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“FOR OUR NATION TO GET AWAY FROM THE TROUBLES AND NEEDS...”: ECONOMIC COMPONENT OF STEPAN SMAL-STOTSKYI’S JOURNALISM (LATE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

Abstract. *Ukrainian journalism of the independence period is becoming more and more objective and comprehensive in its nature. Stereotypes and ideologies of the Soviet journalism are slowly receding into the background. The reasoning behind this is not only new social and political reality, but also the available opportunities for researchers to use the historical sources and analyse them impartially. Relevance of the chosen topic is determined, therefore, by the necessity to explore the heritage of those figures, who stood at the origins of Ukrainian journalism and those who formed the basic principles of the Ukrainian mass media. In addition, determining the role of the individuals in the media, the impact of their beliefs and actions is an important component in the study of Ukrainian journalism. For many decades, the extraordinary personality of Stepan Smal-Stotskyi was not properly respected due to ideological prohibitions, and his invaluable heritage remained inaccessible to Ukrainians. With the independence of Ukraine, his scientific achievements, journalistic and editorial and publishing activities became the object of research of Ukrainian scientists. A comprehensive analysis of economic journalism in the works of S. Smal-Stotskyi in the context of the development of Ukrainian journalism in the late nineteenth – early twentieth century outlines the purpose of the study. As for the practical significance of the study, it should be emphasized that the research implemented outcome could be used for generalization purposes on Ukrainian journalism as well as for development of educational programs in higher educational institutions.*

Key words: Stepan Smal-Stotskyi, Ukrainian journalism, economics, Bukovynian press.

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“АБИ НАШ НАРІД ДОБУВ СЯ ІЗ БІДИ І НУЖДИ...”: ЕКОНОМІЧНА СКЛАДОВА ЖУРНАЛІСТИКИ СТЕПАНА СМАЛЬ-СТОЦЬКОГО (КІНЕЦЬ ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ СТ.)

Анотація. *Українська журналістська наука доби незалежності все більше набуває рис об’єктивності та всебічності, позбавляючись стереотипів заідеологізованості, притаманних радянському журналістикознавству. Це зумовлено не лише реальними суспільно-політичними умовами, а й новими можливостями для дослідників безпосереднього використання історичних джерел, їх неупередженого аналізу. Актуальність обраної теми дослідження обумовлюється необхідністю вивчення творчої спадщини тих визначних діячів, що стояли біля витоків українського журналістикознавства та формували основні принципи функціонування українських мас-медій. Окрім того, визначення ролі окремої особистості у мас-медійній галузі, впливу її переконань та вчинків є важливим компонентом у дослідженні вітчизняної журналістики. Довгі десятиліття неординарна особистість Степана Смаль-Стоцького через ідеологічні заборони не була належно пошанована, а неоціненна творча спадщина залишалася недоступною для українства. Із здобуттям Україною незалежності його науковий доробок, журналістська та редакційно-видавнича діяльність стали об’єктом досліджень українських науковців. Комплексний аналіз економічної журналістики в доробку С. Смаль-Стоцького у контексті розвитку української журналістики кінця ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. окреслює мету дослідження. Що стосується практичного значення результатів дослідження, то варто наголосити на тому, що напрацьований матеріал необхідно використати для підготовки узагальнюючих праць з історії української журналістики, для підготовки навчальних програм з фахових дисциплін у вищих навчальних закладах.*

Ключові слова: Степан Смаль-Стоцький, українська журналістика, економіка, буковинська преса.

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Formulation of the problem. 1848 in Bukovyna. It seemed that changes in the socio-political life of the region were inevitable: revolutionary wave of the “Spring of nations” was meant to contribute to the establishment of democratic principles and defend nations’ independence. What is more, it was the time of the abolition of land dependence of the rural population of the region, the same one that for years hampered their personal well-being. However, the so-called remnants of feudalism continued to slow down the process of building people's identity, including religiosity and the formation of capitalism.

As a result, at the end of the XIX – in the beginning of XX centuries in Bukovyna, the land issue remained unresolved for the peasants, which they had been trying to resolve for years. Equally, the large Ukrainian population of the region was left without any political rights. What was the use of the functioning Sejm if the majority of deputies were German and Romanian landowners? Moreover, the vote of the Sejm was not final, any decisions taken by it came into force only after their approval by the Austrian crown.

However, in such difficult conditions, when only a few people sought to stand up for the interests of the peasantry (as such activities could harm the prosperity of one's own interests), our history still collected a several names of real “people's defenders”. And one of them is undoubtedly S. Smal-Stotskyi.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The relevance of the scientific article is determined by the lack of a thorough research on publications of an economic nature of S. Smal-Stotskyi. The author's monographs, scientific articles, and other works confirmed the need for a comprehensive study and detailed analysis on the topic. The study identifies the thematic range of journalistic materials of S. Smal-Stotskyi and the peculiarities of his coverage of economic issues on the pages of the Ukrainian press. It's worth mentioning that a separate investigation on this topic was not carried out. Scholars have only partially addressed this issue, with the aim of returning to an independent state from Soviet oblivion the unjustly called “bourgeois nationalist” S. Smal-Stotskyi. Among them are, in particular: V. Danylenko, O. Dobrzhanskyi (“Academician Stepan Smal-Stotskyi: life and activity”, Kyiv, 1996), O. Horbatiuk (“Stepan Smal-Stotskyi as a literary critic: figures and phenomena of new Ukrainian literature”, Lviv, 2009), V. Botushanskyi (“Stepan Smal-Stotskyi – outstanding figure of Bukovina: the portrait”, Chernivtsi, 2010), M. Pelypets (“Stepan Smal-Stotskyi's journalistic, editorial and publishing activities”, Lviv, 2018), etc.

To comprehensively study the figure of S. Smal-Stotskyi, one must take into consideration the conference materials, in particular: “In honor of one hundred years since Stepan Smal-Stotskyi was born” (New York, 1960), “Pedagogical ideas of Stepan Smal-Stotskyi in the context of national education development” (Chernivtsi, 1999), “Figure in the national and cultural life of Bukovyna in the late XIX – early XX centuries and the modern opinion about his time” (Chernivtsi, 2009), “The place of Stepan Smal-Stotskyi in the European slavistic studies”, (Krakow, 2012). The novelty of the scientific article is the formulation and elaboration on a topic, which has not received adequate

coverage in the Ukrainian theory and history of journalism.

This scientific research is focused, therefore, on the analysis of S. Smal-Stotskyi's economic journalism and on exploring its thematic and problematic features. The object of the study is an array of his published journalistic materials on a given topic. The subject of the research is a coverage of economic issues in publications of S. Smal-Stotskyi in the content of domestic press. The methodology is based on the principles of historical analysis, scientific objectivity, complexity and reliability.

Setting objectives. The aim of the scientific article is to investigate the genesis of S. Smal-Stotskyi's economic publications, to find out their specifics in the political reality of that period and to trace the evolution of the views of the leading figure of Bukovyna, to demonstrate the peculiarities of introduction of its socio-political ideas into the current of historical events at the end of XIX – in the middle of XX centuries.

Presentation of the main research results. The role of S. Smal-Stotskyi in the public life of the stateless people is quite vividly represented by a significant array of his publications on troublesome issues of the then reality. As an experienced politician, financial analyst, and scientist, he saw the need for close contact between the Ukrainian community and leading state structures in Bukovyna. According to his contemporaries, it is difficult to imagine this region before the First World War “without a name” of S. Smal-Stotskyi [5]. In the political, economic, social sphere, his journalistic activity was noticeably “helpful”.

The analysis of journalistic activity of S. Smal-Stotskyi in relation to the economic problems of the region, shows that he made significant efforts to organize and determine strategic priorities in the formation of the region. The main emphasis he put on the creation of loan offices, quite popular and successful economic institutions in the West. By the way, in Bukovyna they became famous with the appearance of the Church Brotherhood St. Thaddeus, who founded the first mutual aid fund in the region. In particular, back in 1872, the community of Berehomet-Nad-Prutom initiated the creation of a loan office. However, they gained their legal basis only after the intervention of S. Smal-Stotskyi in the initiative. His main credit was that he used the European method of their work. “Today passed 10 years from the moment when I initiated the creation of loan office in the Sejm on 10th May, 1893. I realized that it was the only way our nation can get away from the money-lender's hands...” – wrote S. Smal-Stotskyi [7].

Speaking that day in the Bukovynian Regional Sejm, the politician announced plans to organize a personal loan for Bukovynian peasants (“Bukovyna”, 1893, n. 19). S. Smal-Stotskyi justified the need to start a network of loan offices under the Raiffeisen system. He also convinced the audience what it was “Ruska Besida” to initiate the foundation of “Vlasna Pomich” since 1894 its leadership has prepared a number of statutes and instructions with this purpose. In fact, the company did not accumulate large sums of money, but due to its authority among the public, it gained more trust from future investors (newspaper “Dilo” informed

readers about the desire of Bukovynians to establish cash registers [1]).

In 1903 having knowledge of the then theoretical foundations of cooperation, S. Smal-Stotskyi founded the Union of Farmers "Selianska Kasa", whose periodical became the magazine "Narodne Bohatstvo". Of course, he was accused of being a "haidamak", not caring about the people's cause, only encroaching on community money [6].

However, by his actions he proved the opposite. The study revealed dozens of publications of S. Smal-Stotskyi on economic topics, particularly: "How to set up a shop?" ("Bukovyna", 1894, n. 19, 21, 23, 29); "A new charter on cattle feeding" ("Iliustrovanyi Bukovynskyi Pravoslavnyi Kaliendar na rik perestupnyi 1896", 1895); "How to set up a shop?" ("Iliustrovanyi Bukovynskyi Pravoslavnyi Kaliendar na rik perestupnyi 1896", 1895); "Economic and social status of the region" ("Bukovyna", 1897, n. 49, 50); "About founding the unite Ukrainian cash registers under the Raiffeisen system" ("Ruska Rada", 1903, n. 13); "The first general gathering of Union of Farmers "Selianska Kasa" ("Ruska Rada", 1903, n. 16); "To the Ukrainian intelligence in Bukovyna" ("Bukovyna", 1903, n. 40); "Ukrainian cash register under errand" ("Bukovyna", 1906, n. 42); "Preliminar of regional fund" ("Ruska Rada", 1908, n. 40); "Closing the accounts of the organisation "Ruska cash for savings and loans "Ruska Kasa" ("Ruska Rada", 1903, n. 43), to which he reported on the operation of "Ruska Kasa" in direct credit relations with the company "Dnister" in cooperation with "Kraievyyi Kredytnyi Soiuz" in Lviv and "Selianska Kasa" in Chernivtsi.

Using his status in political life, S. Smal-Stotskyi sought to improve the economic situation of the peasants, implementing the correction of the soil cadastre of Bukovyna: "Revision of the soil cadastre in Bukovyna" ("Bukovyna", 1896, n. 108, 109); "Something more about the revision of the soil cadastre" ("Bukovyna", 1896, n. 117, 118, 140–142, 185); "Does it help to fight for what is yours?" ("Bukovyna", 1896, n. 250); "The speech of Dr. Stotskyi to motivate the contribution to the soil books" ("Bukovyna", 1901, n. 89–92), etc. He devoted these and other speeches to resolving the issue of "soil" in Bukovyna. He sought to popularize soil books, contributing to the improvement of agricultural activities in the region at the highest state level. As we can see, the involvement of S. Smal-Stotskyi in the economic processes was dictated by his social and political activities.

1912 was a turning point in his political career, because as a leader of "Selianska Kasa" he was involved in its bankruptcy, however, according to O. Makovei, «he walks in Chernivysi as if nothing happened – only is more polite now» [4]. This event shook the authority of the figure in Bukovyna not only in the socio-political sphere of activity, but also in the cultural and educational sphere. S. Smal-Stotskyi was forced to relinquish his mandate to the Bukovynian Sejm, the position of Vice-Marshall of the Regional Sejm, as he could no longer perform his duties due to public hostility towards him. And most importantly for the politician – all this made it impossible to form his further strategic socio-political directions of development of the region. This factor, again, proves the direct

connection of his economic activity with the political one. Bifurcation in resolving the crisis issue "Soiuz Ukrainykh Khliborobskykh Raifaizenskykh Spilok" in Bukovina led to the fact that the conflict became the basis for the formation of a new political force led by M. Vasylo.

To prove his own non-involvement in bankruptcy of "Selianska Kasa", S. Smal-Stotskyi published a few articles, in particular: "Refutation" ("Ukraina", 1913, n. 4); "My confession" ("Dilo", 1913, n. 15); "Don't forget!" ("Ridnyi Krai", 1929, n. 15). A little later S. Smal-Stotskyi sent an article to the redaction of "Nova Bukovyna", which included the main reasons for the poor economic results of the cash registers, as well as justification of the author as a politician. We will add that the editorial board decided to include the answers of a well-known public figure (firstly – a colleague, but after the scandal with "Selianska Kasa" – an opponent) Ye. Pihuliak on each point of "refutation" of S. Smal-Stotskyi [11]. Information about the Selianska Kasa was also quite popular among the Galician audience. An example is the messages on the pages of the periodicals "Ruslan": "Selianska Kasa" in Bukovyna" (1913, n. 10); "Bukovynian affairs" (1913, n. 11); «Voices of Bukovinian magazines on the occasion of sanation of "Selianska Kasa" (1913, n. 12).

There was also defamation in the columns of the Bukovynian press. Leading press bodies of Muscovites, in particular "Russkaia Pravda" (1912, n. 69, 70, 107; 1913, n. 152) and "Pravoslavna Bukovyna" (1913, n. 1–2, 4), contained publications in which they openly accused S. Smal-Stotskyi and his proponents in conducting "unclean" cases of "Selianska Kasa", which eventually collapsed.

In 1929 to the editor of "Ridnyi Krai" a letter from S. Smal-Stotskyi arrived, written from the Paris «Hotel Emperial» – the then center of the Ukrainian emigration community [3]. He noted that M. Vasylo tried to stop financial success of "Selianska Kasa", and for this he said "you should have removed me from the road as a great obstacle, and he did not flinch even before imprisoning us and introducing me in advance in the Viennese newspapers as a criminal". As we see, S. Smal-Stotskyi and M. Vasylo evaluated each other's activities negatively, which, in turn, led to the image of "rivalry" between former colleagues.

In the author's focus of the newspaper "Russkaia Pravda" it was widely believed that hostility of M. Vasylo towards S. Smal-Stotskyi was caused by not so much the desire to "destroy" Stotskyi's authority as a politician, but a goal to divert public attention from his own abuse of power [9]. Another publication said that "The spies were Poles and "Ukrainians" and they all sold our Austrian state to Russia, of course not just like that, but for rubles. And here in Bukovyna we caught such a Russian spy Iosif Bendyk, "a real Ukrainian and a sincere friend of Vasylo and Stotskyi" [10].

Thus, the discrepancy in the vision of who was the perpetrator in the failure of "Selianska Kasa" caused unfounded criticism of one or another of its members and prominent politicians who were involved in its creation and activities.

The opinion of the anonymous author of the below article deserves attention too, – "the thieves grumbled"

[8]. He assured readers that S. Smal-Stotskyi used capital for publishing “Bukovyna”, “Ruska Rada”, “Nova Bukovyna” (“Nova Brekhanyna”), “Hromadskyy Holos” (“Holodnyy Holos”). At the same time his opponent M. Vasylo used public funds to create such press bodies as “Pravoslavna Bukovyna” (or “Neppravoslavna Brikhnia”), whose editor was O. Popovych.

Analyzing the content of political articles of S. Smal-Stotskyi, we can identify major socio-political thematic vectors. In particular, he outlined the role of politics of that time. It is necessary “for our nation to get away from the troubles and needs, and for peace to be on our native sprinkled with the blood of our parents and grandparents land, and for our land to meet better fate, for all people to be united in one national group, and in such a way – for us to become a nation, for faith and for state”, – outlined S. Smal-Stotskyi (“Ruska Rada”, 1908, n. 29).

The politician believed that it was necessary to remove “wolves in sheep’s clothing” from the organization of public life, because their activities can only hinder the successful conduct of Ukrainian affairs.

A similar opinion can be traced in such publications as: “Bursa” (“Bukovyna”, 1896, n. 87); “Enter “Ruska Rada” (“Narodne Bohatstvo”, 1908, n. 20/21); “Don’t forget about anything!” (“Ruska Rada”, 1908, n. 28); “Borrowed wisdom” (“Bukovyna”, 1897, n. 10), which, in particular, provoked a discussion on the pages of “Bukovyna”.

As for the last article, S. Smal-Stotskyi noted the elitist method of conducting politics in the region, the lack of necessary skills in promoting political slogans among the public. He said: “We’re hearing new slogans every day, new ideas are thrown from each side, and no one takes into account to add a group of people to such ideas, and therefore, to bring them into life”. As we can see, the politician considered the popularization of the Ukrainian question among all segments of the population to be the quintessence of political activity. After all, the de jure uncertainty of citizens’ affiliation to a particular state led to an imbalance in the implementation of the political principles of that time, both then and in the future. Not the last negative role in this was played by Muscovite propaganda.

Conclusions and prospects for further research in this area. Thus, despite the accusations and attacks of opponents (often former proponents), Muscovites and the disinformation they spread, the reputation of S. Smal-Stotskyi grew. After all, even before the First World War, there was a widespread belief that “Bukovynska Rus and professor S. Smal-Stotskyi – are the one piece” [2]. S. Smal-Stotskyi – journalist identified one of the main tasks to be fulfilled – to activate Bukovynian Ukrainians in the formation of national self-affirmation. He believed that every organization or society should be united by common ideas, because only a community with a stable idea can form a political system. The power should be concentrated precisely among such a stratum, and not only in political parties, which often change their slogans as they change their personal purposes.

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