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REACTION OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES OF ZAPORIZHZHIA TO THE BEGINNING OF THE HETMANATE ERA (APRIL – MAY OF 1918)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the reaction of social and political forces of Zaporizhzhia region to the events of the proclamation of Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetmanate in April – May of 1918. The Methodology of the Research.* The research is based on history, objectivity, multifactority, political pluralism principals, as well as on a complex of general scientific and special, and historical methods, among which, first of all – analysis, synthesis, historical and genetic, and historical and comparative methods. **The Scientific Novelty.** For the first time, the spectrum of social and political forces reactions of Zaporizhzhia region to the establishment of the Hetman P. Skoropadsky regime in Ukraine has been characterized. The course of events that accompanied these reactions has been reconstructed, their character, expressions, social carriers and peculiarities of social ideas in the reception of the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia region have been determined. New archival materials from the fund of Oleksandrivsk City Duma and Council and a unique source – a non-partisan democratic newspaper of the Ukrainian organizations “The Sich” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918) have been introduced into scientific circulation. **The Conclusions.** It is claimed that the content of the revolutionary events in Zaporizhzhia in April – May of 1918 had a distinct national and democratic character and was aligned with the reaction to the public’s reception of the Hetmanate in other regions of Ukraine.

The Left socialist and liberal forces criticized the establishment of the monarchical regime, recognizing it as a return to tsarist times. At the same time, their reaction was manifested in the forms of democratic content: meetings, adopted resolutions, convocation of congresses, outlining prospects for further activities. A motivational factor for the development of more dynamic actions was the conservative traditional thinking, which was expressed by the peasantry, engaged in farming and dissatisfied with the Bolshevik experiments of destruction of private property in the region in January – March of 1918. The factors of ethnic diversity and russification of the region also provided regional specificity of the society's reaction to the establishment of the new government.

Key words: the Hetmanate, Central Rada, coup d'Etat, conservatism, revolution, tradition.

РЕАКЦІЯ ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ СИЛ ЗАПОРІЗЖЯ НА ПОЧАТОК ДОБИ ГЕТЬМАНАТУ (квітень–травень 1918 р.)

***Анотація.** Мета роботи – показати реакцію громадсько-політичних сил Запорізького краю на події проголошення гетьманату Павла Скоропадського у квітні–травні 1918 р. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, багатofакторності, політичного плюралізму й комплексі загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методів, серед яких передусім – аналіз, синтез, історико-генетичний та історико-порівняльний методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше розгорнуто охарактеризовано спектр реакцій громадсько-політичних сил Запорізького краю на встановлення влади гетьмана П. Скоропадського в Україні. Реконструйовано хід подій, що супроводжували ці реакції, визначено їхній характер, виразників, соціальних носіїв та особливості суспільних ідей у сприйнятті гетьманату на цій території. Введено до наукового обігу нові архівні матеріали з фонду Олександрівської міської думи та управи і унікальне джерело – позапартійну демократичну газету українських організацій “Січ” (Олександрівськ, 1918). **Висновки.** Стверджується, що зміст революційних подій на Запоріжжі у квітні–травні 1918 р. мав виразний національно-демократичний характер і відповідав реакції на сприйняття гетьманату громадськістю в інших регіонах України. Ліві сили соціалістичного та ліберального спрямування виступили з опозиційною критикою встановлення монархічного режиму, вбачаючи у ньому повернення до царських часів. Їхня реакція проявилася у демократичних формах: зібраннях, винесенні резолюцій, скликанні з'їздів, накресленні перспектив подальшої діяльності. Стримувальним фактором для розгортання більш активних дій була консервативна традиційність мислення, виразником якої виступало селянство, перейняте хліборобськими справами та невдоволене більшовицькими експериментами руйнації приватної власності на території краю у січні–березні 1918 р. Регіональної специфіки реакції суспільства на утвердження нової влади надавали також чинники етнічного багатоманіття та зрусифікованості регіону.*

Ключові слова: Гетьманат, Центральна Рада, державний переворот, консерватизм, революція, традиція.

The Problem Statement. In publications little has been written about Zaporizhzhia context of the beginning of Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetmanate. In particular, about the first steps after the Hetmanate proclamation in April – May of 1918. This context is certainly worth being considered in details. After all, this is one of the pages of the decisive events of the newest history of Ukraine during the period of modern Ukrainian nation formation. Filling in the gaps of the decisive events will add new facts about the nature of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917 – 1921, the centenary of which we celebrate these years, it will supplement the description of the revolutionary processes peculiarities in the South of Ukraine, it will be the key to understanding of many vicissitudes of a modern socio-political life.

In historiography the reasons for lack of interest to this issue, as well as to many other issues of the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood, are traditional. First of all, these are the consequences of the long-lasting Soviet paradigm of the “Russian world”, which imposed the stereotype of “a minor significance” of events in the Ukrainian “periphery”. This is a post-genocidal lack of

awareness among generations of historians of their responsibility for the future of the Ukrainian statehood, for the democratic development of the country, for the development of a civil society.

The fact of this lack of awareness is indirectly confirmed by a sufficient source base for studying the issue. Historical and regional, historical and local lore aspects of this broad issue are inexhaustible. In our opinion, owing to these aspects we should look for answers to these fundamental contradictions.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. There is a substantial historiography about P. Skoropadsky's Hetmanate. In this historiography there should be singled out the works of H. V. Papakin (Papakin, 2003), R. Ya. Pyrih (Pyrih, 2016), O. P. Reient (Reient, 2003), V. F. Soldatenko (Soldatenko, 2009), Yu. I. Tereshchenko (Tereshchenko, 2008), which are of a conceptual and, at the same time, controversial nature. For example, H. V. Papakin claims that "the proclamation of the Ukrainian State on April 29, 1918 did not cause a widespread resistance in the society, except for rallies and anarchist measures provoked by the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries" (Papakin, 2003, pp. 46–47). Instead, V. F. Soldatenko, on the contrary, claims that "in 1918, the Ukrainian society split into two unequal camps, the largest of which strongly disapproved of the recipes proposed by P. Skoropadsky for the "recovery" of the nation" (Soldatenko, 2009, p. 145).

The issue raised by us was analyzed by historians superficially during the first years of the state independence of Ukraine in scientific works on the struggle for the Ukrainian statehood in southern Ukraine (Turchenko, & Gerashchenko, 1995, pp. 96–97), about the fate of the free Cossacks in Zaporizhzhia (Ihnatusha, & Tedeiev, 1995, pp. 27–42). Researches were intensified during the year of the 80th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian State (Liakhotskyi, 1998). At the beginning of the 2000s, the era of the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia was first described in an innovative textbook on the history of the native land (Ihnatusha, Tkachenko, & Turchenko, 2001, pp. 41–54). Later on, some events were covered by H. F. Turchenko in the publications about the socio-political struggle during the period of the Hetmanate in southern Ukraine (Turchenko, 2007). The activity of the free Cossacks in Zaporizhzhia was continued to be analyzed in the publications of V. H. Bondarenko (Bondarenko, 2010). Yu. I. Shchur made progress in raising the issue (Shchur, 2016, pp. 33–42). The historian elucidated the course of the armed struggle, outlined in memoirs, for the Ukrainian statehood and national, cultural formation in Zaporizhzhia (Shchur, 2018). Yu. I. Shchur also edited and republished some of the memoirs of the participants in the events of 1918 in Zaporizhzhia, which had been published in the diaspora (Shchur, 2019).

However, in the scientific publications there has not been analyzed the range of reactions of Zaporizhzhia public concerning the approval of the Hetmanate.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the reaction of socio-political forces of Zaporizhzhia region to the events of the proclamation of Hetman P. Skoropadsky's power in Ukraine. We'll find out how their reaction was manifested and on what basis. We'll reconstruct the course of events, determine their nature and socio-political expressions of public views.

We'll use a range of sources almost not used by researchers – archival documents of local governments of Oleksandrivsk and neighbouring territories – from the funds of the State Archives of Zaporizhzhia region; local (provincial and county) periodicals, in particular – a unique source: a non-partisan democratic newspaper of the Ukrainian organizations "The Sich" (Oleksandrivsk, 1918).

The Main Material Statement. The end of the era of the Central Rada and coming to power of the Hetman P. Skoropadsky were treated by Oleksandrivsk public, at first glance,

not as acutely as the events, which took place in Kyiv. There were no arrests, blockades and disarmament of military units. But there was also a high tension and political struggle.

Oleksandrivsk continued to be filled with the achievements of the democratic national revolution led by the Central Rada. In April of 1918, after a six-month political crisis resulting from the Russian-Bolshevik intervention, Oleksandrivsk City Duma, elected on the basis of a democratic law of 1917, resumed its work. Its composition by the nationality of deputies turned out to be mainly Ukrainian. For Oleksandrivsk, this was a typical phenomenon, unlike many other cities in southern Ukraine. According to O. V. Cheremisin, a significant proportion of members of the municipality – 42% were the Russians, the Jews, the Germans (Cheremisin, 2017, p. 184). In the Duma the largest in number was the socialist bloc of the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who were supported by 60% of voters. The second and third places were shared by the Jewish and Ukrainian socialist blocs (Ihnatusha, Tkachenko, & Turchenko, 2001, p. 24). Therefore, such composition of Oleksandrivsk city government could not show a clear commitment to the Hetmanate as a national form of the Ukrainian statehood.

The Russification of the urban environment, the pro-Russian majority in local governments, educational and cultural institutions created too shaky basis for estimation of the benefits of the Ukrainian national, state-formation policy. The fragmentation of the political circle, the number of parties and organizations, their weak structure, made the spectrum of a public opinion unstable.

In May, at the penultimate session of Oleksandrivsk Duma, deputies honored the memory of the figure of the Russian socialist movement H. V. Plekhanov. S. I. Hurovych, Chairman of the Duma, called him “the leader of the working class and all democracy” (State Archives of Zaporizhzhia Region – SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 103, p. 66). This point of view was supported by M. F. Mukhin, the Menshevik, who described the modern political moment as “when the achievements of people’s democracy of deep people’s movement perish” (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 103, p. 66).

Even after the proclamation of Ukraine’s independence by the Central Council, the socialist bloc of Oleksandrivsk City Duma considered it to be its political duty to declare that “the task of democracy in Ukraine, as well as in other parts of the former Russian state, is, as well as before, the creation of a unitary Federal Russian Republic, with the convening of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly” (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, p. 39).

The Jewish faction of Oleksandrivsk Duma took a more distinct pro-Ukrainian position. In April of 1918, it was declared: “To live and to give the others the opportunity to live is the motto of healthy nationalism, let it be the motto of the Ukrainian state. In the full confidence that free Ukraine will be the motherland of all the peoples who inhabit it, the Jewish democracy will dedicate its best forces and devote all its energy to creating its happiness and prosperity. “Long live Free Ukraine. May all the peoples who inhabit it live and develop freely” (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, pp. 2, 38).

On the eve of the Hetman coup, on April 25, 1918, the socialist bloc and the Jewish democratic faction of Oleksandrivsk City Duma issued declarations in support of the Ukrainian Central Rada and democratic freedoms (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, pp. 37–41; Tkachenko, 1999, pp. 25–29). They emphasized the reform of the city government actively, it was demanded convening of a congress of city and zemstvo governments by May of 12, in Kyiv.

National democratic sentiments were expressed by the majority of the county’s population – the peasantry. At the congress of the county peasant union, which took place on April 28 – 29 in Oleksandrivsk, 94 representatives from 32 volosts of the region, congratulated the Central Rada and its government – the Council of People’s Ministers – on the declaration of

Ukraine as an independent state (Z zhyttia povitu, 1918). The public also discussed the terms of the treaty signed by the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) with the Alliance of the four countries – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey (Myrnyi dohovir, 1918). The treaty promised the Ukrainian land a long-awaited peace.

In April of 1918, in Oleksandrivsk there continued to operate public institutions established during the period of the Central Rada. Peace was guarded by the Ukrainian army – the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS), who came there in mid-April with the Allies, liberating the region from the Bolsheviks. The military group of the Austrian army, which included the USS Legion, was headed by Wilhelm von Habsburg – Archduke of the Habsburg dynasty (a grandson of the Austrian Emperor Franz-Joseph and a nephew of Karl I – the last Emperor of Austria-Hungary), known as Vasyl Vyshyvany – a colonel, diplomat, poet. His figure – a Ukrainian patriot, a defender and sympathizer of the Ukrainian peasantry, – later became the personification of the candidate for President of the Ukrainian State, for the part of the Ukrainian society dissatisfied with the figure of P. Skoropadsky, who was more oriented towards the Russian forces. However, the attempts of the Ukrainian military (a colonel V. Petriv, a lieutenant colonel P. Bolbochan) and the left-wing political forces to implement such a political project of handing over the Hetman's mace to Wilhelm von Habsburg were not continued (Tereshchenko, & Ostashko, 1998, pp. 189–195; Snaider, 2011, pp. 102–109).

In the spring of 1918, in Zaporizhzhia region there was a deepening political crisis, a significant factor in which was the uncertainty of national and political priorities.

The polyethnicity of the South, which was clearly manifested in the urban environment with its significant Russian, Jewish, Polish, and German minorities, had a significant impact on the course of events. There manifested itself quickly the factor of dissatisfaction with the presence of German-Austrian troops on the territory of the region and their position as owners. Although in April – May of 1918 these factors had not yet resulted in mass protest movements.

Despite the fact that diametrically opposed political vectors were observed in the landmarks of local elites (in some – Western, in others – Eastern), the general content of their aspirations remained anti-Bolshevik.

The acuteness of the political moment was significantly smoothed by the agricultural tradition of Zaporizhzhia, which felt the fresh breath of spring, its worries and anxieties. "... There began trees to be covered with a delicate leaf. Everything got rejoiced. The peasants rejoiced, rejoiced that this year there will be harvest in the gardens, but useless joy, the work in vain. In May three frosty nights destroyed the lush flowers of cherries, apples, plums, apricots ... Strong winds blew again and blew away everything", – Danylo Liakh, an agronomist from the village of Ivanivka, wrote in the county newspaper "The Sich" (by the way, Danylo Liakh is a grandfather of a famous Zaporizhzhian historian, Professor S. R. Liakh) (Liakh, 1918). The Christian tradition also had a significant influence on the sentiments of April of 1918. The majority of the population of the county and the city were Orthodox, who lived in anticipation of a religious holiday – the Resurrection of the Christ. That year it was celebrated on May 5.

News from Kyiv about the establishment of the Hetmanate began to be known in Zaporizhzhia region during Holy Week, before Easter. The imposition of political news on Christian traditionalism created a considerable deterrent effect. Awareness of the tragedy of Holy Week shifted a public opinion from the fleeting political issue to the comprehension of the eternal. Such sentiments were felt by the Ukrainian military who were in Zaporizhzhia. Ostap Lutsky, adjutant of Wilhelm von Habsburg, wrote about the sorrow caused by the news "about the forced transition of supreme power in Kyiv to the hands of the Hetman",

which was combined with the joy of the first Easter holidays in free Ukraine. He conveyed these sentiments in the lines of O. Oles's poetry as follows: "sorrow embraced with joy" (Shchur, 2019, p. 30).

Official reports did not come immediately. The illegitimacy of the Hetman's power, which was established without democratic procedures, led to the information delay about the removal of the Central Council from public administration.

The meeting of the Ukrainian political parties and public organizations representatives of the city was held at 8 am, on May 4 in the People's House of Oleksandrivsk. At the meeting there were discussed the events in Kyiv: the search in the premise of the Central Rada, the arrest of several ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic by the German troops, and the proclamation of P. Skoropadsky as the Hetman of Ukraine.

The reaction to these events turned out to be extremely negative. The rejection concerned both the very fact of the destruction of legitimate power and the monarchical person. This fact of rejection is indicated by the ironic expressions used in quotation marks: "clairvoyant" and "coronation". The events painfully reminded the meeting participants of the reactionary laws of 1906 after the revolutionary events of 1905 "with all the hallmarks of an autocratic system", which returned the working people "to the previous yoke of big landowners and industrialists" (Khronika, 1918). We cannot but mention the analogy of 2014 with the reactionary "Laws of January of 16", which caused a wave of a nationwide opposition to the regime of Viktor Yanukovich ...

The following week, Oleksandrivsk City Duma and the council held a joint meeting on the latest political events with the Council of Workers' Deputies, the Peasants' Union, and all political parties. The resolution adopted on it became an ideological platform for public bodies and associations.

On May 8, 1918, the population of Katerynoslav region learned about the appointment of provincial and county commandants officially, whose competence included the struggle against anarchy, the collection and protection of military property, and the management of administrative and military affairs.

The Committee of the Ukrainian Organizations, whose interests were expressed by the first Ukrainian-language democratic newspaper, "The Sich" (which had just begun to be published in Oleksandrivsk on May 1, 1918), responded to the events with the article dated on May 9. It began with an unfinished phrase: "And again Skoropadsky ...". The text of the article conveyed concern, pessimism and anxiety for the future of the country. Representatives of the democratic wing of the Ukrainian socio-political movement characterized the content of political competition in Ukraine and its drama clearly: "And again Ukraine is facing the abyss, again it is experiencing a huge crisis. Two powerful social forces encountered. On the one hand, democracy and the masses of people are moving in the direction of radical, decisive reforms, especially in the land issue, which no one had yet implemented. On the other hand, big and medium-sized land ownership that does not want to leave the position of its old privileged position" (I znov Skoropadskyi, 1918). It was written in the newspaper: "The wisdom of the state is to find a middle ground between the struggling classes". It is significant that to solve the issue, there were appeals to the national historical experience of the Ukrainian revolution of the mid-seventeenth century – "History of Khmelnytsky Uprising".

On May 10, the provincial commandant, Colonel Voloshynov, informed the county centers of the change of government. The commandant's telegrammes and letters forbade any rallies and demonstrations, gatherings in private houses, or going out-of-doors after 9 p.m. On

the same day – May 10, 1918 – martial law was imposed on the territory of Katerynoslav province. Acting assistant of provincial headman, a colonel Osypenko, was authorized to apply imprisonment to violators for up to three months or a fine of up to 3 000 rubles by the Provincial Commandant (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 97, p. 33). This was an undisguised restriction of civil rights.

On May 10, Oleksandrivsk County Zemstvo convened a meeting. The topic of discussion unchanged. Representatives of township councils hurried to Oleksandrivsk to show the attitude of their voters towards the events in the capital. It was necessary to form a common position of the zemstvo self-government. The meeting was opened by K. B. Mikhno, a chairman of the county zemstvo administration, who, outlining the perspective, stated unequivocally: “This fact pushed us far away from the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly again” (Narada zemskykh predstavnykiv volosnykh uprav, 1918). It should be noted that there was a previous decision of the Central Council and the government to convene the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly on May 12, 1918. The Hetmanate became an obstacle to this convocation.

The discussion about the attitude to the new regime was emotional. A member of Chucha district council stated about the significance of the moment and expressed his conviction that the peasantry would not easily give up their positions. A representative of Polohy volost stated that in volost it was decided to protest against “infringers of our rights”, i.e., against the Hetman and his forces. In the village of Pokrovske it was decided: 1) to protest against violence; 2) to support the Central Council before convening the Constituent Assembly; 3) to focus on facilitation of the Constituent Assembly convening. According to the representative of Zhrebetska volost (the village of Zhrebets – nowadays, Tavriyske), two thousand people came to the meeting. They protested against the decision of the farmers’ congress in Kyiv. “These are not farmers, but ... Money-Recipients. The peasantry is protesting”, – the representative of Zhrebetska volost said. In the words of the representative there was determination: “The inhabitants of the whole Zhrebets said they would take the guns to fight against the Hetmanate” (Narada zemskykh predstavnykiv volosnykh uprav, 1918).

After the discussion, the representatives of the zemstvos decided to join the resolution adopted by the joint meeting of Oleksandrivsk local self-government, the Council of Workers’ Deputies, the Peasants’ Union and the political parties mentioned above. In the first paragraph of this resolution it was emphasized that the German military authorities interfered in the internal affairs of Ukraine. This interference was regarded as an intention to restore the power of landowners, led by the autocratic Hetman. The actions of allied Germany were regarded as disrespect for the Ukrainian nation. This fact, in turn, formed a negative attitude towards the Germans.

Determination became important that the proclamation of the laws on the temporary state system of Ukraine by the Hetman “contradicts the will and legal consciousness of the people and causes indignation of the people, awaiting legislative expression of their will by the Constituent Assembly” (Mistseve zhyttia, 1918). Describing the coming of the Hetman to power, the members of the meeting did not use the term “coup”. They called the event “the conduct of the German military authorities in Kyiv”, “the act of landowners and Skoropadsky”, “Hetman’s attempt”, “adventure similar to the Bolsheviks”. But at the same time they believed unequivocally that this event went beyond the legal field and on its basis it was impossible to establish a strong government. On the contrary, the democratic forces of Zaporizhzhia region predicted the use of repressive measures by the Hetmanate, which “will cause a new anarchic and terrorist movement, agrarian and political”. The resolution stated that the Hetman’s power would be able to last for a short time. The only condition for its existence will be the support of German bayonets. Life showed that these predictions of the

democratic forces of Zaporizhzhia region, made at the beginning of May of 1918, proved to be true and fully fulfilled.

On May 12, official reports came from the county centers that “all power in Ukraine had passed to the glorious Hetman since April 29” (SAZR, f. 64, d. 3, c. 1, p. 26), the powers of the representatives of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian People’s Republic were terminated.

Administrative changes were clearly recorded in Colonel Osipenko’s circular to the city administrations of Katerynoslav region of May 18, 1918. He demanded that the mayors send him information about the time of meetings of cities дума and councils and their agenda, as well as resolutions with all the annexes to them. Such orders were received by all provincial and county state institutions and county zemstvos (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 87, pp. 35, 52).

Oleksandrivsk City Duma adopted the order to be fulfilled. The fact is evidenced by sending the order to the address of Katerynoslav provincial headman on June 19 under No. 5767 of the minutes of the regular meeting of Oleksandrivsk City Duma of June 4, 1918 (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 87, pp. 35, 49).

In “The Katerynoslav Provincial News” it was reported on strengthening of the power vertical. On May 15, 1918, by order No. 1 of the acting Katerynoslav provincial headman, acting county headmen were appointed to all counties. Kliuchnykov was appointed an acting county headman in Oleksandrivsk (Prikaz № 1 Yekaterinoslavskogo gubernskogo starosty, 1918). As H. Hordiienko, a member of the liberation movement in Zaporizhzhia, wrote about him, Kliuchnykov was “one of the petty misters of our county”, and he was Russified, as well as his supporters, because he “issued orders in Russian” (Hordiienko, 1976, pp. 149–150). The same order called for the end to any agitation against the new authorities for fear of arrest and trial. Land committees, which dealt with the seizure of private property from landowners, were liquidated immediately. Volost zemstvos were deprived of money, and were demanded to hand it over to the treasury on deposits of county headmen. These actions clearly contradicted democratic social sentiments.

In the villages, even in those where councils of peasant deputies had been previously established, the authorities returned to volost and village administrations, headmen.

In Zaporizhzhia region representatives of local authorities emphasized appropriately that it was the local power who was the mainstay of the central government and the entire legal system. Therefore, representatives of local authorities tried to make known their position to the German and Austro-Hungarian governments and parliaments of these countries “to offer the Hetman to renounce the Hetmanship for the benefit of the Ukrainian state, and thus give the Central Council the opportunity to convene the Constituent Assembly”. Otherwise, the local authorities were responsible “for possible serious consequences, such as [for example –] protests against landowners, Hetman-appointed government officials and the German army” (Mistseve zhyttia, 1918).

As we can see, the provisions put forward by democratic organizations and associations of Zaporizhzhia region were based on democratic ideological beliefs. Zaporizhzhia political declarations contained specific ideas aimed at normalizing the political situation. The resolution, adopted by Oleksandrivsk City Duma and the administration together with the Council of Workers’ Deputies, the Peasants’ Union and all the political parties mentioned above, reflected the main idea of self-government, combined with the opinion of public and democratic institutions and organizations: “only the provisional parliament can be recognized the only body of power – the Central Council, which has the obligation in agreement with the legitimate bodies of local self-government to bring the Ukrainian state to convening the Constituent Assembly” (Mistseve zhyttia, 1918).

The word “coup” soon appeared in the vocabulary of the local political elite to describe the events in Kyiv on April 29, 1918. On May 21, 1918, “The Sich” newspaper published an editorial reporting on the events of the first days of P. Skoropadsky’s hetmanship, beginning with the words: “After the coup which took place in Kyiv ...” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918). The first lines of the article gave a concentrated definition of the essence of the events: “the land bourgeoisie, organized and relying on foreign bayonets, overthrew the Central Rada and appointed Pavlo Skoropadsky the Hetman of all Ukraine” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918).

It can be concluded that in Zaporizhzhia region the attitude towards the events from the time of the coup to the publication of this newspaper issue (on May 21) did not undergo fundamental changes. Pessimistic expectations were confirmed by the facts of the collapse of the democratic revolution achievements and the development of freedom of thought persecution. “Everything that people gained during the revolution is lost”, – that was the wording of one of the central theses of this analytical publication. “Numerous all-Ukrainian peasants’ and workers’ congresses in Kyiv are being dispersed, their participants are being arrested, elected on a democratic basis city governments are being dispersed in some cities, and are substituted by those people who served the tsarist autocracy. The same process is observed with land committees. There is little left of the freedom of speech, press, and meetings”, – the author continued. According to the observations of the above-mentioned participant of the events H. Hordiienko, the population of Oleksandrivsk, regardless of nationality, was dissatisfied with the Hetmanate, and it was even a greater burden for the peasantry (Hordiienko, 1976, pp. 159–160).

This was the way the left, socialist and liberal-democratic wing of the society reacted. However, the Duma accepted political realities, cooperated with the military and civilian administration established by the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia region.

Despite the position described above and the mood of the left-wing of Zaporizhzhia politicum, this position was not unanimous. Many Ukrainian cultural figures of the region accepted the establishment of the Hetmanate as the fact that did not hinder the course of transformations initiated by the revolution. This fact was indicated by a number of arguments, in particular, continuation of functioning of “The Ukrainian Culture Society”, founded in the provincial center of Katerynoslav. It included 52 cultural and economic organizations of Katerynoslav and its suburbs, named as the territory of the “Sich Land”, which reached the territory of Oleksandrivsk County. The society scheduled the convening of peasant congress on May 8, 1918 to solve educational and cultural issues exclusively (*Selianskyi osvittii z’izd*, 1918). That is, the society authorities were convinced that the work they had begun would not stop under the influence of recent state and political changes.

Similar sentiments are confirmed by the information spread in the mass media about the preparation of the congress of delegates of the volost teachers’ unions scheduled on May 25 – 26 in the village of Polohy. Such information was spread in the press controlled by the Hetmanate. This meant that the political regime did not consider any real threats in the teachers’ union and its congress. Time had passed since the events of April of 29 in Kyiv, the period that was quite enough for the establishment of the Hetmanate in local areas and a possible violent response on its part to public initiatives that could threaten the security of the regime.

The fact of unobstructed activity of public organizations and local government institutions established during the period of the Central Rada created the effect of the absence of abrupt and undesirable changes in a public life. The above mentioned O. Lutsky, an adjutant of Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg, recollecting the events of May of 1918 in Oleksandrivsk, mentioned: “alive, ebullient and even in its sorrows wonderful time of the miraculous

resurrection of the Ukrainian people and the state” (Shchur, 2019, p. 26). Optimism was fueled by the awareness that the state, national and cultural formation were carried out in the desirable Ukrainian direction, although not as quickly and efficiently as one would like.

Despite the change of power, local authorities continued receiving and accepting, at least until the end of September, orders from the ministries of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, which testified to the continuity of national and cultural formation by the Hetmanate, in particular – in the field of language, education, state representation. The example of this fact is the circular of the Department of self-government of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic dated on March 13, 1918, received by Oleksandrivsk City Duma on September 21, 1918, in which all people’s councils and administrations were required to use the Ukrainian language as the state language in the records of institutions, and national symbols – the state flag and the Ukrainian state coat of arms – in representative attributes, instead of the destroyed Russian symbols (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, p. 79). It concerned not only spreading these requirements to all people’s councils, but also to hospitals, schools, workshops, roads, areas for horse-drawn carriages, street names and, etc. The content of the circular coincides with the circular of Katerynoslav provincial revolutionary council of April 29, 1918 (SAZR, f. 24, d. 7, c. 98, pp. 7–8) and the text of the “Resolution of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Ukrainization”, published in No. 13 of the Bulletin of the Council of People’s Ministers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic.

Thus, during the first weeks of the Hetmanate the part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia did not feel the threat of disrupting the Ukrainian national and cultural, educational, economic projects. The Ukrainian intelligentsia continued national and cultural activities, showing the ability to the nation-formation.

Analyzing the reaction of the conservative forces of Zaporizhzhia region, we state that they saw the desired political changes in the establishment of the Hetmanate. These forces gained hope for the restoration of property rights, private initiative. “There are held all kinds of congresses of “farmers” – these hefty men, there are congresses of manufacturers, industrialists, financiers, the Cadet Party”, – it was written in the newspaper “The Sich” by the author from Oleksandrivsk on May 21, 1918. The conservative movement found support at various levels of power – not yet strong central power and heterogeneous in its political sentiments and economic interests of local power. It was reported in the above-cited publication: “The latest telegrammes inform of the return of land to the landlords and all living and unliving inventory, which were distributed among the poorer peasantry by land committees. Collective agreements between workers and employers are cancelled, and an eight-hour working day is also cancelled” (Oleksandrivsk, 1918).

The facts of such return are mentioned in the materials of “The Katerynoslav Provincial News”. It was not only about the return of property to large entrepreneurs and landowners, but also about the restoration of “justice” in some episodes of encroachment on private property. Thus, in particular, Fedoriv volost zemstvo of Oleksandrivsk county published the announcement in “The Katerynoslav Provincial News” that they looked for owners of horses and property confiscated from two Red Army soldiers by local self-defense forces in April of 1918 (Rozysk khozyaev k loshadyam i imushchestvu, 1918). Such actions of the authorities fueled healthy conservatism and confidence in the rule of law declared by the Hetman’s power. “Please forget all class, national, religious and party quarrels. It is high time there should be stopped murders, robberies, violence, seizures of other people’s property and all kinds of anarchic demonstrations”, – Major-General Chernikov called on May 26, 1918 (Prikaz Yekaterinoslavskogo gubernskogo starosty, 1918).

The state machine of the Hetmanate tried to keep balanced systems, traditions, concepts, that is why, the political changes did not seem catastrophic. Researchers emphasize that P. Skoropadsky's supporters were also liberal-conservative forces – local cadets or Octobrists, the Ukrainian farmers-democrats, partly – socialists-federalists (Turchenko, 2008, p. 162).

The breadth of this public opinion flank was also formed by the ethnic diversity of the southern region and, especially, the county town of Oleksandrivsk, clearly represented in local authorities, socio-political organizations: “Someone felt himself Ukrainian, someone thought it was possible to belong to the Ukrainian and Russian culture at the same time and to be a “maloros”, some identified themselves with the Russian nation, the others were captivated by territorial patriotism and did not consider Ukraine as a separate national and territorial reality” (Turchenko, 2008, p. 162). But the sense of this identity was unstable for many people. The sense of identity was strongly influenced by the severity of unresolved social, national and cultural problems.

Analyzing the situation in Zaporizhzhia region during the period of the Hetmanate, it is worth agreeing with H. F. Turchenko, who notes that the environment in which the support for the Hetmanate matured was amorphous. Unfortunately, analogies can be drawn in this case again – as well as the environment of the majority of the Ukrainian voters in 2019 – 2020.

The Conclusions. These facts show that the events in Kyiv, related to the change of the political vector of the state formation in April – May of 1918, were received impartially, concerned and responsibly by the public of Zaporizhzhia region.

The demand for objective information about the events that took place in the capital, Ukraine and the world grew rapidly. The role of the printed word grew, in particular, of newspapers, which became the means of the interests verbalizations of various political groups. There took place information competitions of political elites. The change of key players in the supreme state power gave a new impetus to the intensification of the political struggle in Zaporizhzhia region. The fact that the Hetman came to power was quickly and unequivocally regarded by the majority of public organizations in Zaporizhzhia region as a coup d'état. He was associated with the return of power to large landowners and the abolition of the democratic gains of the revolution. In the coup a key role was considered in the politics and military presence of the German power. The ideas concerning the key role in the coup were defended by representatives of local authorities formed during the national democratic revolution, activists of the left-wing socio-political parties and organizations that had the greatest support of the society. The social forces that protested against the establishment of the Hetman power in Ukraine were the intelligentsia, the peasantry, and the workers.

The reaction to the establishment of the Hetman power was caused by the popularity of socialist ideas in the society, which was significant, as well as significant achievements of the nation-formation during the era of the Ukrainian Central Rada. At the same time, socially and ethnically heterogeneous environment of Zaporizhzhia region gave rise to both politically neutral and more conservative political ideas, which were a source basis for the new power. After all, the latter sought to avoid socialist experiments, to balance the economic mechanism on the basis of understandable economic factors – private property and market economy.

This reception of the Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia region coincided with the public reception of Kyiv events in other regions of Ukraine, but it also had its own specifics, which reflected the ethnic diversity and Russification of the region.

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