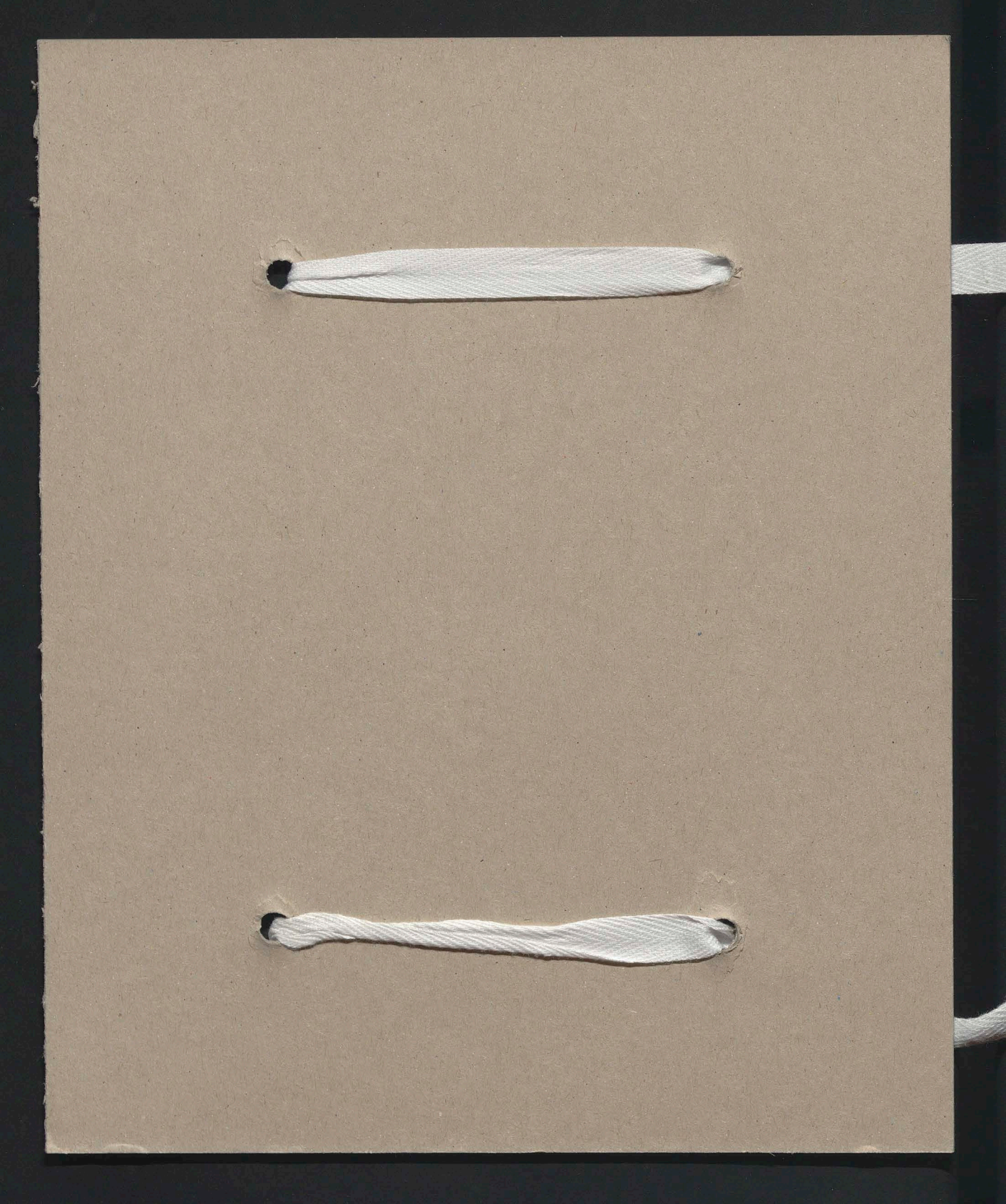

To

~~Professor Joseph S. Ames~~

Rękopis pr. of M. Smolucha Wolnego
„The Struggle about an University"

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The Struggle about an University.

Several times in the last months ~~spread the news~~ Telegrams have ~~told~~ informed the world about ~~troubles~~ serious riots at the University of Lemberg in Austrian Poland, ~~that scarcely any one knows~~ (which are symptoms of a violent political struggle there going on) Non-Austrians will scarcely understand anything of the matter, and even Austrians — at least those who so often and so ~~so~~ unjustly are ~~supposed to be~~ considered as the representatives of Austria, the Viennese — (though they may understand it, ~~naturally~~ ~~but~~ as they have seen such-like affairs) will judge it wrongly and unjustly. For It requires an intimate knowledge of local politics and a remarkable impartiality to get a ~~a~~ clear insight into ~~For the Viennese — and the outer world through them — get their information from the Vienna press which can~~ this (political) problem and to judge it rightly. (The whole affair) ~~This~~ may seem to be a question ~~thing~~ of purely local ~~interest~~ importance but (I think ~~it~~) it reveals so characteristic features of Austrian policy and of the nationalistic agitation ~~movements~~ in (eastern Europe) ~~Prussia~~ that its (exposition) may interest foreign readers too as a symptom of (far-spread) powerful movements.

Austria, the chessboard of more than a dozen nations, is a country (renowned) for its political spectacles which ~~have~~ are unlike anything that happens in other parts of Europe. One kind of ~~these~~ such political spectacles are ~~the~~ nationalistic struggles about Universities; Innsbruck, Prague, (and other places are yet to come.) Bern, Vienna, Agram have been the stage, ~~but certainly Lemberg has beaten them all.~~ The ~~the~~ play is much the same

everywhere: each nation wants to have its own universities and as in Austria there are but governmental universities, it assails the government with demands to establish such institutions. The Austrian government, however, keeps on counteracting these endeavors; for one reason it considers higher education and scientific work to be a rather costly extravagance and tries to keep down these expenses as much as possible, and besides, it develops a wonderful tenacity in clinging to the status quo, which gave the Germans their preponderance in Austria. There is the conflict, which leads to more or less dramatic scenes, developments, until it is solved usually by imposing the prestige of the obstinate central authorities.

But certainly as regards violence of action none of the mentioned spectacles can be compared with the one being played in Lemberg now, it has beaten them all. In the whole history of universities there will be few such acts of barbarous vandalism as that perpetrated by a gang of Ruthenian students which, armed with cudgels, knives and axes, also attacked insidiously the University Secretary and wounded him severely, — he owes his life to good luck, having worn a thick fur-cap — then broke into the lecture rooms and the assembly hall, where they smashed everything, tables, windows, stools, lamps, broke the gas pipes, and tore to pieces a number of pictures of former University Rectors of the, with which the walls of the assembly hall are adorned, works of the best Polish

painters and some of them masterpieces of portrait painting.

For ~~a man~~ an inhabitant of western Europe it is hard to ~~believe~~ conceive these modern iconoclasts to have been university students, as he is used to associate this word with a ~~a~~ higher moral and intellectual standard. ~~with~~ But it will be still harder for him to understand the psychology of the whole Ruthenian press, which found no fault with this deed and in the later development of the affair turned even to glorifying its heroic perpetrators. All this is unjustifiable, but we may try to make it ~~explicable~~ conceivable.

First of all, who are these Ruthenians? ~~They are a new nation,~~ To explain this we must dive a little into ethnology and history, ~~a nation in proving. The people have been living for many centuries in their present country, of course, but~~ for the name of the people is little known in the ~~history~~ annals of European civilisation and ~~even~~ modern ~~ethnology~~ science will be at ~~a loss about giving precise statistic data.~~ In Galicia (eastern) ~~and Bukowina~~ (Austrian Poland), where they are called „Ruthenen" by the Germans, „Rusini" by the Poles, ~~and~~ there are about 3 millions of them, but the majority is living on the other side of the Russian border (round Kiev) where they are called Little-Russians but are not recognised as a ~~sep~~ separate nationality by the Russian government so that precise numbers are not available. Their language is ~~also~~ a branch of the slavic tongue, ~~somewhat~~ in some respect intermediate between Polish and Russian. The difference between Ruthenian and Polish is ~~certainly~~ hardly greater than

(and the racial difference certainly has not been greater originally than between North and South Germans)

between various German dialects, Plattdeutsch, Schwyzerdeutsch, Bayerisch etc.

But whilst in in modern times ~~In~~ Germany the German Schriftsprache ~~is the~~ has got to be the common link joining all ~~minor~~ the branches of German ~~tribes~~ peoples (thanks to Luther's bible and to the common government)

the Slavic peoples never were united by such ~~a~~ bond, ~~and the process of differentiation~~ With them ~~for~~ on the contrary ~~their~~ political history has fostered the process of differentiation. The greatest barrier erected by history, to divide Russians and Little Russians from the closely allied Poles was certainly ~~the~~ religion.

~~While~~ The former ones ~~got the christianity~~ were reached by christendom on its way from Byzantium, ~~from the greeks~~ got the Holy Books they ~~were taught the Bible~~ translated by the Slavic apostles Cyrill and Method in the old slavic tongue, written in slavic characters which ~~are~~ had been derived from the greek alphabet, ~~and they~~ In consequence Russians (and later on to the orthodox synod) clung in all spiritual matters to the ~~gr~~ greek Patriarch, while the Poles ~~were~~ were Roman Catholics ~~adopted the Latin alphabet~~ depending on the Roman see.

The result proved fatal for the ~~directions~~ intellectual inward development of the Russian peoples.

By the medium of the church and their scholars The Poles came to cultivate classic languages and litterature, ~~so~~ so much that Latin ~~was~~ played as the language of ~~conversation~~ ~~intellectual study~~ for some time the role of the nobility, ~~which left~~ which a fact which explains the many traces ~~even~~ left of Latin in modern Polish, ~~they studied~~ The sons of nobles went to study in Italian and German universities, a university was founded in Cracow as early as ~~1400~~ 1364, Polish scholars and writers took part in the whole intellectual development of western Europe, ~~While~~ In the eastern countries, isolated from the rest of Europe by the ignorance of Latin language and litterature ~~mental~~ reduced to on their own resources ~~the Russian peoples~~ among the Russian peoples especially ~~from contact~~ since the conquest of Byzantium

the reign of
~~were kept in~~ barbarism and ignorance lasted for centuries longer, increased
~~and other mongolic tribes~~) left then
by the terror of frequent inroads of the Tartars (which ~~[illegible]~~ ~~left there~~ an
~~to whom they owe~~ ~~who left there~~
admixture of mongolic blood and of asiatic wildness.

efforts ~~[illegible]~~
The incessant ~~strivings~~ of the Popes to ~~unite~~ win over those peoples to their
dominion were crowned
~~realm~~ had but a very small success. Still In 1439 a part of Russian
metropolis Isidore
depending on the ~~bishop~~ of Kief ~~[illegible]~~
population ~~was~~ ~~[illegible]~~ was induced to acknowledge the Pope as their
and this union was confirmed in 1595. ~~he was forced to~~ except this one condition ~~[illegible]~~ were not requested to change their ~~[illegible]~~
the so
spiritual leader, But ~~their liturgy~~ ~~[illegible] remained [illegible]~~ customs nor their creed,
~~[illegible]~~ called Greek Uniti or Greek catholics
~~[illegible] they are allowed to~~ so they kept their slavic liturgy, ~~[illegible]~~ their priests
went on
~~were allowed to~~ marrying, while Roman catholics were forbidden, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~their Gregorian calendar~~ they kept their own ceremonials
their ~~[illegible]~~ alphabet and their ~~[illegible]~~ calendar.

That may be called the birthday of Ruthenian nationality. ~~And~~ For this
~~[illegible]~~ but no national [illegible]
difference of religion is still the most characteristic feature of Ruthenianism
Being
nowadays. ~~As they are~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Unites (~~acknowledging the Pope~~) they are opposed
schismatic
to the Russians, and ~~as~~ ~~they are~~ being Greek-catholics, they are opposed to the
It is quite natural, ~~of course~~, to find that
Roman catholic Poles. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~As to the~~ The greek catholic clergy, ~~of course~~,
Ruthenian since
are also the ~~most fanatic~~ nationalists, ~~as~~ their personal and common
however (as mentioned before)
~~In other respects~~ the Ruthenians have little distinctive ~~[illegible]~~ ethnographical features.
interests are in this respect identical. As to the language it must be
Except for their religious denomination
mentioned that ~~[illegible]~~ it is so little consolidated, that nearly every writer and
displays
nearly every newspaper ~~has~~ some particularity in words and in orthograph,
as a fact it ought to be ~~[illegible]~~
and ~~[illegible]~~ most ~~[illegible]~~ characteristic ~~[illegible]~~ noted ~~that there is~~ a powerful
party among them (~~the Poles call them~~ Moskalofile) which is denying the
existence of a ~~[illegible]~~ separate Ruthenian language and a separate Ruthenian

nation altogether. Its chief newspaper in Galicia "Halizanin" reads much like Russian, ~~they~~ (in fact, this party) considers Ruthenian only as a dialect of Russian ~~and~~ ~~[illegible]~~ spoken by common country people, and ~~to amalgamate~~ (Its political ideal is complete amalgamation with Russia. ~~Altogether~~.

There was a time when on the contrary, Ruthenians considered themselves to be Poles! In the XV - XVII century the prestige of Poland was so powerful that Lithuania and little Russia (called Ruthenia) (Rus) which had been involved in incessant struggles against Tatars, resolved voluntarily to unite with it, a ~~long~~ process of unification ~~which~~ that which marks a powerful advance of western civilisation towards the east, was completed formally by the union of Lublin 1569 and Chmielnicki. ~~and this marks a powerful advance of western civilisation towards the east.~~ ~~The mass of the population in those periods had not~~ feeling of

This political union ~~which~~ did not succeed ~~[illegible]~~ in amalgamating the masses of population at least but it amalgamated the higher classes; what Ruthenian nobles there were (whose power and splendour exercised a fascinating attraction) ~~and dissolved in it entirely~~ they joined the Polish nobility; it was this time when men like the writer Orzechowski called themselves: natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus.

These historical facts explain the main features of the present conditions of the Ruthenians. They are essentially a people of peasants. ~~There is no Ruthenian~~ While in Poland proper the numerous class of the nobles was the back bone of the nation, the Ruthenians have no nobility nor ~~[illegible]~~ have they any of highly cultured ~~[illegible]~~ classes of society which have developped out of ~~[illegible]~~ nobility in Poland, ~~in Poland~~ ~~and fatal in its consequences~~ A characteristic feature of Poland, contrasted with western countries, which also largely contributes was the cause of its political weakness in modern times, was the weak development of the middle classes of ~~society~~, ~~which proved very disastrous in consequence~~ and their substitution by foreign, Jewish elements. But still, there is a sort of bourgeoisie in the chief towns, a "middle class" of Polish artisans, manufacturers, merchant people, which ~~and~~ is growing rapidly in present times ~~in the towns~~. — but there is nothing of this kind

(While in other Galicia and in Prussian Poland the population is homogeneous Polish) among Ruthenians. ~~There is nothing so~~ which have reached a much higher state of cultural development ~~mixed Polish~~

In (a great part of) eastern Galicia the country population is ~~entirely~~ Ruthenian (Greek catholic) (with some Polish admixture), while the towns are entirely Polish (or nearly so). I ~~may~~ (may quote) ~~add~~ (interesting) some figures for the sake of illustration. According to the census for 1900 the Polish and Ruth. population respectively in eastern Galicia was divided according to their occupation:

	Agriculture	Industr.	Commerce	Intellectual	Servants	Others
Pols	51·7	12·8	7·7	3·8	5·0	11·0
Ruth.	94·4	1·4	0·4	0·5	0·9	3·4

this is ~~explains~~ (undoubtedly) also (one of) the ~~great~~ (chief) difficulties of the (nationalistic) question (in our case), a division would be easy to draw if the (Polish and Ruthenian) territories were (clearly separated) divided but ~~as the~~ they are not, ~~the~~ over the whole of ~~*~~ eastern Galicia there is spread a ~~numerous~~ (population) of 1,600000 ~~consisting~~ (consisting of) by landlords, town population and interspersed patches of Polish farmers while the bulk of ~~the country~~ the agricultural labourers and (owners of) small holdings (in the country) is Ruthenian.

And this ~~explains~~ (sets forth) one salient point of the whole question too: the social ~~and~~ antagonism between the Poles, who are ~~considering~~ (usually looking down on) the Ruthenians as a semi barbarian country (people) population and the latter ones, who are opposing to them with (all) the hatred (and envy) of the humble against the superior in power and intelligence.*)

*) In the whole of Galicia the percentage of analphabetism for children from 12 to 21 years of age is 27·6 and 30·6 % for male and female Poles, but 56·7 and 69·7 % for male and female Ruthenians!

On the other ~~hand~~ ~~[illegible]~~ it ~~cannot be denied~~ might be argued such a

~~the~~ close territorial intermixture of Polish and Ruthenian elements, which in a similar way but with decreasing percentage of Poles is to be observed in the whole Ruthenian territory down to Kieff and Odessa, to be a factor which ought to have proved very favorable for complete amalgamation of these elements, and this brings us back to the ~~question alluded to before~~ root of the problem: what is the real ~~If the ethnographical differences between Poles and Ruthenians are so small~~ cause of the differentiation of these ~~Ruthenians from the Poles~~ peoples?

The ethnographic linguistic and differences ~~as mentioned before~~ ~~are comparatively~~ have been mentioned to be trifling in comparison with the differences between various elements of the German nation, not to speak of the heterogeneousness of the English. ~~It is a common say~~ ~~But~~ The chief agent ~~fact~~ of differentiation has been pointed out before: ~~it is the~~ already it is however religion. ~~It is a common~~ There is much truth in the Polish saying: ~~What makes~~ what makes up a Ruthenian? Greek-catholicism, ~~the~~ the ~~Gregorian~~ Julian calendar and the ~~Slavic~~ Russian alphabet. ~~Otherwise he is a Pole~~

But there is another factor which has played a prominent part in awakening a ~~separate national~~ national separation feeling of in this people: the policy of the Austrian government. The principle of ~~the~~ Austrian policy in respect to internal affairs ~~can be~~ is ~~expressed~~ designed by the maxim: Divide et impera. To arouse feelings of mutual envy between the different peoples, in order to ~~check~~ prevent their union against the ruling minority German, that is and always has been ~~was~~ the secret of the art of governing in Austria. ~~Since~~ And since ~~the year 1772~~ the first division of Poland (1772 when Galicia was occupied by Austria ~~the policy of~~ the central government up to recent ~~times~~ years ~~tried~~ was endeavoring to stir up separatistic feelings in the

Ruthenian people, in order to turn them against the Poles (who, ~~although~~ though ~~beaten~~ defeated, were still a powerful and dangerous enemy ~~and to check the power of the Polish nobility~~). This policy proved very effective, in 1848 when the Poles took a ~~active~~ part in the general movement for liberty and constitution, the Ruthenians proved loyal to the absolutistic government, and up to recent years these Eastern Tyrolese ~~of the~~ as they ~~sometimes call themselves~~ like to be called, ~~have~~ have always opposed to the autonomic and federalistic tendencies of the Poles, have supported all efforts to strengthen the power of the central government ~~and~~ ~~what is much the same~~ and by these means have contributed to upholding the ~~the~~ predominance of the German in Austria. That explains us why the Ruthenians ~~[illegible]~~ mischief in this respect now are attacking with such ~~brutal~~ wrath the Polish University in the Polish town Lemberg, ~~but~~ ~~[illegible]~~ dont mind a bit ~~quite satisfied with~~ the existence of an entirely German University in ~~the~~ Czernowitz, the capital of the neighbouring crownland Bukowina, where the Ruthenian population is the ~~[illegible]~~ overwhelming majority. It explains why there never has been heard any voice of protest against the avowedly germanising tendencies of this university and of the Bukowina government (while the exceedingly tolerant and impartial Polish administration of Galicia is fiercely denounced as a system of injustice). It explains why in a time when the whole world's ~~opinion~~ press is resounding with indignation about the mean and ~~absurd~~ brutal war led by the ~~German~~ Prussian government against Polish school-children, there is (no such word of reproof blame to be found) in the Ruthenian press, and it explains why ~~the~~ the German Vienna Press in the whole matter now under discussion has supported the side of the Ruthenians ~~[illegible]~~ by publishing such misrepresentations of the case as are ~~certainly inconsistent~~ scarcely consistent with "bona fides" on the authors' part.

Certainly Ruthenians ~~never~~ would have separated as a different nation from the Poles, had it not been in the personal interest of the Greek catholic clergy and of the Austrian government. But it is ~~[illegible]~~ now, ~~[illegible]~~ arguing about the why and the if, the fact is they are ~~[illegible]~~ separated now, and it is a great ~~[illegible]~~ mistake ~~on the part of many Poles, to disregard~~ which many Poles are committing ~~to~~ disregarding this fact and ~~trying, endeavoring to bring about to~~ ~~trying to mend~~ to endeavour mending things which are ~~[illegible]~~ broken. It is very touching to hear Poles from Cracow or from Varsow, who are yet full of the historical ideal of a union of Poles with Ruthenians against the common foes, speaking with biblical evangelical forbearance about the extravagant claims of ~~[illegible]~~ our "Ruthenian brethren" and ~~[illegible]~~ granting them concession after concession, while these, knowing very well that nothing is so powerful in stirring up national separatism than hatred, ~~take~~ accept the concessions ~~[illegible]~~ but ~~cry~~ cry to the ears of the whole world injustice! and ~~[illegible]~~ ~~behave as if~~ decry the Poles ~~had been~~ as their fiercest oppressors. Magnanimous forbearance is a ~~[illegible]~~ virtue but it does not repay well in practical politics. ~~And [illegible]~~ one important consequence at least of the recent events is that the Poles have been disillusioned ~~realized~~ ~~better~~ about their actual situation in respect to the Ruthenians and have ~~been dis~~ realised the necessity of defense against ~~the~~ incessant attacks of those radical elements, who ~~[illegible]~~ candidly confess they would not be satisfied with any concessions, unless until the Poles (more than 1½ millions) abandon the whole of eastern Galicia to them and emigrate on the western side of the San (river dividing Eastern and West Galicia)

But ~~is~~ are the Ruthenians not right in complaining about injustice? Let us examine their claims in the question under consideration (which is characteristic of their political methods).

What the Ruthenians say, sound reasonable enough: „The 5 millions of Poles in Galicia have two universities, ~~at~~ is it not injustice if we who number 3 are hitherto without separate university, so that our students are forced to speak in a foreign tongue. We want our own university ~~to~~ and for the meanwhile we ask equal rights with the Poles for the Lemberg university; ~~as the~~ it must be bilingual." ~~transformed into~~ The eventuality of a bilingual university in Lemberg seems modest enough. But the whole argumentation falls to pieces, if we consider two undeniable truths. First of all: universities are not like boarding schools, which can be ~~instituted~~ installed at any time in any place, ~~if found in one~~ whose institutions can be changed at any moment; they are the flower of the highest intellectual culture of a nation. ~~they are united with it by~~ They are the outcome of a long historical development, of immense labour and brain work and therefore are a sacred national property, which ~~cannot~~ no ~~other nation~~ man has a right to touch. The University of Cracow is one of the oldest (1364) on the continent and is inseparable of Polish intellectual life. ~~Also~~ Also the Lemberg University, though much younger (founded by King originally the Polish Jan Casimir 1661), is a Polish institution of historical importance, connected with many names (prominent in literature and learning). Its fate had been ~~very~~ rather ~~fluctuating~~ changeable, when (a year after the annexion of Galicia by Austria 1873) the Jesuits order was abolished, the University was closed, and when it was reestablished by Emperor Josef II in 1784 and Emperor Francis I in 1816

there was nothing left of the former period than its fame. ~~The was a~~

In connexion with other measures of coercion introduced in Galicia

The German language was ordered to be the medium of University lectures and procedures, German professors were installed and the whole institution developed a decidedly germanising tendency, ~~like~~ the ~~still existing~~ is played by mentioned before Czernowitz University.

~~it was a~~

It got to be a german citadel in a ~~the~~ slavic country; just the same role which now

Such a state of things was possible for some time in the old absolutistic and centralistic Austria. ~~Old Austria the constitution was granted~~ German Austria had swallowed more than she could digest. With time, the power of the non-German majority in Austria made itself felt, which in many respects resembled absolutistic Russia, ~~in spite of the artificial system of election for parliament~~ ~~The~~ When the constitution was granted in 1860 (under the ministry of the Polish count Goluchowski), the ~~absurdity~~ intricateness of the old system of ~~of~~ police and coercion became ~~apparent~~ apparent, and when the improprieties war of 1866 had clearly shown ~~the~~ Austrian interests not to be identical with ~~Germanys case~~ German ones, the Poles (and the Czechs) came to the front as important factors in the whole Austrian policy. ~~and~~ as rulers in their own country and ~~This brought release from the German yoke for the Lwów University.~~

The central government would have preferred, by reasons expounded before to give it over to the Ruthenians than to the Poles, it tried to ~~erect~~ install at first (1862) two Ruthenian professorships apart of the German ones, but it had to give ~~it~~ its plan up, for the simple reason that there ~~was~~ was not a man among the Ruthenians fit to fill these chairs. They could not be filled until 1877 and 1892 respectively. ~~There~~ In spite of all efforts of Austrian policy to stir them up this people was still a „quantité negligeable" in intellectual and political life ~~and in politics~~ at that time, while the Poles had all the

by methods well known now by the name of Russian bureaucracy

The German officials who had been ruling over the country (and ruining it) were swept away, the Polish language ~~with facultative of the Prussian~~ was reintroduced (1869) in all offices and in the schools, and also the Lady mind, was released from the German yoke.

advantage of their old historical, litterary and political, culture.
By incessant struggle one after the other professorship turned into the hand of the Poles.
When in 1871 all restrictions were removed which hitherto had prevented the establishment of private lecturers (Privatdocents) Polish or Ruthenian the University was occupied in for years by Polish men of learning whilst there did not turn up any Ruthenians. The government had no choice, in 1879 it had to issue the decree: that the official language of the University is Polish and that all professors had to lecture in this language except when special different provisions are made, as in the case of as was the case with the chair of Ruth. lang. Ruth. hists and two or three others

That was the offical acknowledgment of the Polish character of the university or as the Poles put it: the restitution of the Poles in their original rights.

We have dwelt at some length on this historical development, in order to show what difficultis by what slow process, by what laborious but peaceful and perfectly legal endeavours the Poles succeeded to reviindicate their university and in order to explain the affection with which they cling to it.

Now let us consider the statistical arguments put forward by the Ruthenians. The numbers of population only at first sight seem convincing for it is quite evident that the necessity for an institution of this kind cannot be judged according to the whole number of population but according to the number of men who want to study at the university.

In 1870 there were 442 Ruthenians (out of which 291 divinity students) and 480 Poles (80 divinity) and 145 Germans and other nations

In the present year there are about 950 Ruthenians (out of which 340 divinity) and about ~~3000~~ 2400 Poles (out of which 120 divinity). The superiority on the part of the Poles is so colossal that any further discussion of this point appears superfluous.

~~So much for the academic question which side is rather entitled to own the Lemberg uni.~~

~~But now let us turn to the actual proceedings development of party tactics.~~

~~There one point thing is very remarkable: the Ruthenians~~ 1000 104

But there is another aspect of the question which is still more important. ~~With what~~ Who would there be to teach at a Ruthenian University? ~~does it is~~ To ~~judge about~~ estimate such imponderable ~~facts~~ magnitude as the culture of a people is always a precarious undertaking, as the judge ~~cannot~~ can never disprove the accusation of partiality, so let us consider some ~~characteristic~~ statistical figures facts, which ~~are characteristic enough.~~ can be taken as a measure of ~~Polish and Ruth~~ higher scientific studies in Lemberg. To appreciate this ~~But first~~ we must ~~approach~~ (~~must~~ ~~prior~~ consider) that in Austrian ~~and~~ and German Universities ~~the usual way of attaining a professorship~~ (for learned men) the first step of the scale by which learned men ascend towards professorships is this installation ~~therefore~~ (after ~~the~~ having ~~[illegible]~~ proved their scientific qualifications before the University Council and the educational authorities) as private lecturers (Privat docenten). ~~The number of these lecturers~~ From among these lecturers as a rule professors are chosen for vacant chairs, (their number is not limited at the Lemberg University) (and ~~anybody~~ any learned man, may he ~~[illegible]~~ wish to lecture in Ruthenian or Polish, has equal right to establish himself as lecturer. Well, from the time when ~~Lemberg~~ this university was still German up to now not less than 162 lecturers (and professors) have ~~been~~ installed themselves as lecturers, ~~Polish~~ Polish ~~[illegible]~~

From the year 1884 when the nationality of graduates has been begun to be registered up to now 1860 doctor degrees have been taken by Poles and only 104 by Russians

or special chairs are created for such of them as are well deserving and prominent in their science.

in the faculties of law, philosophy and medicine
while there are and have been only 12 Ruthenians in the same character!
In fact if the Ruthenians were to call scrape together all their men of learning
from the whole world, they could not man more than minimal part ~~one fifth~~ of the chairs of the Lwów
University. If the University were nationalised to day, they would have to close it
for want of men qualified for professorships! And besides, the students would have to
learn from Polish and German books, as there is no Ruthenian scientific
literature. For several branches of science (philosophy, medicine) a special terminology would have
to be invented, as they never yet have been expounded in Ruthenian.
It had cost the Galician authorities a good deal of trouble to get composed books
which would make teaching possible in Ruthenian primary and secondary schools.
But it is quite impossible
nowadays, even for men of aspirations as to not to say scholars culture, to satisfy their demand
of intellectual pabulum by the aid of Ruthenian literature.
I wish my intention in stating these facts (well known to everybody in this country) may not
be misunderstood. I intend I am far from a disregarding depreciating
that people. On the contrary these facts are a natural consequence of their historical
antecedents which have been described in the beginning and of their present
condition: the Ruthenians have been and they still are, with exceptions of a very small percentage, a people
of rough agricultural workers. And culture is a fine flower of a nation's spirit, but
even the Ruthenian university students are nearly all of them sons of poor farmers.
it wants time for coming to blossom.

also students peasants

Lemberg university, being the only one open for greek catholic clergy

We except divinity as ~~there always is some~~

must contain always ~~social~~ Ruthenian chairs in this department.

The Ruthenians are certainly gifted in some respects, ~~as they~~ their national songs of a peculiar melancholy charm and remarkable musical character are quite favourite with the Poles and so are ~~their~~ the products of their artistic (~~every kind of~~) home industry. Their poet Szewczenko (10.) has laid the foundations for a national Litterature and there are some men doing historical researches, but there is little ~~to be said~~ else worth mentioning. ~~If~~ Their ~~defficiency~~ want of higher intellectual culture of scientific litterature and achievements are –

The Ruthenian ~~leaders~~ leading men among certainly would merit the highest sympathy and esteem if their efforts were directed towards raising (under this respect) the standard of their people. But unhappily ~~in reality~~ they do very little of this kind, the whole trend of their ~~work~~ policy is ~~not a~~ constructive ~~but~~ rather destructive ~~than~~ than. Their chief aim seems to be rather to awaken ~~the~~ hatred and envy of their people against the Poles, to raise by all sorts of misstatements ~~the~~ opinion in Vienna and abroad against these ~~the Poles~~ and to do them harm as much as possible, than to elevate their own people.

It is ~~a~~ rather sad to see ~~that~~ that ~~not~~ men of ~~a~~ real value but the most radical, empty headed ~~and~~ and stout lungs demagogues there are coming to the front and (to see how they) are leading the obscure masses towards electioneering and public-house-politics instead of social and cultural productive work.

The same characteristic feature of this national struggle is ~~illustrated by~~ are displayed by apparent in the University affair. ~~What they ought to aim~~ ~~They consider~~ The majority ~~themselves as a separation~~ ~~nowadays and that it is a fact which cannot be changed.~~ ~~So probably~~ ~~Perhaps also~~ Their ~~endeavours~~ wish desire of getting an University of their own (as an object of rational pride) ~~is~~ is certainly justifiable enough. ~~must be~~

All reasonable people admit that and the ~~prominent~~ Polish leaders too admit quite candidly they have no objection to it. The way to do it is ~~quite~~ obvious, (Rather all) they ~~have~~ ought to educate ~~the~~ men ~~who were~~ capable of obtaining lectures and professorships, (and they ought to produce of sufficient number of students, and all ones, for which it would be worth while establishing a separate University) ~~and~~ ~~when they were prepared~~ prepared, then, the government, even if unwilling, could easily be induced, especially by the aid of the Poles, to grant them ~~a new~~ of their own University. But what are they doing? They ~~are~~ arrange rows and acts of barbarous violence (as described at the beginning) at the Polish university in Lemberg, ~~where~~ they number only one fourth of the ~~number~~ whole of

~~The~~ In the last ~~three~~ years, especially under the influence of the near East, popular movements and in the history of Little Russia) ~~for~~ which always (was a prominent feature of their there spreads a movement ~~which is designed~~ (grows out the radical anarchistic tendency which is symbolized by the title of one of the Ruthenian papers: Hajdamaki, the name of those organized bands of robbers which in the XVIII century had been pillaging (and fighting against Poland and struggling there against social law and order ~~as pioneers for their~~ Little Russia) ~~being enforced~~ ~~represented by the Polish state.~~

students, in a town where there are 75 % Ruthenians ~~against~~ and the rest Oh!

~~This~~ By these means, by terrorisation of the authorities, they hope to make the university gradually bilingual and, at last to ~~that~~ conquer it entirely, which they believe to be the easier and more natural way than to erect one of their own.

The pretext ~~of the times~~ ~~in the last times~~ (of most of the news) was the matriculation ceremony. In accordance with ~~the~~ law and customs the Rector ~~speaks some words of~~ at first has a short allocution, in Polish, of course, ~~then~~ the University Secretary reads a (explaining) formula ~~that~~ the (students') duties towards the Alma mater and thus the ceremony takes place, (in silence) each man ~~for~~ shaking hands with the Dean of the Faculty as a sign of pledging himself to those duties. The Ruthenians in these last years objected to this ~~,~~ custom, asking the allocution and the reading to be held (also) in Ruthenian tongue and spread the ~~lie~~ misstatement among their country people, that they were forced to swear an oath in a foreign language. The cause was decided by the High State Court of Justice in Vienna, of course in accordance with the former custom, which is identical with the legal prescriptions. But they did not yield, on the contrary, they ~~want the~~ asked Ruthenian ~~language~~ (on equal terms with Polish) to be introduced as official language ~~in~~ in the University. ~~In governmental offices, to be sure, Ruthenian is admitted, but there is a big difference between them and any University, Whose language by law is stated to be Polish. Besides there would be such ridiculous consequences~~ as that no professor (however prominent scholar) could be appointed unless he knew also that language. (Polish) ~~Impossible!~~

But Ruthenian students ~~the~~ especially those ~~who are~~ educated in the Ruthenian secondary schools — which were ~~not~~ established by the Polish provincial government administration! — in compliance with Ruth. wishes ~~are very~~

This is not only contrary to existing law but it would be quite impracticable, as it would lead to such ridiculous consequences as that

Bilingual universities several times have been tried in Austria but very often always have proved a complete failure, so that the government had to withdraw their establishment in consequence of violent riots which originated (Regn. Fruther)

are little given to persuasion. They began some years ago by bombarding the Rector of the University, a professor of divinity with foul eggs and this year they have come by a gradual crescendo to the above mentioned criminal acts of violence and vandalism which were prepared premeditated with all details and put in execution very cunningly the day before the immatriculation, when nobody suspected anything of that kind and at a time when there were scarcely any other students in the university.

This time, as the whole building was in imminent danger and even several persons were threatened their lives, a force of police had to be brought into action, which arrested the whole gang, of those gentlemen, more than a hundred.

The whole scandalous affair put the Ruthenians in a rather awkward position, but with remarkable artfulness and laxness of conscience they managed to make the best out of it as it certainly could not be considered as a demonstration of their cultural maturity, but rather of the perversion brought about by education in Ruthenian schools and by unscrupulous agitation.

The police committed the mistake of letting them at large, at once, (and thus made them confident on their impunity) without ascertaining who were the chief leaders not only the Rector of the university and several university professors were threatened with personal assaults and with destruction of their laboratories, so that they had to organise a regular service of armed defence, but also that the offenders managed to obliterate most of the traces of their complot and a considerable number disappeared altogether from the stage,

so that ~~they have not been found up to now.~~

the criminal court of justice (which took up their persecution) had to issue a warrant of arrest for the whole gang, in order to make possible the preliminary examination of those at least who were yet to be found out. (This measure, though perfectly legal and in accordance with the usual procedure in Austria, proved a political mistake on the part of the legal authorities.) The procedures of the preliminary trial were hurried on as much as possible, but nevertheless it took ~~for~~ 3 weeks, until it could be performed (was completed). Meanwhile the defendants led a jolly life, they were allowed every possible licence (they arranged social gatherings and meetings for the sake of agreement upon their conduct) (crowds of compatriotes ~~were constantly visiting them~~ used to visit them and to ~~and~~ provide them with ~~dainties~~ food and epirsts in large quantities), while the Ruthenian press was ~~deploring~~ commiserating the poor martyrs. ~~After~~ At last when the first batch of them had to be ~~sent~~ released, ~~but when they~~ (but they refused to leave custody unless all of them were left out) arranged a ~~to~~ ludicrous comedy, ~~known as~~ (under the name of) hunger strike. ~~This is~~ This word conveys us the idea of those ~~Russian~~ heart sickening ~~scenes~~ ~~scandalous~~ atrocities in Russia, where prisoners driven to despair by barbarous ill treatment resolve rather to die from hunger than to bear that (sort of) life, and ~~to~~ refuse to eat anything (until they starve or until their burden is lightened). In this case the thing was quite an obvious ~~farce~~ (insolent) comedy. They were so well provided with food that they could dispense very well with ~~the meals of~~ the prisons (kitchen) and they all knew that ~~they~~ the court had resolved to release them all except ~~several of~~ (perhaps a few) of the leaders of the gang. ~~(but they refused to leave custody unless all of them were left)~~ ~~But~~ (However) the comedy proved effectful, the Ruthenian Jingo Press and the Vienna ~~papers~~ raised (heart breaking) an outcry. They published phantastic ~~stories~~ fables which found their way abroad, even to (various organs of) the English press, the minister of justice in Vienna ~~[illegible]~~ (the court of justice in London) ~~[illegible]~~ means (used against) which (of persecution)

hardly have been in accordance with the constitutional independence of judges and the result was that the ~~Court~~ Court ~~agreed to~~ consented to letting free (on bail) also the leaders of the gang, among them the famous Kraft a student of law, who had been observed by several professors as he was ~~smashing~~ smashing with an axe tables ~~the~~ and other furniture in the assembly room, who had even threatened them ~~of~~ and an University official, ~~who had been~~ ~~wrong~~ ~~strong~~ ~~recognized as the man~~ who had been sitting on a barricade donned with the red Rector's gown, torn to pieces, ~~and~~ a big knife in his hand and who had attacked two Polish students with this knife, ~~which~~ ~~were~~ so that they scarcely succeeded to escape!

The poor martyrs, more dead than alive, marched lustily to the Ruthenian hotel, where they ~~partook~~ took part effectively, at a big banquet arranged by their compatriots to their honour and delivered a number of toasts and speeches to the crowd assembled before the hotel, in which they ~~praised~~ extolled the "method of the cudgel" as the only policy which ~~is~~ had proved effective in Austria and ~~invited the people the to imitate them~~. which the Ruthenians would ~~follow~~ apply in future, too in order to conquer the Lemberg university and to exterminate the Polish dominion in East Galicia.

That was too much even for the Poles, who had behaved with patient indifference, trusting to the impartiality of Austrian justice in such an obvious affair, and who began to realise now that their indifference ~~towards~~ in respect to the extravagance of a handful of unscrupulous ~~people~~ ~~up to to~~ journalists ~~and~~ agitators had been mistaken for weakness by the government ~~which~~ which always prefers ~~the~~ is inclined

to yield to the Ruthenians when ~~that means~~ ~~is identical with~~ ~~doing harm~~ ~~to~~ Polish interests. The whole community rose in indignation. The professors of the University held a meeting ~~the result of which was~~ and published a manifesto which no doubt is a historical fact of decisive importance. They declare that by historical development, by force of present laws and by the necessity of existing circumstances, the Lemberg university is and must remain in future an intangible Polish national property, and that the official language must remain Polish. (Without prejudicing about the establishment of a separate Ruthenian university) They emphatically denounce any attempt of making the present university bilingual as unjust and impracticable and declare that they ~~would~~ will resist any step being further made in this direction. ~~[illegible]~~ The manifesto is signed unanimously by all Polish professors and lecturers, in the number of 103.

Then a ~~[illegible]~~ citizens meeting was held which was so crowded that the largest hall could contain only a small part and the rest had to debate at the same time outside the building. Resolutions of similar character were then passed, and ~~an equal action was taken by~~ in the following time declarations of sympathy were raining from all parts of the country.

Also the Polish students took active steps resolved to when the Ruthenians, who had taken part in that criminal affair, began to appear in the University again. On the 4th of March they ~~[illegible]~~ asked all of them and also those Ruthenians who ~~had taken part in the~~ approved this act, to leave the building. Some ~~[illegible]~~ obeyed, but most were pushed out or carried out by manual force. They assembled before the building, ~~asked for~~ fetched a crowd of competitors followers from the town and beleaguered the entrance of the University, while ~~that~~ the

~~Polish, the building as the Senate resolved to stop the lectures and to close the door, pushed them~~ (students who had to leave) managed easily to push them

Polish students wanted to leave it, as the Senate had resolved in the meanwhile to stop the lectures and to close the building, for fear of any more serious troubles. For several hours the two parties stood still and observed one another, inspite of a force of police trying to disperse them, at last the Poles set into motion, pushed their opponents away the whole length of Ruthenians down the gateway and scattered them in all directions, while the immense crowd of spectators was applauding and hurrahing.

Certainly the action of the Polish students was contrary to the University discipline, and no doubt it will be prosecuted by the University authorities, but we must admit on the other hand, their indignation about being forced to sit in the lectures side by side with criminals and with men who approve a crime is to be certainly justifiable enough. As a remarkable contrast to Ruthenian behaviour we must emphasise the fact that the Poles behaved perfectly gentlemanlike, they did not hurt beat no anybody and they only spoiled a broad

The Ruthenian press, of course, was full of lies, under this report on that account, and also an interpellation of similar kind was brought in at the Galician diet in which the Ruthenians declared that eight of their students were severely wounded. The governor of Galicia at once sent the chief physician to these men, who found them in a perfect state of health and all what could be noticed were some scratches with two of them, which were scarcely worth a required counter plaster.

But unfortunately brutal violence and calumniations are the weapons which are

Whoever considers the whole affair from an impartial standpoint, cannot fail to feel profound depression and disgust. The behaviour of the Ruthenian students, their press and their political leaders, testifies a shockingly low cultural and ethical standard, ~~which is shocking for anybody who believes in the rapid progress of modern civilisation~~. But on the other side, we shall not judge the university too severely, when we consider that also a large party of a people who believes itself to be the flower of modern civilisation, is in about the same moral condition.

The other day when it was shown that Teutonic "Sokotism" in the Prussian Landtag, not only had offended the most elementary feelings of humanity, but did not spare even from violating the constitution and from soiling the coat arms of justice, the Prussian minister (of education!) Studt replied: "We have the force, therefore we have the right!" He professed the Ruthenian creed of the cudgel. The difference is only one: the force of the Ruthenians is not so powerful as to terrorise their opponents.

But let us return to our problem. What may will be its solution?

There is a moment of expectation now, the lectures (of the winter term have not been resumed any more) and the new term will not begin until May. Some people think the Ruthenian students will recommence their usual method of violent rows immediately, others think the expulsion of 16 of them which now has been ordered by the University Senate, as they are not fit to do anything else, will have its effect and they will be quiet at least until the general trial at the court of justice is over. But that has little to do with the ultimate solution of these difficulties to be aimed at. (however it may turn out in reality)

This will still take some time as the Poles in order to avoid any possible accusation of partiality have asked the whole case to be given over to the court of justice in Vienna

favorised by the radical ~~and those~~ ~~Ruthenian leaders~~ leaders who are ~~taking~~ at the top of the Ruthenian notion now.

~~What will be the solution of the whole problem?~~ To ~~extend~~ abolish (the priviles of the Polish language at the ~~Ruthenian~~ Lemberg university ~~seems~~ appears definitely excluded by the ~~action~~ attitude of the professors and of the whole Polish ~~community~~ society. ~~Also~~ Besides, and also the minister of education admitted ~~this~~ impossibility ~~and said that~~ of such a policy ~~brought~~ any attempt in a conference with a deputation of Lemberg professors. the government will ~~scarcely~~ scarcely wish to repeat the experiment which had ~~proved~~ turned out ~~to be an~~ a ~~deplorable~~ humiliating failure ~~that~~ in Prague and in Innsbruck, of creating a bilingual ~~universities~~ ~~at~~ ~~when~~ when possible. The only just and practicable way is to found a separate Ruthenian university. The Poles with exception of a small conservative fraction are distinctly in favour of it. They always have met the demand of the Ruthenians with the greatest tolerance and impartiality. The Galician diet, ~~which is~~ Provincial board of education and the where the Poles are the overwhelming majority, in consequence of their social superiority, have ~~passed a vast number and~~ founded a vast number of primary and secondary Ruthenian schools, in proportion to the demand more even than Polish ones ~~schools~~, they have allowed Ruthenian language to be used ~~is allowed~~ in the law courts and in all sorts of official transactions, and they will not oppose to the foundation of a separate university. But there are yet considerable ~~some~~ difficulties to overcome. The chief one ~~is~~ has been pointed out in the above ~~before~~, it is the want of properly persons fit for professorships. Then there is the resistance ~~inertia~~ of the Austrian government, which ~~is famous for its~~ would be very willing to let the Poles pay the bill, but ~~it~~ does not care for doing it itself. And then there is the question of the place where the University is to be established ~~founded~~. Poles ~~would not~~ oppose to ~~wait to its being established in~~ being chosen Lemberg, ~~that~~ as this is a nearly pure Polish town and Ruthenians won't have it in any of the

Moreover, on the government begins to feel somewhat uneasy about the recent outbursts of phase Ruthenian radicalism, as undoubtedly the spirit of Russian ~~[illegible]~~ revolutionarism and agrarian movements makes itself felt in it.

towns where they are in the majority, as such are only places of comparatively little importance. But ~~it scarcely no doubt~~ some or later these difficulties ~~will~~ can be overcome.

No doubt they would be overcome much easier, if the Ruthenians would change their policy and come to an understanding with the Poles, instead of ~~having the~~ spending their whole energy on fruitless struggles ~~like the last one~~ which are ~~not~~ likely to bring them ~~neither~~ not much profit ~~nor~~ and still less honour.

If they were shrewd politicians they ~~ought~~ ought to realize that times have changed in Austria. Their old policy of ~~winning it~~ ~~unwisely~~ favoring upon the central government, of supporting its absolutistic tendencies of ~~supporting~~ assisting German hegemony and even of ~~bickering~~ flirting with the Prussians, ~~now days~~, it ~~was~~ may have been useful in ~~the~~ old Austria, but these times are gone for ever. ~~The separation of the Hungarians~~ The growing importance of non German population, especially the autonomistic tendencies of of the Poles and Czechs, ~~the~~ ~~tend towards~~ drive Austria ~~slowly but surely~~ gradually towards ~~federalism~~ progressive decentralisation. And the same ~~influences~~ factors, especially the Poles, who will try to repay for Prussian brutality the best they can, ~~will emancipate her~~ work towards her emancipation from the influence of her haughty northern neighbour.

~~Still more than is~~ In Russia Ruthenian national interests are mostly identical with Polish ones, ~~The Union of these peoples is an obsolete ideal of the past but an alliance~~ and there Ruthenians ~~the~~ the only help for nationality which could protect it from entire absorption by Russia would ~~do very~~ be Polish support, ~~not one R. in an sw. school!~~ ~~There they have not one school or secondary school~~ ~~The Poles there too are in a position incomparably more fav~~

Thanks to the constitutional changes the evolution of nationalities must there proceed on lines somewhat similar like in Austria, by loosening the artificial

abstitiu and centridistic structure. One of the ~~The~~ first unavoidabel events in the near future will be the granting of autonomy to Russian Poland, which ~~is the most cultured part of the empire and has proved~~ will abolish innumerable points of dangerous friction and do more towards turning the Poles into loyal supporters of the Russian state than any measures of coercion ever did. This utter inefficiency of national coercion, the bankruptcy of all efforts towards brutal denationalisation ~~by force~~, seems to be the one great ~~truth~~ principle which is ~~illustrated~~ taught in modern constitutional states by recent history ~~of~~ notably ~~Italy~~ Italy, Turkey, ~~Austria~~ Russia, Britain, and especially in Austria, ~~which is going to be demonstrated more~~ illustrated ~~and which is disregarded~~ in a most foolish and revolting way by the Russian government

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It proves, in spite of Bismarck and of his liliputian imitator Mr. Studt, that force is not always altogether superior to right and law. And the Ruthenians leaders too would do well ~~in their endeavours of raising it~~ to discard the method of the cudgel; ~~and to raise the cultural and~~ ~~if they would take to raising~~ ~~look about raising the~~ ~~their endeavours start raising~~ to raise their nation to a higher standard of culture and material welfare: by legal and productive work.

they would merit the highest esteem if they would try abandon methods of hatred and destruction