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Mykhailo Hrushevsky as Founder and Editor of Periodicals for the Peasantry

Mychajło Hruszewski jako założyciel i redaktor czasopism dla chłopstwa

Summary: This article investigates the content, ideological foundations, and public reception of the periodicals *Selo* and *Zasiv*, edited by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. It demonstrates that thanks to a well-considered editorial policy, these newspapers gained considerable popularity among the broader populace. The article puts the emphasis on the fact that the historian's publishing initiatives, oriented toward a peasant readership, became an important component of the national socio-political movement in the Ukrainian territories of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century.

Keywords: Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Selo*, *Zasiv*, ideology, editorial policy, social reception

Streszczenie: Artykuł poświęcony jest wyjaśnieniu treści, podstaw ideologicznych i odbioru społecznego czasopism „Selo” i „Zasiv” wydawanych pod redakcją Mychajła Hruszewskiego. Udowodniono, że dzięki przemyślanej polityce redakcyjnej gazety zyskały znaczną popularność wśród ogółu społeczeństwa. Podkreśla się, że projekty wydawnicze historyka skierowane do chłopskiej publiczności stały się ważnym elementem narodowego ruchu społeczno-politycznego na ukraińskich ziemiach Imperium Rosyjskiego na początku XX w.

Słowa kluczowe: Mychajło Hruszewski, „Selo”, „Zasiv”, ideologia, polityka wydawnicza, recepcja społeczna



Introduction

The diverse cultural, scholarly, and socio-political activities of Mykhailo Hrushevsky (Михайло Грушевський) have consistently remained a focal point of Ukrainian historiographical studies over the past thirty years. This persistent interest stems from a growing recognition of the foundational impact the renowned scholar's national service had on the modernization of all aspects of life for his compatriots. Generally, the author of *History of Ukraine-Rus* (*Історія України-Руси*) receives the greatest attention for their most prominent projects. Thus, in the context of his public service, historians often concentrate on his role as head of the Central Rada of Ukraine or his participation in political activities. Such a selective approach, however, tends to overlook other aspects of Hrushevsky's public work, which were crucial for the emergence of the first Ukrainian parliament and the revival of the political agency of the Ukrainian people.

In this regard, special significance should be attributed to Hrushevsky's efforts toward raising cultural and national awareness of the broad masses of the Ukrainian community at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. This priority was dictated by the challenges of modernization, which intensified the Polish-Ukrainian (in the Austrian-controlled territories) and Russian-Ukrainian (in the Dnipro region) competition for cultural and consequently political influence over the population inhabiting the lands 'from the San to the Don.' Acutely aware of the existential urgency of modernization of his compatriots' consciousness, Hrushevsky, together with a small circle of like-minded colleagues from the Ukrainian democratic camp, embarked on a broad initiative to establish Ukrainian-language periodicals for various readers. While Hrushevsky's publishing projects aimed at the intelligentsia (especially the *Literary-Scientific Herald* – «Літературно-науковий вістник») have been comprehensively examined in historiography, the same cannot be said for periodicals for peasantry he initiated and edited. Despite serious analytical studies by scholars such as Ihor Tkachenko (Ігор Ткаченко)¹ and Svitlana Pankova (Світлана Панькова),²

1 I. V. Tkačenko, ««Selo» – persa ukraïns'ka suspil'no-politična selâns'ka gazeta,» *Rukopisna ta knižkova spadšina Ukraïni* 2005, Vîp. 10 [I. B. Ткаченко, «Село» – перша українська суспільно-політична селянська газета, „Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України” 2005, Вип. 10], pp. 91–104; I. Tkačenko, “Publicistika Mihajla Gruševs'kogo na storinkah tižnevîkiv «Celo» ta «Zasiv» âk džerelo z istorii ykraïns'koï selâns'ko-robitničoi dorevoluciïnoi periodiki,» *Rukopisna ta knižkova spadšina Ukraïni* 2015, Vîp. 19 [I. Ткаченко, Публіцистика Михайла Грушевського на сторінках тиждеників «Село» та «Засів» як джерело з історії української селянсько-робітничої дореволюційної періодики, „Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України” 2015, Вип. 19], pp. 344–352.

2 S. Pan'kova, “Mihajlo Gruševs'kij i narodna gazeta «Celo» u svitli memuarînih ta epistolârnîh dželâ,» *Ukraïns'kij istorik* 2004–2005, no. 3–4; 1 [С. Панькова, Михайло Грушевський

there remains a lack of a comprehensive overview of Hrushevsky's contribution to the emergence of the first Ukrainian-language press for the peasantry.

Idea of press for peasantry

Hrushevsky's experience living in Austrian-ruled Galicia convinced him of the importance of native-language periodicals for fostering national and cultural consciousness among the broader Ukrainian public. By the end of the 19th century, a significant number of periodicals were being published in Galicia, the most popular of which represented various political parties ("Dilo," "Ruslan," "Halychany," and others – «Діло», «Руслан», «Галичанин» й ін.). To promote his sobornist democratic platform, Hrushevsky created his own publication, the above-mentioned *Literary-Scientific Herald*. When the first Russian Revolution made it possible to publish Ukrainian-language periodicals in the empire, Hrushevsky quickly relocated the journal to Kyiv. However, it soon became evident that the *Herald* had influence primarily among the intelligentsia and was virtually unknown to those living in the countryside, where the majority of Ukrainians lived and where, despite centuries of aggressive Russification, national cultural traditions remained strong.

Recognizing this, Hrushevsky, despite his numerous scholarly and civic commitments, saw the need to establish a Ukrainian-language press for peasantry in the Dnipro region. Realizing this vision was far from simple as there were no Ukrainian-language schools in the Russian Empire to prepare readers for native-language publication. In addition, most Dnipro-region representatives of peasantry were illiterate and lacked strong national self-awareness. Though these conditions posed considerable challenges to launching a newspaper for peasantry, they did not discourage Hrushevsky. After the dissolution of the First Duma, he identified the enlightenment of his compatriots as a priority for the Dnipro intelligentsia. This is evident in a diary entry dated August 29, 1906, which describes a meeting of leaders of the Dnipro Ukrainian movement: "I asked, and they answered," Hrushevsky noted, "what the peasantry thought, whether the intelligentsia had gained any public support. It turned out that they had gained nothing."³ To change this disheartening reality, they resolved to establish Ukrainian-language newspapers and publish literature for the people.

і народна газета «Село» у світлі мемуарних та епістолярних джерел, «Український історик» 2004–2005, № 3–4; 1], pp. 25–46.

3 «Я запитував, а вони відповідали, – занотував М. Грушевський, – які погляди між селянством, чи здобувають публіку інтелігенти, виходило, що нічого не здобули». М. Gruševs'kij, "Šodennik (1902–1914 rr.): U dvoh tomah. T. 1 (1902–1907)," Kіiv 2021 [М. Грушевський, *Щоденник (1902–1914 pp.): У двох томах. Т. 1 (1902–1907)*, Київ 2021], pp. 322.

Hrushevsky first raised the idea of a newspaper for peasantry in early 1906 in his article “First Steps,” («Перші кроки») emphasizing that “a newspaper has now become a necessity for the peasant.”⁴ In this piece, the professor articulated his vision for the press for peasantry. First and foremost, he underscored the importance of a comprehensive understanding of the real needs of the Ukrainian masses to produce a newspaper that was genuinely useful and interesting. He rejected the outdated stereotype that peasants were incapable of engaging with serious discussions about their needs: “He [the peasant] does not need sentimental phrases or that pseudo-academic style of the good old days when it was thought that if you spoke sensibly to a peasant, he would not understand you, and that it was better to oversimplify as much as possible.”⁵ Conceiving a model and concept for a peasant newspaper, Hrushevsky envisioned a publication appearing no more than twice a week. It was to be a socio-political organ, with a focus on popular scientific articles with an agricultural orientation and belles-lettres feuilletons. He emphasized the importance of tuning the content to the specific regional characteristics of the peasantry readers, allowing editors to provide the most practical advice for farming. This approach, in turn, would boost interest in the publication among the peasantry.

Hrushevsky elaborated on these ideas in his 1907 article “Our Newspaper,” («Наша газета») published in the Kyiv journal *Rada* («Рада»). He emphasized that in addition to a newspaper intended for a more educated readership, such as *Rada*, the editorial circle also planned a publication for the peasantry that covers daily concerns of life: “If there is a wider circle of readers who need a more accessible writing, we will publish a second, popular edition for the peasantry alongside our newspaper”, Hrushevsky wrote.⁶ Initially, Hrushevsky intended the newspaper to be an appendix to *Rada*, which targeted the intelligentsia. However, as subsequent events demonstrated, the idea of a completely separate press organ with specific goals and objectives ultimately prevailed.

4 «Перші кроки», наголосивши, що «газета стала тепер потребою селянина». M. Gruševs'kij, “Perši kroki,” [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 1, L'viv: Svît 2002 [M. Грушевський, *Перші кроки*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 1, Львів: Світ 2002], pp. 327.

5 «Він [селянин] не потребує сентиментальних фраз і того псевдонаукового стилю добрих старих часів, коли думали, що як з селянином говорити по-розумному, то він не зрозуміє, а треба говорити по можності дурновато». Ibidem.

6 «Коли ж знайдеться ширший круг читачів, – інформував М. Грушевський, – для яких буде потрібний більш популярний виклад, при газеті нашій буде заведено друге, популярне видання для селян». M. Gruševs'kij, “Naša Gazeta,” [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Наша газета*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 4.

Hrushevsky also discussed the idea of a newspaper for peasantry in his correspondence with leaders of the Dnipro movement such as Petro Stebnytsky (Петро Стебницький) and Yevhen Chykalenko (Євген Чикаленко). He convincingly argued for the urgent need to build a Ukrainian peasant newspaper “from the ground up.” His correspondent, while fully supporting scholar’s arguments, raised practical concerns, especially about the use of either Galician or Dnipro dialect of Ukrainian. Stebnytsky wrote:

And who will be the actual editor in Kyiv? After all, one cannot send a weekly newspaper to Lviv for editing! Be careful to appoint someone who can supervise the form of expression and the language. For a peasant newspaper in Russian Ukraine, this is crucial. [...] And what orthography will be used – surely not the Galician one, with its myriad of ‘i’s and the separate ‘sya’? If I were at your editorial meetings, I would argue against that.⁷

Other Kyiv colleagues, who later became a part of editorial board, shared this view, and thus the new newspaper was issued in a language intelligible to the Dnipro-region reader.

In the early months of 1909, the first practical steps were taken to realize Hrushevsky’s plan. Since he resided in Galicia, his Kyiv university friend Hanna Yampolska (Ганна Ямпольська) was appointed nominal editor. Publishing responsibilities were assigned to his longtime collaborator, Yurii Tyshchenko (Юрій Тищенко), a political exile living in Kyiv under a false passport. Tyshchenko agreed to the role on the condition that Hrushevsky would let him define the editorial policy and write the leading articles. The initiators decided that the first issue of the newspaper «Село» – *Selo* (*The Village*) would be released on September 15, 1909. The necessary documents were submitted to the Kyiv governor, and on June 6, 1909. Yampolska received a license to publish a weekly illustrated newspaper titled *Selo*. It should be noted that the imperial authorities were aware of Hrushevsky’s involvement, as later censorship reports consistently noted that the newspaper appeared under his direct supervision.

7 «А хто у Вас буде в Київі фактичним редактором? Адже ж не можна тижневика посилати на редагування в Львів? Глядіть – посадіть таку людину, що змогла пильнувати над формою викладу, над мовою. Для селянської газети в російській Україні – це перша річ. [...] А правопис буде який – неже галицький, з міріядами «ї» та з окремим «ся»? Коли-б я був на Ваших нарадах, то я-б висловився проти того». Central’ij deržavnij istoričnij arhiv Ukraïni u m. Kiïvi, f. 1235, op. 1, spr. 770 [Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Києві, ф. 1235, оп. 1, спр. 770], ark. 120 zv.

The appearance of *Selo* was a long-awaited event among Ukrainians in the Dnipro region. This is evidenced by the widespread support from the intelligentsia and the excitement surrounding the launch. For example, Viacheslav Lypynsky (В'ячеслав Липинський) wrote to Vasyl Domanytsky (Василь Доманицький):

From *Rada*, I learned that *Selo* will be published soon – an illustrated weekly newspaper for peasantry – but I don't know any more details. I suspect Professor Hrushevsky is behind it. In any case, it is desperately needed, and I believe we must support it with all our might; otherwise, we risk losing ground among the peasantry that will take decades to recover.⁸

Newspapers *Selo* and *Zasiv* as phenomena of the press movement

The inaugural issue of the Ukrainian peasant periodical began circulation on September 3, 1909. Hrushevsky outlined the purpose and goals of *Selo*; in the editorial address that opened the first issue:

Wherever the peasantry, workers, and the entire nation are intelligent and enlightened, life is better, easier, and happier for everyone collectively and individually. Less ignorance means less injustice, harm, and misfortune. Therefore, anyone who wishes well for their land and people must strive to enlighten themselves, and also ensure that those around them – the community, the people—are as enlightened and understanding as possible. This is the purpose served by school, books, and newspapers. Our newspaper seeks to aid in this mission [...].⁹

⁸ «З «Ради» я довідався, що має виходити «Село» – селянський тижневик ілюстрований – ближче, однак, про нього не знаю – здогадуюсь, що видає професор [М. Грушевський – авт.]. У всякому разі страшенно це потрібна річ, і мені здається, що її слід було б всіма силами підтримати, в противному разі ми серед селянства за ці роки готові втратити стільки, що потім десятками літ не надолужаємо». V. Lipyn's'kij, *Povne zibrannâ tvoriv, arhiv, studii*, t. 1: *Listuvannâ (A – Ž)*, Kii'v; Filadelfiâ: Stoloskip 2003 [В. Липинський, *Повне зібрання творів, архів, студії, т. 1: Листування. (А – Ж)*, Київ; Філадельфія: Смолоскип 2003], pp. 559–560.

⁹ «Де селянство, робітники і весь народ тямущий, просвічений, тим ліпше, легше, щасливіше живеться всім вкупі і кожному зокрема. – Менше темноти – менше й неправди, шкоди, всякого лиха. Через те – хто хоче добра своєму краю, своєму народові, повинен подбати про те, щоб самому бути просвіченим, тямущим, але і про те також, щоб і навколо нього люди, громада, народ були теж якомога тямущі, просвічені. До цього служить школа, книжка, газета. Сьому допомогти хочемо і нашою газетою [...]». М. Grušev's'kij, «Do naših čitačiv», [in:] M.S. Grušev's'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svit 2005 [М. Грушевський, *До наших читачів*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 234.

According to Hrushevsky's vision, the newspaper was issued weekly on Thursdays, with eight pages per issue. Choosing Thursday was deliberate: it allowed sufficient time for the paper to reach readers before Sunday. Once a month, an expanded 16-page issue was published. Subscription rates were affordable for ordinary peasants: 60 kopecks for three months, 1 ruble for six months, and 1 ruble 60 kopecks for a year. Individual issues were sold for 5 kopecks. By 1910, the annual rate increased slightly: 60 kopecks for three months, 1 ruble 10 kopecks for six months, and 1 ruble 60 kopecks for a year. To promote the paper, Hrushevsky would send free sample issues to potential subscribers. Regular subscribers also received additional free prints, the most popular of which was an illustrated calendar.

As previously mentioned, Hanna Yampolska formally held the editor-publisher title from September 1909 to April 1910. During this time, she endured two arrests for publishing materials deemed separatist by the censors. These incidents severely affected her health, so Hrushevsky then appointed Ivan Malych (Іван Малич) as nominal editor, retaining his friend Yampolska as publisher. When Malych left for "Рада" – *Rada (The Council)*, Vitalii Tovstonis (Віталій Товстоніс) assumed editorial responsibilities. Tovstonis even agreed to serve jail time in lieu of paying full administrative fines, thereby halving the penalties that strained the newspaper's modest budget.

The first issue of *Selo* reflected can already give an idea about its general structure and editorial priorities. Major sections included "Around the World," "From Ukrainian Life," "This Week," "News from the Capital," and "From Ukrainians Abroad." Nearly every issue offered agricultural advice in articles such as "Farming Tools," "How to Till the Soil," "Are Goats Worth Keeping?," "Storing Potatoes," and "How to Increase Grain Yields." Reader engagement was fostered through sections like "Contributions" and "Responses to Subscribers." Lighter content, such as the humor column "Bits of Laughter," provided entertainment. This diversity attracted interest among peasants, who found both practical advice on agriculture as well as key updates on socio-political and cultural events in Ukrainian lands divided by borders.

The newspaper's content was enhanced by a carefully selected team of contributors from both sides of the Zbruch River that included scientists and writers. Agricultural content was written by experts like Yevhen Chykalenko, Vasyl Koroliv (Василь Королів), and Andrii Ternychenko (Андрій Терниченко). Weekly news and the "From Ukrainian Life" section were compiled by Maksym Hekhter (Максим Гехтер), who, as he recalled, could compress 15–20 news items into a single column that formed a strong indictment of the Tsarist regime.¹⁰ Petro Stebnytsky regularly authored the "News from the Capital." Mykola Zalizniak (Микола Залізник) of the Lviv school

¹⁰ M. Gehter, *Spogadi. Listi do M. Gruševs'kogo*, Київ 2005 [М. Гехтер, *Спогади. Листи до М. Грушевського*, Київ 2005], p. 31.

initially oversaw “From Ukrainians Abroad,” later taken over by Volodymyr Doroshenko (Володимир Дорошенко) after Zalizniak’s arrest. Global news coverage was entrusted to seasoned journalists Mykyta Shapoval (Микиті Шаповалу) and Yurii Tyshchenko, who also wrote reviews, biographical overviews and bibliographical notes to better acquaint readers with Ukrainian culture. Literary contributors included famous writers such as Oleksandr Oles (Олександр Олесь), Volodymyr Vynnychenko (Володимир Винниченко), Olha Kobylanska (Ольга Кобилянська), and Vasyl Stefanyk (Василь Стефаник), elevating the intellectual tone of the newspaper.

Hrushevsky himself was the most active contributor, shaping the paper’s ideological focus and content priorities. His personal diary contains frequent notes on his editorial work on *Selo*¹¹. In total, the Lviv professor published 84 articles in the 76 issues from 1909–1911. He was also the author of all 36 lead articles that addressed urgent national issues in Russian-ruled Ukraine, especially the banning of Ukrainian-language education, which contributed to widespread illiteracy in rural areas. These influential articles were later republished in a separate volume titled “On the Ukrainian Language and Ukrainian School” (1912). In addition to editorials, Hrushevsky wrote profiles of the famous representatives of Ukrainian history and culture, and historical essays on architectural landmarks and key events in Ukrainian history.

Hrushevsky’s writing style was notable for its clarity and approachability as he strived to establish an equal dialogue with his readers, and he authentically approached both small and large-scale problems in the life of the country. The historian has demonstrated the talent for popularization of complex topics, using vivid imagery and serious tone in his writings. Literary scholar Serhii Yefremov (Сергій Єфремов) was the first to observe this: “His style, slow and ponderous in academic work, becomes supple, vivid, and expressive in journalism.”¹² Mykola Voronyi (Микола Вороний) similarly noted “I am genuinely surprised at how eagerly peasants read prof. Hrushevsky’s historical and journalistic essays.”¹³

11 M. Gruševskij, *Šodennik (1902–1914 rr.). U dvoh tomah*, t. 2 (1908–1914), Київ 2021 [М. Грушевський, *Щоденник (1902–1914 рр.). У двох томах*, т. 2 (1908–1914), Київ 2021], p. 297, 298, 301 та ін.

12 «Самий стиль його, повільний і трохи важкуватий у наукових працях, враз змінюється в публіцистиці, набуваючи гнучкості, блиску й розмаїття». S. Ėfremov, “Na storožī nacional’noi ėidnosti. Do harakteristiki publicističnoї diāl’nosti M.S. Gruševskogo,” *Ukraїns’kij istorik* 1995, no. 1–4 [С. Єфремов, *На сторожі національної гідності. До характеристики публіцистичної діяльності М.С. Грушевського*, „Український історик” 1995, №. 1–4], pp. 167–179.

13 «був приємно здивований, бачучи, з яким особливим зацікавленням селяне накидалися на історичні та публіцистичні статті проф. Грушевського». M. Voronij, “Selo,” *Rada* 1911, no. 78 [М. Вороний, «Село», „Рада” 1911, № 78], p. 2.

According to the vision of the creator of *Selo*, particular ideological and substantive significance was attributed to the illustrative material in the newspaper. As an experienced popularizer, Mykhailo Hrushevsky understood the importance of high-quality illustrations considering the predominantly semi-literate audience, for whom a good illustration served as a reliable aid in attaining a deeper understanding of the accompanying text. Therefore, in December 1909, H. Yampolska submitted an application to the Kyiv administration on behalf of the professor, substantiating the necessity of supplementing the newspaper with geographical maps, photographs, and artistic portraits. This led to a notable expansion of the newspaper's illustrative section and was met with critical approval.

Anyone who has observed how a book is read in the countryside has likely become convinced that an illustration in a book or newspaper carries great significance not only for children but also for adults – especially when that illustration serves as a visual representation of the text. It is examined closely, contemplated on, and evaluated, thereby facilitating the very process of reading comprehension.¹⁴

The aforementioned efforts of Mykhailo Hrushevsky and his associates resulted in a rapid increase in interest in the periodical among the countryside population. This is evidenced by the letters of Yurii Siry (Юрій Сірий) to Lviv. For example, in November 1909, he informed the professor that the publication reached 1,950 subscribers.¹⁵ To compare, at the same time, the aforementioned *Literary-Scientific Herald* («Літературно-науковий вістник») had only 870 subscribers in Russian-ruled Ukraine. Thus, for Ukrainian press in the Dnipro region, such interest in a peasantry-oriented newspaper was an exceptional phenomenon. This was further facilitated by the editorial board's well-constructed promotional policy, which consisted in encouraging the readers to disseminate the publication among their fellow villagers. Therefore, we believe that the actual readership of *Selo* significantly exceeded the number of formal subscriptions as according to the subscribers themselves, each purchased issue was read by up to five interested individuals.

Such considerable interest in the Ukrainian newspaper among the peasant population became the reason for a special “oversight” by the tsarist censors. It is worth

¹⁴ «Хто стежив за тим, як читають на селі книжку, той, певно, пересвідчився, що малюнок у книжці чи газеті має велику вагу не тільки для дітей, але й для дорослих, особливо коли той малюнок є наочною ілюстрацією тексту; його пильно розглядають, обмірковують, оцінюють, завдяки чому улекшується і самий процес усвідомлення прочитаного». Ibidem.

¹⁵ *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Gruševs'kogo*. T. 6: *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Gruševs'kogo ta Ūriâ Tišenka*, Kiïv; Niû-Jork: UÎT 2012 [*Листування Михайла Грушевського*. Т. 6: *Листування Михайла Грушевського та Юрія Тищенка*, Київ; Нью-Йорк: УІТ 2012], p. 173.

noting that the governor officials rather clearly understood the threat to their influence in the Ukrainian countryside posed by the periodical edited by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. For example, the well-known Kyiv censor Serhii Shchogolev (Сергий Щоголев), notorious for his Ukrainophobia, directly stated that the aim of the publishers of *Selo* was

to convince the Little Russian reader that he does not live in Russia but in Ukraine, and therefore should regard Russian interests as alien to him; to convince him that it is a sin to sleep and lie idle while Ukraine has not yet achieved independence; and finally, to discredit the authorities in the eyes of the peasants and workers as a barbaric and unjust element.¹⁶

Almost immediately after the first issues appeared, substantial fines were imposed on the press for both real and imagined errors on the part of the publishers. When there were no legal grounds for imposing fines, unofficial bans were introduced on the distribution of *Selo* to its subscribers. Numerous circulars recommended all possible measures to hinder access to this formally legal publication, including the physical destruction of copies sent by mail. Police bulletins also emphasized the need to monitor subscribers – particularly those from among the rural intelligentsia – and to obstruct their professional activity in every possible way, up to and including dismissal from their positions. The hysteria surrounding *Selo* is vividly illustrated by a request from the Katerynoslav governor to his Kyiv counterpart, inquiring whether *Selo* was, in fact, an officially legal publication.¹⁷ Mykhailo Hrushevsky himself, with undisguised wit, described these mounting persecutions in the pages of the *Literary-Scientific Herald*:

It is a fact that no other Ukrainian publication has been ‘appraised’ so highly: in addition to open repressions and penalties that this little newspaper received, from the very beginning of its existence it underwent ‘secret’ bans by various authorities and institutions – including orders from volost administrations not to deliver it to the addressees, but instead to forward it to the governor’s office. It seems that only

16 «переконати читача-малороса, що він живе не в Росії, а на Україні, а тому російські інтереси повинен вважати для себе чужими; переконати його, що гріх спати й лежати на боці, поки Україна не здобула самостійності; нарешті, дискредитувати в очах селян і робітників начальство як елемент варварський і несправедливий». S. Šegolev, *Istoriâ ‘ukrainskogo’ separatizma*, Moskva: Imperskaâ tradiciâ 2004 [С. Щеголев, *История “украинского” сепаратизма*, Москва: Имперская традиция 2004], pp. 144–146.

17 *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Gruševs'kogo*. T. 6: *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Gruševs'kogo ta Ūriâ Tišenka...* [Листування Михайла Грушевського. Т. 6: Листування Михайла Грушевського та Юрія Тищенка...], p. 208.

the 'State Horse Breeding Administration' and the 'Department of the Empress Maria' had not yet issued special circulars forbidding their subordinates from subscribing to *Selo*.¹⁸

The constantly increasing fines and administrative persecutions rendered the continuation of *Selo* publication futile. Consequently, at the beginning of 1911, Mykhailo Hrushevsky was compelled to inform readers of the newspaper's closure. In the final issue of *Selo*, he wrote: "It is difficult nowadays to publish in general, and even more difficult to publish in Ukrainian – worse still, publish a Ukrainian press for peasantry. [...] No other newspaper is as persecuted as ours."¹⁹ In the same article, the Lviv professor announced that a new publication – *Zasiv* – would take the place of the discontinued newspaper, continuing the traditions that had taken shape "in the short time since the appearance of the first peasant-worker newspaper in the Ukrainian language". Hrushevsky also informed readers that subscribers to *Selo* would receive *Zasiv* in its stead, without any additional charge.

Thus, *Zasiv* succeeded *Selo*. Anticipating the grim fate of the periodical, the Ukrainian community in Kyiv had taken early steps to obtain permission for the publication of a new journal. Taking into account the experience of publishing *Selo* and the persecution it faced from the tsarist censorship, it was decided to substantially 'lower the tone' – that is, to reduce the number of socio-political articles in favor of purely agricultural advice and cultural-educational contributions. This task was undertaken by the same editorial team that had produced *Selo*. The program of the new journal included sections such as a chronicle and articles on contemporary life in Russia and abroad; a section of fiction; popular-science publications; updates on economic developments and advice on the rational management of agriculture; and correspondence between readers and the editors. As in the case of *Selo*, the editorial team placed significant emphasis on the illustrative side of *Zasiv*, which, like its predecessor, contained numerous photographs, artistic sketches, geographical maps,

18 «Се факт, що ні одне українське видавництво не було так високо отаксоване: крім явних репресій і кар, котрими прийнято сю газетку, вона від початків свого існування почала заборонюватися «секретно» всякими начальствами і відомствами на різні і всякі способи, включно до наказу з волостей адресатам її не видавати, а відсилати до канцелярії губернатора. Здається, що тільки «управление государственного конезаводства» і «ведомство императрицы Марии» не встигло видати спеціальних циркулярів, котрими забороняло передплачувати «Село» своїм підвладним». М. Грушевський, "Nedoocinuvannâ," [in:] М.С. Грушевський, *Tvori: U 50 t.*, t. 2, L'viv: Svît 2005 [М. Грушевський, *Недооцінювання*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 2, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 184.

19 «Тяжко видавати тепер справедливую часопись взагалі, а ще тяжче українську, а ще гірше – селянську українську. [...] Нема ні одній газеті такої тісноти, як нашій». М. Грушевський, "Do naših čitačiv..." [М. Грушевський, *До наших читателей...*], p. 280.

and more – elements that not only accompanied the texts but at times carried independent semantic value. Another similarity was the production of additional material to the new newspaper, such as calendars and popular brochures. The subscription cost was 75 kopecks for three months, 1 ruble 30 kopecks for six months, and 2 rubles 50 kopecks for a year. The newspaper was issued every Friday and consisted of 16 pages. The first issue of *Zasiv* appeared on March 4, 1911.²⁰

The ideological platform of the new journal was outlined in the editorial article that opened the first issue:

Zasiv will be a progressive newspaper, offering: articles and news about contemporary life in Ukraine, in Russia, and abroad; on Ukrainian and world history and literature, artistic creativity, the natural and medical sciences, agriculture, cooperation, technology, hygiene and medicine; as well as poetry, short stories, illustrations accompanying the articles and stand-alone ones. It will include contributions from villages and towns, place special emphasis on educational and economic movements in the countryside; it will provide answers to subscribers' questions, as well as expert advice – agricultural, legal, and medical – on economic and educational matters.²¹

These intentions clearly reflected the publishers' desire to depoliticize the new periodical as much as possible. This was confirmed in a letter to Mykhailo Hrushevsky by Yurii Siry, who wrote: "We will try to run the new journal in a purely economic spirit. This is not the time to even to think about politics now."²²

As the successor to *Selo*, *Zasiv* sought to avoid conflicts with tsarist officials. In light of this, so as not to provoke the Kyiv censors with his name, the journal's chief ideologue, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, was virtually absent from its pages. During the newspaper's

20 I.V. Tkačenko, "Vidannâ ukraïns'kogo narodnogo tižnevika 'Zasiv' u Kiëvi (1911–1912)," *Rukopisna ta knižkova spadšina Ukraïni* 2004, Vîp.9 [I.V. Ткаченко, *Видання українського народного тиждневика «Засів» у Києві (1911–1912)*, „Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України” 2004, Вип. 9], p. 34.

21 ««Засів» буде газетою поступовою, подаватиме: статі й новини про сучасне життя на Україні, в Росії і за кордоном, з української і всесвітньої історії і письменства, артистичної творчості, з наук природних, лікарських, з сільського господарства, кооперації, техніки, гігієни і медицини, також вірші, оповідання, ілюстрації при статтях і осібні. Буде містити дописи з сіл і міст, звертатиме особливу увагу на рух освітній та економічний на селі; даватиме відповіді на запитання передплатників, а також поради спеціалістів: господарські, юридичні й лікарські в справах економічних і просвітних». Ibidem, p. 35.

22 «Нову часопись попробуємо вести в чисто хазяйськім дусі. Про політику нема чого й думати тепер». *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Gruševs'kogo*. Т. 6: *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Gruševs'kogo ta Ūriâ Tišenka...* [Листування Михайла Грушевського. Т. 6: Листування Михайла Грушевського та Юрія Тищенка...], p. 250.

publication (1911–1912), he addressed the subscribers only twice – once in the first issue, and again six months later. In both instances, the Lviv professor lamented the closure of *Selo*, attributing it not only to the actions of the administration and certain covert prohibitions, but also to the insufficient attention paid by the peasantry to their only Ukrainian-language periodical. Consequently, the scholar appealed to the subscribers of *Zasiv* to help disseminate information about the newspaper, so that it might survive financially.²³

Mykhailo Hrushevsky's appeal proved effective, as according to the information provided by the de facto editor, Yurii Tyshchenko, by August 8, 1911, *Zasiv* already had 1,406 subscribers,²⁴ which initially allowed the editorial board to avoid debt. However, despite the reduced focus on national and socio-political issues, as well as Hrushevsky's retreat from active involvement with the journal, its publishing fate turned out to be strikingly similar to that of its predecessor. The Kyiv censors soon recognized that *Zasiv* was merely a less politicized version of *Selo* that continued to cultivate in its readership a sense of hostility toward imperial regime. Accordingly, a broad arsenal of repressive measures was reinstated, chief among them the imposition of constant fines. As Tyshchenko recalled, during the second half of 1911, financial penalties were levied on virtually every other issue.²⁵ The most oppressive, however, was the arbitrary administrative sabotage by state officials. A vivid example of such interference was the instruction issued by the Temporary Committee on Press Affairs on August 30, 1911. It called for *Zasiv* to be subjected to the provisions of a secret circular, the essence of which was to delay, under any pretext, the delivery of Ukrainian-language newspapers by post. The destructive impact of this policy was described by the editor in a letter to Hrushevsky in Lviv: "At the post office I also learned that there is some kind of circular forbidding the delivery of leftist newspapers to peasants."²⁶ Subscribers, unable to receive their newspaper, wrote to the editorial office en masse to report this situation.²⁷

23 M. Grušev's'kij, "Do naših čitačiv"... [M. Грушевський, *До наших читачів...*], pp. 280–281.

24 *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Grušev's'kogo*. T. 6: *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Grušev's'kogo ta Ūriâ Tišenka...* [Листування Михайла Грушевського. Т. 6: Листування Михайла Грушевського та Юрія Тищенка...], p. 280.

25 Ū. Tušenko-Sirij, *Persî ukraïns'ki masovî politični gazeti*, Niû-Jork 1951 [Ю. Тищенко-Сірій, *Перші українські масові політичні газети*, Нью-Йорк 1951], p. 17.

26 «На почті довідався теж, що є якийсь циркуляр не видавати газет лівих селянам». *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Grušev's'kogo*. T. 6: *Listuvnnaâ Mihajla Grušev's'kogo ta Ūriâ Tišenka...* [Листування Михайла Грушевського. Т. 6: Листування Михайла Грушевського та Юрія Тищенка...], p. 289.

27 Ĭ.V. Tkačenko, "Vidannâ ukraïns'kogo narodnogo tižnevika 'Zasiv' u Kiëvi (1911–1912)"... [І.В. Ткаченко, *Видання українського народного тижневика «Засів» у Києві (1911–1912)...*], p. 40.

Amid such difficult circumstances, the editorial team made efforts to combat the growing financial deficit. The subscription price was raised, and the format of the newspaper was reduced from 16 to 8 pages. Despite these unpopular measures, as Tyshchenko noted, interest in the journal among the peasant readership not only failed to decline but actually increased – testifying to the broad demand for this civic publication. Nevertheless, the futility of resisting state discriminatory policies became increasingly evident. Thus, under conditions of deepening financial shortfall and unrelenting administrative pressure, the editor made the difficult decision to cease publication. Having concluded the year 1912, the editorial board did not announce a subscription campaign for the following year. In total, the nearly two-year history of *Zasiv* demonstrated it to be a worthy successor to the editorial traditions of *Selo*, as the periodical not only retained but expanded its reach among the peasant audience.

Hrushevsky's historical policy as publisher of newspapers for peasantry

Above, we briefly mentioned the cultural priorities of the Lviv professor as a contributor to peasant periodicals. However, the most influential aspect for the common reader was the historical ideology consistently constructed and conveyed by him to the audience through diverse texts and illustrations – an ideology formulated by the author of *The History of Ukraine-Rus* («Історії України-Руси»). It is worth noting that this issue remains largely underexplored to this day, as historiographers have traditionally focused on analyzing his metanarratives and their reception exclusively within academic circles²⁸.

The largest number of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's historical contributions focused on the biographies of prominent Ukrainian figures from both the distant past and the era of modern national revival. It is worth noting that for the scholar, a key criterion in selecting figures from Ukrainian history and culture was their connection to the common people – either through a significant contribution to their fate or by virtue of origin. The first criterion clearly dominated in the selection of individuals from the medieval and early modern periods. For example, in discussing Kniaz Roman as a distinguished builder of the Ukrainian state in its western lands, Hrushevsky

28 V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn, V. Telvak, "Between cooperation and conflict: Mykhailo Hrushevsky through the eyes of Polish intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th centuries," *Echa Przeszłości* 2023, Vol. XXIV, no. 2, pp. 89–104; V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn, "Geschichte des Ukrainischen (Ruthenischen) volkes of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the discussions of the beginning of the XXth century," *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 2021, Vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 71–90; V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn, V. Telvak, "Between history and politics: the image of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in German Slavic studies of the first third of the 20th century," *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych* 2021, no. 2, pp. 103–125.

devoted considerable attention to the attitude of the common folk toward his activities: "The simple people also loved him greatly for having subdued the proud and pompous Galician boyars [...]. This greatly appealed to the common people, and they supported Roman with all their soul."²⁹

Another prominent Ukrainian figure – Kniaz Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi (князь Костянтин Острозький) – is portrayed by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, alongside the expected references to his military valor and state service, as a defender of the common people and a fervent guardian of their faith during that troubled time for Ukraine, when the majority of the national nobility had embraced Catholicism, abandoning the faith of their ancestors. On this subject, the scholar writes: "But Kniaz Kostiantyn and his son faithfully stood by their people, their language, their faith, donated funds for schools for their compatriots, established printing presses, published books [Kniaz Vasyl-Kostiantyn – князь Василь-Костянтин]. And for that reason, Ukrainians held them in high esteem, regarded them as their leaders, as 'the heads of the Ukrainian people.'"³⁰

As expected, in accordance with the aforementioned criterion, the folk heroes of the early modern period became the Cossack (Козак) leaders. Mykhailo Hrushevsky constructed their biographies in a romantic key, portraying them as courageous popular leaders and defenders of the ancestral faith. For instance, the scholar characterized Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi (Петро Сагайдачний) as follows: "He was renowned as a fortunate and skillful leader in war and as a faithful son of Ukraine, who loved his Ukrainian people sincerely and fervently"³¹ Another Cossack hetman, Petro Doroshenko (Петро Дорошенко), like his predecessor, was celebrated

29 «Простий нарід також дуже любив його за те, що він приборкав горде та пишне галицьке боярство [...]. Простому народові те подобалося дуже, і він всею душею приляг до Романа». M. Gruševs'kij, "Knâz' Roman," [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Князь Роман*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], pp. 318–319.

30 «А сей князь Костянтин і його син вірно держалися свого народу, своєї мови, своєї віри, жертвували гроші на школи для своїх земляків, заводили друкарні, книги друкували (князь Василь-Костянтин). І тому українці дуже шанували їх, вважали своїми проводирями, «головами свого народу» українського». M. Gruševs'kij, "Knâz' Kostântin Ostroz'kij," [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Князь Костянтин Острозький*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 297.

31 «Славився він як щасливий і зручний вождь на війні і як вірний син України, що любив свій народ український щиро і гаряче». M. Gruševs'kij, "Get'man Petro Sahajdačij," [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Гетьман Петро Сагайдачний*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 298.

as an uncompromising defender of the people, so that: "Ukraine does not forget its faithful son!"³² For these very merits, Mykhailo Hrushevsky insists that Pavlo Polubotok (Павло Полуботок) is also worthy of reverence. Defending "the old Ukrainian rights and order," he entered into an unequal confrontation with Tsar Peter I (царь Пётр I Алексеевич) for the preservation of the people's rights. As a result, "he was deeply mourned and regarded as a martyr for Ukraine."³³

Even greater attention from Mykhailo Hrushevsky was devoted to the figures of the Ukrainian modern national revival. In this case, his discursive strategy consisted in consistently emphasizing either the peasant origins of Ukrainian intellectuals or their deep immersion in the life of the peasantry. Unsurprisingly, a special place in the professor's historical biographical writings was reserved for Taras Shevchenko. Bringing the Kobzar closer to his reader, the editor asserted:

Taras Shevchenko was the son of serfs, he himself grew up in serfdom, saw how people were humiliated and lived, working from childhood to the end like cattle under corvée, having no will of their own in anything, living and dying in that yoke without a ray of light or hope for a better fate.³⁴

In revealing to the reader the main themes of Shevchenko's oeuvre, Mykhailo Hrushevsky provided a particularly substantive account of his contribution to the romanticization of the image of the Ukrainian Cossacks. In a discursive mode similar to the one analyzed above, Mykhailo Hrushevsky constructed the biographies of the members of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, invariably emphasizing their connection to the common people. According to the historian, Mykola Kostomarov (Микола Костомаров), despite his Russian descent, consciously chose to side with the peasant population that had surrounded him since childhood.

32 «Україна не забула свого вірного сина!». М. Gruševs'kij, "Get'man Petro Dorošenko," [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [М. Грушевський, *Гетьман Петро Дорошенко*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 294.

33 «на Україні дуже жалували за ним, вважали його мучеником за Україну». М. Gruševs'kij, "Pavlo Polubotok" [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [М. Грушевський, *Павло Полуботок*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 314.

34 «Тарас Шевченко був сином кріпаків, сам виріс в кріпацтві, бачив, як поневірилися й жили люди, працюючи змалку до останку, як худоба, на панщині, й не маючи ні в чім власної волі, живучи і вмираючи в тім ярмі без просвітку і надії на кращу долю». М. Gruševs'kij, "Pam'atnik Tarasu Ševčenko," [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [М. Грушевський, *Пам'ятник Тарасу Шевченку*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 328–329.

Having devoted himself wholeheartedly to the Ukrainian people, as few even among native-born Ukrainians have done, he remained an eternal reproach to all our compatriots who merely eat Ukrainian bread while publicly claiming that there is neither a Ukrainian language nor a Ukrainian people, only one 'Russian,' and that Ukrainians need neither a literature nor schools of their own, since they supposedly understand Russian as their own and want nothing Ukrainian,³⁵

wrote Hrushevsky. It was precisely through the prism of Mykola Kostomarov's biography that the scholar explained to the reader the principal ideas of the Brotherhood members, which centered on the justification of Ukrainians' right to cultural distinctiveness and political subjectivity.

Alongside representatives of Ukrainian Romanticism, the publisher of *Selo* and *Zasiv* also wrote extensively about contemporary leaders of the Ukrainian national movement. In accordance with the aforementioned narrative logic, when discussing the national service of Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi (Іван Семіонович Нечуй-Левицький), Volodymyr Antonovych (Володимир Антонович), Ivan Franko (Іван Франко), Oleksandr Konyskyi (Олександр Кониський), Volodymyr Vynnychenko (Володимир Винниченко), Oleksandr Kistiakovskiy (Олександр Кістяківський), Marko Kropyvnytskyi (Марко Кропивницький), and Mykola Lysenko (Микола Лисенко), Mykhailo Hrushevskyi consistently emphasized their connection to the world of the Ukrainian peasant. For example, Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi (Іван Нечуй-Левицький) "ought to be close to our peasantry, for he dedicated his work primarily to the Ukrainian village, its sorrow and hardships."³⁶ In turn, in his historical works, Volodymyr Antonovych depicted "the injustice suffered by our people, especially the peasantry, and how that people sought justice, trying to defend themselves through their Cossack and haidamak uprisings."³⁷ A native of the common folk, Ivan Franko

35 «Прилегли всею душею до українського народу, як небагато і з родовитих українців, зостався вічним докором таки всяким землячкам нашим, що тільки хліб український їдять та перед світом брешуть, що нема ані мови, ані народу українського, а тільки один руський, і не треба українцям ні письменства, ні школи української, бо вони руське розуміють за своє і нічого українського не хочуть». M. Gruševskij, "Mikola Kostomarov," [in:] M.S. Gruševskij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Микола Костомаров*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 306.

36 «повинний бути близький нашому селянству, бо працю свою присвятив він, головню, українському селу, його горю і злидням». M. Gruševskij, "Ivan Nečuj-Levič'kij," [in:] M.S. Gruševskij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Іван Нечуй-Левицький*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], pp. 320–321.

37 «яка кривда діялася нашому народові, селянству особливо, і як той народ шукав правди, боронитися хотів через свої повстання козацькі та гайдамацькі». M. Gruševskij, "Volodimir Antonovič," [in:] M.S. Gruševskij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv:

“did not sever ties with his native peasantry but, on the contrary, devoted his entire life to the enlightenment of the Ukrainian people and to fostering their awareness.”³⁸ And Oleksandr Kistiakovskiy, as a talented jurist, “often acted in defense of the Ukrainian peasantry.”³⁹ These are just most notable examples among many.

With particular emotional intensity, Mykhailo Hrushevsky spoke of peasants who, thanks to their innate talents, were able to attain global recognition. In this context, we would like to cite a series of the scholar’s essays about his friends, the Shkribliak (брати Шкрібляків) brothers, who brought fame to the Hutsul (Гуцульська) folk crafts. Referring to them as “peasant-artists,” the historian sought to demonstrate to his Dnipro-region readers that belief in one’s own abilities, tireless work on self-improvement, and an active life stance can transform a utilitarian object into a work of art.⁴⁰

The popular science articles by M. Hrushevsky on prominent Ukrainian historical sites and notable landmarks are marked by no less thematic and substantive diversity. It is, in fact, within this group of writings that the defining feature of Hrushevsky the publicist is most vividly expressed—his persistent effort to affirm in the reader’s consciousness the idea of the unity (sobornist) of all Ukrainian lands, which, despite imperial borders, are united by a single people. For example, in the thematic series “Our Cities,” the scholar included essays on Austro-Hungarian Przemyśl and Lviv as well as Russian-ruled Chernihiv and Kyiv, emphasizing that their founders were Ukrainians. In narrating the past and present of ancient Ukrainian cities, M. Hrushevsky consistently highlights national dimensions – whether in the peculiarities of their founding, the nature of their historical monuments, the activities of notable natives, or the customs of their citizens. In the case of the Galician capital, for instance, he insightfully asserts that “if not we, then our children will see Lviv as a Ukrainian city.”⁴¹

Svit 2005 [М. Грушевський, Володимир Антонович, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], pp. 301–302.

38 «не одірвався від рідного селянства, а навпаки, все, життя віддав просвіті українського народу та його усвідомленню». М. Gruševs'kij, “Іван Франко,” [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, т. 3, L'viv: Svit 2005 [М. Грушевський, Іван Франко, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 288.

39 «часто виступав в обороні українського селянства». М. Gruševs'kij, “Oleksandr Kistakivs'kij,” [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, т. 3, L'viv: Svit 2005 [М. Грушевський, Олександр Кістяківський, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 323.

40 M. Gruševs'kij, “Selâni-mistci,” [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, т. 3, L'viv: Svit 2005 [М. Грушевський, *Селяни-мистці*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 305.

41 «що як не ми, то діти наші побачать Львів українським містом». М. Gruševs'kij, “L'viv,” [in:] M.S. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, т. 3, L'viv: Svit 2005 [М. Грушевський, *Львів*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 347.

Among the numerous places of memory, the editor preferred narratives concerning princely (Askold's Grave – Аскольдова могила, Oleg's Grave – Олегова могила, Mstyslav's Church in Volodymyr-Volynskyi – Мстиславова церква у Володимирі-Волинському, St. Basil's Church in Ovruch – церква св. Василя в Овручі) and Cossack (Sirko's Grave and the Zaporizhian Sich – могила Сірка та Запорозька Січ) monuments, thereby drawing the reader's attention to the periods of political subjectivity of our people. M. Hrushevsky also wrote about unique natural phenomena. One example is his essay on the natural rock formations in the Stryi region – the Boldy. Thus, the author of *History of Ukraine-Rus* cultivated in his reader both an understanding of the richness of the native land and the necessity of careful preservation of the material heritage left behind. He emphasized: “The tragic fate of Ukraine has left us few monuments from those former times of Ukrainian strength. All the more diligently must we collect and preserve what remains.”⁴²

Finally, another thematic group of writings was dedicated to key events of the Ukrainian past. This group is dominated by essays on the history of the Cossack era, which, according to the author's intention, was meant to cultivate in the readership a pride in their glorious ancestors who not only justly governed their compatriots but also often influenced the course of events in Central-Eastern Europe. In depicting the Cossacks, M. Hrushevsky emphasized the national and defensive nature of their service to the community. Challenging the stereotypes of imperial historiographies, the scholar explained to the reader: “The Cossacks were not robbers, greedy for others' property, as the Poles defamed them, but wronged people who, with weapons in hand, rose up to assert their rights, to gain freedom, and to live with dignity.”⁴³

The affirmation of the idea of sobornist in the reader's consciousness was considerably aided by M. Hrushevsky's consistent use in his historical articles of the toponym “Ukraine” instead of the then commonly accepted regional names (Chervona Rus', Malorossiia, or Slobozhanshchyna – Червона Русь, Малоросія чи Слобожанщина). In doing so, the effective editor cultivated among the peasant audience an understanding of their native land as an ethnic, geographic, cultural, and historical unity. Nurturing in his readership a sense of pride in their homeland, the Lviv professor

42 «Лиха доля українська мало полишила нам пам'яток з тих колишніх часів української сили. Тим пильніше мусимо збирати й берегти те, що зісталося». M. Gruševskij, “Mstislavova cerkva v Volodimiri-Volynskim,” [in:] M.S. Gruševskij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *Мстиславова церква в Володимирі-Волинськiм*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 360.

43 «Не були козаки розбійниками, жадними чужого добра, як ослаблювали їх поляки, а люди покривджені, що з зброєю в руках повставали, аби свого права діяти, свободу добути і можливість жити по-людському». М. Gruševskij, “Z Hmel'niččini,” [in:] M.S. Gruševskij, *Tvori: u 50 t.*, t. 3, L'viv: Svît 2005 [M. Грушевський, *З Хмельниччини*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т.*, т. 3, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 363.

tirelessly insisted that “there are few places in the world like our country”⁴⁴. The use of the polytonym “Ukrainian State” in his discussions of the Old Rus’ period also pursued the goal of promoting unity (sobornist).

Particularly exceptional is M. Hrushevsky’s skillful approach to illustrating his historical writings. As an eminent source scholar, the researcher with considerable taste selected little-known drawings from ancient manuscripts and works of artists, photographs of localities and historical monuments, images of prominent figures of the past, and so forth. Of special interest to the readership, as evidenced by letters to the editor, were the cartographic materials published in the periodicals, among which the map of Ukraine was most prominent. Through such visualization, the historian encouraged the reader to develop a fuller understanding of the idea of sobornist, the legitimacy of contemporary demands for autonomous rights for the Russian-ruled provinces, as well as the naturalness of the struggles for the unification of Ukrainian lands into a single political entity.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it should be noted that the periodicals addressed by M. Hrushevsky to the peasant readership became a significant component of the national socio-political movement in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century. The creator of *Selo* and *Zasiv*, through a variety of genres and carefully selected illustrative material, promoted among the popular readership the ideas of all-Ukrainian sobornist, active solidarity, civic activism, and life-affirming optimism, as well as a sense of pride in their magnificent past, love for the native language, and respect for the regional differences of the indigenous population of Ukrainian territories on both sides of the Zbruch River. Thanks to the serious, respectful, and trusting dialogue established by M. Hrushevsky with his readers, these maxims – so important for modern nation-building – gained considerable traction among the peasant community. All of this transformed *Selo* and *Zasiv* into an authoritative school of civic self-education for the people eager for enlightenment. This exerted a noticeable influence on the fate of Russian-ruled Ukrainians, who soon faced numerous challenges posed by the First World War and the sweeping revolutionary upheavals.

44 «мало ще де найдеться на світі така країна як наша». М. Грушевський, “Україна,” [in:] М.С.Грушевський, *Твори: у 50 т., т. 3*, Львів: Світ 2005 [М.Грушевський, *Україна*, [в:] М.С. Грушевський, *Твори: У 50 т., т. 3*, Львів: Світ 2005], p. 366.

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