Entry to World War I: historical time and everyday aspects (based on the materials of Zhytomyr)

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Abstract. The purpose of the research is a new historical and temporal interpretation of the problem of the society entry into World War I based on the analysis of an everyday life of Zhytomyr population. The research methodology is based on observance of scientific knowledge fundamental principles of dialectics and determinism and general scientific principles of historicism and objectivity made it possible to comprehensively consider the problem of city residents’ reception of events and phenomena related to upcoming and beginning of World War I. Owing to the interdisciplinary approach, the peculiarities of a social behaviour of society under specific historical conditions have been elucidated. The application of a historical and genetic method made it possible to highlight the regularities of the city’s population mood before and after August 1, 1914. The scientific novelty consists in the conceptualization issue of “entry into the war” using the example of the history of Zhytomyr before
The Problem Statement. Obviously, in history it is not easy to find an example when the first chords of war are recepted by a general public as a logical, completely expected transition of the enemy state to the use of force methods and means to achieve political goals. In our recent past, we were convinced of this twice: in 2014 and 2022. It is noteworthy that in both cases the entry into the war took place “unofficially”, i.e. without declaring it. The first time it was on March 1, 2014, when the Council of the Russian Federation supported President V. Putin’s request for permission to use armed forces on the territory of Ukraine. In the minds of the Ukrainians, the mentioned act was considered nothing but an informal declaration of war. However, its hybrid, locally limited nature quickly erased the existence of war from the worldview of the majority. This, in particular, was evidenced by the lack of deep changes in the electoral views of the population of the eastern regions. For the second
time, the war broke out in the morning on February 24, 2022, and with accompaniment of air sirens, which become an integral part of today’s everyday reality.

In this context, the issue of analyzing the phenomenon of “entry into war” on the basis of our historical past is actualized. According to the authors, it has a certain duration in time, the exact definition of a chronological framework of which can become the subject of scientific discourse. The tragic events of 1914 – 1918 completely overturned contemporaries’ ideas about war as a special social reality. Absorbing all social strata without exception, it blurred the boundaries between such seemingly opposite categories as: the front and the rear, real and fictional, yesterday and today.

Review of Recent Publications and Researches. Despite a growing scientific interest in World War I, it is still considered an underestimated period. Speaking about the history of Zhytomyr from 1914 to 1918, it is worth mentioning first of all the article by I. Kovalchuk, in which there are analyzed some features of the socio-political, economic and social life of the city during the period under analysis (Kovalchuk, 2015). Taking into consideration the subject of our research, i.e. first of all in an everyday context, we should say that in 1914 the society behaviour in Ukrainian cities is mostly highlighted as a temporary burst of cheer-patriotism under the influence of the Russian imperial propaganda (Vilshanska, 2014; Kolyada, 2018; Kutsyk, 2022). At the same time, scholars often ignore the analysis of the pre-war population’s moods. An exception is the article by S. Dehtiarov and I. Romaniuk about the cause-and-effect link between a mental health of the urban population of Right-Bank Ukraine and their reception of World War I outbreak (Dehtiarov et al, 2021) and the monograph by T. Gerasymov, in which it is pointed at anxious expectations of the Ukrainian border provinces inhabitants of the military conflict between the Russian and Austrian empires (Gerasymov, 2017).

The basis of the source base is the archival materials of the Central State Historical Archive (Kyiv), the State Archive of Zhytomyr region, as well as publications of the most popular newspapers of Zhytomyr at the beginning of the 20th century – “The Life in Volyn” and “Our Volyn”.

The Purpose of the Research. The authors suggested the idea of a new historical and temporal interpretation of the society’s entry issue into World War I based on the analysis of a daily life of Zhytomyr population.

The Results of the Research. On August 4, 1914, the newspaper “Our Volyn” published the article in which the social atmosphere prevailing in the city in the first days after Germany declared war on Russia was depicted in a vivid journalistic form by a correspondent: “A peaceful sleepy life of the province was shaken: quiet streets were filled with hustle and bustle, people who were used to walking slowly, yawning for hours at the shop-windows, now are rushing along the streets at a feverish speed. Many do not know where and why they are running, but everyone is worried. They meet each other, ask for some news and immediately arise, or, more precisely, countless fantastic rumors are improvised. Prophets have appeared – optimists and pessimists, some predict all kinds of horrors, the others say that war is a necessary disinfection of nations. Fewer people – it will be easier to live! This is the formula of those gentlemen! But, strictly speaking, there are few of them. The majority look at the world of God through the smoked glass of pessimism and despair! “What does the coming day have in store for me?” – that’s what you read in everyone’s eyes. A huge crowd filled the streets! There were mothers, fathers, wives, sisters and brothers waiting for their relatives from the Military Pryjutstviye! This crowd knew that it was necessary to go to war: our Serbian brothers are attacked. A small state groans in the clutches of a huge predator! But the selfish feeling is still stronger than the consciousness of justice! And all those mothers
and fathers screamed and wringed their hands when they found out that their sons were being taken away!” (Nasha Volyv, 2014, July 22).

This fragment can be considered as a kind of slice of a social mood of Zhytomyr residents at the time of the official start of the war. It should be noted that the examples of a human behaviour shown by Zhytomyr correspondent were typical of the European space at the time.

Firstly, the declaration of war caused a “collective shock” with a corresponding mass psycho-physiological reaction. According to the concept of a social psychologist H. A. Marin, in such extreme situations, an autonomic nervous system is activated in people, and there is a negative effect on the digestion, cardiovascular and respiratory systems. This leads to a loss of self-control and unfolding of several scenarios, one of which is running (Marina, 2009, p. 113). That is why, in those days, the city resembled a disturbed anthill.

Secondly, the declaration of war created an enormous demand for news, which could not be satisfied taking into consideration its irrational nature. The thing is that at the moment of a strong psychological excitement, the townspeople seemed to suffocate from the lack of fresh information that would reassure them or, on the contrary, confirm their fears. This naturally led to generation of relevant rumors.

Thirdly, the need to overcome a psychological disorientation caused by the war instinctively brought people to the streets. A famous French writer R. Rolland, observing the mood of Parisians at the time, metaphorically characterized them as “a human river, all the drops of which sought to merge with each other” (Rolland, 2017, p. 101). In Western historiography, the first days of the Great War are often called the “spirit of 1914”, interpreting it as a phenomenon of mass pro-war sentiments (Verhey, 2006). At the same time, attempts are made to cover those events from the standpoint of revisionism, according to which a large-scale support for the war is a contemporary propaganda myth (Ringmar, 2018).

Fourthly, the attitudes of Zhytomyr residents were marked by ambivalence: on the one hand, they were characterized by frank fear of war and an oppressive sense of uncertainty associated with it, on the other hand, by pronounced conformism caused by a general socio-political inertia and Russian pre-war propaganda narratives.

The latter indicated that the process of military preparations of the Russian Empire involved the preparation of a public opinion for a possible start of the Great major European war. In the pre-war years, state propaganda through various communication channels formed the image of the enemy in the mass consciousness of Russian subjects and outlined red lines, the violation of which would mean the transition of the political confrontation to the war phase. Thus, for example, in the spring of 1914, the regional right-bank press widely covered the meeting of the “Club of the Russian Nationalists” in Kyiv, at which the Marmarosh-Sygotsky trial was discussed, at which Orthodox Ruthenians from the village of Iza were accused of their withdrawal from the Union of Brest of 1596. The criminal case was interpreted in no other way than “a religious oppression of the Ugro-Ruthenians” in Austria-Hungary with the use of torture, in particular in the form of a forced baptism of Orthodox girls by “inquisitors”. The meeting ended with a public appeal to the authorities to respond harshly and promptly to the religious and national oppression of the “Slavic brothers” outside the Russian Empire (Kiev, 1914, February 28). The anti-Austrian rhetoric of the local press intensified after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 29, 1914. The open sympathies of the newspapers for Serbia considered its conflict with Austria-Hungary as a unilateral aggression by the latter with a hint of the need to provide immediate assistance to the “brotherly country” (Gerasymov, 2017, p. 98).

Obviously, the so-called “witch hunt” – the fight against the real and imaginary agent network of the Central Powers – had a noticeable impact on the formation of pre-war moods
in Zhytomyr. And although the vicissitudes of the “war on the secret front” a priori should not have gone beyond certain competent and informational frameworks, the growing atmosphere of espionage mania could not but seep into the public space. For example, in the summer of 1912, the Zhytomyr newspaper “The Life in Volyn” publicly accused the staff of the “The Rabbetke and Gizeke Seed Factory” located in Vinnytsia for espionage for Germany (CSHAUL, f. 442, d. 859, c. 45 (6), p, 70). The reason for the start of the information war was the suspicion by the tsarist special services of the controller of the enterprise, K. Gade, who, allegedly under the guise of inspecting beet plantations in Volyn province, collected intelligence in a number of settlements, in particular in Rivne and Volodymyr-Volynsky, which were of a strategic military importance (CSHAUL, f. 442, d. 859, c. 45 (6), pp. 70, 113). Despite the lack of direct evidence against K. Gade in the security agencies and the fact that the plant administration filed a lawsuit against the newspaper for defamation, this caused a great stir in society. Thus, the “witch hunt” process involved not only the security agencies, but also a certain part of the public, whose mouthpiece was the press. It is also worth focusing on the fact that the Balkan crisis of that year caused systematic directives in the provincial gendarmerie administration to prevent the spread of rumors among the population about a probable start of a war between Russia and Austria-Hungary (Gerasymov, 2017, p. 94). Thus, the anxious mood in Zhytomyr in 1912 can be interpreted as a “collective premonition of war”. The catalyst for this anxiety was the intensification of reconnaissance activities of the Austro-Hungarian aviation, which in June of 1914 studied the location of the Russian troops near Zhytomyr. Since the flights were carried out during the day and at a relatively low altitude, a large part of the population could see them (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, July 13).

Thus, there are reasons to claim that the war entered people’s lives even before its actual beginning as a certain subjective reality. Such a conceptual approach should be connected with a historical and philosophical category “historical time”, a theoretical and methodological understanding of which underwent fundamental changes during the period of the 20th – 21st centuries. A new paradigm denies the existence of the past and the future as separate categories, which are always mutual projections (Tamm, 2019, p. 2). This allows us to talk about a chronological blurring between different historical periods, in particular between peace and war. According to the above interpretation of historical time, for Zhytomyr community, the “entry into the war” de facto began earlier than the moment of its official declaration.

From this position, in August of 1914 the mood of society can be considered as an individual and collective reception of a new reality with a clear dominance of an emotional and sensual component of consciousness over the rational one. An extremely intense nature of the first was caused not so much by the official start of the war, but by the general mobilization announced on July 31.

That is, it can be argued that, in general, the transition of war from a hypothetical (subjective) dimension to a real (objective) one was not characterized by rationality and logical sequence, since awareness of inevitability of an event does not always mean a psychological readiness for its occurrence and acceptance. We were convinced of this on February 24, 2022, when a full-scale Russian invasion looked like an “expected surprise” to the majority of the Ukrainian citizens.

In August of 1914, crowds organized by local political organizations, the regional government, and the church could often be seen on the streets and squares of Zhytomyr. The mood of the townspeople was a symbiosis of a militant cheer-patriotic enthusiasm and panic. This was, for example, clearly visible during the speech of the governor of Volyn to the demonstrators, in which he had to refute the rumors spreading in the city about a possible occupation (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, July 21).
It should be noted that the broad strata were influenced by rumors contrary to the propaganda campaign about the success of the Russian troops in Galicia in the summer-autumn of 1914. At the same time, the degree of trust in such information was inversely proportional to their veracity. It was not by chance that the press noted that “the more obvious any nonsense, the more readily people believed in it” at the time (Yuzhnaya kopejka, 1915, January 6). Thus, for example, at the end of August of 1914, in Zhytomyr there were rumors about Japan’s declaration of war on Russia (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, August 3).

A positive image formation of the war by printed propaganda organs hyperbolized its reception by children. First of all, it was caused by numerous newspaper reports about the exploits of Russian soldiers, among which stories of heroic deeds of “young volunteers” appeared systematically. Thus, for example, on September 17, 1914, in “The Life in Volyn” there was published an article about the exciting adventures of several boys who participated in six battles as part of Moscow regiments and returned safe and sound (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, September 4).

Militarization of mass consciousness naturally led to popularization of “war games” among children. They were noted for their fierceness and hardness, as children usually left the “battlefield” with bruises and scratches. On the outskirts of Zhytomyr, they were held in August of 1914, the winners of which were determined by the result of a “wall-to-wall” battle (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, August 12).

In addition to printed media, cultural and entertainment institutions played a significant role in the structure of state military propaganda. By coincidence, the declaration of war took place simultaneously with the opening of a new theatre season, the owners of which were obliged to adjust the repertoire in accordance with the new military and political circumstances significantly. Therefore, for the first time in many years, instead of G. Verdi’s opera “Aida”, the season was opened by M. Hlinka’s “Life under Tsar’s Rule” in Zhytomyr City Theatre. Theatrical action was accompanied by the performance of the anthems of the Russian Empire and the Allied Powers with the joint participation of theatregoers and their audience (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, August 29). An active propaganda role was played by the cinema, on the screens of which various patriotic pictures were shown. For example, in November of 1914, the film “In Defense of the Slavic Brothers” was shown to the audience at the “Lux” cinema in Zhytomyr. Its purpose was obvious – through the image of a crowded demonstration in Moscow during the entry into the war (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, October 30) to support the feeling of the national unity of the public.

War propaganda also affected fine art, the effect of which at the time of entry into the war was particularly strong and even symptomatic (Fondren & Hamilton, 2022, p. 15). The reaction of Zhytomyr population to the paintings with battle scenes of World War I displayed in the shop-windows of local shops with exclamations: “That’s how it is! Chop! Don’t give up!” (Zhizn Volyni, 1915, January 23) can rightly be considered a sign of a collective psychosis of the time.

However, contrary to propaganda narratives aimed at demonizing the image of the enemy in the mass consciousness, there were no systematic manifestations of aggression or contempt in the attitude of the local population towards foreign prisoners of war. Obviously, this was explained both by the hope of a similar treatment of the enemy side towards their captured compatriots, and by a noticeable presence among the Austro-Hungarian soldiers and officers of representatives of the Slavic peoples. In September of 1914, when captured Austro-Hungarians passed by Zhytomyr, one of them even carried a purple rose in his hand (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, September 3).

In October of 1914 this tendency led to the spread of conversations among the wounded soldiers of the Russian army in Zhytomyr infirmary that sisters of mercy treated them worse than the captured Austro-Hungarians, who also needed medical help (CSHAUL, f. 1262, d. 2, c. 20, p. 81).
The arrival in Zhytomyr for the treatment of the first wounded servicemen of the Russian army activated a public movement to provide them with additional assistance, as unpreparedness of the tsarist regime for large-scale combat losses became obvious immediately (Zhvanko & Nestulya, 2017, p. 110). For the local Jewish and Polish communities, an active participation in this process served as an additional tool for the government to certify its loyalty in order to reduce possible risks, because the authorities considered them to be politically unreliable categories of the population. Zhytomyr Jews allocated 15 beds in their hospital for treatment of the wounded (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, August 21), and the Poles opened a separate infirmary with 20 beds (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, August 29).

In October of 1914, a struggle against the “German world” was waged in Zhytomyr, initiated by the renaming of St. Petersburg to Petrograd on August 31. After that, the city authorities made a decision to change the names of two city streets, named in honour of the imperial capital, from the old, “German” ones to the new ones – “Russian” (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, October 14).

The beginning of the war led to material and household problems, which worsened with each subsequent month. There were objective and subjective reasons, and the latter often dominating. In this sense, there was reaction of Zhytomyr merchants to an instinctive stocking up of essential products by the population in the first days of the war in the form of a sharp increase in prices and creation of an artificial food shortage (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, July 23).

Instead, more objective reasons caused the housing crisis. Since during World War I, the city served as a centre for the deployment of significant military formations and a stronghold for mobilization measures on the front line (Kovalchuk, 2017, p. 23), suburban population actively flocked to Zhytomyr in August, as well as native residents returning from their dachas (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, July 23). Such a significant influx of human masses led to an increase in housing prices (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, August 3). The situation was also taken advantage of by Zhytomyr transport drivers, who, due to a sharp increase in demand for passenger services, ceased to adhere to the set fare (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, July 24).

At the same time, due to the movement of conscripts to mobilization stations and back on mobilization days, the load on tram traffic increased significantly. On the main Zhytomyr street – V. Berdychivska, there were 15–20 people standing at the front of the carriages, where only 6 or 8 seats were allocated (Zhizn Volyni, 1914, July 24). Local passengers were also dissatisfied with the increase in fares from 11 to 13 kopicks by the managers of the tram company without coordination with the city authorities. The increase in fares led to the fact that the need to sequester the tram company became a popular topic of conversation in the city (SAZR, f. 62, d. 1, c. 1249, p. 6).

The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research. On August 1, 1914, the population of Zhytomyr faced a new objective reality – the beginning of World War I. The reaction of Zhytomyr population to this event corresponded to a standard behaviour of the society in similar circumstances: a strong emotional excitement that had signs of a collective psychosis, a militant cheer-patriotism combined with panicked moods, an instinctive desire to stock up on basic necessities. At the same time, the analysis of the pre-war moods of the city’s residents indicated a noticeable presence in their minds of the feeling of war inevitability. That is, we can say that at the moment the war began to become part of reality, although still at the level of a subjective reception. In this context, the issue remains open regarding the completion of the process of society’s entry into war, which, according to the authors, is defined by the time of society’s adaptation to wartime, until it became an everyday norm. This aspect necessitates a further research on the issue.

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