sheds light on the specifics of her feminism formed under her mother's influence that instilled love to native word in her children, cared for their comprehensive education and deep knowledge. On the other hand, the uniqueness of Lesia's feminism and her views were highly influenced by her uncle, the famous scientist and public figure Mykhaylo Drahomanov. She emphasised this in a letter to the writer Olga Kobylyanska confessing that she did not have a "broad education" and "... generally studied only until the age of 14, and then went to take a living, that is, I only learned what I liked and read everything without any prohibition. True is, the correction was from the side of my mother and in the letters of uncle Mykhaylo Drahomanov, whom I consider to be a teacher as I am very grateful to him for my views on science, religion, and public life."²⁵ Lesia Ukrainka did not receive a formal education due to severe illness and a mother's unwillingness to allow children studying in Russian-speaking schools.

The correspondence with Olga Kobylyanska contributed mainly to an understanding of Lesia Ukrainka's position in the woman's rights movement. According to Vira Ageeva, the communication between two writers can be interpreted as a unique example of "the frankness of women's self-disclosure exceptional in their intimate sincerity of friendship between women writers, which enabled the break of common and ... style stereotypes". The researcher emphasised that in the letters of Lesia Ukrainka "... it is hard not to notice the belief in creative assertion and the triumph of Olga Kobylyanska's talent despite all the social obstacles that a woman had to face."²⁶

²³ Лукаш Скупейко, *Леся Українка і фемінізм (нефеміністичний погляд)* [Lesia Ukrainka and Feminism (non-feminist view)], in "Урок української" [Ukrainian lesson], 2000, № 1, с. 42.

²⁴ Лілія Сікора, *Феміністичні мотиви в творчості Лесі Українки* [Feminist motives in Lesia Ukrainka's works], in "Молодий вчений" [Young scientist], 2019, № 4.2 (68.2), квітень, с. 208.

²⁵ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1898–1902* [Lesia Ukrainka. Letters: 1898-1902], упоряд. Прокіп (Савчук) В. А., Київ, Комора, 2017, с. 133.

²⁶ Віра Агеєва, *Поетеса зламу століть. Творчість Лесі Українки в постмодерній інтерпретації* [The poet of the turn of the century. Lesia Ukrainka's creativity in

In Ukrainian literary studies, exactly Lesia Ukrainka and Olga Kobylyanska were considered true and deep destroyers of the established patriarchal view. Numerous researchers often compared the interpretations of the "women's issue". Despite the common views on many things, both writers had different beliefs about women. One of the reasons for this was the different cultural environments in which they were brought up: "At home in Ukraine, it was difficult for Lesia to understand what means Galician feminism. Behavioural freedom and equality with another gender historically dominated the «Ukrainian» female identity. Women's independence was such an organic part of Lesia's life that didn't even need proof,"²⁷ Nila Zborovska emphasises. Neither education nor own beliefs and literature read by contemporaries were comparable with the struggle for women's independence. Being a "feminist author", Lesia Ukrainka was far ahead of Olga Kobylyanska, whose innovation in this sense is measured first and foremost by the "domestic" Ukrainian standard, and could have impressed only the local Galician public', Oksana Zabuzhko is convinced.²⁸

The validity of such a conclusion manifests in many letters of Lesia Ukrainka, which reveals how different the situation in the Over Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia was. Observing the patriarchy of Galician society, Lesia wrote to Olga Kobylyanska in 1899: "It used to be the case in Russia that it was not free for a woman "from a good society" to take a human step. Even in the time of Pushkin, writing a letter to the young gentleman meant to compromise yourself forever ("I am writing to you, what's more? What else can I say?" – writes Tatyana to Onegin), and now if anyone said that, people would laugh. I remember once a "sichovyk" (a Ukrainian student, participant of the community called "Sich" which acted in Vienna since 1868) confessed to me that he wanted to "steal" my photo because he didn't think he could just ask for it, being neither my relative nor a bride. Such a small fact but so meaningful."²⁹

Views on women's independence reflected in the letters of Lesia Ukrainka, significantly differ from the position of the Galician writers Olga Kobilyanska, Natalia Kobrynska, and others. The correspondence demonstrated the refusal of Lesia to participate in purely women's publications, which Natalia Kobrynska planned to publish. She explained the reason for this in a letter to Mykhaylo

postmodern interpretation], Київ, Либідь, 1999, с. 83-84.

²⁷ Ніла Зборовська, *Пришестя вічності* [The Coming of Eternity], Київ, Факт, 2002, с. 82.

²⁸ Оксана Забужко, *Notre Dame d'Ukraine. Українка в конфлікті міфологій* [Notre Dame d'Ukraine. Ukrainka in the conflict of mythologies], Київ, Комора, 2014, с. 513.

²⁹ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1898–1902...*, с. 135.

Drahomanov: "... I agree with your position as to women's magazines. But in our opinion, it should not be exclusively a women's magazine, and not at all what Ms Kobrynska wished or wanted to do. As for me, I do not understand what else can be invented in the theory of female issues and which expressive words can be said about her. It looks not boring only when women's life and women's psychology are examined in good form and even with talent, although also this distinguishing looks ridiculous."³⁰ The writer believed that women's publications would only emphasise the subordination and colonial status of female writing as literature of cultural minorities.³¹

In letters to Lesia Ukrainka repeatedly appeared her views on the personal life of womanhood: "I am surprised by Liudia (it is said about the daughter of Mykhaylo Starytskyi). Good God, I cannot understand such psychology that to choose a man for yourself as a hat or boots is already something withstanding our culture!"³²

Lesia Ukrainka's outlook on the woman's rights has undergone complicated challenges in her personal life. The poetess had to deny patriarchal traditions in relationships with men, which in turn led to family conflicts. In 1897, in Yalta, she met Sergiy Merzhinskyi, a representative of the Social Democratic Party in Belorussia, who was treated for pulmonary tuberculosis. Social-Democratic ideology was close for Lesia Ukrainka, and later their friendship grew into cordial goodwill. In the autumn of 1900, his health deteriorated sharply, so on January 7, 1901, Lesia came to Minsk to visit a friend and stayed to look after him until his death on March 3, 1901. Sincere concern about Sergiy Merzhinskyi's health complicated Lesia's relationship with parents.³³ This situation is reflected in letters to relatives (1900–1901). The family worried about the uncertainty in their relationship and the possible consequences for her poor health. Also, the issues of public disfavour bothered her parents, while the poetess herself considered the official marriage a burdensome formality.

The extreme willingness of Lesia Ukrainka to sacrifice herself for others is also evident in her relationship with Klyment Kvitka that was perceived by her parents as a challenge against traditions and social norms. Klyment Kvitka was nine years younger, and they lived in a civil, non-church marriage for several years, contrary to the rules of even the leading Ukrainian intellectuals of that time.

³⁰ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1876–1897* [Lesia Ukrainka. Letters: 1876–1897], упоряд. Прокіп (Савчук) В. А., Київ, Комора, 2016, с. 197.

³¹ Лукаш Скупейко, *Леся Українка і фемінізм...*, с. 42.

³² *Леся Українка. Листи: 1876–1897...*, с. 380.

³³ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1898–1902...*, с. 203–243.

This provoked resistance from Lesia's parents. In a letter to her father, she wrote: "It is very strange that you write to me «do not hold Kvitka, let him go to Switzerland». Am I holding anyone near me? ... I also don't see a reason why I should forbid him to be where I am. [...] I will not say anything to him, let him do what he wants, and I will tell you quite frankly that he does not bother me for a second the way he is now."³⁴

Lesia Ukrainka's relations with her parents became more strained also due to the unwillingness of her younger sister Olga to marry Mykhaylo Kryvnyiuk. Lesia supported Olga's point of view since the Kosach sisters considered the church wedding ceremony humiliating for the woman as it envisioned complete obedience of a woman to a man and the life-long service to him. She tried to defend her views in conversations with her mother, who did not agree to accept the fact of Olga's informal marriage. To some extent, Lesia succeeded. In a letter to Mykhaylo Kryvnyiuk in early January 1905, she informed about many "principled and not principled" conversations with her mother about marriage, weddings, etc. "Then started tears, sobs, annoying and vulnerable things at that time, sometimes whole nights went so as not to mention ... Those nights broke my soul, and because of that someday I may have to make even that from what you and Lily (Olga's family name) were saved happily (formal marriage – Authors). But when you hear something like this about me, don't throw a stone. Mind that heavy wounds, but not my own will can force me to lay down my weapon. In any case, it will be a pleasure for me, when not myself, but help my dearest sister to break the path to a free and honest life; maybe without my struggle, her fight would have been more difficult. ... Anyway, I can still say that I was the first to force my mother to abandon the extremes of her view on unwed marriage, and she said that she no longer considered herself entitled to apply any kind of coercion to Lily in that direction and sincerely gave up her words as if she did not like to have an unmarried daughter with her baby."³⁵

Olena Pchilka was strongly against her daughter's relationship with Klyment Kvitka considering him unworthy to make a couple for her and claiming that he was "a dishonest man who marries Kosach-Drahomanov's money". However, being pressed by her relatives, Lesia Ukrainka and Klyment Kvitka married in a small Church of Ascension in Kyiv, Demiiivka on July 25, 1907. The letters show that the wedding ceremony was a peculiar session to prevent them from living

³⁴ *Ibid.*, с. 291.

³⁵ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1903–1913* [Lesia Ukrainka. Letters: 1903–1913], упоряд. Прокіп (Савчук) В. А., Київ, Комора, 2018, с. 211-212.

together because they did not imagine themselves differently. Lesia informed her mother: "It's over. We got married today at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. We found a priest who advised a better way himself, without following all the rituals."³⁶

Lesia explains her act to her sister Olga only by worrying about Klyment: "I thought that you would rather condemn me for this step that it would be difficult for you to understand how we could "lay down our weapons" where you hold yours not giving up... (Olga lived in civil marriage with Mykhaylo Kryvnyiuk – Authors). And a big stone came down from my soul when I saw that you accepted our position... if it was only me, maybe I could withstand it, but to inflict Klonya (Klyment Kvitka) further I couldn't, it's too scary. I hope now we will have peace at least from people, if not from anything else. In the meantime, everything is fine, no one is bothering us, and we are going to Crimea."³⁷

As can be seen, the epistolary heritage of Lesia Ukrainka contributes to the understanding of the ideological principles in her works, where the woman's rights movement is leading. She broke patriarchal stereotypes about a woman and her place in society not only through her works but also with her lifestyle.

The Kosach women were active figures in the Ukrainian national movement. A bright testimony to Kosach's authority in public life was their participation in the activities of "Prosvita" (engl. Enlightenment) in Kyiv province in 1906–1910. Olena Pchilka, Lesia Ukrainka, Olga Kosach-Kryvnyiuk, Mariya Grinchenko, and Mariya Starytska-Cherniakhivska actively participated in the work of the organisation along with authoritative men from the community. At a general meeting on June 25, 1906, Olena Pchilka was elected to the Board of "Prosvita" as well as Lesia Ukrainka – as an assistant (deputy) to the Chairman of the Borys Grinchenko Society.

Lesia Ukrainka was offered the position of a librarian in "Prosvita". However, despite the absence of registered political "wrongdoings", which she reported in a letter to Borys Grinchenko, the authorities did not give official permission for her appointment.³⁸ At that time, Lesia and her sister Olga energetically began to collect a library, which by the end of 1906 numbered about 2,000 volumes. In a letter to Olga Kobylinska, she describes "Prosvita" as an extremely important national organisation, "the only clear point on the dark background of Ukrainian life in Russia", "the first legal Ukrainian society in Kyiv since it became a "provincial city of the Russian Empire."³⁹

³⁶ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1903–1913...*, с. 336.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, с. 337.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, с. 284–285.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, с. 290.

The poetess initiated the creation of a library by sending letters to many Ukrainian male and female authors with urgent requests to present works for "Prosvita" and developed various options for delivering the publications to Kyiv.⁴⁰ Her letters contain interesting information about the government's crackdown on Ukrainians during the revolution of 1905-1907, including the so-called "Ukrainian night" from January 17 to January 18, 1907, when mass arrests of Ukrainian figures occupied Kyiv. The Kosach sisters were also arrested.⁴¹ The gendarmes found their apartment in Mariinska-Blagovishchenska Street, and after the arrest, special police surveillance was established after Lesia.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT OF GALICIA IN THE EGO-DOCUMENTS OF THE GRINCHENKO FAMILY

The specifics of Galician social life are reflected in the memoirs and letters of Kosach and Grinchenko, which left emotional reviews of its conservatism, tradition, or even old-worldness. This was especially true relating to women's social status. After visiting Galicia, Lesia Ukrainka wrote in a letter to Olga Kobylanska that the Galicians had "a strange and difficult attitude towards women, all of them looking at us either from the top down or from the bottom to the top, but never just simple and on equal terms"⁴². The ambiguous attitude towards women was also emphasised by the magazines of the time ("Dilo", "Ruslan"), which characterised womanhood as people who talk empty, think only of balls and evening dresses, new clothes "from a Parisian tailor", and a profitable "party for marriage."⁴³ A similar attitude was broadcast by the conservative style of the Galician environment with the strong positions of the Greek Catholic Church, whose representatives asserted in society the inviolability of patriarchal traditions.

The difference in educational models for men and women affected their attitude and, thus, set particular behavioural patterns of interaction between different members of Galician society. "Total custody" of a girl was considered normal for every decent young lady until the beginning of the twentieth century. Excessive conservatism of Galician public life did not go unnoticed by visitors, including Kyiv citizen Anastasia Grinchenko and her family.

⁴⁰ *Леся Українка. Зібрання творів у 12 тт.* [Lesia Ukrainka. Collected works in 12 vols], Київ, Наукова думка, 1979, т. 12, с. 475-477.

⁴¹ *Леся Українка. Листи: 1903-1913...*, с. 293-295.

⁴² *Леся Українка. Зібрання творів у 12 тт...*, с. 118-119.

⁴³ *Ради для танцюючих пань на вечерницях* [Tips for Dancing Ladies at Evenings], in "Руслан" [Ruslan], 1905, ч. 8.

Anastasia Grinchenko (1884–1908), the daughter of writers and public personalities Borys and Mariya Grinchenko, came with her father from Kyiv to Lviv in the summer of 1903 to study at the University as no opportunity for higher education was available in Kyiv at that time (Kyiv higher women's courses did not work from 1889 to 1906.) The Grinchenko family raised their daughter as an active and self-sufficient personality. Being nobles by origin, the Grinchenko did not have a maid. Their daughter did all the household chores by herself. A trusting relationship was established between Anastasia and her father as her mother Mariya Grinchenko recalled, "her father could have comforted her better than I did."⁴⁴ For Galicia, such a role of a man was not entirely acceptable since women performed this function.

The correspondence between Anastasia and her parents during her studies in Lviv (1903–1905) allows assessing different aspects of Galicia's social life "from the inside" including the behavioural model of a girl who found herself in the "unusual women position". The ego-documents of the Grinchenko family detailed not only the social status of women but also the main features of the women's movement formation in Galicia and Over Dnieper Ukraine.

Lviv, as the capital of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, impressed a recent high school student Anastasia Grinchenko. On the one hand, the image of "Galicia Piedmont" was created by political organisations, powerful scientific, cultural, and educational institutions. On the other hand, she was amazed by the customs of the Halychyna, especially the status of women who were completely different from the Dnieper. For example, while looking for an apartment for Anastasia Grinchenko's residence, her father refused such kind of service as seeing a girl to the University by the maid. At that time, the landlady did not dare to give Anastasia a room on the conditions of her independent movement through the city streets as it could discredit her daughters. Problems with renting an apartment forced a young girl to look for alternatives. In a letter, Anastasia expressed her hope to rent a hotel room for at least a month. However, she was strongly not advised to do that as "it is not only inconvenient in Lviv but everywhere. The girl is not quite safe, and there are other restrictions in Lviv".⁴⁵ This response of the father gives reason to understand that the woman had no parity with the man, and in Galicia also prevailed certain stereotypes about women's independence. This is confirmed by the case of

⁴⁴ Марія Загірня, *Спогади* [Memoirs], Луганськ, Шлях, 1999, с. 86.

⁴⁵ Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. І. Вернадського (*hereinafter* – *ІР НБУВ*) [Institute of Manuscripts of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine], F. III, D. 42413, F. 1.

Mariya Grinchenko, who being in Lviv in 1904, did not behave in a "Galician" way. When staying at the hotel, Mariya Grinchenko checked-in with her name, not of her husband. Because of this, strangers knocked on her door all night as they believed that a "lady easy in her morals" (a prostitute) had settled there.⁴⁶

Anastasia Grinchenko sadly describes her first impression of Lviv and complains about local customs: "I do not know what will happen next, but for a while, I can say that if I knew what was waiting for me, I would probably not have gone to Lviv. It is far from not only to Europe but even somewhat to Russia. It is difficult to believe how many old-fashioned traditions and prejudices exist, how much fearful personal enmity is."⁴⁷ When Anastasia got used to these rules, she became involved in the fight for women's rights.

Galician families, good friends of her family, the Pankivskas, the Hnatyuks, and the Shukhevychs took care of the life of Anastasia Grinchenko. With their help, Anastasia settled in the St. Olga dormitory for girls. A rather close friendship appeared between Anastasia Grinchenko and Daryna Shukhevych. The girls went to University together, worked in various community societies sharing their vision on the future of women and society. Although the head of the family, Volodymyr Shukhevych, maintained the local rules: he "picked up and saw" Anastasia to the apartment where she lived, the owner of the rented house was critical of this. Suddenly, she denied Anastasia in renting the apartment, probably due to the girl's "too independent" life. In a letter as a reaction to the circumstances of her daughter's life, Marya Grinchenko advises her to "always be alert and tackle such cases wisely – you need to learn from life."⁴⁸ Thus, unlike the Galician society, the Grinchenkos supported their daughter's desire for free movement, independence, and activity.

Galician customs annoyed Anastasia as in Vienna a young woman could go to the theatre on her own, while in Lviv it was considered the harlotry behaviour. A girl could not appear on the street without her mother, aunt, or maid attached to her, and only the father or the groom could accompany her. Such restrictions made a depressing impression⁴⁹: "... You ask why I want to Kyiv? To understand it, you must visit it and see everything with your eyes and hear with your ears.... At every step, you have to open such Americas that you will only find yourself staying 'with your hands open' and wonder how happened something like this."

⁴⁶ Дмитро Дорошенко, *Мої спогади про давнє-минуле* (1901-1914) [My memories of the past], Вінніпег, Видавнича Спілка "Тризуб", 1949, с. 51-52.

⁴⁷ *IP НБУВ*, ф. III, D. 36673, F. 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, D. 44465, F. 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, D. 36722, F. 1-2.

Confirmation of partner and democratic relations of the daughter with her mother is evidenced by the answer of Maria: "You're complaining about outdated traditions and prejudices. We have to adhere to their customs, but in general, it's worth living on your own traditions". She further advises her daughter: "Do not waste your young age on sadness and hopelessness but carefully and boldly go forward to build your life so that your mind and heart were in harmony, and people will benefit from it."⁵⁰

Understanding her daughter's situation, Maria Grinchenko supported her, taught her to find positives in all life circumstances, not to lose the spirit, and to become more familiar with the land. However, the girl's longing to explore the local cultural life restricted her right to self-movement. Anastasia Grinchenko's letters from Lviv (1903) vividly highlighted the outdated patriarchal social norms. In response to her mother's suggestion to study Galician culture, Nastia writes: "... It is impossible to go with Odarka (Daryna Shukhevych) because Odarka will not go either, here are routine customs. Well, what trends are here! I will not go to the Hnatiuks because it will be late. In Kyiv that could be, but in Lviv morals are wild!"⁵¹ Or: "...I didn't go to the Philharmonic, Mrs. Paneiko has never had free time, and I cannot go there alone. Nobody will go with a friend either because this is not allowed here."⁵²

The educational situation was also not an easy one. It is known that the first students of Lviv University faced gender prejudices. The desire of women to study was often interpreted as abnormal or as trespass of family priority. They were suspected of bad intentions. Not only the Galician society, but the male students themselves treated females distrustfully. This situation was illustrated by Anastasia Grinchenko's letter to her parents, in which she complained: "Based on of the attitude to us, all our male students can be divided into three categories: 1) those who understand us and treat as friends; 2) those who look at us ironically, unfavourably and as at emancipated ones, and finally the worst 3) who think that a lady can only make passes and flirt and nothing more, and behaves accordingly."⁵³ "...And we have another friend who said that soon men would have to cook dinner because women started going to the University."⁵⁴ Teachers (usually Polish professors) looked at the female student scornfully considered women's

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, D. 44453, F. 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, D. 36673, F. 1-2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, D. 3670, F. 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, D. 36683, F. 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, D. 36695, F. 1.

education as dangerous for the stability of society. Nastia expressed her feelings and thoughts about this in another letter. "Do not think that national enmity speaks to me, not at all. It is necessary to endure a lot to pass quietly for half an hour between Polish academics under their ironic smiles and sharpness. Sometimes I bite my lips and ready to cry ..."55

Another important issue, as in the life of Lesia Ukrainka so for Anastasia Grinchenko, was her personal life. The correspondence evidenced the concerns of her parents about the uncertainty of her relationship with her husband Mykola Sakharov. Maria Grinchenko writes to her daughter: "If you are planning to marry Dr. S. (Mykola Sakharov – Authors), I would very much recommend him to finish high school. You know, my dear child, when you are young, everything seems as "love makes a cottage a castle", but as the life wind blows, it becomes cold in a "cottage", it is not a palace or just a cosy house. Mind your desires. We are upset, we are worried about your troubled destiny, we sorrow, and we wish to see you already on some more confident path."56

The parents accepted any choice of their daughter, but the older generation, namely, grandfather Dmytro Grinchenko was quite critical about that. In a strict form in his letter, he also expressed his position on the independent departure of his granddaughter to St. Petersburg as a free listener of women's courses. "... Dear Nastia! We have received your letter, we were surprised and amazed at the same time by your stay in St. Petersburg, you will never change, the courses will not give you anything good, unless they get you into active liberation movement, for which you can get to places remote or not quite remote (to the exile – Authors)". The grandfather emphasises that "... due to lack of experience, you will fall into the ranks of dissolute students, who welcome free love and revolutionary depravity, and that for the liberation idea and the success of the revolution... even depravity will not stop you."57

It is worth emphasising that the Grinchenko family supported their daughter in her private life and political activity as follows from letters and public correspondence. When only a few women were involved in political life, Nastia Grinchenko was an active member of the first political party in the Over Dnieper, namely, the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party. Her leadership qualities were manifested in the organisation of "Lubny public self-defence" during the revolution of 1905–1907. That was a political-administrative committee of the Ukrainian na-

55 *Ibid.*, D.36699, F. 2.

56 *Ibid.*, D. 44346, F. 7.

57 *Ibid.*, D. 44284, F. 2.

tional forces' representation, which acted as a local government of the Lubny city and its environs in Poltava. The main achievement of the Lubny Republic was the effective protection of public order and the prevention of Jewish massacres. Anastasia was imprisoned for political activities. Her negative attitude to the official church marriage formed under the influence of social-democratic ideas. Nastia's parents were understanding of her beliefs, although they adhered to a different ideology.⁵⁸

Borys Grinchenko's father receives an article "Women's Movement in Galicia" written by his daughter in the Russian language, where Anastasia summarises her impressions: "The position of a woman here today (in Galicia) is much more difficult than in Russia. Every step of a woman, and especially of a girl, is bound up by the tangled system of meaningless traditions. The girl can hardly appear on the street, and even in society, without a mother or aunt. Not to mention the fact that the highest point of indecency is when a girl dared to go out with a young man! Along with this, the same girl is absolutely free to attend university lectures with the same young people, and no one will be surprised or see something improper in it. This nonsense catches the eye of every stranger, and one can only wonder how those who are most affected by it do not actually notice it."⁵⁹

Anastasia's mother, Maria Grinchenko, in the early twentieth century translated the plays "Nora" by Henrik Ibsen and "In the birth family" by Hermann Sudermann, which, to her mind, showed how patriarchal traditions restrained a woman in individual development and demonstrated the evolution of a "new woman" able of breaking established restrictions. According to Iryna Yakovleva, these translations have become "a significant part of the purposeful work" of the Grinchenko family in women's emancipation.⁶⁰

CONCLUSIONS

The ego-documents of the Kosach and Grinchenko families were first used to study the women's movement in the Ukrainian lands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The sources involved allowed reconstructing the wom-

⁵⁸ Марія Загірня, *Спогади...*, с. 120.

⁵⁹ *ІР НБУВ*, Ф. І, Д. 31493, Ф. 1-1v.

⁶⁰ Ірина Яковлева, *Родина Грінченків і "жіноче питання" у загальному соціокультурному контексті початку ХХ ст.* [Grinchenko family and the "women's issue" in the general socio-cultural context of the early XXth], in "Українська біографістика" [Biographistica Ukrainica], 2018, Вип. 16, с. 80.

en's movement in more detail and highlighting features of the woman's rights struggle had not been previously analysed. First of all, it concerns the impact of emancipation on the everyday domestic practices faced by active Ukrainian womanhood, namely relationships with male colleagues, problems of education, personal life, marriage, job search, women's place in social and political life, etc. The use of the unexplored epistolary heritage determines the originality and uniqueness of the author's findings.

The letters of Lesia Ukrainka and Anastasia Grinchenko allowed identifying and comparing the distinctiveness of the struggle for women's rights in Ukrainian lands under the rule of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. Although the regulation of social relations in Austria-Hungary was more progressive (the adopted right to higher education, broader rights in the field of work, inheritance, etc.) than that of Dnieper Ukraine, the changes in the position of women in Galicia were mostly declarative and not reflected in daily life.

Officials of both empires prohibited and persecuted women's organisations as they reasonably considered them an integral part of the Ukrainian liberation movement. According to Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, the national deal was that special duty uniting all Ukrainian women's organisations, wherever they existed. Their participants "considered their interests not as a part of the feminism tasks, but part of the Ukrainian community."⁶¹ This is evidenced by the ego-documents of the Kosach and Grinchenko families. Their members considered equality of women as a sign of democratisation in public life as free media, education in their native language, freedom of speech, and wide electoral rights.

⁶¹ Марта Богачевська-Хом'як, *Націоналізм і фемінізм: провідні ідеології чи інструменти для з'ясування проблем?* [Nationalism and Feminism: Leading Ideologies or Tools for Troubleshooting?], Львів, ВНТЛ-Класика, 2003, с. 200.