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**CONTRIBUTION OF T. SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY
TO THE FOUNDING OF UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITY IN LVIV
(THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY – MID-1920s)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the contribution of The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in spreading the idea of establishing the Ukrainian University in Lviv among the population of Galicia at the end of the 19th – at the beginning of the 20th century and the founding of Secret Ukrainian University (1921). The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, consistency, scientific pluralism, objectivity, systematicity and comprehensiveness, application of general scientific and special scientific methods, as well as a thorough analysis of contemporary periodicals, memoir literature, archival documents. The scientific novelty of the article consists in the following: for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, there has been analyzed a significant contribution of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in the formation of the idea of establishing Ukrainian University under the conditions of polonization of the Lviv higher school and implementation of this idea in the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which resulted in the founding of Secret Ukrainian University. The Conclusion. Starting from the end of the 19th century, the members of the scientific society advocated*

the Ukrainization of higher education in Galicia, pushed for the opening of the national University, which in practice manifested itself in sending Appeals to the highest authorities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, cooperation with the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR), national and cultural organizations of the region on the basis of realization of declared aspirations. The demands of the NTSh were identical to the demands of the Ukrainian student organization, which on the eve of World War I organized a large-scale wave of student demonstrations, which ended in the promises of the Austrian government to establish Ukrainian University. During World War I, the NTSh did not abandon its intention to establish Ukrainian higher educational institution, which, however, was not successful. Under the conditions of the Polish regime, the initiative of the NTSh to establish the national University found many supporters among political, cultural and educational intelligentsia, which resulted in the establishment of a secret Ukrainian University. Its scientific and organizational activities were built around the NTSh, the majority of whose members worked as lecturers in a higher education institution, and also prepared textbooks for students. The anti-Ukrainian activities of the central authorities of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made the activities of a secret Ukrainian University impossible, which ultimately led to its self-liquidation (1925).

Key words: the NTSh, scientific intelligentsia, secret Ukrainian University, Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, students, educational process, repression.

ВНЕСОК НТШ У СТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ У ЛЬВОВІ (КІНЕЦЬ ХІХ ст. – СЕРЕДИНА 1920-х рр.)

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати внесок Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка (НТШ) у поширення серед населення Галичини ідеї створення українського університету у Львові наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. та заснування Українського таємного університету (1921). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, послідовності, наукового плюралізму, об'єктивності, системності та всебічності, застосуванні загальнонаукових і спеціально-наукових методів, а також скрупульозному аналізі тогочасних періодичних видань, мемуарної літератури, архівних документів. **Наукова новизна статті:** уперше в українській історіографії на конкретних прикладах проілюстровано вагомий внесок Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка (НТШ) у становлення ідеї створення українського університету в умовах колонізації вищої школи Львова та реалізацію цієї ідеї у Другій Речі Посполитій, що вилилося у заснування Українського таємного університету. **Висновки.** Починаючи з кінця ХІХ ст., члени наукового товариства виступали за українізацію вищої школи на теренах Галичини, домагалися відкриття національного університету, що на практиці проявлялося у надсиланні Звернень до вищих органів влади Австро-Угорської монархії, співпраці з українською Парламентською Репрезентацією (УПР), національно-культурними організаціями краю на ґрунті реалізації задекларованих прагнень. Вимоги НТШ були ідентичними з вимогами українського студентства, яке напередодні Першої світової війни організувало масштабну хвилю студентських виступів, що завершилися обіцянками австрійського уряду відкрити український університет. У роки Першої світової війни НТШ не полишало наміру заснувати український заклад вищої освіти, що, однак, не увінчалось успіхом. В умовах польського владного режиму ініціатива НТШ щодо заснування національного університету знайшла чимало прихильників у середовищі політичної, культурно-освітньої інтелігенції, що й посприяло заснуванню Українського таємного університету. Його науково-організаційна діяльність вибудовувалася навколо НТШ, більшість членів якого працювали викладачами, а також готували підручники для студентів. Антиукраїнська діяльність центральних органів влади Другої Речі Посполитої унеможливила діяльність Українського таємного університету, що, зрештою, призвело до його самоліквідації (1925).

Ключові слова: НТШ, наукова інтелігенція, Український таємний університет, Друга Річ Посполита, студенти, освітній процес, репресії.

The Problem Statement. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the national and cultural revival of the Ukrainians of Galicia actualized the issue of creating the Ukrainian university in Lviv, studies at which contributed to the national and patriotic

upbringing of local youth. The outlined idea was actively spread among student youth, public and political elite, as well as in educational and scientific environment. Later, a well-known Galician public and political figure V. Mudryi wrote that “the struggle for the Ukrainian university... lasted for decades. It not only drained a lot of the Ukrainian national energy, but also absorbed many victims in blood, in people, and, most importantly, at different times of its duration, it was a thoroughly positive element of cementing the Ukrainians of all political orientations into one solid front of struggle” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 5). The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) took an active part in this struggle.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society contribution to the establishment of the secret Ukrainian University is an understudied issue in modern Ukrainian and foreign historiography. Some aspects of the NTSh were analyzed by the contemporaries of the described events (L. Vynar (Vynar, 1971)), V. Hnatiuk (Hnatiuk, 1923), V. Doroshenko (Doroshenko, 1951), V. Kubiiovych (Kubiiovych, 1949), M. Stakhiv (Stakhiv, 1973), K. Studynskyi (Studynskyi, 1929) and the others), as well as in the scientific studios of modern Ukrainian scholars (O. Romaniv, Ya. Hrytsak (Romaniv & Hrytsak, 1990)), V. Kachmar (Kachmar), A. Klish (Klish, 2011), V. Futala (Futala, 2023), V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn (Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2019), R. Kushnir, A. Feloniuk (Kushnir & Feloniuk, 2019), O. Romaniv (Romaniv, 1992), O. Rublov (Rublov, 2004), O. Sukhyi (Sukhyi, 2016 – 2021), M. Mudryi (Mudryi) and the others). A considerable interest in the course of the researched events is also caused by thematic collections of articles (see, for example, “From the History of The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society” (Z istorii, 1998)). The source basis of the article is the documents of the NTSh, research papers of the NTSh members, which reflect the activities of the Society in a cultural and educational sphere, materials of the Ukrainian and Polish periodical press, memories of the Ukrainian scholars, public and political figures, as well as archival documents of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the contribution of the NTSh to the creation of the secret Ukrainian University in Lviv, as well as to determine the role of the society in ensuring educational process of this higher education institution.

The Results of the Research. Some of the first high-profile statements of the NTSh demanding the creation of the Ukrainian University date back to the end of the 19th century: in 1898, as V. Mudryi rightly noted, the society “took an initiative in the Ukrainian University affairs” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 9). It was at that time that the NTSh prepared an Appeal to Viennese government, which was supported by other national and cultural societies of Galicia later, in particular “Prosvita”. In the document there was substantiated the necessity of creating the Ukrainian University and there were outlined practical ways of its implementation. Despite the fact that the central (in Vienna) and local (in Lviv) authorities did not support the initiative of the Ukrainian scientific intelligentsia, a positive result of this action was the foundation of the second Department of Ukrainian literature at the Faculty of Philosophy of Lviv University (Mudryi, 1948, p. 9).

It is interesting that in the article “The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society and its Activities in 1898” (Hrushevskiy, 1899, pp. 1–9) M. Hrushevskiy does not mention the fact, which indicates the dominance of a scientific component over a cultural and educational one in the activity of the Society during this period (Hrushevskiy, 2004, pp. 550–557). However, in 1899, the head of the NTSh M. Hrushevskiy published the work “The Case of the Ukrainian University in Lviv”, in which he stated that “the issue of education should become a

conscious national need, it is necessary to master the tactics of using every opportunity to create state forms of education, at the same time taking into account the realities, to develop non-governmental public forms of education” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21).

As V. Telvak wrote in his research, M. Hrushevskyi had argued that by creating the Ukrainian University in Eastern Galicia, the government would solve many problems related to conflicts between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Galicia (Telvak, 2017, p. 28). Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century the competition for a national university in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy becomes one of the most important aspects of the Ukrainian national idea formation (Kachmar, 2017, p. 143). “A real significance of the struggle for the Ukrainian national University was that it was one of the forms of struggle for the Ukrainian statehood”, modern scholars note. – “In this context a special role was played by the postulate about the need to establish this University precisely in Lviv, as a historical centre of the western Ukrainian lands” (Kachmar, 2017, p. 143).

The Appeal of the Ukrainian scholars, united around the NTSh, to the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with a request to establish the Ukrainian University was synchronized with a wave of student protests in Galicia, whose participants advocated the creation of the Ukrainian University in Lviv and, in general, the Ukrainization of the educational process at the University (Kovaliuk, 2001, p. 118).

The youth protest action reached its peak on December 3, 1901, when 440 Ukrainian students voluntarily left Lviv University and continued to obtain higher education in other educational institutions of the monarchy. “Now your sons are leaving the holy spaces of your lands...,” wrote V. Starosolskyi, a famous public and political figure. – This is the word of your children, who are following your destiny – they are going to battle, as your hundreds went to seek the truth, to win the will of your people!” (Kovaliuk, 2001, p. 121). Secession was also supported by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi (Lekhniuk, 2015, p. 100), however, as noted by contemporaries of the events, “nothing came of all these efforts and measures” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 9).

Nevertheless, the NTSh continued to look for ways to implement the demands of the Ukrainian nationally conscious youth. In 1902, the society once again brought up the issue of creating the Ukrainian university in Lviv. “The Dilo” periodical, in particular, informed about the meetings of the NTSh delegation (I. Horbachevsky, Professor of the University of Prague, I. Puliuy, Professor of the German Higher Technical School in Prague, S. Smal-Stotsky, Professor of the University of Chernivtsi, as well as ambassadors Yu. Romanchuk and O. Barvinsky) with representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy government (Pavlyshyn & Kozak, 2017, p. 105). The Ukrainian delegation presented the government representatives with the corresponding memorial letters, however, as reported by the “Dziennik polski” magazine, in response, the government officials noted the lack of funds for the implementation of this plan and abstract “political disagreements” (Danyliuk).

The lack of practical results in the protest campaign gave impact to “scientific circles” of the idea of creating a private Ukrainian University. During the same period, the issue of creating the Ukrainian university in Lviv was often discussed at meetings of individual sections of the NTSh. Thus, on March 7, 1902, scholars considered the issue at the meeting of the Philological Section of the Society (Malevych, 1996, p. 22). “Only the establishment of an independent Ruthenian University in Lviv can be a way out of current abnormal [Polish-Ukrainian – the authors] relations” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21), – noted M. Hrushevskyi, the head of the NTSh.

In 1904, in the Ukrainian cultural and educational life of Lviv an important event was the opening of the so-called “scientific vacation courses” by the efforts of national and cultural societies of Galicia (Doroshenko, 1930, p. 2) (the courses were formally under guidance of the Society of Ukrainian Science supporters, Literature and Art), a thematic spectrum of which covered the problems of the Ukrainian studies (Hnatiuk, 1904, pp. 52–53). V. Mudryi wrote that “Professors from Lviv and Great Ukraine conducted lectures there...” (Mudryi, 1948, p. 10).

In practice, lecturers were mostly members of the NTSh – M. Hrushevskiyi conducted lectures on the history of Ukraine-Rus, I. Franko – on the history of Ukrainian literature, F. Vovk – on Ukrainian anthropology and ethnology, K. Studinsky – on the cultural and educational movement in Galicia, S Tomashivskiyi – on Hungarian Rus and the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the 17th century (Kachmar, 2006, p. 116). According to the organizers of the “scientific vacation courses”, they were supposed to show the necessity of establishing an independent Ukrainian University in Lviv (Naukovi kursy vakatsiini 1904).

Under the conditions of worsening Polish-Ukrainian relations at the beginning of the 20th century, the problem of establishing the Ukrainian University took on a new tone. The head of the NTSh M. Hrushevskiyi was forced to admit that during this period “nothing was done to satisfy the demands of Ruthenian youth and Ruthenian society. All measures to expand the rights of the Ruthenian language and increase the number of Ruthenian departments and Ruthenian lectures failed, and all attempts at habilitation that took place over the years failed as well. As a result, tension grew, manifesting itself in stormy demonstrations, after the failure of all legal measures in the interests of the Ruthenian language, and in recent times these manifestations have become a chronic phenomenon – starting from the spring manifestation of 1906” (Hrushevskiyi, 2005, p. 21). In his research V. Telvak wrote that the head of the NTSh, as “a real authority among his students” (Telvak, 2017, p. 28), had to be quite actively involved in the struggle for the establishment of the Ukrainian University. In particular, he proved that “it is possible to create the Ukrainian University within three years” (Telvak, 2017, p. 28).

The implementation of this idea required assistance of the central authorities and tolerance of local Poles, which, unfortunately, was not observed. On March 2, 1907 there was decision of the academic senate, which confirmed the exclusively Polish nature of the University. In response, M. Hrushevskiyi, the head of the NTSh and the Society’s Historical and Philosophical Section, published the article “Utraquization or Division of the University?” (Hrushevskiyi, 1907, p. 1). “The Polish professors, in their statement... decided to protect the Polish character of the University and oppose its utraquization “in any form,” he wrote. – They considered all competitions for Ukrainization to be a useless factor, which makes proper scientific and teaching work at the University impossible. Although, at the same time they stated that they were not against the idea of the Ukrainian University, but in reality their statement resolves this matter quite clearly, leaving no room for any doubts, any hesitation” (Hrushevskiyi, 1907, p. 1).

Also, the head of the NTSh prepared Memorandum (Hrushevskiyi, 2005, pp. 20–22), which became the basis for the parliamentary request of S. Dnistrianskiyi and O. Kolessa regarding the establishment of a separate Ukrainian University with three faculties – theological, legal and philosophical (Hrushevskiyi, 2005, pp. 20–22). The document began with an explanation of the reasons for its conclusion: “The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, as the highest Ruthenian scientific institution, called to look after the interests of scientific and cultural development of the Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian people, feels obliged to appeal to Your Excellency with a strong representation in view of the incalculable damages, which the scientific and

cultural life of the Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian people in Austria suffers as a result of abnormal relations at the University of Lviv, at which the Ruthenian people of Austria should primarily look for the satisfaction of their scientific needs” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21).

“Aimed by its very position at serving primarily the cultural needs of the Ruthenian part of Galicia and by virtue of the imperial decision of 4.VII.1871 (to this day) ultraquid in principle, as a result of the political superiority of the Polish element in the seven regions, it has taken on an almost completely Polish character in recent decades of the 19th century and all the efforts of the Ruthenians to expand the sphere of Ruthenian as a language of instruction and government language met with insurmountable obstacles, because the Polish element, having mastered the University once, considered it their duty to defend the Polish state of possession of it” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21), – M. Hrushevskyi noted.

The head of the NTSh stated that, taking into account social and political realities in Galicia, “one cannot hope for a normal course of scientific studies at Lviv University” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 21). For these reasons, the NTSh “allows itself to state with pressure that only the foundation of an independent Ruthenian University can be a way out of the current, extremely dangerous situation and a guarantee of a successful scientific development of the Ruthenian people and satisfaction of their cultural needs” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 22).

In the Memorandum it was noted that “for its part, the NTSh can assure the high government that the establishment of an independent Ruthenian university in Lviv will not face any serious difficulties of a scientific nature. Having detailed records of the Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian scientific movement, the NTSh can declare with all determination that upon the establishment of an independent Ukr[ainian-]Ruthenian University, the vast majority of its departments can already be staffed by scientifically qualified Ruthenian personnel from the region and abroad, and only not a very significant minority would have to be replaced by substitutes, and even then for a long time, two or three years...” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 22).

The Memorandum of the NTSh ends with an optimistic conclusion: “...There is no doubt that the creation of an independent Ruthenian University would encourage academic qualifications of many adepts of science who have already demonstrated their scientific abilities through independent works, but in the current circumstances, having no prospects for an academic activity, devote themselves to practical work in various fields. As for the material issue, we are sure that the high government will not consider the subsidy of a small university with three faculties as a heavy sacrifice when it comes to meeting the essential cultural needs of one of the largest nations of Austria” (Hrushevskyi, 2005, p. 22).

The calls of the NTSh regarding the opening of the Ukrainian University in Lviv, as expected, remained unanswered by the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which, de facto, did not want a confrontation with the Polish population of the region. The situation was complicated by the fact that M. Hrushevskyi, as the head of the NTSh, opposed attempts to transform the society from “a scientific institution into an arena of party and nationalist activities” (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 267, pp. 80–81), which in the end did not contribute to establishing a dialogue with the leading Ukrainian political parties and public political organizations on the basis of the idea of founding the Ukrainian University. However, the situation changed starting in the 1910s – the senate of Lviv University began to seek from the Austrian government actively to recognize the educational institution exclusively as Polish (Kachmar, 2017, p. 143), which led to the radicalization of the demands of the Ukrainian students and, accordingly, to the growth of dissatisfaction with the actions of the “centre” among the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR), NTSh, “Prosvita”, as

well as Ukrainian public and political organizations. However, on the eve of World War I, the Ukrainian University was not established, despite the government's promises "to found it... no later than 1916" (Mudryi, 1948, p. 13).

During the Great War (1914 – 1918), the issue of establishing the Ukrainian University remained on the agenda of the NTSh, but practical steps were taken to implement the idea after the expulsion of the Russian occupying forces from Galicia. In March of 1916, the NTSh prepared another Memorandum to the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It was initiated by M. Korduba, who proposed the text of the document (on the matter of founding the Ukrainian University) addressed to the Ministry of Cults and Education. He sent it to be printed so that, going to Vienna, he would take it to the Ministry (Dashkevych, 2001, p. 115). However, unfortunately, "neither the Memorandum nor the delegations to the government on the University issue did not update the case and did not make it close to realization..." (Mudryi, 1948, p. 13). However, it is worth agreeing with the periodical "Dilo", in which it was written that "during the Austrian times, the case [of the Ukrainian University – the authors] was almost settled, ripe for a real resolution, almost completed; all that was missing was a location" (Zatiashna sprava, 1924, p. 1).

Against the background of the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918 – 1919, the members of the NTSh did not count on concessions from the Poles in the issue of founding the Ukrainian University, since all Ukrainian departments were liquidated even in the existing University (Holovach, 1992, pp. 12–13). Moreover, on August 14, 1919, the order of the Rector of Lviv University was published, according to which only students who were citizens of the Polish state who (a) served in the Polish army, (b) were citizens of states that were allies of Poland were accepted for study (in September the same year, the Council of Ministers confirmed the updating of University admission rules) (Pid znakom "nelehalshchyn", 1924, p. 3).

On August 19, 1919, a meeting of the society members (I. Svientsitskyi, I. Krypiakievych, B. Barvinskyi, V. Harasymchuk) was held under the chairmanship of V. Shchurat, the head of the NTSh (Vyzdryk, 2009, pp. 116–121) at which a decision was made regarding the support of the Ukrainian students and the establishment of the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv based on the material base and scientific potential of the NTSh, the National Museum, and the Petro Mohyla Society of Scientific Lectures and the Stavropygian Institute, where classes and lectures were to be conducted (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 1, p. 3).

At the meeting, in particular, it was decided "...to come to the aid of the Ukrainian University youth who wish to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their studies in order to achieve the education they need, to initiate the establishment of the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv in the scope of three full faculties: philosophical, legal and theological. As initiators, they decided to turn to the NTSh with a proposal that it take into its own hands implementation of their opinion at the upcoming meetings of the NTSh and all three scientific sections to its discussion" (Holovach, 1992, pp. 12–13).

However, the courses were banned by local authorities (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 5–7), although similar "learning centres" (on the basis of the Ukrainian public organizations, in particular "Academic Community") began to emerge spontaneously at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1921s (Horbovyi, 2012, p. 75). The NTSh wrote a protest, which substantiated "complete groundlessness and arbitrariness of the ban", but the society's actions did not bring the expected results (CSHAUL, f. 362, d. 1, c. 29, pp. 23–25).

At the end of 1920, the Sejm of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth considered the issue of founding the Ukrainian University in Stanyslaviv. On June 30, 1920, in response,

the Ukrainian national and cultural organizations of Galicia, among which the NTSh played a leading role, published “Memorandum of Ukrainian Scientific and Cultural Institutions to Academies, Universities and other Scientific Institutions of the Civilized World”, in which there was described the main milestones of the struggle of the Ukrainians of Galicia for the national University, and also pointed at the illegal actions of the Polish authorities against efforts to start the Ukrainian University courses in Lviv, on November 27, 1919 (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 39, p. 3). At the same time, the intellectual environment of Lviv opposed the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Stanyslaviv, justifying its decision by the lack of personnel and libraries (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 39, p. 3).

In July of 1921, the head of the NTSh V. Shchurat and other public activists convened the National Student Congress in Lviv, at which the final decision on the formation of the secret Ukrainian University was made (Lazechko, 1994, pp. 68–71). According to the decision, it was to consist of three faculties: philosophical, legal and medical (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 1–12). It was also decided to establish the Senate of the Ukrainian University, to elect a rector (V. Shchurat) and deans of departments (the Faculty of Philosophy was headed by M. Korduba, the Faculty of Law – V. Verhanovskyi, the Faculty of Medicine – I. Kurovets) (Lashchyk). The NTSh library was secretly used as an archive of the University (Mudryi M.).

In the summer of 1921, the NTSh and other co-founders of the University tried to collect material and financial resources, prepared premises for educational activities (Sholohon, 2014, pp. 369–370). The outlined measures were coordinated by the so-called University commission, which was headed by the head of the NTSh, V. Shchurat. In September of 1921, all decisions and practical steps regarding the organization of a secret University in Lviv were approved by the Ukrainian Inter-Party Council (UIPC), which consisted of representatives of the Ukrainian National Labour Party (UNLP), the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP) and Ukrainian Christian Social Party (UCSP). Despite the fact that the head of the UIPC, V. Bachynskyi, was against the establishment of the University and had rather hostile relations with V. Shchurat, the work of the Ukrainian educational institution was still approved.

Initially, more than a thousand actual students and more than two hundred so-called students “free listeners” studied at the three faculties of the secret Ukrainian University (Taiemnyi ukrainskyi universytet, 1924, p. 1). In terms of popularity, the Faculty of Law occupied the first place, while the fewest students were enrolled at the Faculty of Medicine. Lectures and seminars for students were held by the efforts of members of the NTSh National Academy of Sciences (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 1–9) – the majority of active members of the society were professors of the secret Ukrainian University (Kubiiovych, 1973, pp. 8–18), prepared educational programmes and textbooks for students. Among the most famous lecturers were V. Verhanovskyi, M. Vozniak, M. Korchynskyi, I. Krypiakevych, V. Levytskyi, M. Levytskyi, I. Rakovskyi, I. Svientsitskyi, M. Tchaikovskyi, and the others (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 5, p. 3). Professors conducted in various rooms, often not adapted for this purpose, in particular, in the buildings of “Prosvita”, the NTSh, institutions of “Native School”, National Museum, libraries (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 5, p. 3). What is important, according to M. Mudryi, “the student environment of the secret Ukrainian University was not unified either socially or ideologically (Mudryi M.).

Among the University lecturers, active members of the NTSh were: S. Baley (a psychologist); M. Halushchynskyi (an educator, a publicist), B. Barvinskyi (a historian, a bibliographer), I. Bryk (a Slavic philologist, a historian), Ya. Hordynskyi (a literary scholar), F. Kolessa (an ethnographer); I. Svientsitskyi (a linguist, an art critic), K. Studynskyi (a literary

critic), V. Shchurat (a literary critic, a translator), M. Korduba (a historian), I. Krypiakevych (a historian), V. Kucher (a physicist), Yu. Hirniak (a physicist), V. Levytskyi (a mathematician), M. Tchaikovskiy (a mathematician), R. Tsehelskyi (a physicist), O. Tysovskiy (a biologist), L. Biletskyi (a literary scholar), P. Kholodnyi (a chemist), I. Zilynskyi (a linguist), I. Rakovskiy (a biologist), O. Makarushka (a philologist), etc. (Dudka & Holovach).

The secret Ukrainian university functioned under the pressure of the punitive and repressive system of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The situation became much more complicated after S. Fedak's assassination attempt (1921) on K. Grabowski, Lviv voivode, and J. Piłsudski, the first head of the revived Polish state (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 142, pp. 7–9). Immediately after this event, arrests and prosecutions of all suspects involved in this case began. Thus, the lecturers of the secret Ukrainian University – members of the NTSh I. Bryk, K. Studynskiy, I. Krypiakevych and some students were searched (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 142, pp. 7–9).

After the resolution of the Council of Ambassadors of Great Powers – Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan dated March 15, 1923 on the recognition of the sovereignty of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Western Ukrainian lands, in April of the same year “The Dilo” claimed that the secret Ukrainian University in Lviv “exists and is developing”, despite police persecution. Education continued to take place at three faculties – philosophical, legal and (Kurylyshyn, 2023, p. 150).

On June 30, 1923, despite unfavourable social and political conditions, Ukrainian scientific, cultural and educational institutions appealed to the Polish Sejm and Senate with a request to adopt a law on the establishment of state Ukrainian University and Polytechnics in Lviv by retaining existing private Ukrainian Universities (*Za ukrainski vysoki shkoly*, 1923, pp. 1–2). The appeal was based on Paragraphs 24 and 26 of the law of September 26, 1922, according to which the Polish state undertook to establish the Ukrainian University within two years from the announcement of the law. The editorial office of “The Dilo” treated this appeal negatively. The main mistake was the removal of political factors from the University issue and direct submission of a petition to the Sejm without involvement of the Ukrainian parliamentary representation (*Za ukrainski vysoki shkoly*, 1923, pp. 1–2).

The reaction of the Polish state authorities to the problem of establishing the Ukrainian institution of higher education in Lviv is vividly illustrated by the words of the Minister for Education S. Glombinsky, who, calling the Ukrainians nothing but “the Rusyns”, proposed to establish the “Ruthenian” University in Warsaw: “The University will probably be located in Prague [suburbs of Warsaw – the authors]. However, there is a possibility that there will be new obstacles, because part of the Ukrainian citizenship from Eastern Lesser Poland, in a collective petition submitted to the Ministry of Education, seeks the legalization of the so-called “secret University” in Lviv and the establishment of the Ukrainian University and Polytechnic in that city. Of course, there can be no question of any legalization of something that does not really exist and that was a fiction of the academic school... After all, no competent scientific body checked either the programmes of those courses or the scientific qualifications of lecturers. Also, there can be no question of choosing the location of the University for the Ukrainians in the city of Lviv, which would become a hotbed of political struggle, and not an environment of respectable scientific work” (*V hlukhyi kut*, 1923, p. 1).

In an attempt to stop the activities of the secret Ukrainian University, the Lviv police continued to search Ukrainian institutions where classes could take place, in particular at the NTSh, the National Museum, the M. Lysenko Music Society, the Society of Ukrainian

technicians “Osnova”, the Societies “Prosvita” and “Zoria”, in the private residences of lecturers, the Lviv police confiscated their books and notebooks (Kurylyshyn, 2023, p. 153).

Arrests were numerous. In some cases, it was possible to photograph the scene of “catching” students and professors. The corresponding photos became a proof of “guardianship” of the “brotherly people” (Kurylyshyn, 2023, p. 152). However, despite the persecution by the police, the secret Ukrainian University continued to function and even strengthened organizationally. In particular, on September 1, 1923, the Art Faculty was created, O. Novakivskyi was the dean, and lecturers of the faculty were I. Rakovskyi, S. Balei, Ye. Nahirnyi, and others famous scholars. The faculty was supervised by Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi (Holovatskyi, 2006, p. 297).

On October 15, 1923, the Polish Telegraph Agency issued a communiqué calling the Ukrainian University and Polytechnic in Lviv “illegal educational institutions”, the diplomas of which “will not have any legal force” (Borotba z kulturoiu, 1923, p. 1). Finally, at the beginning of 1924, a draft law was submitted to the Polish Sejm on the alleged “toleration” of the Ukrainian University in Lviv by local authorities, to which the Minister for Internal Affairs gave a written reply and assured that the existence of any secret organizations, including scientific ones, was unacceptable (Borotba z kulturoiu, 1923, p. 1).

As a result, the police banned the activities of all Ukrainian student organizations – “Academichna Hromada”, “Academichna Dopomoha”, “Osnovy”, “Medychna Hromada”, “Krayovy Studentykyi Soyuz” (Borotba z kulturoiu, 1923, p. 1). The above-mentioned events could not help but affect the activities of the secret Ukrainian University. In 1923, there was a sharp decrease in the number of students: in the 1923/1924 academic year, there were only approx. 250 secondary school graduates (SALR, f. 248, d. 4, c. 850, pp. 22–25). Finally, in June of 1925, at a meeting of the senate, it was announced that the University would be dissolved (CSHAUL, f. 310, d. 1, c. 9, p. 6).

The Conclusion. The activities of the secret Ukrainian University became a bright page in the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the latest period. As we can see, “...the leading role in the formation of departments, lesson programmes, selection of subjects and lecturers, as can be seen from the list of lecturers, was played by the scholars of the NTSh, – modern scholars note. – The choice of individual subjects was caused by personal scientific interests of the NTSh scholars, which gave the general course of lectures an individual colour. In addition, students observed an elevated emotional mood at lectures. To a greater extent, it concerns the course of lectures on social disciplines, and unique lecture cycles were formed, especially in the field of the Ukrainian studies. Some of textbooks used by students were also written by scholars of the NTSh, and some series of lectures conducted at the University were published...” (Dudka & Holovach).

The secret Ukrainian University, despite its short existence, became “a symbol of the unity of the Ukrainians’ will, the result of realizing the need to create their own educational centre, a manifestation of the struggle for their own statehood and national identity” (Lashchuk). Many scholars believe that the secret Ukrainian University was “a unique phenomenon in the history of higher education” (Klish, 2010, p. 106). Without exaggeration, the NTSh was at the origins of this Ukrainian phenomenon. “For the majority of members of the NTSh, the opportunity to create the national University was not only a matter of a social development, but also a matter of a personal vital interest,” M. Mudryi noted. – Many of them saw the place of their work at such University. The establishment of an illegal University also corresponded to the interests of the Ukrainian political forces, which after the collapse of the Austro-

Hungarian monarchy lost their ideological orientations for a while, needed a rethinking of programme provisions, and therefore were looking for an object to apply their efforts...” (Mudryi M.). However, the national University had to cease its existence (1925) due to persecution by the authorities, as well as new social and political realities.

A promising direction for further research is a cultural and educational policy of the Polish state in Western Ukrainian lands in the 1920s.

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