

# CLANDESTINE UKRAINIAN HIGHER SCHOOLS IN LVIV

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*An outline of the history of the Ukrainian University and the Ukrainian Higher Technical School in Lviv is presented. They were two academic institutions functioning underground between 1921 and 1925 in order to provide possibility for the higher education for the Ukrainians who were deprived of the opportunity to get education legally on such level in the Polish state after the Polish-Ukrainian war (1918-1919). The foundation, development and decay of these institutions are reviewed. The following issues related to their underground activities are considered: participation of various organizations in their development, organization of the educational process, teaching staff and financial support.*

**Keywords:** Lviv, Ukrainian Higher Schools, clandestine Ukrainian University, clandestine Ukrainian Technical Higher School

## **The rise of the underground institutions**

At the end of World War I, a new armed conflict erupted in Galicia, as the recently-minted Polish state and the West Ukrainian People's Republic fought for its territory. In the course of the Polish-Ukrainian war, the Ukrainians were defeated and on July 16-17, 1919, the Ukrainian troops were forced to cross the Zbruch River, which was the then eastern border the West Ukrainian People's Republic. The armed liberation movement in Galicia lost strength and the West Ukrainian People's Republic ceased to exist.

However, the Ukrainian society still cherished hope that the Polish domination would be short-lived. People were under illusion that at least the Ukrainians right to autonomy, let alone independence, could be defended on diplomatic level. At the same time, in the international politics Eastern Galicia was viewed as a separate law-governed state unit, the fate of which formally depended on the victorious Entente states.

These were the circumstances under which a unique phenomenon emerged in Lviv, i.e. the clandestine Ukrainian University (and in some time the clandestine Ukrainian Polytechnic) that became the example of the Ukrainians' struggle for their identity and the right to receive education in their own language. It appeared as society's reaction to the changes introduced by the Polish authorities, particularly in the field of education. Immediately after the capital of Galicia, the city of Lviv was seized on November 22, 1919, the Poles renamed the Lviv University (named after Franz I) to the Jan Kazimierz University and the existing Ukrainian departments were abolished. Polish remained the only language of instruction. On August 14, 1919, the office of the rector of the Jan Kazimierz University announced that only Polish citizens who had served in the Polish army and citizens of the states, which were allies of Poland, would be entitled to receive education at that University. Shortly thereafter, the Polish government issued similar orders which affected other universities as well. It was obvious that in this way, the opponents of the Poles at that time were deprived of the right to receive higher education on the territory occupied by Poland and in the Polish state as well. The Ukrainians, who were fighting for Ukraine with arms in their hands, were among them. Going abroad to study posed a big problem, too. The Ukrainian society tried to find the way out of the existing situation.

Fighting for the right to receive higher education was not novel to the Ukrainians. The second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries in Lviv were marked by the endeavor to establish the Ukrainian University.

## **The first attempts to launch courses of higher education**

The first solution to the problem was proposed by the scientists of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Thus, on August 19, 1919 full members of the society, namely Vasyl Shchurat, Ilarion Svientsitsky, Ivan Krypiakevych, Bohdan Barvinsky and

# УНІВЕРСИТЕТСЬКІ КУРСИ

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2/11/20

## I. Філософський виді.

### 1. Філософія.

Д-р Степан Балей: Введення в студію філософії, 1 год. тижн. — Психологія, 4 год. тижн. — Психологічні вправи, 1 год. тижн.

### 2. Історія.

Д-р Мирон Кордуба: Весняна історія: середні віки, 5 год. тижн. — Семинар, 2 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Василь Гарасимчук: Історія київської держави, 2 год. тижн. — Україна в системі європейської рівноваги XVII—XVIII в., 2 год. тижн. — Семинар (княжі часи), 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Іван Крип'якевич: Історія української держави XVII—XVIII в., 3 год. тижн. — Семинар (Козаччина) 2 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Богдан Баранський: Вступ до історичних наук: історична методика, 1 год. тижн. — Латинська палеографія з вправами 2 год. тижн. — Основи бібліотечарства 1 год. тижн.

### 3. Порівнянна філологія.

Прелегента і предмет означити пізніше.

### 4. Клясична філологія.

Д-р Роман Ізевич: Введення в класичну філологію 4 год. тижн. — Історична граматика латинської мови, 2 год. тижн. — Семинарні вправи 1 год. тижн.  
 Прелегента грецької літератури і мови означити пізніше.

### 5. Славістика.

Д-р Іларіон Свенціцький: Граматика старославянської мови, 2 год. тижн. — Культурно-національні вземини Славян, 2 год. тижн. — Семинар, 2 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Іван Брик: Граматика чеської мови, 1 год. тижн. — Ческо-українські звязки в добу відродження української літератури, 2 год. тижн.

### 6. Україністика.

Д-р Ярослав Гординський: Історія української літератури XI—XV в., 3 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Іларіон Свенціцький: Найважливіші пам'ятки української мови до XV в., 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Іван Брик: Палеографічні прикмети українських літературних пам'яток до XV в., 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Кирило Студинський: Історія української літератури XVI—XVII в., 3 год. тижн. — Граматика староукраїнської мови, 2 год. тижн. — Семинар 4 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Василь Шувар: Історія української мови XIX в., 3 год. тижн. — Семинар (Інтерпретація писань Котляревського, Шевченка, Куліша і Франка), 2 год. тижн.

### 7. Германістика.

Прелегента і предмет означити пізніше.

### 8.\*) Математика і астрономія.

Д-р Володимир Левницький: Аналіза вища, часть I, 4 год. тижн. — Математичні вправи, 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Василь Стасюк: Геометрія аналітична і синтетична, 3 год. тижн. — Математичні вправи, 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Володимир Кучер: Аналіза векторова, 1 год. тижн.

### 9. Фізика і хемія.

Д-р Володимир Левницький: Вступ до космографії, 1 год. тижн.  
 Прелегента для вичеркової геометрії означити пізніше; так само учителя рисунків.  
 Д-р Володимир Кучер: Механіка аналітична, 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Володимир Кучер: Вибрані питання з електронної теорії, 2 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Роман Цегельський: Досвідна фізика, часть I, 3 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Юліан Гриняк: Фізикальна хемія, 3 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Володимир Вагинський: Хемія загальна, 4 год. тижн.

## II. Біологічні науки.

Д-р Олександр Тисовський: Ботаніка, 3 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Іван Раковський: Зоологія систематична, 3 год. тижн. — Первозвірі (Protozoa), 1 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Олександр Тисовський: Порівняна анатомія, 3 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Маріан Панчишин: Анатомія чоловіка, часть I, 6 год. тижн. — Анатомічні вправи (числяться за 10 год. тижн.).  
 Д-р Іван Раковський: Антропология загальна, 2 год. тижн. — Передісторичний чоловік, 1 год. тижн.

## III. Лекторати

для чеської, польської, французької, англійської і італійської мови означити пізніше.

## IV. Правничий виді.

Д-р Маке Левницький: Римське право: інституції і історія жерел, 3 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Юліан Зань: Римське право спадкове, 5 год. тижн.  
 О. д-р Василь Масцох: Церковне право, 5 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Філіп Евін: Історія українського права, 3 год. тижн. — Філософія права, 3 год. тижн.  
 Ст. радн. Ярослав Ільницький: Австрійське право приватне: часть загальна, 3 год. тижн.  
 Ст. радн. Александр Книшкевич: Австрійське право приватне річне, 4 год. тижн.  
 Ст. радн. Маріан Онискевич: Австрійське право гіпотечне і конкурсна ординація, 3 год. тижн.  
 Радн. двору д-р Петро Стебельський: Австрійське право карне, 5 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Володимир Вергановський: Австрійське поступовання в спірних справах, 5 год. тижн. — Австрійська екзакуційна ординація, 3 год. тижн.  
 Радн. двору д-р Петро Стебельський: Суспільна економія, 3 год. тижн.  
 Ст. радн. Роман Чайківський: Австрійське право торговельне і векселе, 5 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Юрій Панейко: Політичне право, 5 год. тижн.  
 Радн. Лев Єх: Наука адміністрації, 6 год. тижн.  
 Д-р Еуген Ловницький: Міжнародне право, 4 год. тижн.

## V. Богословський виді.

Виклади і прелегенти будуть такі, як у минулих роках, розі в гр.-кат. духовній семінарії. Деякі зміни означити пізніше.  
 Реченьць отворення і льокалі викладів подається до відома перед кінем цього місяця.  
 Львів, 20. IX. 1919.

\*) Групи 8, 9 і 10 заасоціюють науковій потребі слухачів медицина і техніка і т. п. року.

The program of the university courses offered by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the winter semester of 1919/1920 academic year. CDIAL.

Volodymyr Herasymchuk, agreed on the following after the meeting: *“finally, to assist the Ukrainian youth, university students, who fervently wish to devote themselves to their studies with the aim to get education they need, to initiate the establishment of the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv with three full-fledged faculties, i.e. the Faculty of Philosophy, the Faculties of Law and Theology. As initiators, we have decided to address the Shevchenko Scientific Society with a proposal to take control of the process of bringing this idea to life devoting one of the upcoming meetings of the Presidium and all three scientific Sections to discussing the issue...”*

Within a month, the curriculum for the winter semester of 1919/20 academic year was formed and as early as September 20, 1919, it was published and printed on the printing press.

A week later, on September 27, the representative of the authorities in Eastern Galicia was officially notified of the intention to launch university courses, but the initiative was promptly banned that same day. Attempts to declare the start of the courses under the auspices of other Ukrainian organizations which had the right to conduct courses on the basis of their organization Charter, namely the Petro Mohyla Society for Scholarly Lectures and Lviv Stauroupegon Institute, were unsuccessful as well.

### **Student self-organization**

When outlining the history of the clandestine Ukrainian University (and in some time the clandestine Ukrainian Polytechnic) we cannot omit the student movement. At that time students, the majority of whom were veterans of the Polish-Ukrainian war and pre-war activists, were one of the driving forces in creation of the underground educational institutions, as they constantly monitored and supported such educational initiatives.

Being deprived of the opportunity to get higher education, students vigorously took action in order to get it. At first, activities of the pre-war student organizations were revived. Among the most remarkable was the “Academichna Hromada” (*“Academic Community”*), as students began to unite around it. In her memoirs, Sofia Pankevych-Smishko stated that after its establishment the organization relocated from the buildings which belonged to St. George’s Church to the People’s House. Upon the initiative of the Lviv Polytechnic students (namely Irena Lyzhehubska and Ivan Kandiak) the decision was made in the general meeting of the “Academichna Hromada” in the early 1920s, to create study groups that would organize and conduct higher scientific courses, with professors giving lectures to a small number of students. On March 7, 1920, the mathematical and natural sciences study group was formed. It consisted of the students from polytechnic, medical and philosophical departments, who studied mathematical and natural sciences. The main concern was to organize presentations for those three groups of

students. Between March and April 1920, the lectures on two courses (“Introduction to Higher Mathematics” and “Introduction to Descriptive Geometry”) were delivered. The next step was taken in April 1920, when three-month courses for technical draftsmen were organized by the Ukrainian Technical Society, as technical draftsmen were in high demand in the technical offices of the city. The courses were launched in the early 1920s and were conducted according to the first year curriculum of the Lviv Polytechnic. This was done on the basis of the Charter of the Society. Classes were held in the premises of St. George’s Cathedral with the assistance of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and with the financial support of the Ukrainian Civic Committee. In the spring of 1920, medical courses were launched and in the autumn, under the auspices of the “Academic Hromada”, philosophical and legal courses were conducted as well.

More and more students started to enroll in the courses. Courses for so many people who volunteered to study could no longer be held in the build-



“Academichna Hromada” (“Academic Community”), 1896. Sitting (left-hand side): Mykola Lastowetzki, Ivan Rakowsky, Sydir Holubovych, Hryts Harmatii. Standing: Roman Stefanovych, Ostap Vesolovsky, O. Hrabovsky, Yu. Drozdovsky, Volodymyr Hnatiuk, Max Pidliashetsky. *LNNB*.

ing which belonged to the Academic Society. The organizers began to search for suitable places in different buildings, particularly the houses of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the "Prosvita" Society (*"Enlightenment" Society*) and the National Museum. New teachers were invited, the educational program was expanded and teaching became more systematic. In the meeting of the General Council of the Petro Mohyla Society for Scholarly Lectures in Lviv, which dates back to November 21, 1920, it was stated, *"Concerning the university courses, the following decision was made: after the announcement and promotion of the first series of ordinary lectures the launch of the systematic popular and scientific lectures for university students will be announced. In order not to be banned by the Polish authorities, the lectures should be given successively, presented under separate headings; first of all, the course in History, after that in Literature, etc. Obviously, afterwards the Polish authorities would be interpellated on issuing the permission to establish the official university courses."*

In December 1920, full-fledged university courses were in progress embracing three faculties, namely the Philosophical faculty, the Medical faculty and the Faculty of Law. Lecturing in the Philosophical faculty started on December 17, 1920. 17 students enrolled and classes were conducted by 9 lecturers. There were 14 students and 3 lecturers in the Medical faculty and the Faculty of Law had 18 students and 7 lecturers.

The expansion of the courses raised the question of their coordination and management. Thus, in April 1921, the Board of the Philosophical faculty was elected. Vasyl Shchurat was appointed dean, Volodymyr Levytsky was appointed deputy dean and Ivan Krypiakevych held the position of secretary. Dean of the Faculty of Law was Volodymyr Verhanovsky, the deputy dean was Maksym Levytsky and the secretary was Roman Kovshevych. The Medical faculty was chaired by Marian Panchyshyn. Maksym Muzyka performed the duties of deputy dean. Vasyl Shchurat, the then Chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, was elected head of the Senate.

In April 1921, the Board of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv made an attempt to find out the conditions with which the Ukrainian students would like to study at the University. Having reviewed the responses, it was noted that the Ukrainian students wanted the University to return to the educational process which existed before the Polish-Ukrainian war, when the Ukrainian professors gave lectures. Also, the authorities were expected to allow all Ukrainian students to apply for the courses without any reservations and approvals from the Polish officials, institutions or organizations. However, those suggestions were rejected by the University rector. At that point the cooperation between the students and the Jan Kazimierz University came to an end and the Ukrainians boycotted it. In response, on April 29, 1921, the Polish government banned the Ukrainian Student Union which initiated the boycott.

The university courses had been conducted until June 30 of the 1920/1921

academic year, the time when the graduation ceremony took place. 33 students passed the first exam in Law, 16 of them with honors; however, only one student passed the second one. In addition, there were 12 students in the Philosophical faculty, 16 students in the Medical faculty and 37 in the Faculty of Law who successfully completed the colloquia.

## **Beginning of the activities of the clandestine University**

The work continued during the holidays. On July 1-3, 1921, the Congress of the Ukrainian students of Eastern Galicia took place in Lviv. The outcome of the Congress was a resolution which consisted of 21 action points, a third part of which was devoted to the issue of the Ukrainian University. Most notably, they decided to continue establishing higher schools in Lviv, encourage students to study in Lviv rather than abroad (except for those whose educational needs could not be satisfied because of the major they had chosen) and not only boycott the people who entered the Polish universities, but also their parents.

At the same time, a meeting of the University course lecturers and those who had joined the teaching staff was held. In that meeting the Senate of the Ukrainian University for the 1921/22 academic year was elected. The title of rector was held by Vasyl Shchurat, deputy rector was Marian Panchyshyn, deans were Myron Korduba (the Philosophical faculty), Volodymyr Verhanovsky (the Faculty of Law) and Ivan Kurovets (the Medical faculty). The Senate also included deputy deans, namely Volodymyr Levytsky, Maksym Levytsky and Maksym Muzyka, as well as delegates Ivan Krypiakevych, Roman Kovshevych and Myron Vakhnianyn. I. Krypiakevych was elected secretary of the Senate. The Senate immediately embarked on creating the curriculum and selecting lecturers.

In September 1921, all decisions and practical steps which were needed to establish the Ukrainian University in Lviv were supported and approved by the Ukrainian Inter-Party Council. At that time it was the highest Ukrainian political institution in Galicia.

The enrollment in the Ukrainian University began on September 15, 1921. Before that, a request signed by V. Shchurat was published in the Ukrainian periodicals. Local citizens were asked to provide students who were to come to Lviv to study with accommodation. This announcement caused considerable dissatisfaction among the Polish students, so they demanded the police to cease the activities of the Ukrainian University. In response the police inspected the premises of the Academic Society. During the inspection, about 80 indexes from the university courses which had already been conducted and some entry cards were taken away. As a result, the premises were sealed. On March 18, 1922, the Academic Society itself was banned. What is more, rector of the University, V. Shchurat,



and active students J. Chyzh and M. Matchak were interrogated by the police. In some time, the police searched V. Shchurat's apartment looking for the documents which were related to the University.

That is why, given the attitude of authorities, which led to the illegal status of the University and underground studies in it, the contemporaries call it *clandestine*.

At that time a shot was fired; the shot which, among other things, landed in the Ukrainian University case.

### Work despite being chased by the police

On Sunday September 25, 1921, Stepan Fedak, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian student youth of Lviv and a fighter of the Ukrainian Military Organization, attempted to take the life of the head of the Polish state, Józef Piłsudski, who came to Lviv to open the Eastern Trade fair. Józef Piłsudski was left unharmed, but Lviv Governor Kazimierz Grabowski was wounded. The reason for the attempted assassination was the census which was announced by the authorities in the



Senate of the clandestine Ukrainian University in Lviv, 1921. Sitting: Myron Korduba, Marian Panchyshyn, Vasyl Shchurat, Ivan Kurovets, Max Levytsky. Standing: Ivan Rakowsky, Volodymyr Verhanovsky, Roman Kovshevych, Maksym Muzyka, Myron Vakhnianyn. LNNB.



summer and was due to take place on September 30. The Ukrainians were against it, as Eastern Galicia still had not been formally recognized as a part of Poland on the international level.

The fact that S. Fedak was a student of the clandestine University prompted the Polish print media to link S. Fedak's attempted assassination to the creation of the Ukrainian University. That is why, after the attempt to assassinate Józef Piłsudski, the Ukrainian students were subjected to massive repression. A lot of them were arrested. At the beginning of October, rector of the University, V. Shchurat, as well as secretary, B. Barvinsky, and several professors of the Ukrainian University were arrested and had to serve several months in prison. Also, there was a different kind of pressure put on the University professors. The Lviv School *Curatorium* urged all the Ukrainian University professors who held public office to deny being involved in the Ukrainian University activities. The "Union of judges" ("*związek sędziów*") and the Bar Association wanted to subject lawyers who taught at the University to disciplinary liability.

Despite the widespread persecution, on October 23, a solemn inauguration and an inaugural lecture took place in the Great Hall of the People's House. It was legal, since it was organized on behalf of the Petro Mohyla Society for Scholarly Lectures. Deputy rector Marian Panchyshyn made the inauguration speech instead of rector, Vasyl Shchurat, who was in prison.

Also, on October 1, 1921, the first 1921/22 academic year started in the Technical faculty of the Ukrainian University. Classes for technical students were mainly conducted in the buildings of Ivan Levynsky's factories with the assistance of V. Luchkiv, who from 1921 to 1926 had performed the duties of manager of the factory properties. As Bohdan Hrab, a former student of the clandestine Polytechnic, recollected "*the first academic year began in October 1921 and was divided into two semesters – winter and summer... At the opening, there was neither a traditional immatriculation nor a traditional song "Gaudeamus igitur". The modest hall of the Ukrainian Student House could not accommodate hundreds of students. Those who did not manage to find a place in the hall, stood in the hallways and in the courtyard. Civilian clothes mingled with the worn out military uniforms of the former soldiers. I lack words to describe all the greetings and enthusiasm. A short speech by the rector and the representative of the Ukrainian student organization crowned this unprecedented historic event. And after that, hard work began.*"

Due to the persecution of the students and the disbandment of existing student organizations, on November 20, 1921, the second Congress of Ukrainian Students was held in Lviv. It initiated the creation of the "Regional Student Organization" which became central to all Ukrainian students in Galicia. The Board (*the Ukrainian Regional Student Council*) was elected; the highest governing body was the General Regional Student Congress. One of the main tasks of the newly created organization was to ensure and support the work of the Ukrainian higher educational institutions.

The persecution of the University escalated to the extent that the police unveiled where the classes were held and disrupted them by breaking into the rooms where they were taking place. As a result, it was necessary to look for new “non-discredited” premises, which were sometimes unsuitable for conducting lectures. The professors and the students, as well as their private properties, were searched. At 6 o'clock on December 10, 1921, the Polish police simultaneously broke into six halls where lectures were held. For example, in the premises of the school of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (after 1926 the “Ridna Shkola” Society [*“Native school” Society*]) located on 12 Mochnackiego Street (now 12 Drahomanova Street) 67 students stood with their hands up for almost an hour. The police carried out a search, seizing the list of attendees, notes and supplies. 8 students were taken to the police station. The professors who gave lectures were interrogated and their apartments were searched. Thus, on December 11, 1921, an inspection of Kyrylo Studynsky's house was conducted.

From a later memorial of the Senate of the Ukrainian University we got to know that over the first year of the University activity, more than one hundred students had been arrested, some of them had been in prison for more than a year. The University professors were also arrested and those who were in public service were taken to disciplinary court.

Despite the police raids, the University didn't stop working. At the end of the first academic year, on May 28, 1922, a meeting of the University Senate was held.



Students of the Medical Faculty of the Ukrainian University in Lviv, 1921. *Panchyshyn Museum of the History of Medicine of Galicia, Lviv.*

During the meeting the Board was elected. V. Shchurat was appointed rector and M. Panchyshyn got the position of deputy rector. M. Vakhnianyn was elected dean of the Medical faculty, I. Kurovets was deputy dean and M. Muzyka was delegate. In the Faculty of Law and the Philosophical faculty deans and deputy deans remained the same after the election. In the same meeting the official name of the University was approved: the Ukrainian University in Lviv.

On June 30, 1922, the first academic year of the Ukrainian University in Lviv finished and the results were the following: 1 258 was the overall number of students, 69 of which were female. There were 235 regular students (including 35 female students) in the Philosophical faculty, 608 in the Faculty of Law (including 12 female students) and 185 regular students in the Medical faculty (including 22 female students). The rest were, so-called, "irregular" attendees and non-degree students. In order to be a regular student it was necessary to submit the documents which certified graduation from classical or "real" high schools (Realschule), which majored in sciences. Everyone who was unable to provide such documents could only be trained as irregular or non-degree students.

At the beginning of the spring semester in March 1922, the Technical faculty turned into an independent educational institution, namely the Ukrainian Polytechnic School in Lviv. In September the same year, the Charter of the School was approved. The School consisted of the Faculty of Civil Engineering, the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and the Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture. Victor Luchkiv, an engineer, was elected rector.

That year at the Ukrainian University there were 58 departments, 26 of which were in the Philosophical faculty, 22 were in the Faculty of Law and 10 in the Medical faculty. At the Ukrainian Polytechnic School there were 8 departments and a total of 150 students.

## **In the international politics**

Gradually, the case of the clandestine Ukrainian University and the Ukrainian Higher Schools (the name refers to both, underground University and the Polytechnic School) in general evoked wide international response. For example, in the summer of 1922, the Congress of the Ukrainian Students from Western Ukrainian lands and emigration was held in Prague. It was attended by the representatives of the clandestine Ukrainian University, who told everyone about the difficult circumstances the institution is in and mentioned the persecution led by the Polish authorities. The delegates of the Congress addressed the representatives of the All-Ukrainian student body in different countries asking them to help the clandestine University, at least morally, so it could be recognized by the majority of foreign higher educational institutions as quickly as possible. The participants of the Congress sent note of protest to the Genoa Conference condemning the actions the Polish authorities in Eastern Galicia had taken against the Ukrainian

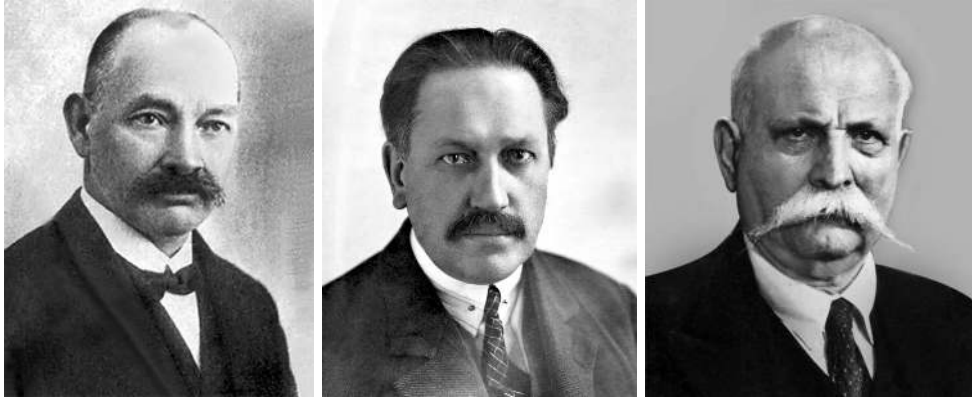
University. The conference secretary received an answer that the issue would be brought up during the negotiations with the Polish government.

In addition, the Central Union of Ukrainian Students was created at the Congress in order to coordinate the work of the entire Ukrainian student body; the Ukrainian Student Aid Center, located in Prague, was established to provide financial support to students who emigrated. The Central Union of Ukrainian Students became a member of the *Confederation Internationale d'Etudants*, so the case of the Ukrainian University was constantly brought up at the congresses held by this organization.

Since the foundation of the Ukrainian Student Aid Center, one more trend had emerged. More and more students were going to study abroad. The Ukrainian Regional Student Council had no objection when students who could afford it moved abroad. However, if a candidate who wanted to study overseas counted on help of the Ukrainian Student Aid Center, they had to get the consent of the Ukrainian Regional Student Council. There were certain requirements which had to be satisfied. For instance, only the students who could not obtain higher education of their choice in Galicia, due to the lack of professional Ukrainian higher educational institutions, were supposed to be assisted. The same rule applied to the students of the Medical faculty and the Ukrainian Polytechnic School, where students could only study for two years. Additionally, the list of the requirements included knowledge of one foreign language, or interestingly Esperanto, an artificial language which was very popular at that time, as people hoped that it could become a universal language of international communication. However, such foreign languages as German, Russian, Czech and Italian were not on the list, because most of the students knew them.

One of the consequences of intervention of the Ukrainian students in the international arena was the law on voivodeship autonomy and within two years, the foundation of the Ukrainian University adopted by the Polish Sejm on September 26, 1922. Preparing this law, the Polish authorities aimed to persuade the Council of Ambassadors to transfer formal rights to rule Eastern Galicia to the Polish state.

At the same time, on November 5, 1922, the Polish government planned to hold elections to the Sejm. Eastern Galicia was also included in the electoral process and was divided into constituencies, although it had not yet been fully recognized as a part of Poland. Ukrainian radical forces, including the Ukrainian Military Organization, launched a campaign against the election which, in addition to public awareness campaign, consisted of acts of sabotage and terror against the Polish officials and the Ukrainians who supported the Poles (also known as *Polonophiles*). The most famous one was the murder of Sydir Tverdokhlib who was a candidate for deputy to the Sejm. Therefore, at the end of October, 1922, due to the unstable situation caused by the elections in Eastern Galicia, the Polish authorities arrested almost all Ukrainian intelligentsia as well as almost all the



Rectors of the Ukrainian University in Lviv: V. Shchurat (left), M. Panchyshyn, E. Davydiak.

students and officials of the clandestine University. They were held in prison for a month. As a result, educational process was suspended.

On October 15, 1922, the Petro Mohyla Society for Scholarly Lectures planned to hold the inauguration of the university courses in the premises of the Musical Society named after Mykola Lysenko. The Polish police stood in the way of conducting the lectures and forbade I. Rakowsky, head of the Society, to arrange any lectures. None of those who came to the inauguration and waited for the speeches of rector V. Shchurat and Professor I. Svientsitsky were allowed into the premises. In response, students and representatives of the Ukrainian community staged a loud demonstration. They sang the Ukrainian national anthem and several patriotic songs. When the police started to break up the demonstration, students united into groups and marched along the streets of the city singing.

Due to such persecution of the Polish authorities, on November 15, 1922, the Senate of the clandestine Ukrainian University sent a memorial to one of the highest international organizations of the time, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference in Paris and the *Union des Nationalités* in Geneva, providing a detailed overview of the situation the University was in. The University Senate expressed their hope for getting help from the Supreme Council in the name of freedom of education. They protested against the violence of the occupation authority and Polish chauvinism and finally, they wanted to create the conditions which would allow the University to function properly.

At the end of November 1922, a delegation led by rector of the clandestine Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School Viktor Luchkiv left for Danzig (Gdańsk). He had *"a meeting with the then rector, Professor Friedrich Wilhelm Otto Schulze, in the presence of the head of the "Osнова" Union of Ukrainian Students in Danzig, namely Yurii Yaremkevych and student Yurko Lashkevych"*. Despite some difficulties in negotiations, the issue of maintaining work of the educational

institutions had been settled favorably. The member of the students delegation, Bohdan Hrab, shared his memories, "*Rector F. W. Otto Schulze, contributing with rector V. Luchkiv, had assured everybody that he would allow all Ukrainian students (if they got approval from the "Osnova" Union of Ukrainian Students in Danzig) to sign up for full-time courses in 1922/23 academic year even in December 1922, in spite the fact that the deadline for enrollment in the winter semester had already passed (namely in October). About 10 students took advantage of that opportunity and despite joining the course later, they managed to catch up with others in compulsory disciplines quite quickly, due to the fact that the level of education in Lviv, especially in the natural and mathematical sciences (Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry), was high.*" Thus, after completing the first and subsequently second year of studies in Lviv, students could continue their education abroad.

Nevertheless, the number of the departments in the Philosophical faculty and the Faculty of Law had increased that year. It meant that the number of lecturers had increased as well. Archbishop Josyf Slipyj wrote in his "Memoirs" that he had also received an offer to teach Canon Law in the Faculty of Law. The professional student societies had become more active. The "Philosofichna Hromada" ("*Philosophical Community*") was founded and united more than two hundred students. It initiated the following study groups: Ukrainian studies, classical philology as well as historical, natural and mathematical groups.

The 1922/23 academic year in the clandestine Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School began on December 1, 1922. The new Senate was elected, consisting of rector Viktor Luchkiv, deputy rector Ioanikii Shymonovych, and the deans of the faculties, namely dean of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering (Pavlo Volosenko), dean of the Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture (Vsevolod Levytsky) and dean of the Faculty of Construction Engineering (Vytovt Manastyrsky). Curricula, which had been developed, were made consistent with those of the European Technical Universities. There also had been an agreement signed with the Prague Polytechnic which promoted cooperation between the above-mentioned institution and the students of the Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture.

Taking into account the law adopted by the Polish authorities on September 26, 1922, which declared the establishment of the Ukrainian University in the foreseeable future, the Ukrainian Regional Student Council decided to make every effort to legalize the Ukrainian University in Lviv as private Ukrainian University. In order to do this, the Ukrainian Regional Student Council convened a meeting ("*Anketa*") to collectively find a solution to the problem. The Senate of the University, the leaders of the Ukrainian political parties and the heads of the cultural institutions were invited to the meeting, which was held on February 12, 1923. In the meeting the decision was made to continue supporting the University campaign as well as to elect the *Curatorium*, which was to consist of the rectors of the Ukrainian Higher Schools, representatives of the University Senate, three representatives of the student body and representatives of the Ukrainian organi-





University Commission of the clandestine University and Polytechnic. On the left-hand side: student Ivasechko, head of the Quaestor Office of the Ukrainian Polytechnic; student Yu. Vassyian, the university representative of the Ukrainian Regional Student Council; Dr. J. Hirniak, Professor of Engineering; student V. Martynets, economic advisor of the Ukrainian Regional Student Council; student V. Mudry, head of the Quaestor Office of the University; Professor I. Bryk, head; Professor V. Shchurat, rector of the University; Dr. R. Kovshevych, Professor of the University; Dr. M. Muzyka, Professor of the University; Professor of Engineering V. Luchkiv, rector of the Polytechnic. *LNNB*.

zations and political parties. Volodymyr Detsykevych (a former Vice-Governor of Galicia in the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) became head of the *Curatorium*; at that time he was the representative of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government in Lviv. Throughout the years of existence of the *Curatorium*, Volodymyr Detsykevych had always been its head and Vasyl Mudry had been its secretary.

At the same time, the Polish authorities negotiated with the Ukrainians the possibility of opening the University through the mediation of count Stanislaw Loś, who had the reputation of being an Ukrainophile. The representative from the Ukrainian side in the given negotiations was V. Shchurat, rector of the Ukrainian University. Negotiations had failed, which led to misunderstandings in the University Senate and mutual accusations. As a result, on March 8, 1923, V. Shchurat announced his resignation as rector.

On March 14, 1923, one event significantly changed the political reality for the Ukrainians: the annexation of Eastern Galicia to Poland. The Council of Ambassadors issued an act which assigned Eastern Galicia to Poland with the

proviso that the territory of Eastern Galicia would gain autonomy. Now that the Polish authorities had actually asserted power, their claim for the territory was officially recognized. However, the initial enthusiasm of the Ukrainian students concerning the establishment of the Ukrainian Higher Schools had not disappeared. Thus, in the meeting of the heads of regional and district student councils on March 27, it was decided to support the initiative by all means.

New realities led to the decision of the *Curatorium* to convene the second meeting to discuss issues related to the Ukrainian Higher Schools. In addition to the participants of the previous meeting, delegates from the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in Volhynia and representatives of the Ukrainian press took part in it (108 participants in total). The issues discussed were the legalization of the Ukrainian higher schools and their nationalization. Based on the results of the work, the *Curatorium* submitted a petition to the Polish Sejm and the Senate with a draft decision on the issue of the Ukrainian higher educational institutions. The Sejm sent the petition to the Education Commission which had never considered it.

With the active support of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, in March 1923, O. Novakivsky Art School was established as a separate faculty of the Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School. Oleksa Novakivsky was appointed dean of the faculty and artist Osyp Kurylas became his deputy. In L. Voloshyn's research it is stated that *"lecturers in the school were Professor of the Lviv University Ilarion Svientsitsky, director of the National Museum in Lviv; the History of Culture was taught by art critic Volodymyr Zalozetsky, Visual Anatomy – by psychologist Stefan Baley, Natural science – by Ivan Rakowsky (chief editor of the Ukrainian General Encyclopedia); architect Evhen Nahirny taught the subject of Perspective drawing, Volodymyr Peshchansky – painting techniques and technologies; the course of scenic design was delivered by emigrant poet Mykola Vorony. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky himself had taught the History of Art for two years. Twice a month the students of the higher schools came to the Metropolitan Chambers in order to listen to his fascinating lectures; they knew that in the Metropolitan's office some valuable albums and monographs, related to the topic they were about to discuss, had already been waiting for them on the tables."*

1 014 students enrolled in the University for the second academic year, whereas only 64 students applied to the Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School.

In June 1923, the Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School was renamed as the Ukrainian Higher Technical School in Lviv with a two-year term of study. At the beginning of the 1923/24 academic year, the Ukrainian Higher Technical School had already had four faculties, namely the Faculty of Civil Engineering (with 17 departments and two-year term of study), the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering (with 17 departments and two-year term of study), the Faculty of Chemistry (with 9 departments and one-year term of study) and the Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture (with 27 departments and two-year term of study). However, a bit



Students of the Philosophical Faculty of the Ukrainian University in Lviv. *Archive of the "Local History" project, Lviv.*

later, due to the lack of funding, the term of study in the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering was reduced to one year.

After March 14, 1923, in addition to the usual police raids and arrests, the Polish authorities employed other methods of fighting the Ukrainian University. They issued orders to launch disciplinary inquiries against those Ukrainians who taught in the Ukrainian higher educational institutions while being in public service. Thus on June 20, 1923, a letter from the Lviv School *Curatorium* was sent to all educational institutions with the demand that lecturers terminate their work in the underground institutions. Otherwise, they would be under threat of dismissal and disciplinary inquiry. On July 11, 1923, the *Curatorium* of the Lviv School District issued the order prohibiting professors of the state university-preparatory schools (i.e. *Gymnasiums*) to teach in the Ukrainian University. At the behest of the Polish police, these orders were brought to the attention of I. Rakowsky and other teachers of the Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium (V. Kuczer, Ya. Hordynsky, Yu. Poliansky).

It took a heavy toll on the Philosophical faculty, since most of its lectures were professors of the *Gymnasiums*. Therefore, the work of the faculty was in jeopardy as given the circumstances, some courses were terminated. The calls to the Ukrainian professors abroad to come and teach in Lviv did not help either. It was apparent, taken into account the conditions the University operated in.

## **The last period of the Ukrainian Higher Schools activities in new realities**

### **Curbing of the Ukrainian Higher Schools activities**

The beginning of the 1923/24 academic year was quite optimistic. In comparison to the previous year, the number of students who enrolled did not decrease, although all medical students who had completed the second year of study had to continue their education abroad. What was special about that year's enrollment was significant influx of the students who had just finished school and passed the matriculation exam (*"matura"*). It could be justified by the fact that in the Ukrainian environment, many believed that in accordance with the law issued on September 26, 1922, the Ukrainian National University would be established in 1924 and that the courses conducted in the clandestine Ukrainian University would also be acknowledged.

However, systematic persecution by the police dispelled those illusions. V Martynets cited a chronicle which was printed in the secret "Information bulletin" of the Ukrainian Regional Student Council, which shows that in November the police broke into the classrooms 7 times and disrupted the lectures, seizing chemical and geometric supplies, notes and arrested students and lecturers as well.

In one of the documents displayed at the exhibition in the Lviv Polytechnic University History Museum it is stated that at 8 a.m. on November 20, 1923, the policemen broke into the house on the St. George's Hill where lectures used to take place as well, confiscated students' notes and arrested Professor Petro Kholodny. The Professor spent 10 days in prison in late autumn of 1923.

The growing number of the secret premises where the classes were held, were revealed by the police. The premises were sealed and the institutions (or the owners of the premises) were threatened with the closure. Some institutions were closed. As a result, most of the classes were conducted in the private apartments of the lecturers. However, even those places were raided by the police.

The given situation affected the number of students. In the winter semester of 1923/24 academic year there were 529 students in the Faculty of Law, 327 in the Philosophical faculty and 171 in the Medical faculty, whereas in the summer semester these numbers had decreased significantly to having 362, 282 and 148 students respectively.

Due to both objective and subjective reasons, the Ukrainian University was doomed. It was obvious that the diplomas issued by the clandestine Ukrainian University would not be recognized in Poland. Therefore, some Ukrainian students, despite boycotts, began to enroll in the Polish higher educational institutions, while others began to leave the country en masse to receive education abroad.



Курс I На зимоваму півроці

шкільного року 1921/22 ч. 313.

Прізвище професора	Назва виваду	Кількість годин	Ствердження в особливій формі згідно з постановою для оплати.	Створдження виваду	Створдження вислухання	ЗАМІТКА
д-р. Я. Біляк	Принципи фізики	6	350 грн., п'ять тисяч п'ятсот копійок (Три на Обліботекст)	<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	
д-р. В. Кучер	Теоретична механіка	4		<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	
д-р. Р. Біляк	Фізика	5		<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	
д-р. М. Гіриш	Хемічна фізика	5		<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	
д-р. С. Тарас	Термодинаміка	3		<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	
М. Олександр	Фізика	2		<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	

Інститут українського університету у Львові, 4. IV. 1922

Decanus c. a.

Lecture index of student Mykhailo Popel. We can see the records of the lecturers, in particular physicists, full members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society Volodymyr Kuczer, Julian Hirniak, Roman Tsehelsky. Olexander Popel's archive.



## Final chords

The beginning of the 1924/25 academic year showed that the University attendance had dropped considerably. The influx of new students was small. The reason was obvious. Since the education provided by the clandestine Ukrainian University was not recognized on the state level, the graduates were deprived of the opportunity to get a good job and even when applying for some positions in the Ukrainian institutions, complications could occur.

The clandestine Polytechnic School in Lviv had also been affected. The enrollment period lasted from September 20 to October 15, 1924. Classes started on October 1 in all the faculties simultaneously. The inaugural divine service was held in St. George's Cathedral. On October 26, at 7 p.m., the inaugural speech on the subject of the "Impact of technology in the national economy" was given by engineer Albin Barshchivsky. At the same time, that year witnessed the extension of the chemical laboratory. The equipment in mineralogical and geodetic study rooms was constantly renewed as well. The Library was replenished with donated books. It consisted of *"several hundred volumes of the most needed books for both lecturers and students. Machine tooling units were set up for the students of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, so that each of them could practice."* However, enrollment had dropped substantially that year. A lot of young people went to study abroad. After completing the first two years of study in the Ukrainian University and successfully passing the exams, students continued their studies in Danzig (Gdańsk), the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Poděbrady, the Prague Polytechnic University, or went to Vienna or Graz (Austria). Still, the Ukrainian students of the Lviv Polytechnic School made an appeal to the Ukrainian youth to consolidate and cooperate.

The government ban on civil servants teaching in the clandestine University had also led to a decrease in the number of lecturers. For instance, on July 1, 1924, the disciplinary action was imposed on M. Korduba who taught in the Ukrainian Academic Gymnasium. His salary was suspended, which made him terminate his work at the University.

One more thing that adversely affected the University case was the collapse of the negotiations held in 1924 with Władysław Grabski's government on the implementation of the Sejm resolution which dated back to 1922, to establish the Ukrainian National University. People started to accuse Roman Smal-Stotsky, who represented Ukrainian side in the negotiations, of treason. The Ukrainian Military Organization physically threatened him and other professors who agreed to become the heads of the departments at the new University.

Given the fact that the young people lost interest in studying in the underground institutions and the outflow of qualified teachers, the Ukrainian society started to ponder the competitiveness of the Ukrainian higher educational institutions. The *Curatorium*, whose main goal was to provide students with education and further employment opportunities after graduation, was impacted as well.



These issues had been the subject of lengthy discussions, which by and large, were futile. Over time, having faced the situation, the major part of the Ukrainian society did not see the point in further existence of the given underground institutions. Therefore, the *Curatorium* almost unanimously decided to close those institutions down for an indefinite period of time at the end of the 1924/25 academic year. Thus, at the end of July 1925, the clandestine Ukrainian University as well as the Ukrainian Higher Technical School in Lviv, ceased their activities. The chemical laboratory and Library were transferred to the Shevchenko Scientific Society, other property was conveyed to the "Prosvita" Society (*"Enlightenment" Society*) and the Ukrainian National Museum.

However, there is evidence that underground lectures continued sporadically the following year. The last archival record made by secretary of the Senate, engineer Albin Barshchevsky, testifies that *"studying process at the Ukrainian Higher Technical School in Lviv continued in the 1924/25 academic year under the supervision of rector Viktor Luchkiv, an engineer, and in the 1925/26 academic year – under the supervision of rector Vsevolod Levytsky. The students in the Faculties of Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering and the Faculty of Forestry received diplomas certifying that they had passed the first state exam. To proceed with their studies they went to Danzig (Gdańsk), Prague and Graz, as well as to Kyiv and Odesa in Ukraine, where the courses they had already done (according to the document presented) were marked as completed."*

## **Educational process at the clandestine University and Higher Polytechnic School**

The clandestine Ukrainian University was modeled after other European universities. The structure, management and organization of the educational process were built on the model of pre-war Austrian universities, which a large number of lecturers of the clandestine University graduated from.

After the resignation of rector V. Shchurat, the University was run by M. Panchyshyn, a medician, and after him by E. Davydiak, a lawyer. In fact, after M. Panchyshyn's resignation, M. Chaikovsky, a mathematician, was elected rector. However, he turned down the offer as controversy aroused.

The following figures concerning the structure of the University at the peak of its development were provided by V. Martynets: the Philosophical faculty had 28 departments, the Faculty of Law had 25 departments and the Medical faculty had 10. Due to insufficient funds (lack of laboratories, clinics, medicine), the Medical faculty could offer students only a two-year course, while the other faculties could conduct a full four-year course.

In addition, V. Martynets listed the departments of the Philosophical faculty.

1. Ukrainian Studies. Departments: a) History of Old Ukrainian Literature, b) History of New Ukrainian Literature.

2. Slavic Studies. Departments: a) Russian Language and Literature, b) Comparative Grammar of Slavic Languages.
3. History. Departments: a) History of Ukraine (12th-17th centuries), b) World History.
4. Pedagogy. Departments: a) Pedagogy, b) History of Pedagogy.
5. Philosophy. Departments: a) Theory of cognition, b) Philosophical Propeutics (Experimental Psychology).
6. Natural Sciences. Departments: a) Zoology, b) Biology, c) Botany.
7. Physics. Departments: a) Experimental Physics, b) Theoretical Physics.
8. Mathematics and Geometry. Departments: a) Algebra, b) Descriptive Geometry, c) Higher Mathematics.
9. Journalism.
10. Western European Literature. Departments: a) German Literature, b) French Literature, c) English Literature.
11. Art. Departments: a) Theory of Ukrainian Plastic Art, b) Ancient Ukrainian Art.
12. Hygiene.
13. Rhetoric.
14. Classical Philology and Literature. Departments: a) Roman, b) Greek.

At the same time, the Ukrainian Higher Technical School whose predecessor was the Technical faculty of the Lviv University had four faculties, namely the Faculty of Civil Engineering (17 departments), the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering (17 departments), the Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture (27 departments) and the Faculty of Chemistry (9 departments). The term of study in those faculties was two years, except for the Faculty of Chemistry where students studied only for one year. Such short terms of study might as well be linked to the lack of sufficient financial support. After graduation, as in the case of the Medical faculty, students had to continue their studies abroad.

Here is the syllabus for the summer semester of 1924 in O. Novakivsky Art School: "*Oleksa Novakivsky, Drawing (36 hours); engineer Evhen Nahirny, Perspective Drawing (1 hour); Ivan Rakowsky, Natural Science (1 hour); Stefan Baley, Anatomy (1 hour).*"

The teaching staff of the clandestine Ukrainian University was highly qualified. Looking through the names of the lecturers, we can see dozens of names important for Ukrainian science, history, culture. V. Mudry presented the following list of Professors and Associate Professors: Doctor Stefan Baley (1885-1952, psychologist, later, Professor of the Warsaw University, author of the first textbook on psychology in the Ukrainian language (1922), full member of the



Practical class in the Department of Mechanics and Machine Science of the underground Ukrainian Polytechnic with Professor Volosianko, 1923. *Archive of the "Local History" project, Lviv.*

Shevchenko Scientific Society); Mykhailo Halushchynsky (1878-1931, Ukrainian educationist, publicist, co-founder of the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance, member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Bohdan Barvinsky (1880-1958, historian, bibliographer, archivist, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later head of the Manuscripts Department of the Lviv Branch of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR); Doctor Ivan Bryk (1879-1947, Slavic philologist, historian, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Yaroslav Hordynsky (1882-1939, literary critic, historian of literature, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Filaret Kolessa (1871-1947, ethnographer, researcher of the Ukrainian folk art, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Ilarion Svientsitsky (1876-1956, linguist and art historian, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv, head of the Department of the Institute of Linguistics); Doctor Kyrylo Studynsky (1868-1941, literary critic, Professor of the Lviv University (until 1918), Chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (since 1923), later, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR); Doctor Vasyl Shchurat (1871-1948, poet and translator, first rector of the Ukrainian Uni-

versity, literary critic, Chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (until 1923), later, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR); Doctor Myron Korduba (1876-1947, historian, dean of the Philosophical faculty, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Professor of the Warsaw University and the Lviv University); Doctor Ivan Krypiakievych (1886-1967, historian, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR); Doctor Spyrydon Karkhut (1869-1931, dean of the Philosophical faculty, author of the textbook on ancient Slavic); Doctor Volodymyr Kuczer (1885-1959, physicist, author of the physics textbook, later, Professor of the Trade and Economic Institute in Lviv, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Julian Hirniak (1881-1970, renowned chemist and physicist, publicist, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Volodymyr Levytsky (1872-1956, Professor, mathematician, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv); Doctor Mykola Chaikovsky (1887-1970, Ukrainian mathematician, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Roman Tsehelsky (1882-1956, physicist, educationalist, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv and the Pedagogical Institute); Doctor Oleksandr Tysovsky (1886-1968, biologist, founder of the "Plast" (Ukrainian scouting organization), full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv); Professor Leonid Biletsky (1882-1955, literary critic, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, President of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences); Professor Petro Kholodny (1876-1930 scientist and chemist, painter, former Minister of Public Education of the Ukrainian People's Republic); Antin Hensiorsky (1889-1970, linguist); Doctor Ivan Zilynsky (1879-1952, linguist, folklorist, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Doctor Yurii Poliansky (1892-1975, geologist); Professor Platon Lushpynsky (1880-1950, literary critic); Mykhailo Rudnytsky (1889-1975, literary critic, scholar); Yurii Rudnytsky (1884-1937, writer, who wrote under the pseudonym of *Yulian Opilsky*, educationalist); Ivan Rakowsky (1874-1949, biologist, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, author of works on anthropology and zoology); Doctor Ostap Makarushka (1867-1931, philologist, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); Osyp Rozdolsky (1872-1947, ethnographer, folklorist); Professor Mykhailo Vozniak (1881-1954, historian of Literature, later, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv).

In Yulian Redko's memoirs a few more lecturers of the Philosophical faculty were mentioned, among them Doctor Omelian Terletsy (1873-1958, historian, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Associate Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv); Mykhailo Tershakovets (1883-1978, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, author of many researches on Ukrainian literature); Doctor Yakym Yarema (1884-1964, literary critic, later,

Associate Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv), Doctor Myron Zarytsky (1889-1961, mathematician, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, later, Professor of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv); Mykola Melnyk (1875-1954, botanist, author of the nomenclature dictionary of higher plants); Doctor Ivan Sitnytsky (1881-1947, mathematician, author of the textbooks for secondary schools). Doctor Volodymyr Kuzmowych (1886-1943, physicist, journalist, member of the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) taught Physics in the Medical faculty.

Some of the above-mentioned scholars and scientists also taught the students of the clandestine Higher Polytechnic School in Lviv. In the appeal "To the Ukrainian society" made on December 23, 1922 by the office of rector of the Ukrainian Polytechnic School, the following information about the teaching staff was given: "The professorial staff in the 1922/23 academic year consisted of Petro Kholodny (Professor of the Department of Physics and Chemistry), Victor Luchkiv (Professor of the Department of Construction), Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivsky (Professor of the Department of Metallurgy), Volodymyr Kuzmowych (Assistant Professor of the Department of Physics and Mechanics), Ioanikii Shymonovych (Professor of the Department of Economics), Vytovt Manastyrsky (Professor of the Department of Civil Engineering), Vsevolod Levytsky (Professor of the Department of Forestry), Pylyp Pylypchuk (engineer in the Department of Mechanics), Mykola Chaikovsky (Professor of Mathematics), Volodymyr Bilynsky (lecturer in the Department of Mathematics), Evhen Filvarkiv (engineer, Assistant Professor of the Department of Botany), Volodymyr Zanko (Assistant Professor of Zoology), Mykhailo Korchynsky (Assistant Professor of Law), Osyp Vasiuta (engineer, Assistant Professor of the Department of Descriptive Geometry), Ivan Sitnytsky (Assistant Professor of the Department of Mathematics), Stepan Vavryk (engineer, Assistant Professor of the Department of Forestry)."

Starting from the winter semester of the 1923/1924 academic year, Petro Franko, son of a prominent Ukrainian writer and political figure Ivan Franko, joined the teaching staff of the Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School. For two



The Lviv Polytechnic stamp with the signatures of rector V. Luchkiv and dean V. Manastyrsky. DALO.

academic years he taught Technical Physics and Technical Chemistry in the Faculties of Construction and Mechanical Engineering, as well as Physics and General Chemistry in the Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture.

The lectures at the University were given not only by the representatives of Galicia. For instance, the former Minister of Education in the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, artist P. Kholodny, taught Chemistry and Physics, while literary critic L. Biletsky taught Ukrainian Literature Methodology. V. Mudry also mentioned lawyer M. Korchynsky, former State Secretary of the Council of People's Ministers of Ukraine in the times of the Directorate and Ioanikii Shymonovych, former member of the Central Council of Ukraine, who taught Economic disciplines. Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivsky, former Minister of National Economy in the Ukrainian People's Republic, taught at the clandestine Polytechnic School as well. In 1923, being Professor of the Mining and Metallurgical Academy in Kraków (*Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza*), he received an invitation from rector V. Luchkiv and regularly came to Lviv to give lectures on metallurgical science.

The leading role in the formation of the departments, curriculums, selection of the subjects and lecturers, as one may deduce from the list of lectures, was played by the scientists of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The course of lectures in natural sciences delivered at the University was in line with the courses offered by other universities. The choice of particular subjects to teach mainly depended on the scientific interests of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, who gave the general course of lectures personal touch. In addition, students highlighted great enthusiasm of the lecturers when delivering information. The brightest examples were lectures in social disciplines, as unique course of lectures had been created, especially in the field of Ukrainian studies. Some of the textbooks used by the students were also written by the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and some courses of lectures taught at the University were published. Before the closure of the Ukrainian higher schools, a few books had been published, namely "Spelling rules adopted by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv" (Lviv, 1923), "The Ukrainian nomenclature of higher plants" (Lviv, 1922) by M. Melnyk and "The theory of relativity" by V. Kuczer (Lviv, 1922). We can assume that at least some of the theoretical courses were created in the course of work. In particular, M. Korduba developed the course "Methodology of history" and I. Krypiakevych developed "Ukrainian historiography".

1923 witnessed the publication of the first scholarly student journal "Istorychnyi vistnyk" ("*Historical herald*"), where articles of the students, who participated in Krypiakevych's seminars, were published. Unfortunately, only 3 issues came out.

The organization of the classes, due to the negative attitude of the Polish authorities and constant police persecution, had peculiarities of its own. It is impressive how the organizers managed to maintain the work of the Ukrainian higher educational institutions without having permanent locations to hold lectures, seminars and classes for hundreds of students, all of whom could not



be accommodated in the laboratories, invite dozens of lecturers. All of that was done despite the efforts of the police to undermine the study process at the University. The administrative office of the University was engaged in the search of the premises and it coordinated the time and place of the lectures by informing the lecturers. The students received information from the communication agents of the faculties and groups. Occasionally, classes were conducted in rooms which were completely unsuitable for studying, so many students had to take notes while standing. In some cases, all possible things were used instead of chairs such as lockers, library ladders, old chests and wooden logs. Classes were held in the open air at Kaiserwald (literally "Kaiser's forest", a large green area in Lviv) and in the cellars, which housed laboratories and study rooms for anatomists.

Here are Bohdan Hrab's comments on the conditions which students of the Lviv Polytechnic were studying in: *"The great obstacle in conducting the lectures was the lack of appropriate lecture halls, laboratories, drawing room, absence of models and school supplies. As a result, the lectures were held in different places alternatively, for instance, in the house of the "Ridna Shkola" Society in Horodotska Street, in the Ukrainian Academic House in Supińskiego Street (now M. Kotsiubynskoho Street), in the premises of the "Osнова" Society (located in the factory buildings of Professor I. Levynsky in 58 Potockiego Street (now Chuprynky Street)) as well as the houses which belonged to St. George's Cathedral; the exams were held in the lecturers' private houses. After the lectures, a group of students escorted the lecturers to their homes protecting them against the attacks of the Polish bullies. The alteration of the lecturing premises was the responsibility of the members of the "Osнова" Society."* Sometimes classes were held outdoors. A unique photograph has been preserved, which shows Professor P. Kholodny conducting a class with a group of students, presumably on the slope of St. George's Hill. The eyewitness of those events said, *"Despite the frequent change of lecture halls, the police had almost always been able to trace the time and place of the lectures and almost permanently raided the places. Armed policemen, holding guns in their hands, suddenly broke into the halls and shouted "Ręce do góry – nie ruszać się z miejsc!" ("Hands up – don't move!"), surrounded those present and began searching the place as well as establishing identity of the students and lecturers. All summaries and textbooks were confiscated. Due to the large number of students, identification lasted for hours. <...> Sometimes it happened that students who were too bold were taken to the police commissariats, but due to the lack of formal reasons for imprisonment, they were released..."*

This is how the University Senate described the situation: *"Lectures and seminars were held in a variety of places some of which did not seem appropriate, like basements and pubs with electric light; the Ukrainian University had to educate students secretly, so that the Polish authorities did not know, in dungeons which reminded of the ancient Christian catacombs. In such catacombs, a torch of Ukrainian science was lit up and cast its gentle saving light..."*

In order to not attract the attention of the police, the students went to classes alone or in groups of two and left the premises in the same way. For the same reason, they did not turn on the electric lighting and wrote notes in the light of candles. There were guards in front of the house where the lectures were held. Usually they were students who did not have classes at that time. Here is how it was organized at Professor M. Panchyshyn's lectures: *"The guard gave a signal (rang the bell at the gate) and, while the police were coming to the fourth floor, there was just enough time for one student to get undressed and go to the doctor's room while others hid medicine and notes pretending to be the patients who are waiting for the doctor's appointment."*

Teaching was also practiced through the mediators. The teacher explained the topic to the most capable students in a private house and they had to share the information with others.

In the face of constant persecution by the Polish police, some of the classes were disguised as public lectures. A striking example is a lecture delivered by *"Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivsky ("Metallurgy as a science, technology and a cultural factor in modern social and political life") at 4 p.m. on Sunday, April 22, 1923, in the salon of the Ukrainian Society "Besida" (in the People's House in Rutowskiego Street)."*



Lectures in the monastic cell in the St. George Cathedral in Lviv, 1921. *Archive of the "Local History" project, Lviv.*

Since students of the clandestine University were not allowed into the library of the Jan Kazimierz University, literature, used in the process of teaching, came from the libraries of the Ukrainian scientific, educational and cultural societies, as well as from the teachers' private book collections. Also, for the needs of the students, they bought the entire library of Bronisław Kruczkiewicz, late Professor of Classical Philology of the Lviv University.

A substantial amount of money was also invested into the chemical laboratory, which was formed on the basis of the respective laboratory of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Despite its illegal status, the University sought to keep thorough records as in any other decent educational institution. The students had the same set of documents as in other higher educational institutions, including the academic record books, which were made in the fashion of the pre-war "mark book" used at the Austrian universities. The respective student papers were issued by the administrative office of the University, which managed other university papers and archives as well. Bohdan Barvinsky was the first secretary of the University and thus, head of the administrative office, though he held office for a very short time. Having been arrested he resigned, so the position was taken by Vasyl Mudry. The following people had also worked in the administrative office: Maksym Brylynsky (was in charge of the Faculty of Law), Ivan Poliuha (was responsible for the Medical faculty and, partly, for the Philosophical faculty) and Ivan Dyhdalevych, who studied at the clandestine Polytechnic School. The administrative office was so well-hidden that the police were not able to discover it and seize the University documents. In order to protect the documentation, the location of the office constantly changed. No students, except for the representatives of certain groups, were admitted to the office, most of the documents were kept in safe hiding-places, while the office staff worked only with the ones they needed at that moment. In case of danger, they were to be quickly packed into suitcases. The suitcases were then taken by one of the office couriers, who carried them out of the building without attracting much attention. The archive was kept in the secret places of the library, which belonged to the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

## **Financial support for the Ukrainian Higher Schools**

There are no doubts that the clandestine Ukrainian University might not have been established and could not have existed for a long time as it was illegal, without significant financial investments.

The Ukrainian diaspora was among the first to donate money to the Ukrainian University. V. Mudry wrote that the basis for the University establishment was laid by the Ukrainian Workingmen Association in New York which donated 1 000 dollars. To put it into context, it is worth mentioning that at that time the given

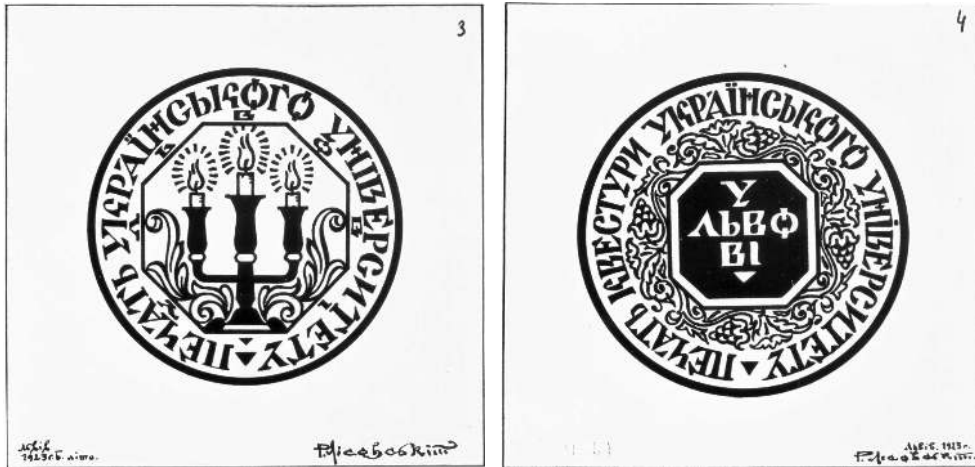
amount of money constituted more than a half of the annual state funding of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv.

In the time when the university courses were being actively conducted, the issues of their financial support were taken care of by the University Commission which functioned within the Ukrainian Civic Committee. It was the organization that, in the summer of 1921, initiated a major fundraising event for the needs of the Ukrainian University and the students. The campaign united the Ukrainians from different walks of life. One of the peculiarities of the given fundraising event was the fact that in addition to money, grain could also be donated. The total sum of money raised was 2 426 013 Polish marks, which was the currency of the Polish state at that time. More than a quarter of that money was allocated to the University. The Ukrainian society wholeheartedly supported students, as they were given money even by the political prisoners.

In late September 1921, the Ukrainian Regional Student Council was created. It took the responsibility to organize the fundraising events. A large-scale campaign was launched. The Student Council finished collecting grain which had started earlier, initiated charitable Christmas caroling in 1922, the Easter fundraising event as well as smaller sporadic events. In addition, the Ukrainian Regional Student Council appealed to the Ukrainian immigrants asking for donations. As a result, at the end of the 1921/22 academic year, a total of 10 715 380,50 Polish marks, 752 dollars, 502 Czech crowns, 280 Austrian crowns, 200 lei, 300 karbovanets (*Ukrainian currency of that time*) and 9 silver crowns were accumulated. A third of the amount collected in Polish marks was allocated to the University. The largest part, about one third, was invested into the Philosophical faculty. Almost 1 000 Polish marks was sent to the lecturers and the rest was spent on laboratories of natural sciences and zoology and books.

Part of the money was received from the students' tuition fees. In the documents of the quaestor of the clandestine Polytechnic School it was stated that *"...enrollment in the first and second year (first and third semester) of study in the following faculties – the Faculty of Civil Engineering, the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and the Faculty of Chemistry – will take place between October 15 and November 15. Enrollment in the Faculty of Forestry will begin on November 1. The fee for each semester is 7 000, the enrollment fee is 2 000, the fee for the library is 1 000. Therefore, the total fee for the first semester is 10 000, for the third semester – 7 000. When enrolling in the first year, the certificate of passing the matriculation exam and identity cards should be provided, as well as the membership of the student organization. For the second year the requirements are the same. When enrolling in the first semester, it is necessary to take an exam in Descriptive Geometry. When enrolling in the third semester, it is necessary to prove the knowledge of the colloquium in Mathematics (new material of the first year)."*

The lecturers were paid hourly wages. Monthly salary was only assigned to those who did not have a permanent job outside the University. Many of those



Sketches of the University stamps created by Ukrainian graphic artist Robert Lisovskyi. CDIAL.

who had permanent jobs refused to be given their hourly wages.

As fundraising for the Ukrainian University was driven by the illegal organizations, the police pursued and arrested those who took part in it. After S. Fedak's attempted assassination in September 1921, as well as after the Ukrainian Military Organization attempts to disrupt the elections to the Polish Sejm in Galicia in autumn 1922, there was a mounting pressure put on the Ukrainian society by the police. Almost 80% of the students were imprisoned. It also affected the fundraising efforts, as the organizations could not raise sufficient funds.

At that time, the main financial support to satisfy the needs of the University came from the currency speculation. V. Martynets, as an economic advisor of the Ukrainian Regional Student Council, used the money donated by the emigrants from America for gambling on the stock exchange and acquired (until February 1, 1923) 16 985 183 Polish marks, which was more than the overall sum of donations that year.

At the end of the winter 1923, when the *Curatorium* of the Ukrainian Higher Schools emerged, one of the major tasks was to find sources of funding for the clandestine University and the Lviv Polytechnic School, which was exceedingly difficult given the circumstances.

As time passed, it had become more and more difficult to start fundraising events, especially after the Polish rule in Galicia was recognized by other countries. The Polish police not only pursued the activists, but also seized the funds they raised. The University was still working, owing to the students' tuition fees and grants from several Ukrainian financial institutions. Also, at the beginning of the academic year, about 500 dollars was donated to the University by Khoma

Prystupa, the deputy of the Volhynian Sejm at that time. However, it was not enough, since the reform of the Polish currency was carried out in April 1924 when the Polish mark was replaced by zloty, causing considerable difficulties in the financial market.

The lack of funding, lack of facilities, severe repressions, the above-mentioned ban on public officials teaching at the University and the arrests of the professors and students (most active students were arrested in May 1925) made it impossible for the University to continue its work. In May 1925, the Regional Student Congress was held in Lviv where the decision was made to terminate the activity of the Ukrainian Higher Schools in Lviv, which was in agreement with the decision of the *Curatorium*.

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Despite the fact that the Ukrainian higher educational institutions had been active only for a short period of time, their activity was of a great importance for the Ukrainian society. It had proved the readiness of the Ukrainian nation to fight for its own science and culture, for its future intelligentsia, providing it with education even under unfavorable circumstances and, last but not least, students could receive education that was recognized abroad. The study semesters students had attended at the Ukrainian University and the Ukrainian Higher Polytechnic School were recorded as the ones completed at the Universities of Prague, Vienna and other European cities. It also showed the willingness of the Ukrainians to sacrifice for a common cause, as ordinary citizens donated money, public organizations provided lecture halls, lecturers devoted their spare time to teaching, sharing experience and knowledge and students contributed with their work and inexhaustible energy.

Can we now forget about the phenomenon of the clandestine Ukrainian University? Will we find many similar examples of a university working underground in world history? Will the history of national liberation movements be rich in the examples of educational institutions, not political parties or terrorist organizations, operating underground? Apparently, these rhetorical questions have crossed the mind of every person who is familiar with the phenomenon of the Ukrainian Higher Schools in Lviv in the interwar period. Undoubtedly, the activity of the Ukrainian University deserves a thorough investigation by the specialists and closer attention from the popularizers of science, teachers and mass media. Examples from the history of the Higher Schools in Lviv will appeal not only to the Ukrainian readers. Given they are elucidated and appropriately presented in a comparative context, they could be of interest to the wider international community.

Is it not interesting to compare the underground activities of the Ukrainian Higher Schools in the condition of persecutions by the Polish authorities in the interwar period, with the underground activities of the Polish higher educational institutions in the conditions of repression that the Polish culture experienced in

a different period of time?\*

In modern Poland the notion of a secret teaching teacher (*nauczyciel tajnego nauczania*) is well known and is thought to be a matter of national pride.\*\*

Is the Bologna model of the Ukrainian higher education not worth a bit more careful and detailed consideration? Ever since the establishment of the first universities, some of which were following the example of the University of Bologna, they were governed by the students who themselves were choosing teachers and paying for their work. What began in the 11th century in Bologna was unexpectedly redeveloped in the 20th century in Lviv. It was the students' proactiveness and persistence, their loyal support that made the institution work.

The combination of the Ukrainian political struggles and the activities of the University as a carrier of knowledge and a tool of personal development, which was highlighted in this essay, has recently been complemented by another example. The Open University of *Maidan*\*\*\* emerged during the notorious events which took place in 2013. It is an ongoing initiative, which has a lot in common with the case of the Ukrainian Higher Schools in Lviv.

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\* The so-called Flying University (*Uniwersytet Latający*) had operated in the Kingdom of Poland from 1885 to 1905. The experience of establishing such University helped in organizing similar higher courses during the German occupation (1939-1944). Clandestine Universities had also operated in Poland in 1977-1979 and in 1978-1981. [David Palfreyman (ed.), Ted Tapper, *Understanding Mass Higher Education*. Routledge, 2004. P. 141-142]

\*\* One of the authors of this essay was surprised to discover "The Secret Teaching Teachers Ringway" ("*Rondo Nauczycieli Tajnego Nauczania*") in the Polish city of Lublin, which is located not far from Lviv.

\*\*\* The Open University of *Maidan* was established on the initiative of several Kyiv business schools with the aim to educate people who had united on *Maidan*. In some time the scientists from different parts of Ukraine joined the initiative. In particular, the members of Yurii Verbytsky Heavenly Hundred Society (which was founded in the academic environment of Lviv and was named after scientist Yurii Verbytsky who was killed on *Maidan*).



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