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THE NOVEMBER ACTION AT TOVMACHCHYNA IN CONTEMPORARY MEMOIRS

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У статті на підставі спогадів окремих сучасників розглянуто передумови, підготовку та перейняття українцями влади на Товмаччині наприкінці жовтня – на початку листопада 1918 р. Серед них спомини державних, громадсько-політичних і військових діячів: Івана Макуха, Володимира Клодницького, Осипа Клодницького, Павла Волосенка, Михайла Чемного. Задля об’єктивності у висвітленні проблеми дослідження, в статті використані мемуари очевидця тих подій Домініка Хіровського – представника польської національності. Використані в публікації спогади побачили світ здебільшого за межами нашої держави – в діаспорі.

Найбільші за об’ємом спогади про події Листопадового чину на Товмаччині залишив колишній посол до Галицького крайового сейму, адвокат Іван Макух (1872–1946), який був призначений повітовим комісаром, а згодом – міністром внутрішніх справ уряду ЗУНР. Він, у своїх мемуарах під назвою “На народній службі” (1958 р.), описав березневе віче 1918 р. в м. Товмач з нагоди проголошення Української Народної Республіки та підписання Брест-Литовського мирного договору. Сам Листопадовий чин автор назвав успішним переворотом.

Відомості стосовно розвитку першолистопадкових подій в Товмацькому повіті описав також Осип Клодницький у своїх спогадах “Друга сторона медалі” (1964 р.) та у статті “Товмач за українських часів” (1975 р.). Автор стверджував, що приготування і перебрання влади було справою двох військових старшин Володимира Клодницького й Андрія Яремчука.

Про детальний перебіг подій з 31 жовтня на 1 листопада 1918 р. отримуємо зі спогадів безпосереднього учасника Листопадового чину на Товмаччині Володимира Клодницького (1891–1973). Листопадовий чин у м. Тисмениця висвітлені у спогадах Павла Волосенка “Тисмениця” (1958 р.), Михайла Чемного “Потоптані мрії” (1969 р.) та Домініка Хіровського “Історія міста Тисмениця” (1938 р.).

За винятком Д. Хіровського всі автори мемуарів наголошували на безкровному перебранні українцями влади на теренах краю та толерантне ставлення до неукраїнського населення.

Ключові слова: *Західно-Українська Народна Республіка, Листопадовий чин, Товмаччина, сучасник, спогади.*

The Date of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic of 1918–1919s and the heroic struggle for the Ukrainian state entity at the Western Ukrainian land is decisive by quite a number of memories nowadays, left by contemporaries and frequent participants of those events. It must be noted that much memoirs often are subjective concerning illustrating or evaluating of those events, therefore, cannot be in trusted completely. However, these remembrances are an important historical source for the national-democratic revolution of the 1918-year period. In proposed article the events on the eve and the first days, associated with the Tovmach county power reelections at the end of October – early November, 1918, are reflected through contemporaries’ and participants’ memoirs prism. The source of this publication is based on remembrances of the famous figures – natives, residents and the personalities, whose activities were related to Tovmachchyna, such as statesman of the WUPR epoch Ivan Makukh¹,

¹ Макух І. На народній службі. Детройт : Видання Української вільної громади в Америці, 1958. 628 с.

county military commander Volodymyr Klodnytskyi², public-political, cultural and educational figures, such as Osyp Klodnytskyi³, Pavlo Volosenko⁴, Mykhailo Chemnyi⁵. The head of the local voluntary fire brigade, a Pole Dominik Khirovskyi⁶ left brief notes about the November, 1918 events in Tysmenytsia town as well. By and large, the remembrances of representatives of those times give us a good opportunity to elucidate preconditions and the first days of the November Action at Tovmachchyna, which led to the formation and affirmation of the Ukrainian authorities at the lands of the young state.

Every nation appeals to its own historical experience in critical points of its development while facing any fateful decisions. Ukrainians of the Eastern Halycyna (*Galicia*), Bukovyna (*Bukovina*) and the Transcarpathian Ukraine (*Zakarpattia*) were not exception in this case. Ukrainian statehood, enslaved for almost six centuries, revived in the year of 1918 at the Western-Ukrainian lands and realized itself into the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR). Had existed for only eight months, the WUPR played its though brief, but sufficiently significant role in the incipience of Ukrainian statehood and would built in future the country, which we have opportunity to live in nowadays. The residents of the Tovmach county also did not stand aside the incipience of the Ukrainian statehood.

Just about the biggest number of memories concerning the events of the November Action at Tovmachchyna the former Ambassador to the Halytskyi (Galician) Regional Sejm (Parliament) and a lawyer Ivan Makukh (1872–1946) left, who was appointed to the office of the county commissar and later – the Minister of Internal Affairs of the WUPR Government after affirmation of the authorities by Ukrainians. In his memoirs, named “In the people's service”, and issued in Detroit (the USA) after his decease in 1958, he mentioned that in February and March, 1918 at all Eastern Halychyna (Galicia) manifestal veches on the occasion of confession of the Ukrainian People's Republic as Central power, and signing the Peace Treaty of Brest-Lytovsk had taken place. Similar veche took place on the market place in Tovmach. During the demonstration the Ambassador of the Halytskyi (Galician) Regional Sejm Ivan Makukh and the clergyman from Stryhantsi village Severyn Simenovych made speeches. The second one was speaking very courageously, inspired by the independency and cohesiveness. These veches and manifestations reflected real exultancy for “brothers and sisters” (*natives*) from the Great Ukraine and elated spirit of Western Ukrainians for the statehood struggle⁷. I. Makukh mentioned also that he faced to the November Action in Lviv city, where he arrived to in order to consult concerning the power perception⁸. Had arrived to Tovmach town in the morning of November, 1, the author of remembrances “...got it okay. The power...at the dawn was perceived by the engineer Antin Halka and by the doctor Lev Khomytskyi...”. At Tovmachchyna the County National Council was created and headed by I. Makukh, while the engineer A. Halka was elected to the post of the county commissary⁹. The magazine “Tovmatski Visty” became the printing unit of the County authorities and published administrative orders regarding almost all spheres of the state and social life¹⁰.

In general, Ivan Makukh mentioned, “... Ukrainian revolution on November, 1 was really bright success, but the more later the State Administration of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic became...”¹¹.

² Клодницький В. Кінець 1918 року у Товмаччині. *Альманах Станиславівської землі*. Нью-Йорк ; Торонто ; Мюнхен, 1975. 960 с. ; Клодницький В. Тисьмениця. *Альманах Станиславівської землі*. Нью-Йорк ; Торонто ; Мюнхен, 1975. 960 с.

³ Клодницький О. Друга сторона медалі: (Завваги на маргінесі книжки д-ра І. Макуха: “На народній службі” – виданої “Українською Вільною Громадою” в Америці 1958 р.). Чикаго : Накладом автора, 1964. 66 с. ; Клодницький О. Товмач за українських часів. *Альманах Станиславівської землі*. Нью-Йорк ; Торонто ; Мюнхен, 1975. 960 с.

⁴ Волосенко П. Тисьмениця. Нью-Йорк : Накладом Тисьменицьких Земляків, 1958. 62 с.

⁵ Чемний М. Потоптані мрії. Детройт : Накладом автора, 1969. 208 с.

⁶ Chirowski D. Dzieje miasta Tyśmienicy. Lwów : Prasowa Agencja Informacyjna “Wschód”, 1938. 80 s.

⁷ Макух І. На народній службі. Детройт : Видання Української вільної громади в Америці, 1958. С. 224.

⁸ Там само. С. 226.

⁹ Там само. С. 237–238.

¹⁰ Макух І. С. 238.

¹¹ Там само.



Quite the opposite data concerning the November, 1 events at Tovmachchyna Osyp Klodnytskyi left in his memoirs, named “Other side of the medal: (Remarks on the margin of the book by doctor I. Makukh “In the people’s service” – issued by “Ukrainian Free Community” in America, 1958)”, printed in 1964 in Chicago city (The USA). The author averred that preparation and the county power perception was the deed of two military sergeants (officers of the Austro-Hungarian Army) and natives of Tovmachchyna – Volodymyr Klodnytskyi from Khotymyr town and Andrii Yaremchuk from Palahychi village. In the night of November, 1 with several dozen riflemen, being on vacations at that time, the gendarmerie station in Khotymyr town was disarmed, “certain amount of riflemen was expedited to the Polish village of Tarnovytsia (now this village belongs to Novi Kryvotuly village council of the Tysmenytsia district. – *I. F.*)”, and then at the dawn in Tovmach”¹². O. Klodnytskyi mentioned, that after the power perception on November, 1, the County Team was created, and V. Klodnytskyi headed this team. Former tax commissar, thus, very conscious Ukrainian Ihnatii Loshniv, was appointed to the post of Mobilization Commission commissary. The students – Osyp Atamaniuk from Prybyliv village, Ambrozii Kadaiskii from Tovmach town and Adolf Ortynskyi from Zhyvachiv village together with some “yearling-noncoms (NCOs)” were involved to work in the County Team¹³. Former wachmeister (*military rank of NCO*) Ivan Nakonechnyi was appointed to the post of the County Gendarmerie Commissary, being intellectual and nationally conscious Ukrainian¹⁴.

In the article “Tovmach at the Ukrainian date”, published in “Almanac of Stanyslaviv Land” (1975), the miscellany of information about the history of Stanyslaviv and its region Osyp Klodnytskyi mentioned about fairly loyal attitude of new authorities towards opponents of Ukrainian statehood, “One Polish pope named Tabachkovskiy (Edward Tabachkovskiy, Roman Catholic priest in Tovmach. – *I. F.*) began some riot, but was detained for some days and then acquitted having got the admonition, henceforward, he was not complained any more. Once upon a time there was a case in Tysmenytsia when one Polish seminary student published the posters, which contained the slogans for conscripts to ignore the commands of sergeant-majors, not to join the army and ignore the supply of the purveyance. That student was suspected. The gendarmerie made a revision and found some paper, used to dry the posters. Identical poster was found inside the chandelier, so the student was put under arrest. He might have been judged by the field court, but to the greatest surprise of all participants of this case d-r Ivan Makukh, being the Minister at that time, liberated this student by himself”¹⁵.

One more witness and direct participant of the November Action at Tovmachchyna Volodymyr Klodnytskyi (1891–1973), sibling of O. Klodnytskyi, also left us his own remembrances, named “End of 1918 at Tovmachchyna”, published in already mentioned miscellany “Almanac of Stanyslaviv Land” (1975), being at that time one of the members of the editorial board of this issue. The author mentioned that on the eve of the November Action on October, 27, 1918, in Tovmach a Great County Peasant Veche had taken place, as a result there was made a decision to create the armed detachment of 50 members headed by V. Klodnytskyi. In a few days mentioned armed detachment started invasion. At first Austrian gendarmerie, located in Khotymyr town, was disarmed and transformed into the Ukrainian Military Department. In Tarnovytsia village, where, except three Ukrainian families, only Poles dwelled, the local Ukrainian Government was stated. Andrii Yaremchuk, who had arrived at Khotymyr by a truck with two machine guns, after actions in Khotymyr and Tarnovytsia went to Nyzhniv town in order to guard the bridge through the Dniester river. The standard bearer (“*khorunzhyi*”) Yevhen Rybak was appointed to the post of the Guard Commissary for this extremely important object. In Tovmach town the local gendarmerie, headed by senior headquarters wachmeister Ivan Nakonechnyi captured the civil power at the dawn of November, 1, 1918¹⁶.

¹² Клодницький О. Друга сторона медалі: (Завваги на маргінесі книжки д-ра І. Макуха: “На народній службі” – виданої “Українською Вільною Громадою” в Америці 1958 р.). С. 22.

¹³ Там само. С. 22–23.

¹⁴ Там само. С. 24.

¹⁵ Клодницький О. Товмач за українських часів. *Альманах Станіславівської землі*. Нью-Йорк; Торонто; Мюнхен, 1975. С. 868.

¹⁶ Там само. С. 859–860.

The author in his memoirs focused attention to the fact of the State County Commissary's Ivan Makukh attempts to interfere into the working process of the Military Department. I. Makukh disliked the Police Departments organization, based in the villages of the county, and, besides, the organization of the bridge guard through the Dniester river, "There were constant frictions among civil and military authorities"¹⁷.

Volodymyr Klodnytskyi also mentioned in his remembrances that in Tysmenytsia and also at outskirts which belonged to the Tovmach county, the power on November, 1, 1918 was captured by one teacher Volodymyr Mykhailovskyi from Khomiakivka village, and a local clergyman S. Levytskyi with the help of noncoms O. Kikta, Mykola Kotskyi, Mykhailo Chemnyi, and many other former warriors of the Austrian army, who procured food for troops¹⁸.

The witness of those events, a Pole Dominic Khirovskyi in his remembrances "History of Tysmenytsia town", published in 1938 in Lviv, pointed out, "the times of troubles for Poles became on November, 1918. In the town the Halych troops occurred, which consisted mostly of Rusyns (Ukrainians)... Arrests and revisions of Poles started, then the period of disastrous fratricidal wars took place and many young people fell on both sides"¹⁹.

Quite different opinion in the memoirs, named "Tysmenytsia" and published in 1958 in New York city (the USA) the public-political and cultural statesman, born in Tysmenytsia, Pavlo Volosenko (1876–1958) described, who underscored that the power perception happened without any resistance. The Temporary Ukrainian Committee elected Ostafii Volosenko to the post of the Mayor ("Posadnyk") of the town. There were no arrests, no violence, only the order dominated. It was known that certain Poles had hidden weapon at their homes, but made no offensive. As Ukrainians, as Poles were hired to work on railroads, nobody made any difference between them"²⁰.

Interesting data about the November Action a native from Khomiakivka village of the Tovmach county (now this village belongs to Tysmenytsia district. – I. F.) Mykhailo Chemnyi left. In his memoirs, named "Trampled dreams", published in 1969 in Detroit (the USA) in the chapter "The first November" he mentioned about the disarmament of the Austrian Economic Department by the inhabitants of Khomiakivka village, hereupon, a lot of weapons were captured, including cartridges, horses, even food. From these memoirs we got to know about armed department creation in the village, and about the joint campaign on November, 2, of armed inhabitants from the villages of Khomiakivka, Markivtsi, Odai and Slobidka to Liatske-Shliakhetske village (now it is Lypivka village, belonging to Tysmenytsia district. – I. F.) In order to set the peace; also we got to know about the great patriotic veche in this village on the occasion of the Ukrainian statehood re-establishment²¹.

Mykhailo Chemnyi in his memoirs in a special way mentioned about the Sunday on November, 3 – it was the day of making the oath of allegiance to Ukraine by the armed detachments of neighboring villages. The solemnity took place at the court near the Ukrainian Folk House in Tysmenytsia. "At the market place in Tysmenytsia there were many people at that time. Many military men came; almost a thousand of civilians congratulated us by plentiful applauses... We lined up in two ranks before the main entrance of the Folk House, where blue and yellow Ukrainian flags were hanging down out of the balcony... All the town was under the sign of the great celebration.

Out of 500 breasts of Ukrainian military men loudly and sincerely the words of the swear arose, which fell deep into the soul of each participant of this great solemnity... Holding this oath in my soul, I went to the wide world..."²².

Therefore, on the basis of contemporaries' memoirs we can make conclusions that the November Action and the power perception by Ukrainians in Tovmachchyna were well organized and passed without any armed confrontation. In accordance with the legislation of the WUPR of those times at the territory of the native land, the county authorities were forming up headed by sufficiently authoritative political, public and military figures. The first days of the Ukrainian authorities

¹⁷ Там само. С. 862.

¹⁸ Там само. С. 860.

¹⁹ Chirovski D. Dzieje miasta Tyśmienicy. Lwów : Prasowa Agencja Informacyjna "Wschód", 1938. S. 54.

²⁰ Волосенко П. Тисьмениця. Нью-Йорк : Накладом Тисьменицьких Земляків, 1958. С. 48.

²¹ Чемний М. Потоптані мрії. Детройт : Накладом автора, 1969. С. 72–74.

²² Там само. С. 75–77.



functioning at Tovmachchyna turned out to be enough tranquil and passed without international, religious and cultural opposition facts. The analysis of the remembrances which were written and published in 1950–1970s, showed up no essential discrepancies in the course of the November Action events, so we can consider these memoirs as a quite important source for further research.

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On the basis of the memoirs of certain contemporaries, the prerequisites, preparation and the fact of ascendance perception by the Ukrainian authorities in Tovmachchyna at the end of October – early November 1918 were considered in this article. The memoirs of such state, public, political and military figures as Ivan Makukh, Volodymyr Klodnytskyi, Osyp Klodnytskyi, Pavlo Volosenko, Mykhailo Chemnyi are among them. In the article, for the sake of objectivity while studying the problem research, the memoirs of Dominik Khirovskyi, the witness of those events and a representative of Polish nationality, were used. The memoirs, used in the publication, were represented to the scientific world mostly outside of our country – in the diaspora.

Keywords: *Western Ukrainian People’s Republic, November Action, contemporary, memoirs, military.*

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