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**VOLYN WITHIN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE:
MIGRATORY PROCESSES AND
CULTURAL INTERACTION**

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INTRODUCTION

The geographical location of Ukrainian lands has been one of the main factors determining their historical development over the centuries as a vibrant interethnic contact zone, a territory characterized by a highly diversified spectrum of socio-cultural phenomena. The repeated division of the territory that comprises present-day Ukraine and the repeated displacements of the borders between the states, religions, political and cultural systems, languages, and ethnic groups created conditions for great variety in the forms of interaction between different nationalities.¹

As a specific form of historical synthesis characterized by the long-term co-habitation of different ethnic groups on a given territory that led to intense interaction between their cultural, religious, and other systems, contact zones have become an important object for modern research.² Such territories not only constitute geographic areas where

¹ N. Iakovenko, *Paralel'nyi svit. Doslidzhennia z istorii uiaolen' ta idei v Ukraini XVI – XVII st.* (Kiev, 2002), p. 333.

² For more on the complex analysis of the historical aspects of the development processes and the structural transformation of contact zones in Eurasia in Russian historiography, see: A. M. Nekrasov et al., eds., *Kontaktnye zony v istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: Perekrestki politicheskikh i kul'turnykh vzaimovliianii* (Moscow, 1995); A. G. Zhdokhin, *Politicheskie protsessy na periferii Evrazii* (Moscow, 1998); *Vostochnaia Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e: Kontakty, zony kontaktov i kontaktnye zony. XI Chteniia pamiati chl.-korr. AN SSSR V. T. Pashuto (Moskva, 14-16 aprelia 1999 g.). Mat-ly k konf.* (Moscow, 1999), and others. After a long break, the study of Ukrainian lands as a contact zone has been renewed in the last ten years in Ukrainian historiography as well. For a comprehensive analysis of the historiography of this problem, see N. Iakovenko's

different ethnicities live together, but display organic and self-sufficient structures that have their own laws of development and specific cultural characteristics.

Contact zone formation takes place in conditions where borders are degraded and fluid. Following from English definitions, it is necessary to distinguish “borders” from “frontiers.” Soviet historiography adopted the image of “borders” as hard-and-fast barriers separating countries, territories, and nationalities. This led the multi-ethnic character of certain regions and the historical, cultural contribution of various groups of the population to be overlooked. The majority of researchers consider the frontier concept as an important ingredient in the formation of contact zones. The domination of the latter approach among the current Ukrainian scholars has expressed itself in the emergence of a relatively new object of socio-humanitarian knowledge – the study of “borderlands” (*porubezh'e*) oriented on research of the phenomena of “borders,” “contact zones,” and areas of historical, cultural, social, and other forms of mutual interaction between different ethnic groups. The understanding of the term “borderland” brings together the image of a territory simultaneously separating and uniting.

The study of the Ukrainian lands as contacts zones assumes the use of not only a general, but also a regional approach to the analysis of specifics and characteristics of ethno-cultural interaction. Individual regions represent valuable material for observing the formation of mutual ties between different nationalities – related or unrelated. The scope and character of these ties is determined by the concrete historical situation, and the socio-economic development of the ethnic groups, and the closeness or distance between the inhabitants’ languages and traditions. Volyn represents such a contact zone. Volyn’s frontier location determined to a significant degree the character and direction of migration, as well as the interaction of various ethnic components tied

“Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom”: proektsiia odniei idei,” in N. Iakovenko, *Paralel'nyi svit...*, pp. 333-365, or its English version, “Early Modern Ukraine Between East and West: Projectories of an Idea,” K. Matsuzato, ed., *Regions: A Prism to View the Slavic-Eurasian World. Towards a Discipline of “Regionology”* (Sapporo, 2000), pp. 50-69. The theoretical aspects of natural interethnic contact zones as the territory of development of multiple nationalities are covered in the work of V. A. Dergacheva, *Kontseptsiiia marginal'noi komplimentarnosti* (Odessa, 1995).

to this migration. Archeologists have found evidence of this dating all the way back to ancient times.³

Volyn's inclusion in the Kiev, Vladimir-Volyn, and Galitian-Volyn princedoms, in the Great Lithuanian Princedom from the fourteenth century, and, later, in the Rzeczpospolita had an important influence not only on the economic development of the region, but also on the formation of the local population's historical memory and self-understanding. The nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries witnessed important stages in the settlement of Volyn that had far reaching consequences for the formation of the local population's cultural peculiarities. Administrative, territorial, political, ideological, religious, and socio-economic changes sparked certain transformational processes that had a discernable effect on the region's historical development. Contacts between different nationalities were of great significance in these processes, driving the political and social history of these lands.

Studying individual ethnic groups of the Southwestern region of the Russian Empire with extensive use of statistical material⁴ and analyzing the changes in legal norms in the Kiev, Podolia, and Volyn provinces (*gubernii*),⁵ researchers of the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century paid practically no attention to the material and spiritual culture that formed on the basis of interethnic contacts.

Because of ideological concerns, issues related to migratory processes that led to the mixed, dispersed settlement of different ethnic groups in the region and to the development of intricate ties between these ethnic groups were not examined during Soviet times. Only one or another historical sources concerning the formation of Ukraine's ethnic

³ L. I. Krushel'nits'ka, *Vzaemozov'iazky naselennia Prykarpattia i Volyni z zemliamy Skhidnoi i Tentral'noi Evropy* (Kiev, 1985); D. N. Kozak, *Etnokul'turna istoriia Volyni (I st. do n.e. – IV st. n.e.)* (Kiev, 1992).

⁴ A. F. Rittikh, *Atlas narodonaseleniia Zapadno-Russkogo kraia po ispovedaniiam* (St. Petersburg, 1863); *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v zapadno-Russkii kraii. Materialy i issledovaniia, sobrannye P. P. Chubinskim*, 7 volumes (St. Petersburg, 1872-1877); A. Zabelin, *Voenna-statisticheskoe obozrenie Volynskoi gubernii 1*, (Kiev, 1887); E. M. Kryzhanovskii, "Chekhi na Volyni," *Sobranie sochinenii 2* (Kiev, 1890), pp. 805–981 and others.

⁵ S. G. Gromachevskii, *Ogranichitel'nye zakony po zemleladeniuiu v Zapadnom krae s istoricheskim obzorom ikh, zakonodatel'nykh motivami i raz'iasnenniiami* (St. Petersburg, 1904).

composition were analyzed in the works of A. Rashin, V. Kabuzan, V. Naulk, S. Makarchuk, and others.⁶

The number of regionally focused historical and ethnological studies, including research on Volyn province, has grown significantly in post-communist Ukrainian historiography.⁷ In these works, post-communist researchers mainly examine the history of separate ethnic groups, their economic and social activities, cultural life, and the influence of the Russian Empire's nationalities policy.⁸ In the past decade, researchers have begun to examine the discourse of the country's elites, analyzing in this context the Polish question in Ukraine.

Nonetheless, concrete interaction between various ethnic groups is one of the many aspects of the region's historical and ethnological reality that has so far received limited attention. This includes the study of Volyn as a contact zone, on the one hand, relegated to the periphery of the mainstream of Ukrainian culture during the nineteenth century, and, on the other hand, a territory marked by the natural and forced interaction

⁶ A. G. Rashin, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1811 – 1913 gg.)*. *Statisticheskie ocherki* (Moscow, 1956); V. M. Kabuzan, *Narodonaselenie Rossii v XVIII – pervoi polovine XIX v.* (Moscow, 1963); V. I. Naulko, *Razvitie mezhetnicheskikh soiazei na Ukraine (istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherk)* (Kiev, 1975); S. A. Makarchuk, *Etnosotsial'noe razvitie i natsional'nye otnosheniia na zapadno-ukrainskikh zemliakh v period imperializma* (L'vov, 1983).

⁷ My dissertation on national minorities in Volyn can serve as an example of research of the history of different ethnic groups in Volyn from the second half of the 1990s: V. Nadol's'ka, "Natsional'ni menshyny na Volyni (sередyna XIX – pochatok XX stolittia)" (Institute of National Relations and Political Science, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 1996). Other of dissertations on related topics include: M. V. Barmaka, "Mihratsiini protsesy sered nimets'koho, ches'koho, evreisk'oho naselennia Volyns'koi hubernii (1796-1914)" (Institute of National Relations and Political Science, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 1997); M. P. Kostiuksa, "Nimets'ka kolonizatsiia na Volyni (60-ti roky XIX st. – 1914 r.)" (L'viv State University, 1998); O. H. Sulimenka, "Nimtsi Volyni (kinets' XVIII – pochatok XX st.)" (Kiev National University, 2002).

⁸ I. T. Lisevych, *U zatinku dvohlavoho orla (Pol's'ka natsional'na menshina na Naddnyprians'kii Ukraini v dr. pol. XIX – na poch. XX st.)* (Kiev, 1993); I. M. Kulynych, N. V. Kryvets', *Narysy istorii nimets'kykh kolonii v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1995); M. G. Shcherbak, N. O. Shcherbak, *Natsional'na polityka tsaryzmu na Pravoberezhnii Ukraini (druga polovyna XIX – pochatok XX stolittia)* (Kiev, 1997); O. M. Ivashchenko, Iu. M. Polishchuk, *Evrei Volyni: Kinets' XVIII – pochatok XX stolittia* (Zhytomyr, 1998); V. I. Palienko, *Mistsia istorychmoho rozselennia pol's'koi liudnosti v Ukraini v k. XIX – XX st.* (Kiev, 1998); V. I. Naulko, *Khto i vidkoly zhyve v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1998); *Chekhy na Volyni: istoriia i suchasnist'*. *Naukovyi zbirnyk "Velyka Volyn"* 24 (Zhytomyr, 2001).

of different cultures. Bringing historical, cultural, and anthropological approaches to bear on this analysis enables the influence of state institutes to be compared to the influence of interethnic interaction on the region's ethnic development, detailing their conditions and consequences.

Occupied with the study of the processes of migration, and the cultures and daily lifestyles of Volyn's ethnic groups during the period of its inclusion in the Russian Empire, this chapter will focus on the dynamics of ethnic composition of the province and the mutual cultural influence of various ethnic groups. Ukrainian history cannot be limited to the history of the Ukrainians. This is true, in the first place, of regions like Volyn where ethnic groups co-habited compactly over long periods of time. This co-habitation meant that different group's traditions were introduced into the wider interethnic environment, leading to changes in the lifestyle and activities of the local population.

POLONIZATION AND RUSSIFICATION

For a period stretching for over 100 years, Volyn's history is connected with that of the Russian state. As a result of the three partitions of Poland (in 1772, 1793, and 1795), Right Bank Ukraine was included into the Russian Empire at the end of the eighteenth century.⁹ Typical Russian administrative structures were set up throughout this territory, including the establishment of Volyn province in 1795. The region's further development became significantly affected by the population's ethnic structure, traditions of daily life, and the cultural interaction that had formed under the influence of the *Rzeczpospolita* and the Russian

⁹ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, ser. 1 (PSZ-1), XXIII (1789-1796) (St. Petersburg, 1830), Art. 17323. Volyn province (Iziaslavskaia province from April 13, 1793 to May 1, 1795) was established on the basis of the former Volyn voevodship and the northern portion of the Kiev voevodship of the *Rzeczpospolita*. Individual changes in the administrative structure of the province were introduced by the decrees "O novom razdelenii Gosudarstva na gubernii" from December 12, 1796 and "O naznachenii granits gubernii: Novorossiiskoi, Kievskoi, Minskoi, Volynskoi, Podol'skoi, i Malorossiiskoi" from August 29, 1797. Volyn consisted of 12 *uezdy* (counties) in the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1832, the province became part of the Southeastern governor-generalship. The province existed until 1921.

autocracy's nationalities policy, targeted at the region's transformation in Russian manner.

At the time of Volyn's annexation to the Russian Empire, the region's ethno-religious structure displayed certain specifics. The absolute majority of the region's inhabitants were Orthodox *Malorusy* (Ukrainians), accounting for 1,004,4000 persons or 89.3 percent of the total population of the province.¹⁰ This was one of the highest rates among the provinces constituting the Ukrainian lands. As a result of Volyn's long inclusion in the Polish Kingdom, a Catholic (i.e., Polish) group had formed within the local population¹¹ that accounted for at least 100,000 individuals according to the Church statistics at the end of the eighteenth century.¹² Additionally, pro-Polish attitudes were significantly widespread among the inhabitants of the region in general and, together with Uniate (Greek-Catholic) populations, can be estimated as being shared by about 40 percent of the population of the newly formed province.¹³

The region's Jews lived in compact ethno-religious communities in cities and small towns. In overall size, they were the third largest ethnic group in the region, accounting for more than 54,000 persons or about 4 percent of the total population, according to imperfect data.¹⁴

Among the other ethnic groups living with the Ukrainians, the region's Great Russians deserve special attention as representatives of

¹⁰ After the region's unification with the Russian empire, the autocracy conducted a census (*reviziia*) in Volyn province to determine the numbers of each estate (*soslovie*) members. In connection with the need to carry out the head tax, the census paid special attention to the *Malorusy* (Ukrainians), first being counted in common terms. See: S. I. Bruk, V. M. Kabuzan, "Chislennost' i rasselenie ukrainskogo etnosa v XVIII – nachale XX vv.," *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 5 (1981), p. 83; V. Romanov, *Ukrains'kyi etnos: na odvichnykh zemliakh ta za ikhnimyi mezhamy (XVIII – XX stolittia)* (Kiev, 1998, p. 158).

¹¹ In this period the local population thought that every Catholic is Polish. The religious belongings played much more important role in determining ethnic self-consciousness than language and the more west (in other words, the closer to the native Polish lands) the territory was located, the stronger the influence of religion became (V. I. Naulko, *Etnichnyi sklad naseleennia Ukrains'koi RSR*, Kiev, 1965, p. 73).

¹² A. L. Perkovs'kyi, "Etnichna i sotsial'na struktura naseleennia Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy u XVIII st.," *Istoriichni dzherela ta ikh vykorystannia* 4 (Kiev, 1969), pp. 205-208.

¹³ Sh. Askenazi, *Tsarstvo Pol'skoe. 1815-1830* (Moscow, 1915), p. 100. Askenazi was a Polish historian who wrote this book according to the proposal from Oxford University.

¹⁴ *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda* (Moscow, 1914), p. 120.

the titular nation of the state, in which Volyn found itself. Their portion of the population of Right-Bank Ukraine constituted only 0.1 percent of the total population,¹⁵ and they probably made up a similar portion of the population in Volyn province. To a large degree, most of the representatives of the Great Russian ethnoses in the the Southwestern region were Old Believers, originally chased out of the Russian Empire by religious persecution. Given their religious conflict with the official Orthodox Church, the Old Believers most likely formed a kind of opposition to the Russian administration rather than a base of support.

The annexation of the western territories by the “empire forever and ever,” as the Tsarist decree from June 18, 1795 read, meant that the region’s population had “to take an oath of loyalty to the Tsar and to accept Russian citizenship within one month; those owning property that did not wish to do so should sell their property and leave the state within three months time. At the end of this time, any unsold estates will be seized by the state treasury.”¹⁶ First and foremost, the wave of emigration sparked by this decree affected the region’s Polish inhabitants, who made up the vast majority of the Volyn’s landowners. Those who did not wish to make the pledge of loyalty left the province for neighboring European states to the west.

The situation changed with Tsar Paul I’s coming to power in 1796. The Tsar freed around 11,000 Polish prisoners previously sentenced for their participation in the uprising led by T. Kosciusko and returned their estates to them. The further spread of Polish culture in the Southwestern region during Alexander I’s reign created especially beneficial conditions for the Poles to retain their dominant position in all local administrative structures of the Southwestern governor-generalship. In fact, the process of Polonization continued and in some ways even grew more active in Volyn province even after the region had been incorporated into the Russian state.

The parallel functioning of the two official languages, Polish and Russian; Polish predominance in administrative and judicial institutions; and the equation of the rights of the Polish *szlachta* and the Russian nobil-

¹⁵ A. P. Ponomar’ov, *Etnichnist’ ta etnichna istoriia Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1996), p. 141.

¹⁶ V. Perogovskii, *Materialy dlia istorii Volyni* (Zhitomir, 1879), p. 228.

ity¹⁷ became important factors in strengthening Polish influence in the region, despite the fact that the majority of the population was Ukrainian. This Polonization was felt most in the education and religious life. New Polish gymnasiums were opened in the province, among which the Kremenets lyceum became the real center of Polish culture. In this lyceum, let alone county (*uezd*) secondary and parish elementary schools, representatives of the local population were also educated. The number of Catholic churches and chapels¹⁸ in Volyn grew and the clergy made the maximum effort to increase the number of people attending their services. The Catholic orders also became more active.

In this manner, the tendency toward interaction between the local Ukrainian and Polish cultures that had formed as a result of the region's lengthy inclusion in the *Rzeczpospolita* continued into the first decades of the nineteenth century. Officials in the cities and small towns, landowners and *szlachta*, and even part of the Orthodox clergy in the villages spoke Polish. Urban commoners of Ukrainian origin also identified with Polish culture to a significant extent. Following their commercial interests, a portion of the Orthodox population converted to Catholicism and benefited from certain privileges in return.

On the other hand, the cohabitation of Ukrainian and Polish ethnic groups in Volyn, a contact zone bordering purely Polish lands and accompanied by mixed marriages and various interethnic economic and cultural ties, provided a basis for the formation of a special type of *poloniia* (Polish Diaspora) with its own variation of the Polish language and culture. As P. Chubinskii has noted, "the Poles could not unshakably resist various types of influences of the living, organic environment in which they found themselves, represented by the nationality and historic traditions of the local population."¹⁹ Poles in Volyn were

¹⁷ O. Levitskii, *O polozhenii krest'ian lugo-Zapadnogo kraia vo 2-i chetverti XIX st. (Otdel'nyi ottisk iz zhurnala "Kievskaiia starina")* (Kiev, 1906), p. 5.

¹⁸ At the end of the eighteenth century, around 200 functioning churches existed in Right Bank Ukraine, half of which were located on the territory of Volyn province. In only the first two decades of the nineteenth century, another 10 churches were built in the province. See: P. N. Batiushkov, *Volyn'. Istoricheskie sud'by lugo-Zapadnogo kraia* (St. Petersburg, 1888), pp. 262-263.

¹⁹ Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u m. Kyevi (TsDAU), f. 442, op. 53, spr. 353, ark. 46.

in constant contact with the Ukrainian linguistic elements, while the native population partly used Polish as the language of prestigious culture and latest civilization. A result of these interferences was the formation of a special, southern dialect on the basis of the Polish literary language transformed under the notable influence of Ukrainian.²⁰ This dialect became a trait in the first place of the educated *szlachta*, clergy, and urban commoners (*meshchanstvo*) and even developed its own linguistic style used in the writing of literary works, in correspondence, and in administration.

According to linguistic studies of the area's dialects, Polish populations in areas of compact settlement retained their linguistic-ethnic characteristics on top of which a Ukrainian element was added. In rural areas of Right Bank Ukraine—and predominantly in Volyn province and Polesye—a Ukrainian adstratum (i.e., the language of the local natives) spread over the top of a Polish substratum.²¹ The culture of the local Polish population absorbed many characteristics from the material and spiritual life of the *Malorusy*, as witnessed by the cultural and confessional mixing of the population.²² A mixed type of speech became widespread among the inhabitants living in Polish-Ukrainian border area. These areas represented spheres of contact and mutual infiltration of the different cultures and languages as well as non-linguistic factors of historic, ethnographic, and economic interaction. The structure of this local speech united characteristics of each of the contributing languages, demonstrating specific features resulting from the cohabitation of the two languages over a long period of time.

Under the influence of Romanticism, another tendency appeared in the development of cultural and political consciousness of Poles living in the Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A certain "Ukrainofilia" became popular among the Polish elite who espoused the idea of uniting forces with Ukrainian circles.²³ Ukrainian

²⁰ Іу. S. Voitsekhivs'kyi, "Z rodovodu ukrains'koi pol'shchyzny: osoblivosti movy i kul'tury," *Vidrodzhennia* 9 (1993), p. 73.

²¹ M. Saevych, "Etnolinhivistychnyi atlas Prybuzhzhia," *Polissia. Etnikos, tradytsii, kul'tura* (Luts'k, 1997), p. 65.

²² M. Lesiow, *Folklor pogranicza polsko-ukrainskiego literature i chlopska* (Lublin, 1977); A. Adamowski, *Wierzenia i szwyuczaje polsko-ruskiego pogranicza* (Lublin, 1992).

²³ M. Popovych, *Narys istorii i kul'tury Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1998), pp. 332-333.

songs were sung in aristocratic salons. Polish researchers began to be interested in Ukraine's past. A "Ukrainian school" began to take shape in Polish historiography, the representatives of which first and foremost focused on Right Bank Ukraine.²⁴ Typical Ukrainian motifs appeared in the Ukrainian language repertoire of Polish theatrical groups that performed in the Southwestern region, including the cities of Volyn.²⁵

The uprising of 1830-1831 in Poland, which also affected Right Bank Ukraine, changed Russian autocracy's attitude toward all things Polish. A number of measures were undertaken to limit Polish influence on the economic and social life of the region. In addition to specific repressive measures taken against the direct participants of the uprising (deportation to Siberia, resettlement to the Kuban or the Urals, confiscation of property), the Russian government also took steps against the *szlachta* as the most visible and main supporters of Polish patriotism.²⁶ The government increased its involvement in religious issues, closing monasteries, reorganizing Catholic churches into Orthodox churches, issuing government regulations with the request of registering children from mixed marriages as Orthodox, and canceling a number of Catholic holidays.²⁷ Understandably, such measures set off a Polish emigration from the Right Bank Ukraine.

With naming of D. G. Bibikov to the post of governor-general of the Southwestern region in 1837, the official goal of imperial nationalities policy became "to free the Southwestern provinces from Polish

²⁴ W. Marczyński, *Statystyczne, topograficzne i historyczne opisanie gubernii Podolskie*, Vol. 1-3 (Wilno, 1820-1823); *Drevniaia istoriia Volynskoi gubernii, sochinennaia grafom Ioannom Pototskim*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1829); M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem geograficznym, historycznym i statystycznym* (Warsaw, 1844), Vol. 2 and others.

²⁵ M. Zahaikevych, R. Pylypchuk, O. Fedorchuk, O. Kashuba, *Ukrains'ko-pol's'ki mystets'ki vzaemnyy XIX stolittia* (L'viv-Kiev, 1998), p. 26.

²⁶ On October 19, 1831, Nicholas I signed the decree "Ob odnodvortsakh i grazhdanakh v zapadnykh guberniakh" containing the demand that claims to *szlachta* status be verified. Persons lacking the necessary documentation and statements from the nobility councils were transferred to tax-paying estates, such as *odnodvortsy* (smallholders) in the villages and *grazhdane* (citizens) in the cities. About 340,000 landless members of the *szlachta* in Right Bank Ukraine lost their noble status as a result of the implementation of the law between 1831 and 1853 by special committees of revision (Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volynskoi oblasti (DAVO), f. 361, op. 1, spr. 127, ark. 149-150).

²⁷ O. P. Kryzhaniv's'kyi, S. M. Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini. U 3-kh knyzhakh*. Kn. 3 (Kinets' XVI—seredyna XIX st.) (Kiev, 1994), pp. 224-225.

oppression.”²⁸ Important measures taken in this direction included the cancellation of the Lithuanian Statutes as the region’s legal codex, the carrying out of inventory reforms, the regulation of relations between estate owners and peasants, the creation of conditions conducive to the spread of Russian education and culture, the liquidation of the Greek Catholic church, and the strengthening of the position of the Orthodox church.

A large amount of attention was given to linguistic issues. In 1839, the governor-general sent a directive to the head of the province that read, “I am receiving reports through unofficial channels that many local officials of the urban and village police and other officials of Russian origin speak Polish not only with Poles, but also amongst themselves. I consider this Russian habit of speaking Polish to be incorrect, especially since it demonstrates active Polish influence, ... I consider it my duty to ask you to try to get them to understand, ... that they can only be of useful service here if they express their souls, hearts, tongues, and manner of thinking in pure Russian when carrying out their duties.”²⁹

A new stage in the Russian government’s anti-Polish policies was introduced in Volyn, as well as throughout the entire governor-generalship, in 1863. Following the Polish uprising that coincided with the abolition of serfdom and the destruction of privileged landownership by the noble estates, the Tsarist government developed special legislation directed at, on the one hand, reducing the Polish influence and, on the other hand, strengthening the Russian elements in the western provinces. Measures undertaken in this regard affected all vital spheres of Polish activities, including, in the first case, their landownership.

A lead article in the newspaper, *Kievljanin*, expressed the official organs’ understanding of the situation created in the formulation of these changes. “In the Southwest Region, the estate of landowners or landlords is made up exclusively of Poles, speaks Polish, and follows the Catholic faith, while the peasants are all Russian and Orthodox. All clashes between these estates have two sides — one carries a class element, the other a national element. Disputes between landowners and peasants

²⁸ K. Matsuzato, “Pol’skii factor v Pravoberezhnoi Ukraine s XIX po nachalo XX veka,” *Ab Imperio* 1 (2000), p. 97.

²⁹ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 789a, spr. 330, ark. 1.

are simultaneously lawsuits between Russians and Poles; it is impossible to separate these two factors from each other. Therefore, there is a need to establish a Russian landowning class that will be strong enough to counter the Polish landowning class..."³⁰

The government sequestered and confiscated the estates of those who participated in the turmoil in the provinces bordering the Polish Kingdom³¹ and banned managers of the provincial Revenue Department (*kazennaia palata*) to rent land to those of Polish origin. Consequently, these lands were granted to "Orthodox clergy, Old Believers, and loyal local peasants."³² New legislation from March 5 and December 10, 1864, significantly strengthened the privileges granted to persons of Russian origin in obtaining state and private land.³³

Polish education completely lost its official status. All newly created secret Polish educational institutions were subject to liquidation and persons who tried to open such schools were brought before the courts.³⁴ At the same time, efforts were made to limit the influence of the Catholic Church. After the Polish uprising, provincial governors in the Southwestern region received secret instructions from the imperial Ministry of Internal Affairs that forbid the use of Polish in state institutions.³⁵ Teaching in Polish was banned even in private schools.

³⁰ *Kievlianin*, 1865, No. 56.

³¹ According to the official data of the chancellery of the Kiev governor-general, during the decade after the uprising 130,050 desiatinas of estate, peasant, and church land together with pasture, woods, and water reservoirs were confiscated. During that time, 144 estates were confiscated, of which 50 were located in Kiev province, 16 in Podolia province, and 78 in Volyn province. The true number of confiscated properties was probably much larger, as G. I. Marakhov states, "when formatting the accounts, attention was usually paid to the owners name and not to the details of his estates. Some estate owners had a number of estates confiscated." G. I. Marakhov, *Pol'skoe vosstanie 1863 goda na Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainie* (Kiev, 1967), pp. 239-240; DAVO, f. 361, op. 1, spr. 1871, ark. 17.

³² S. G. Gromachevskii, *Ogranichitel'nye zakony po zemlevladieniiu v Zapadnom krae, s istoricheskim obzorom ikh, zakonodatel'nymi motivami i raz'iasnieniiami* (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. 2.

³³ *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, dopolnennyyi po prodolzheniiam 1906, 1908 i 1910 gg. i pozdneishimi uzakoneniiami 1911 i 1912 godov*, kniga 2, tom V-IX (St. Petersburg, 1913), tom IX, p. 780.

³⁴ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 851, spr. 36, ark. 1-5.

³⁵ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 851, spr. 36, ark. 47.

At the same time, the government did not hinder Polish peasants from settling in Volyn's villages. Thus, Russian statistics in the second half of the nineteenth century record the mass resettlement of Catholic peasants from the "Wisła region (*Privislinskii kraï*)," the natives of which accounted for 89,943 persons or 44.7 percent of inhabitants not born in Volyn. The almost equal number of male and female peasant immigrants bears witness to the fact that these immigrants resettled by the family.³⁶ Many of these Polish immigrants were subjects of foreign, neighboring countries, including the Polish Kingdom. Such a wave of migration was caused, first and foremost, by economic factors and continued through the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, Poles were cited as the largest group of the 5,211 foreign national migrants in Lutsk county in 1903. At the time of World War I, 269 Polish families are recorded as living as foreign immigrants in Vladimir-Volyn county. Similar figures on the number of such migrants could be cited for almost any county of Volyn province. The majority of them had entered the province relatively recently, a fact reflected by notes made in government documents: in Kovel' county "619 are registered as living in communities (*gminas*) of Wisła region"; "peasants, registered as residents of the Polish Kingdom, do not have passports," and the like.³⁷

The governor of Volyn explained numerous times in the local press that the ban on Poles obtaining land was limited exclusively to the previous landowning class and did not hold for Catholic peasants.³⁸ In this connection, it is difficult not to agree with A. Kappler's point of view that Russification and Orthodoxy in the region were spread not so much through cultural or religious considerations as through estate hierarchy and considerations of political loyalty.³⁹

Tsarist anti-Polish measures and the simultaneous policy of "strengthening Russian elements in the Southwestern region" did bring certain results in terms of their influence on the native popula-

³⁶ *Pervoia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.*, VIII (Volynskaia guberniia) (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. XVII.

³⁷ Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti, f. 70, op. 1, spr. 863, ark. 21; spr. 855, ark. 1-8; spr. 861, ark. 12, and others.

³⁸ *Volyn'*, 1900, No. 195.

³⁹ A. Kappeler, "Mazepyntsi, malorosy, khokhly: ukrainci v etnichnii ierarkhii Rosiis'koi imperii," *Kyivs'ka starovyna* 5 (2001), p. 13.

tion. Namely, the political and socio-cultural orientation of the local Ukrainian elite⁴⁰ and, in part, ordinary Ukrainians changed. One piece of evidence for this change is the first census data collected based on an inhabitant's mother tongue (1897). In Volyn province, 104,889 persons – equal to 3.5 percent of the region's total population – listed Russian as their mother tongue.

This more than 30-fold increase in the number of Russian speakers living in the province over the course of 100 years cannot be explained by migration alone. The domestic migration to Volyn from the empire's Great Russian provinces, such as Kazan, Orlov, Samara, Ufa, and other provinces, did not happen on a significant scale (Russian migrants were largely made up of government officials, workers, teachers, and the clergy).⁴¹ Given the Polish uprisings, the Russian nobility did not rush to move to such a "restless" region, despite the privileges that the government offered them. Thus, the local, native population made up a significant portion of those answering that Russian was their mother tongue. This consisted mostly of those living in cities and small towns.⁴² Compared to other ethnic groups, the level of literacy in Volyn was highest among those speaking Russian at 36.89 percent.⁴³

But more than language, a shared Orthodox faith attracted the native inhabitants of Volyn towards Russia, at the same time providing a means for preserving their religious self-identification. Even after the turn of the century, during World War I, Galician Ukrainians who entered Volyn as soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army confirmed the lack of a full-fledged ethnic self-consciousness and accordingly of the consolidation of this consciousness by the use of the endoethnonym "Ukrainian" among the local population of the province. To the question, "Who are you?" the Austro-Hungarian soldiers got the answers, "We are Christians, Orthodox Christians, people of the Rus's faith [*rus'kaia vera*],

⁴⁰ V. Shandra, *Kyivs'ke heneral-hubernatorstvo (1832-1914): Istoriiia stvorennia ta diial'nosti, arkhivnyi kompleks i ioho informatywnyi potentsial* (Kiev, 1999), p. 125.

⁴¹ *Peroia vsehshchaia perepis'*, pp. XVII, 40-43.

⁴² A. Kappeler described the identification of a portion of those Malorusy, who partially Russified and were able to climb the social ladder as situational, in as much as these changes were caused by the general situation in the empire. The Malorusy were recognized as belonging to the ethnic Russian elite, which strengthened the attraction of assimilation.

⁴³ *Peroia vsehshchaia perepis'*, p. XIV.

muzhiks, *khlopy* [Polish for 'muzhiks' in Russian], or simple people" (the order of listing reflects the relative frequency of each response).⁴⁴

At the same time, anti-Polish measures activated and politicized the self-identification of the Poles in the empire's Western provinces. In this regard, the Kiev, Podolia, and Volyn governor-general's report to Nicholas II made in 1901 read, "Currently, all administrative positions are occupied exclusively by people of Russian heritage...They [Polish nobles] jealously stick to their Polish customs and language in their home and business life, stubbornly support them in social life wherever possible, and, with meticulous care, try to remind others of their Polish nationality even in trifling details. This is especially true on a few large estates and at Polish sugar factories, where *pany* [gentlemen] surrounded by crowds of the *szlachta* and minor landowners...create little corners of Poland."⁴⁵

Although such "corners" of Polish life remained in the region, the Poles had, in fact, lost their influence over the local population once and for all. Russification which, above all, should be understood as de-Polonization, replaced the Polonization that had continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century both in everyday as well as governmental spheres of life.

CZECK AND FOREIGN COLONIZATION: POLITICAL AND ETHNIC ASPECTS

The period of Volyn's inclusion in the Russian Empire corresponded with a period of intensive foreign colonization. Government support for the processes of immigration was significantly facilitated by the government's anti-Polish policies as immigration was seen as a key factor in the weakening of the position of the Polish *szlachta*.

This wave of immigration was set off by the economic transformations of the second half of the nineteenth century. The majority of big

⁴⁴ O. M. Kalishchuk, "Riven' natsional' noi svidomosti na Volyni ta Halychyni na pochatku XX st.," *Naukovyi visnyk VDU. Istorychni nauky* 10 (2001), p. 18.

⁴⁵ *Vsepoddanneishii otchet Kievskogo, Podol'skogo i Volynskogo general-gubernatora* (Kiev, 1901), pp. 2-3.

estate owners and other landowners faced acute economic crisis following the agrarian reforms of 1861. In conditions of an intense increase in the need for labor, many were interested in selling their land or renting out portions of their property. Lands confiscated from participants in the Polish uprisings were also subject to sale. Government limits on who could obtain land in the Southwestern region and the local peasant population's lack of means to purchase property led to low land prices.⁴⁶

Originally begun as a private initiative, colonization very quickly gained the support of the Russian government, embodied in a number of privileges provided to the migrants.⁴⁷ The Tsarist government placed special hope in the ability of Czech colonists to weaken the position of Poles and the Catholic Church.

Volyn's proximity to Austria-Hungary, its position on Russia's border, and its favorable natural and climatic conditions—practically the same as in Germany, Poland, or Bohemia—are additional factors that contributed to the intensity of foreign migration to the region. The region's geographic location was an important argument for immigrants to choose Volyn province.

The number of foreign immigrants grew each year. Official analysis of the settlement of foreign colonists in Russia's western borderlands, in Kiev, Podolia, and Volyn provinces, showed that they already amounted to 93,108 persons by 1882. As owners and renters of farm land, they

⁴⁶ In Volyn, one desiatina of the best land close to a city or sugar factory, without any need to give initial manure, was valued at 80 rubles, which was 10 times cheaper than in Austro-Hungary. On average, the price of a desiatina of land in Volyn province fluctuated between 11 and 16 rubles in the 1870s. Food, clothing, and other consumer products were also significantly less expensive.

⁴⁷ "Pravila dlia naima zemlevladel'tsam inostrannykh rabochikh i vodvorenii sikh inostrantsev v Rossii," from December 18, 1861, freed immigrants and their sons who immigrated to the empire with their parents from military service (*Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, dopolnennymi po prodolzheniiam 1906, 1908, 1909 i 1910 gg. i pozdneishimi uzakoneniiami 1911 i 1912 gg.*, kniga 3, tom X-XIII (St. Petersburg, 1913), tom XI, pp. 1541-1544; tom XII, pp. 504-509.) Colonists arriving between 1862 and 1865 were freed from paying state taxes and monetary duties, as well as labor levies for a period of ten years. Colonists who arrived later were freed from such obligations for five years from the time of the recording of their chosen status and from taxes at the time of their purchase of property in the Western provinces. According to the order of the Committee of Ministers "O vodvorenii chekhov na Volyni," approved by Tsar Alexander II in June 1870, these regulations also applied to Volyn's Czechs after they accepted the Russian citizenship.

controlled 552,707 desiatinas of land. Of this amount, 399,953 desiatinas or 72.4 percent of the land under the control of foreign colonists was located in Volyn province. More than 87,731 colonists or 94.2 percent of all of the foreign colonists settled in the jurisdiction of the Southwestern governor-generalship lived in the Volyn province. The number of foreign settlers in Volyn grew by approximately 128 percent between 1882 and 1890, consisting of 200,924 persons.⁴⁸

As a result of immigration, large communities of German and Czech colonists formed in Volyn. If 0.3 percent of the province's inhabitants listed their mother tongue as German in 1859, then this figure had grown to 4.3 percent by 1889 and to 5.73 percent by 1897, constituting 171,331 persons. The first all-Russia census (1897) also recorded 27,706 whose mother tongue was Czech.⁴⁹ According to official statistics based on linguistic criteria, 195,197 Germans and 27,301 Czechs lived in the province at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵⁰ Kiev and Podolia provinces had significantly fewer foreign colonists than did Volyn.

The peasants and craftsmen who emigrated from Austria, the Wisła region, and eastern Prussia primarily settled in separate German and Czech colonies. A portion of the colonists also settled among the local population, where they lived in separate parts of the village or on separate streets.

Settling in territories long since occupied by a local, Ukrainian population, the colonists necessarily established a variety of contacts with the local population even when living in separate colonies. Arrival in a new and different interethnic environment affected the activities and behaviors of the immigrants in certain ways, while foreign colonization also introduced new characteristics to the culture of the local inhabitants. Enjoying a more effective culture of agricultural labor, employing better agronomic techniques, and taking advantage of newer technological advancements, the Czech and German peasants provided a positive example for the rationalization of private farming and served as the local population's ideal for related activities.

⁴⁸ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 618, spr. 261, ark. 112.

⁴⁹ *Peroia vseeobshchaia perepis'*, p. IX.

⁵⁰ *Pamiatnaia knizhka Volynskoi gubernii na 1914 god* (Zhitomir, 1913), p. 71.

The colonists contributed to the spread of intertillage crops (potato, beet, etc.), the use of modern implements, and natural fertilizers among the local peasantry. The Czechs became pioneers in Volyn in the large-scale cultivation of hops. They brought with them seedlings of the best sorts of hops, which is fit for industrial production, and painstakingly acclimated their strands to Volyn's natural and climatic conditions. The growing of hops spread very quickly to every county in the region, being grown by Germans and Poles as well as the local peasants.⁵¹ At the end of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, Volyn became the main hops-producing region of Russia, with the amount of hops produced there increasing by three times in 20-25 years. Total production in the province eventually reached 200,000 *poods* of hops per year, making up the lion's share of the empire's total of 265,000 *poods*.⁵²

The large-scale cultivation of fruit-bearing trees, mostly apple, pear, and cherry trees, also began to spread throughout Volyn.⁵³ Thanks to the efforts of Czech colonists, special tree nurseries were established for the growing of seedlings that also found a strong demand among local peasantry.

Over decades of living in the province, the colonists, especially the Czechs, also gained experience with the religious life of the native population. Czech settlers took an interest in getting acquainted with local traditions, evidently due in large part to their shared Slavic roots. The Czechs respected the culture and traditions of their new neighbors and often visited local Orthodox churches. Reporting to the governor-general in this regard, A. Voronin, a government official with special responsibilities, noted that almost all Czechs "enjoy friendly relations with the local peasants, marry into their families, start joint schools, and some have even already converted to Orthodoxy."⁵⁴

⁵¹ A. I. Yaroshevich, *Ocherki ekonomicheskoi zhizni Yugo-Zapadnogo kraia* (Kiev, 1908), p. 129.

⁵² *Obzor Volynskoi gubernii za 1913 god* (Zhitomir, 1914), p. 25.

⁵³ As some Germans from the colony "Annet" in Zhitomir county remembered, Count Biberdorf brought graft trees to their colony underwater from Germany already in 1835, from which they spread in time throughout all of Volyn.

⁵⁴ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 535, spr. 322, ark. 3.

The most notable consequence of the adaptation of Czech settlers to conditions in the region was the mass conversion of colonists to Orthodoxy and bilingualism. Limits on the economic activities of non-Orthodox foreigners—a policy in keeping with the empire's nationalities policies—was one factor influencing Czech settlers' behavior. Most Czechs converted to Orthodoxy during the 1880s and 1890s. By the time of the first general census in 1897, 66.22 percent of all Czechs in Volyn province, primarily previously Catholics, declared themselves to be Orthodox.⁵⁵

Maintaining their mother tongue and national traditions, especially in farming, organization of everyday life, and dealings with their fellow countrymen, many Czechs also sought to learn the official language of the empire. Given the predominance of the Russian system of education and the relative significance that most Czechs placed on education (59.03 percent of them were literate), most of the Czechs living in Volyn completed courses of Russian. Among literate Czech colonists, 35.41 percent wrote and read Russian, and 23.62 percent were also literate in another language.⁵⁶ Going to schools, visiting renditions of plays by Ukrainian and Russian authors, and reading Russian newspaper (such as *Vesti*) helped Czechs to learn Russian.⁵⁷ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the older generation of Czechs were already publicly worrying that the "new generation, having studied at Russian schools, does not even now how to sign their names in Czech."⁵⁸ In everyday life, Czech settlers spoke Ukrainian as well as Czech. Cases of mutual assistance, joint celebration of Orthodox holidays, mixed marriages, and the invitation of Czech musicians to Ukrainian weddings and holidays were common in villages where Czechs and Ukrainians lived together.

In turn, the musical culture of the Czech colonists spread throughout the region thanks to the activities of numerous Czech amateur orchestras and choirs. Traveling musicians became a norm in the region, most of them originating in the northern districts. Only five or six men remained in Polesye during the winter. The rest, after the season's work

⁵⁵ *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis'*, p. XI.

⁵⁶ *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis'*, p. XV.

⁵⁷ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 697, spr. 265, ark. 3.

⁵⁸ *Rusky Cech*, 15 May 1907.

in the fields was completed, traveled to the nearest cities or large villages to make money as musicians.⁵⁹

Cooperation in economic activities as well as in cultural and everyday life resulted from living in Volyn's interethnic environment and created a fertile ground for the development of Volyn's Czech population as a special ethno-religious group. As the well-known Czech ethnographer, E. Rychlik, noted, "Tempered by difficult conditions in their homeland, the Czechs were not passive in their feelings towards their new homeland. They brought a number of changes and new characteristics to their new environment and became one of the constituent elements in the life of Ukrainians that could not be overlooked. Despite the peculiarity of their national culture, the Czechs in Ukraine were influenced by their new surroundings. Comparing a Czech from Bohemia with a Ukrainian Czech, we see in the latter a completely different, new person, a completely different ethnographic type. The mutual influence that Czechs and Ukrainians had on each other expressed itself first and foremost in agricultural practices and economic relations. Additionally, the careful observer also easily notices that this influence reaches much further, that it also extends to entire areas of cultural life, all aspects of material and spiritual lifestyle, and that it, finally, led to certain changes in peculiarities of a national character."⁶⁰

Unlike the Czechs, Volyn's German settlers had a much more strongly developed national identity. They always presented their own as being more developed than the other's. Being exclusive and aloof, they always tried to protect and support their fellow countrymen regardless of circumstances. The superintendent of the Kiev educational district characterized them in the following manner: "The Germans of Volyn represent a body of the population isolated from the surrounding *Malorus* population, huddling together in colonies and constituting an inseparable whole in terms of faith, language, social structures, traditions, sympathies and antipathies. All together this undoubtedly

⁵⁹ J. Vaculik, *Dejiny volynskych Cechu 1 (1868 – 1914)* (Prague, 1997), pp. 59, 177.

⁶⁰ E. A. Rychlik, "Doslidy nad ches'kymy koloniiamy v Ukraini," *Zapysky etnografichnoho tovarystva 1* (Kiev, 1925), p. 34.

separates these newcomers into a special nationality with a strong spirit and powerful character.”⁶¹

The lifestyle and economic activities had an obvious defensive character, shielding it from local national, religious, and cultural influences. Although the Ukrainian population did not try to assimilate Germans, the government actively sought to realize measures to “Russianize” the colonists. The Germans did everything possible to oppose these attempts.⁶²

In a report dating from 1887, the governor of Volyn noted that German colonists maintained contacts mostly with Jews and had almost no relations with the local peasantry, whom they treated with disdain. He could not cite a single example in which a German colonist married a local peasant woman or a German woman married a peasant man.⁶³

Despite the lack of close contacts between the Germans and the local population, it would be wrong to deny the existence of a certain mutual influence. Over the course of a few generations, the colonists’ vocabulary came to include a significant number of words borrowed from Ukrainian, Russian, or Polish. The German researchers A. Müller and A. Jahns noted the domination of Polish and Ukrainian words among the loan words in Volynian German as well as German use of words from Russian and Yiddish that were widely used by Ukrainians.⁶⁴ These loan words stem from economic life, the natural environment, and everyday life, while religious

⁶¹ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 614, spr. 238, ark. 11.

⁶² Disturbed by the strengthening of the German colonization of the southwestern provinces, the Tsarist government adopted policies in the 1880s to actively limit new settlement. One measure was to subordinate all foreign schools on the territory of Kiev, Podolia, and Volyn provinces to the Ministry of Education, which came to directly inspect all national educational institutions. The educational programs at all national schools were reformed to fit Russian models and the mandatory study of Russian language was introduced in German schools. However, the system of education at Germans schools that was typical for a traditional confessional school in Germany could only be changed very slowly. The number of parents willing to send their children to Russian language schools decreased significantly and the number of teachers who spoke Russian was insufficient (TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 693, spr. 292, ark. 7). The Germans often simply did not obey instructions to implement the new system of education (TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 690, spr. 252, ark. 1–9).

⁶³ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 617, spr. 114, ark. 1.

⁶⁴ A. Jahns, “Aus dem Wortschatz der Wolhyniendeutschen,” *Wolhynische Hefte*, 3. Folge, Historischer Verein Wolhynien (Schwabach/Wisentheid, 1984), p. 156; A. Mueller, “Mutterlaut...oder der Gebrauch fremder Woerter in Wolhynien,” *Wolhynische Hefte*, 10. Folge (Schwabach/Wisentheid, 1996), p. 32.

loan words did not exist at all. Church and school supported the maintenance of German traditions, faith, and culture in the region.

A portion of the German population attended Russian schools where they had the opportunity to learn Russian. On average, though, the Germans' knowledge of Russian remained low. Only 11.17 percent of all German colonists in Volyn province described themselves as literate in Russian in 1897. This figure was higher in cities, reaching 62 percent. The Germans had more extensive and active contact with the surrounding population in urban areas, which created an objective need to know Russian for everyday use. In villages, where this was not as necessary, the figure was only 10.9 percent.⁶⁵

The appearance of a free labor market led to the extended use of local labor in German colonies, which created more fertile ground for the spread of different Christian beliefs, many of which have remained to the present day. There were already 5,981 Baptists in the province by the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Stundism also appeared as German settlement spread over the large territory of Volyn province. The government persecuted Stundism's followers and its attempts to limit the spread of the sect among the local population had negative consequences on German colonization.⁶⁷

The anti-German direction of Russian government policies at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries led German colonists to emigrate in search of better economic conditions in Siberia and the Baltics, especially in Courland, as well as in America, Brazil, and Argentina.

JEWES IN VOLYN'S SMALL TOWNS: CULTURAL DETACHMENT OR INTERACTION?

Cultural interaction also left its mark on Volyn's cities and towns (*mestechka*). The government decree recognizing the region's inclusion

⁶⁵ *Pervaiia vseobshchaia perepis'*, pp. 115, 119.

⁶⁶ *Pamiatnaia knizhka Volynskoi gubernii na 1895 god* (Zhitomir, 1895), p. 13.

⁶⁷ TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 618, spr. 58, ark. 5-6.

in the Pale of Settlement⁶⁸ only served to strengthen the existing situation, in which a significant portion of the population consisted of Jews. In statistical terms, already in the mid-nineteenth century Volyn, along with Vilna and Kaunus/Kovno provinces, superseded other territories in the Pale of Settlement in terms of the number of Jews living on its territory.⁶⁹ The second largest ethno-religious group after *Malorusy*, Jews constituted 13.21 percent of the province's total population, amounting to 548,176 persons by 1913.⁷⁰ The more than ten-fold increase in the province's Jewish population was due primarily to natural growth⁷¹ and only to a limited degree to internal migration resulting from legislative regulation that limited resettlement of Jews within the Pale of Settlement while maintaining the ban on their settlement outside of the Pale. This led to the artificial concentration of the Jewish population in the cities and towns of the empire's western provinces, particularly in Volyn. Jews accounted for more than half of the province's urban population (50.77 percent), while their share of the population in towns was even higher, reaching 80-90 percent.⁷²

In towns that played a role as centers of religious, cultural, and national isolation, a traditional lifestyle formed that provided its own peculiar structure to the region's Jewish communities. This determined the layout and architecture of these settlements. Both on market squares in towns as well as in villages, Jewish involvement in trade, crafts, the renting of estate properties, and cottage industries established active contacts between the Jewish and local population. This socio-economic interaction led to the introduction of a number of Yiddish loan words into spoken Ukrainian, while Yiddish, in turn, borrowed a number of words from Polish and Ukrainian due to the partial bilingualism the area's Jews. The deliberate actions of the Russian government to spread the use of Russian among the Jews through the establishment of state

⁶⁸ *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii v piati knigakh*, ed. I. D. Mordukhai-Boltovskogo (St. Petersburg, 1914), *Kniga 5*, tom XIV, p. 38.

⁶⁹ *Volynskie gubernskie vedomosti*, 1866, No. 48.

⁷⁰ *Obzor Volynskoi gubernii za 1913 god* (1914), p. 25.

⁷¹ V. M. Kabuzan, V. I. Naulko, "Evrei na Ukraini, v SRSR i sviti: chisel'nist' i rozmishchenia," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 6 (1991), p. 57.

⁷² *Evreiskaia entsiklopediia. Svod znaniu o evreistve i ego kul'ture v proshlom i nastoiashchem* 5 (St. Petersburg, 1912), p. 737.

schools did not have the desired results. With an overall literacy rate of 32.36 percent, only a little more than half of the literate Jews demonstrated any knowledge of Russian (17.36 percent), while 15.27 percent knew other languages.⁷³

The spheres of Jewish economic activity, which mostly determined the nature of their interaction with the local population and the development of anti-Semitism that became part of official policy in the Russian Empire, led to the development of negative Jewish stereotypes among many of the inhabitants of Volyn. Legislation that limited their freedom and pogroms set off a wave of emigration among the Jews in the beginning of the twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

Summing up, it can be concluded that Volyn continued to be a contact zone among different nations during its development within the Russian Empire. This left its own peculiar mark on the region. The region's complex, multi-layered ethno-cultural development to a significant degree grew out of migration movements tied to the province's frontier location. If in the first half of the nineteenth century such movements were caused primarily by political events, then the further economic transformation of the empire only strengthened immigration, which influenced the ethnic structure of the province's population.

A specific social, ethnic, and confessional structure, along with peculiar linguistic differentiations, formed in the province as a result of migration as well as political, administrative, cultural, and religious factors. On the eve of World War I, the population of Volyn, according to mother tongue, was composed of 69.7 percent *Malorusy*, 14.2 percent Jews, 6.2 percent Poles, 5.1 percent Germans, 3.6 percent Great Russians, and 0.7 percent Czechs. The province's urban population represented the greatest amount of diversity, with 50.8 percent of the urban population being Jewish, 19.7 percent Great Russian and another 19.7 percent *Malorus*, 7.6 percent Polish, and 0.9 percent German.⁷⁴

⁷³ *Peroia v seobshchaia perepis'*, p. XIV.

⁷⁴ *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik Rossii 1915 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1916), pp. 68-69.

Throughout the entire period of its rule, the Tsarist government sought in the first place to minimize the Polish influence in the region stemming from Volyn's past as a part of the *Rzeczpospolita*. The realization of these policies set off Polish uprisings and the promotion of Polish nationalism that viewed Volyn as integral Polish territory. The government's efforts focused mostly on limiting the economic influence of Polish landowners who had previously dominated the province, banning the Greek Catholic church as an institution facilitating the spread of pro-Polish attitudes among the local population, supporting the colonization of foreign peasants in the region, and Russifying (i.e., de-Polonizing) the population, above all, in the sphere of education. Undoubtedly, the more than 100 years of Russian rule of Volyn was more than enough time to achieve the goals that the Russian government had set for itself. If it was only possible to partially change the relationship between Polish and Russian landowners,⁷⁵ then the Russian government achieved significant results in spreading and strengthening the state's ideology among the masses of Ukrainians with the help of the Orthodox Church, which remained as a pivot of the population's spiritual life. At the same time, the native population did not remain the passive object of assimilation into Polish or Russian culture; the living local environment had no less influence on the dominant ethnic groups.

The complex interaction between nationalities living together in the contact zone of Volyn had a large influence on the main determinants of ethnicity – self-identification, language, and traditions of everyday life. In the period under consideration in this chapter, the absolute majority of Ukrainian and Polish peasants still considered religion as the main element of their identity. The local population – with its close ties to their villages, neighbors, native types of speech, folklore, and local traditions – recognized first and foremost its ties to the Orthodox or Catholic Church that allowed them to a certain degree to be united into confessional groups. Additionally, lengthy exposure to the specificities of the contact zone influenced the formation of local peculiarities of speech that included non-native elements: ethnic self-identification and

⁷⁵ Despite the more than four-fold growth in the number of Russian landowners (1,479 persons) by the end of the nineteenth century, they controlled 663,369 desiatinas of land in Volyn while 5,727 landowners of Polish heritage still controlled 1,889,883 desiatinas of land (TsDIAU, f. 442, op. 53, spr. 353, ark. 82).

mother tongue were not always or everywhere the same. Many Poles spoke Ukrainian⁷⁶ and, under the influence of the empire's nationalities policy and school education, a portion of the *Malorus* population became Russian speakers.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the region's multi-ethnic nature created a broad basis for "us" and "them" type conflicts. In the insightful comment of S. V. Sokolovskii, "the spider web of homogeneity and identities is made from the thread of diversity."⁷⁷ This served as an important factor accompanying the formation of a national self-consciousness among the *Malorusy* that had been characterized by the domination of religious self-identification.

It is also necessary to underline the importance of migration for the development of cultural ties and traditions of interethnic interaction in Volyn that left their marks on the everyday life of all national groups living in the region. Volyn's example allows different types of interethnic ties between the native population and different ethnic groups to be observed, such as cultural contacts fostered by commerce and trade, and economic activities (with Germans and Jews), as well as deeper mutually integrating ties (with Poles and Czechs). Finally, it is also of vital importance to understand that the influence between the region's different ethnic groups was mutual and not one-sided.

⁷⁶ V. I. Naulko, *Etnichnyi sklad naseleennia Ukraini'skoi RSR (statystyko-kartohrafichne doslidzhennia)* (Kiev, 1965), p. 73.

⁷⁷ S. V. Sokolovskii, *Obrazy Drugikh v rossiiskoi nauke, politike, prave* (Moscow, 2001), p. 5.