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Between society and house: the history of the emancipation of the Ukrainian women of Eastern Galicia during the First World War

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Abstract

This article describes the history of the emancipation of the Ukrainian women of Galicia – the Austrian province and later in the Polish state – during the First World War and the post-war years. The focus of this research is the participation of women in combat actions, social activities, and family relationships. The events of war had a significant impact on the everyday life of women in the household, both ideologically and mentally. The role of Ukrainian women at the front and in the public sphere is analyzed in the context of ‘internal emancipation’ by overcoming traditional prejudices that have limited female space, especially those of the household. During the war the daily space of women significantly expanded – a woman could become not only a nurse, but the defender of the house, as she had to deal with the daily problems associated with raising children, community initiatives, or concerns for the man who had been mobilized to the front. The critical situation of the war accelerated the process of the emancipation of women as individuals and forced women to give up the traditional limitations of family and home. Ukrainian women found the space to implement different skills and began to understand themselves through the prism of their own lives and intimate experiences, not just as a part of a man’s everyday life. These changes were perceived in society in different ways. Still, emancipation was not extensive, as many women were afraid to make changes. The huge patriarchal world still dominated, but the issue of the civil rights of women, including the right for self-realization, was impossible to ignore.

Key words: Ukrainian women, emancipation, Eastern Galicia, First World War

Słowa kluczowe: ukraińskie kobiety, emancypacja, Wschodnia Galicja, I wojna światowa

World War I, in addition to front-line clashes between armed men, can be seen as a complex of interwoven dependencies within which a person was caught between the house and the front, between survival and propaganda, religious and patriotic fervor, and the hopes and disappointments of life and death. Male and female emotions were strongly intertwined. Most Ukrainian soldiers in the Austrian army or the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen were married men and fathers who sought the fulcrum and the way of self-affirmation, trying to ensure the safety of their families, and at the same time requiring proof of their love. Life beyond the front line required Ukrainian women to solve a wide range of problems, because so-called men's work and social work were added to traditional domestic responsibilities. Historians have focused mainly on the front, the male-dominated side of war. The topic of women in war has recently gained popularity in Ukrainian historiography¹. In the context of the Great War of 1914–1918, the social activities of women and the biographies of individuals (most often Olena Stepaniv and Olga Basarab) are well known, while military activities of women, the legal and political status of women, and women's everyday lives are left in the background. Women in the army have been the object of the research interest in Polish historiography²; Polish historians also write about the daily life and processes of women's emancipation during the war³.

The challenge for researchers today is to include the female domain in the history of the war, to reconstruct the living conditions, so different from during peaceful times, of people who lived during the war, and to recreate the world of women's views and experiences. However, we must understand the limitations of such reconstructions, because the place of women during the war has been inaccessible to foreign eyes.

The study of World War I in Ukrainian historiography traditionally focuses on men's narratives and depicts women as the victims of wars, while at the same time giving this image a positive representation. However, a single woman was not always reflected as a positive force. Women, like men, worked in different environments, often guided by purely personal interests, breaking the image of the 'ideal woman'. During the war women mainly kept to traditional social roles (wife, mother, housewife), while the military and social activities of women were not focused on long-term change. Still the war destroyed the social and territorial boundaries, real and imaginary, and thus opened the

¹ M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995; M. Diadiuk, 2011; O. Rybak, 2002; O. Bezuhuk, 2011.

² T. Kulak, A. Chlebowska (eds), 2014; J. Dufurat, 2002; M. Radkiewicz, 2014; A. Cieślakowa, 1998; M. Nartonowicz-Kot, 2011; A. Marcinkiewicz-Kaczmarczyk, 2016.

³ P. Kanafocka, 2014; K. Sierakowska, 2016b; eadem, 2016a; eadem, 2014.

space for self-realization. While studying the history of women, especially in the 'boundary situation' during the war, it is important to avoid perceptions of its integrity (of her tightness). Women's and men's stories can not exist separately, especially in stories relating to the war.

For Ukrainian historiography, gender studies, as well as the problems of women in war and related research models and interpretations, mostly came from the West. Foreign researchers studied the relationship of marriage, production rights, possession of traditionally 'male' occupations, education, and women's voting rights. Women are viewed through the prism of economic relations. In her book *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin*, Belinda Davis identifies the political and social importance of women as the main consumers in wartime⁴. The main principle in studying the theme of women and war was the acceptance of the fact that the war was a catalyst for the growth of gender equality and women's emancipation⁵. The focus of the study of women's history during the World War are women of different nationalities, age, education, and social class. It is significant that the trend in Western historiography towards consolidating women's experiences in the two World Wars is gaining strength⁶. Today, in Western society it is common practice for specialized research centers to hold various training sessions, conferences, symposia, lectures, and activities devoted to women's experiences in war. In Ukraine, this trend is still developing. The territory of Ukraine was the epicenter of the First World War, so the situation forced Ukrainian women to participate in the war. They suffered from bombings, material and human losses, seed peaceful coexistence with soldiers from various armies. The experiences of Ukrainian women during the war involve private, military, political, and national areas of life, thus making it possible to speak about the individuality and uniqueness of life strategies and behaviors. There is still much for Ukrainian researchers to discover.

The process of emancipation, the extreme military conditions as a part of everyday life at the front and rear, and new responsibilities and opportunities changed people's lives throughout the Ukrainian territory. During the war, women found unprecedented opportunities for self-realization, but what the future held for each woman had to be chosen by the woman herself. A woman could express herself through military service, participation in community activities, working in the government, or remaining under the tutelage of her father or husband as before. In terms of employment, we can discuss three types of women during the war: 'the woman at the front,' the community act-

⁴ B.J. Davis, 2000.

⁵ M. van Creveld, 2001.

⁶ N.M. Wingfield, M. Bucur, 2006.

ivist, and 'the defender of the house'. The question of the emancipation of women in Galicia during the war is considered in this article in three dimensions – military, civil and political, and private. Ukrainian women created the first female military unit in the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. At the same time we must understand that the experiences of Ukrainian women are inseparable from the experiences of Polish women due to the territorial proximity of the two groups as well as the explicit or implicit national, political, and cultural competition, which vacillated between outright hostility and work toward cooperation and compromise⁷. Regarding the emancipatory aspirations of women all mentioned above, this meant, on the one hand, a long history of living together in the same political and legal environment, the interaction of cultural and intellectual spaces, and similar social conceptions, while on the other, the open national-political confrontation between the Ukrainian and Polish people, which hindered this process. At the beginning of the twentieth century the condition of women's emancipatory processes considerably varied in Ukrainian and Polish societies due to differences in state law, business and economic development, social structures, national mentality, and different levels of tradition and innovation⁸.

It is difficult to tie together the stories of hundreds of thousands of women, each with her own experience of war. The generalizations featured in this study should be taken as nominal, and there may be many exceptions to these generalizations due to fragmentation of the archival materials and the historical 'silence' of women, as many of them were illiterate, thus leaving no first-person written accounts. However, even with the private letters and diaries of women and men from the war, historians can glean vast information about the human wartime experience. The conclusions and interpretations in this article are based on the records of a dozen people. The research method follows a biographical approach based on Ivanna Blazhkevych, Kostiantyna Malytska, Olha Basarab, Osyp Makovei, etc. The article consists of several parts, focused on the emancipation of women during the war, i.e., how the war allowed women to become more independent and active. The quotes in the text reflect an authentic representation of the time, allowing us to penetrate the world of women during the war, in particular to show the impact of the war on women and women's impact on the war.

Let's consider political, economic, ethnic and demographic situation in Galicia during the First World War. In the early years of the twentieth century, Galicia was the northeastern-most province of the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) empire. This province had been a part of the former Polish-Lithuanian

⁷ O. Stepaniv, 1930, p. 28.

⁸ O. Malanchuk-Rybak, 1999, p. 153.

Commonwealth, which dissolved and disappeared from the political map of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. The majority of the population in this region were Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. In the western part of the province (with Kraków in its center) Poles constituted the majority of the population, while Ukrainians made up the majority in the east. The main line of political tension was located in the basis of Ukrainian-Polish relations. Even though the First World War was predictable, it penetrated the calm and measured European world of the early twentieth century, particularly that of Austria-Hungary, rather suddenly. In 1918–1919, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire, in eastern Galicia, Ukraine declared a national state – the West Ukrainian People's Republic – resulting in the Polish-Ukrainian War. Galicia became the theater of a military rivalry between the two nations, wherein each nation tried to implement its own national interests. The Poles proved victorious in the war. The question of the political status of Eastern Galicia in the composition of Poland was regulated by the Peace of Riga and the conclusions of the ambassadors to the Council of the Entente in Paris in 1923⁹.

The First World War erased the difference between the front and rear. It was essentially a new war in all respects – social, political, militarily, technically. It also exceeded other wars in terms of the scale of destruction and the impact on human life and society. Many of the strategic calculations of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia centered on Galicia, as it had an advantageous geographical location, a significant military, economic potential, and human resources. The Ukrainians and the Poles expected to gain independence during the war. They assumed that with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the war they would have an opportunity to build their own states. Ukrainian intellectuals expected that the war would create conditions for the development of a national movement and promoted a democratic solution to the 'Ukrainian question'¹⁰. Many people pledged their allegiance to Austria at the beginning of the war. But in general, the war split both the Ukrainian territory and Ukrainian loyalties between two warring states – Austria and Russia.

Military events caused major damage to the population of Eastern Galicia, with considerable material and human losses. During the war, the area was the scene of prolonged battles. Overall, the Austro-Hungarian army was comprised of 250–300 thousand soldiers, of whom 9% were Ukrainians¹¹. Ukrainian losses on the Austrian side amounted to about 80 thousand people, not including widows, orphans, and people with disabilities. Homes and even en-

⁹ M. Lytvyn, 2014.

¹⁰ V. Velykochyi, 2010, p. 42.

¹¹ K. Kondratiuk, 2003, p. 622.

tire towns were destroyed¹². With most men away at the front, the realities of war brought new challenges to women. After the mobilization of men, women acquired new responsibilities – becoming head of the family, providing produce, clothes, and weapons, and social work like charity and taking care of the wounded. Eventually some women took up arms and joined men ‘in the way of death’. Women, similarly to the front-line soldiers, had to create their own survival strategy.

The war led to significant demographic changes. According to the Bureau of Statistics, there were 3,941,890 men and 4,087,497 women in Galicia in 1910. In Eastern Galicia 2,633,709 men and 2,702,468 women comprised the entire population. The rate of population growth in 1900-10 was: men – 322,957, women – 390,491. According to the 1921 census, there were 110 women for every 100 men in Lviv and Stanislaviv provinces, and 109 women for every 100 men in Ternopil¹³. The higher proportion of women can be attributed to the male casualties at the front. Ukrainians also faced a difficult political situation in the early postwar years. The defeat of the West Ukrainian People’s Republic forced the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia into exile, mostly into Czechoslovakia. In addition, many Ukrainians at the time of the census had not been able to return to their homes¹⁴.

The place where a woman conducted her life and work defined the understanding of her personal space. There were 3.5 thousand villages, 138 towns and 56 cities in Galicia before the war¹⁵. An ethnically Ukrainian population dominated in the villages, while the Polish and Jewish population constituted the majority in cities. The traditional Galician village had fundamental differences from the urban network of social relations, which were characterized, for example, by blood or affinal relations, fictive kinship, spiritual affiliations, proximity, etc. Neighbors within a village came together during the war to find compromises and solutions for material and emotional problems. In towns and cities, in addition to financial problems (for example, due to higher food prices in urban areas), Ukrainian women had to compete with Polish women (i.e., trying to gain a higher social status within society), but sometimes borrowing from their life experiences¹⁶. The relationship between the inhabitants of villages and towns were rather forced and not always desirable. People from cities considered themselves as representative sections of the intelligentsia and

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ I. Shymonovych, 1928, p. 12.

¹⁴ K. Kondratiuk, 2003.

¹⁵ V. Lytvyn, V. Smolii, 2011, p. 557.

¹⁶ S. Ossowski, 1984, p. 152.

would not overcome the limits of 'best/worst'¹⁷. For women from the cities, villages were the place where time had stopped. Suburban settlements were associated with nature, ancient traditions, and culturally ignorant residents. Ukrainians living in Lviv considered the village as the center of Ukrainian identity, since in Eastern Galicia 80% of Ukrainians lived in rural areas.

The woman at the front as a challenge to traditional norms

War is traditionally considered from a male perspective; at the same time society assigns women the role of the passive victim. Therefore the perception of the wife who suffered and waited for the return of her husband was widespread. However, the processes of women's emancipation and the general modernization of society at the turn of the twentieth century questioned the idea of traditional female's roles, and the idea of women's possible participation in the war arose. In the maelstrom of war, at first women had no clear idea about their role in the war. The problems of peacetime became irrelevant, but they were also unable to solve any problems concerning war due to their lack of combat experience. Still the 'woman of the front' stereotype gradually formed. What distinguished the war woman from the traditional one is usually dependent on one's personal outlook, experience, and understanding of individual female ideas. Some regarded these women as attractive for their independence and energy, while others accused them of 'fading femininity'¹⁸.

The participation of Ukrainian women in combat actions was not a mass phenomenon; sources provide only meager information about these women. While preparing this article I used the personal materials of Olena Stepaniv (1892–1963), Sofia Galechko (1891–1918), and Anna Dmyterko (1893–1981) – young students who belonged to the same generation. All three young women became teachers, took an active social position among students, participated in the South Ukrainian Organization 'Plast', and supported the idea of creating an independent Ukrainian state before the war. It should be added that none of these young women received parental consent to serve in the army.

The first military formation with Ukrainian women emerged from the Plast movement. In 1911 Ivan Chmola (the commandant of the Sich Riflemen) created the first Plast organization, which included students from academic high schools, trade schools, and female seminary students from Basilian and other universities. G. Dmyterko, who participated in the organization, recalled some

¹⁷ *Z miasta*, „Kurjer Lwowski”, wyd. poranne, 1915, no. 370, 16 October.

¹⁸ M. Baidak, 2014b.

words from the first meeting: 'Our Plast is not a toy, but a national Ukrainian army must arise out of Plast'¹⁹, Plast, as well as other organizations like 'Sich' and 'Socil,' promoted the social participation of women and became a kind of 'school of emancipation,' questioning established gender roles. Young women received their first experiences with military training, and that training later led to young women leading these organizations.

The next level of military training was given in the 'Sich Riflemen' (a Ukrainian unit within the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First World War) and later in the 'Sich Riflemen II,' created by Kyrylo Tryl'ovs'kyi in March 1913. Young Ukrainian women who dared to break with the established patriarchal family rules formed a separate women's group of 33 members²⁰, headed by O. Stepaniv. The question of quantity is actually difficult, as we don't have the list of these women we don't have. According to the memoirs of Anna Dmyterko more than 30 women joined the 'Striltsi II' in 1913 (women didn't take at all of the 'Striltsi I'). It is unknown whether all of them went to the front. The press reported about 27 women among the archers in March 1915: 'there are mainly the students of Peremyshl college and teachers'²¹, and around 36 in April²². No data available from later time. Obviously, not all women who recalled as members of the USS, were at the front. Today managed to identify the names of the 34 women who were probably at the front²³.

Women would not usually create a separate unit; they fought as members of established groups. For example, I. Kuz, after serving in the Red Cross, was appointed to the Sich Riflemen mounted detachment. G. Dmyterko participated in combat operations in May and September 1915, and was later transferred to the Sich Riflemen. S. Galechko served in the Noskovskaia *sotnia* (division) and became a scout for a *chota* (platoon). O. Stepaniv joined the squad with great difficulties, by wearing a uniform and posing as the man. Unfortunately, her true identity was revealed, and she was captured as a 'spy'. After her expulsion from the infantry, she protested, but then went to the front as a part of I. Chmola detachment²⁴.

¹⁹ H. Dmyterko, 1930.

²⁰ M. Lazarovych, 2002, p. 128.

²¹ *Visty z Vidnia. Sichovi striltsi*, „Svoboda” (New Jersey), 1915, no. 30, 13 March.

²² „Svoboda” (New Jersey), 1915, no. 43, 15 April.

²³ To this group belonged: Anna Tsisniak, Pavlyna Rys, Katria Patsuliv, Mariia Petruniak, Mariia Gizhovska-Krilyk, Sofiia Khudiak-Lypkova, Mariia Terletska, Anna Lendiuk-Tsar, Nataliia Rykhvitska, Emiliia Kushnir, Anna Kushnir-Pletinkova, Mariia Fedyniak-Konyk, Yanka Konyk, Mariia Chmyr-Kosak, Sofiia Chmyr-Levytska, Sofiia Navrotska-Trach, three sisters Oryskivny (their names could not figure out).

²⁴ O. Stepaniv, 1930, p. 44.

The women who took up arms did not fit into the model of the traditional Galician family in which women played a secondary role. The reasons that led young women and girls to the front were different. As mentioned by O. Stepaniv, it was 'a youthful enthusiasm, horrible experience, the desire of unusual adventure, the boredom of trivial routine, a chance to escape from life's responsibilities'²⁵. However, women had a tendency to sacrifice, to want to do their duty, to bring 'peace,' and to prove they could handle any job²⁶. O. Stepaniv outlined three types of women who had gone to the front and mentioned the reasons behind their choice: 'The first: mandatory and hardworking, as in every other station in life. The second: frivolous but courageous, who sought an easy way to gain fame. The third: villainous, who brought chaos to war for their own barbarous profit'²⁷. Frontline reality taught women to enjoy moments of relaxation, to trust and appreciate their comrades, to look into the unknown with calm, to treat life without regret, and to feel responsible for their lives and never be surprised.

Women in the ranks of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen or the Galician Army were not prepared for the 'man's life' of the war. They had to overcome long distances on foot, carry heavy backpacks which, as mentioned by O. Stepaniv, contained 'lightweight shoes, brushes, two stocks of canned food, a book of Nietzsche, and the Koran. a cloak was fixed by straps, with *yidunka* (dishes) and the usual *kotz* (coverlet). All cartridges were filled with ammunition in front of the belt'²⁸. Equally debilitating and even more dangerous were the nights out in the open. G. Dmyterko recalled: 'I could not take a nap because it was cold, and heavy gunfire made me nervous. Bullets were flying between us. Once a German doctor showed me the ball in the fence which had struck just over my head one night'²⁹. However, the decision to become a soldier, which was also influenced by the example set by Polish women³⁰, took 'the deepest feelings of Ukrainian women, and their portion of the world war was not a cheap gesture but a respected, though bitter, and constant thing'³¹. It should be emphasized that the emergence of Polish women in the national movement promoted the ac-

²⁵ G. Svarnyk, A. Feloniuk, 2009, p. 80.

²⁶ Ibidem, 34.

²⁷ *Zhinka-voiak*, „Nazustrich” (Lviv), 1934, no. 12, 15 June.

²⁸ O. Stepaniv, 1934.

²⁹ H. Dmyterko, 1934.

³⁰ O. Stepaniv, 1930.

³¹ Article no name, signature: O. L., in: „Nasha meta”, (Lviv) 1919, no. 19, 2 November.

tivation of Ukrainian women, who had always been seen as ‘behind’ Polish women³².

There was even a public debate as to whether it was good or bad for women to be on the front lines. ‘There were conversations about what Ukrainians come forward between other nations. Such discussions should have been held more often³³. a woman in the army was perceived to be abnormal at that time³⁴. The conditions of front-line life did not divide people based on their education or gender, so women had to operate on an equal footing with men. As O. Stepaniv said, ‘I was not in the least reduced, nor had i extra privileges in comparison with the rest of my comrades, i just wanted this. i also haven’t felt any hints or awkwardness toward me. And i truly shared a lot of grief with my male comrades³⁵. Still, there was a difference in the attitude toward female soldiers and officers. According to O. Stepaniv’s words ‘ordinary soldiers, usually rural men, treated women as elders because they knew that women had earned their first sergeant rank³⁶. Instead, ambitious officers and intellectuals treated women even with reverence³⁷. Men repeatedly opposed the participation of women in the sotnias, which caused outrage³⁸. Beside combat experiences and domestic difficulties, women also had to endure ‘all sorts of annoying jokes of some friends³⁹.

The civil women didn’t support the military women. There wasn’t direct, however, even the educated, emancipated Ukrainian women believed that: ‘The man must be at the front, women must be in the hospitals. The struggle with the enemy is the duty of men at the front, no less important struggle with weakness and death is the responsibility of women out of front⁴⁰. The lack of reviews about military women in private texts of Ukrainian women could testify that most of them didn’t want to react on external events, but wanted to stay in a familiar and intuitive space of ‘mother, wife and hostess’. Certain conversations on this topic between women have occurred, but they (due to

³² K. Malytska, *Na khvyliakh svitovoi viiny: 1. Lviv za rosiiskoi okupatsii*, „Dilo” (Lviv), 1937, no. 67, 27 March.

³³ The Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine National Academy of Science of Ukraine, Manuscripts department (further: LNSL. Manuscripts department), fond 48 (Zaklynski), opys 1, sprava 121-b (Diary of Bohdan Zaklynskyi), 20 (20 February 1915).

³⁴ K. Levytskyi, 1929, p. 88.

³⁵ O. Stepaniv, 1930, p. 51.

³⁶ I. Vilde, 1939, p. 14.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ G. Svarnyk, A. Feloniuk, 2009, p. 50.

³⁹ H. Dmyterko-Ratych, 1958.

⁴⁰ N. Polishchuk, 2015, p. 338–339.

illiteracy) are not fixed. The only understandable position of socially active women (both local and emigrants) is: 'nature has assigned us to other goals, gave us so much strength and energy to arms to stand against our enemy on the battlefield'⁴¹. Activists claimed about the weakness of women and urged the public to take to work or to make material donations. Women's organizations popularized the view that a woman's place is not at the front, but in the rear through the press.

The realities of the front line forced the women on the battlefield to reconsider their ideas about the possibility of a female mass presence at the front. Even during the war, the women on the front began to emphasize that a woman's duty was not to fight, but to gather wheat for the soldiers, to drive out deserters from the villages, and to encourage men to fulfill their military duty. These tasks were presented as priorities for women during the war, and as no less valuable than the responsibility of men to fight with guns⁴². Another reason why fighting at the front was not for women was the lack of personal space or the possibility for privacy. After the army, women continued their military careers in the ranks of the Ukrainian Galician Army, where they worked in military hospitals and kitchens.

After the war, Hanna Dmyterko returned to the traditional role of wife and mother, sometimes trying to combine family life with social activities. Olena Stepaniv was engaged in teaching and social work. Sofia Galechko was unable to adapt to civilian life. She could not return to studying due to poor eyesight and the lack of facilities to treat it. She could not expect any help from her father either. She shared her troubles with O. Stepaniv and felt she had no future. The news of her death appeared soon⁴³. According to the official version, Sofia drowned while swimming in the river. Olena Stepaniv was inclined to believe that it was not an accident, but a suicide as a result of hopelessness and prolonged depression⁴⁴.

During World War I, Ukrainian women won the first battle for themselves. They were able to question traditional assumptions about the place of women in society, to achieve equality (even if only imagined, and not legally) with men, which in the recent past had seemed an 'impossible utopia'. Women learned to think independently and seek their rights, even through ridicule and contempt. After the war, the 'women of the front' created their own lives. They understood responsibility differently than those who remained under the guardianship of a father or husband. 'A woman of the front' was not subordin-

⁴¹ *Do ukrainskoho zhinotstva!*, „Svoboda” (Jersey City), 1914, no. 53, 24 September.

⁴² *Zhinka-voiak*, „Nazustrich” (Lviv), 1934, no. 2, 15 June.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ I. Vilde, 1939.

ate to the will of another against her own convictions. She demanded honesty, and any action for one's own benefit or convenience was believed as human dignity. 'A woman of the front' realized that her abilities as a person reached beyond the duties of wife and mother, so caring for the family was not the only possible area of occupation. The reality of war that actually deprived a woman of a typical peacetime role forced her to take the 'nubility' exam and made the public take a new position on the role of other women.

'The release' of women during the war resulted in the fact that woman took on so-called men's style. This was manifested primarily in women donning clothes that became freer and more practical. Frontline life or logistics required speed, convenience, and ease, and therefore a significant number of women dressed in pants and shirts. Dresses and skirts became shorter and by the end of the war could be above the knee⁴⁵. The image of a woman near the front line also changed. a woman in trousers and a cigarette could be seen more often at the front lines. Smoking became widespread among women during the war; men also used to send tobacco home and often gave recommendations for how to smoke it. In times of peace, the appearance of young girls or women unaccompanied by a husband or guardian on the street was considered outside the norm and could cause considerable scandal⁴⁶, whereas during the war the image of an independent woman was taken for granted. The war gave women the opportunity to familiarize themselves even in the political sphere, previously reserved only for men⁴⁷. Ukrainian women during and after the war studied the isolated cases of women in the parliaments of Britain and France. Activists who fought for women's political electoral rights payed considerable attention to economic independence from men⁴⁸. The key to political life was deemed to be electoral rights on par with men. However, a measure of women's freedom in society were not only laws, but also the attitude of society to these laws. Those who maintained a traditional Ukrainian lifestyle did not want to let women out of the house⁴⁹. After receiving suffrage in 1919 women realized they were not ready for this, because 'having a political life requires unity and organization we do not have'⁵⁰. Having the opportunity to freely elect encountered the opposition of the conservative part of society.

⁴⁵ A. Chwalba, 2014, p. 566.

⁴⁶ Z. Baran, p. 119–120.

⁴⁷ A. Chwalba, 2014, p. 566.

⁴⁸ *Ekonomichna nezavysymist zhinky*, „Nasha meta” (Lviv), 1919, no. 13, 21 September.

⁴⁹ *Publychna opiniia*, „Nasha meta” (Lviv), 1919, no. 8, 16 March.

⁵⁰ *Politychnyi kliuch*, „Nasha meta” (Lviv), 1919, no. 6, 1 March.

Social activism as a course for women's emancipation

The military reality dictated the involvement of women in social work. Lack of experience and qualifications was offset by hard work. Reasons that led women to take on unfamiliar work varied. They often depended on individual perceptions of civic duty and how to organize one's life in emergency situations. Most women's initiatives involved active participation in public life: „and suddenly the public realized, that the national roll cart will not undertake the life on the road without the participation of women in all areas of public life”⁵¹. However, we know only a handful of names of the women who tackled the organization of society and tried to coordinate different organizations, not just those for women. After the end of the hostilities women's organizations focused on strengthening the women's movement. There was a need to consolidate changes in the legal, professional, and social status of women, as many women who were active during the war were regarded only as „a required while task”⁵². Experience gained during the war made it possible for women to raise the issue of full equality in the post-war years. With the right to vote, they actually withstood the traditional view of their limited social purpose⁵³.

The war contributed to changes in daily life and social consciousness and affected the social situation of women. Despite the suspension of many civil society organizations and government institutions, these changes still opened unprecedented opportunities for private initiatives⁵⁴. Traditional ideas about the place of women in the family dominated in pre-war Galicia. The war expanded the understanding of the status of women beyond the family circle⁵⁵. Women not only supported their husbands and raised children, but they were also engaged in social work. During the war, the slogan ‘the work of the people and for the people’ was vastly used, particularly in the women's movement. It should be emphasized that this organization in the national movement promoted the activation of Ukrainian women because men repeatedly pointed to the lack of initiative of Ukrainian women who, as it was said, ‘stood far behind the Polish women’.

An important motive was the desire for women to participate in public life: ‘and we suddenly realized that without women's participation in work in all areas of public life, our national roll cart won't move with the necessary speed

⁵¹ I. Blazhkevych, *Zhinka i polityka*, „Zhinocha dolia” (Lviv), 1927, no. 2.

⁵² D. Starosolska, *Pratsia i zhinky*, „Novyi chas” (Lviv), 1935, no. 93, 28 April, p. 16.

⁵³ M. Diadiuk, 2011, p. 317.

⁵⁴ S. Kabarovska, *Poborim nehramotnist (Klych do ukrainskoho zhinotstva)*, „Ukrainske slovo” (Lviv), 1916, no. 3, 3 January.

⁵⁵ *Zhinky i sluzhba voiennym tsiliam*, „Dilo” (Lviv), 1915, no. 132, 22 December.

of life on the road of overall progress. Following those words, the appeals from all sides barraged women organizations, pushing them to work in a public field⁵⁶. Contemporary society, however, knew of few women who were engaged in public relations. The women who worked in the public sector had to possess a certain level of education since setting up a partnership or cooperation between individuals required the ability to write (reports, protocols, etc.) in order to correspond.

During World War I Ukrainian women took part in already existing organizations and created a number of new public and charitable organizations. The most active among them were the Ukrainian Women's Committee of Wounded Soldiers, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, and the Department of the Ukrainian Red Cross. Charitable organizations operated in Stanislav, Ternopil, Berezhany, Chortkov, and other cities. In places where separate women's organizations did not exist, wives of Greek Catholic priests were under the charity. The villagers took as a big loss the news about death of the wife of the priest from the village of Yavche (now Ivano-Frankivsk region) Elena Carticica, because: 'our society lost a sincere worker of the people, and the citizens of Yavcha lost their beloved benefactress lady'⁵⁷. These organizations worked on the basis of 'national autokratii', donations, volunteer community cooperatives, and income from organizational activities. Their main objective was to help wounded soldiers in hospitals. These organizations also arranged inexpensive food for the poor and coordinated cultural events (e.g., theater productions)⁵⁸.

During the First World War, on the orders of the Austro-Hungarian administration, many Ukrainians, particularly Ruthenians, were deported from Galicia to other regions of the empire. This was an attempt by the Austrian authorities to overcome local 'Russophiles' (Moskvofily) as well as to provide cheap labor and clear the area for military operations. Ukrainians were mainly relocated to the camp at Gmünd⁵⁹ (the largest in Austria), a camp that the Austrian authorities had sought to promote Austrian sentiments of patriotism. There soldiers were trained from the front and participated in outreach programs to engage citizens in work for the benefit of the state. Galician Ukrainians were suspected of pro-Russian sympathies, and therefore the Austrian authorities deported and imprisoned them outside of the city Graz in Talerhof camp. Since the camp had virtually no infrastructure, people mostly lived without any kind of shelter. Talerhof inhabitants suffered from dysentery, typhoid, and

⁵⁶ I. Blazhkevych, *Zhinka i polityka*, „Zhinocha dolia” (Lviv), 1927, no. 2.

⁵⁷ *Pomerly*, „Dilo”, 1917, no. 214, 12 September.

⁵⁸ M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995, p. 193.

⁵⁹ Gmünd or Gmiund – a city, the regional center of Lower Austria. There was a camp for Galician Ukrainians deported from fighting areas during the war.

cholera, which resulted in a high mortality rate⁶⁰. Life in the Gmünd barracks was also characterized by poor health, a lack of healthy food and housing, as well as frequent confrontations between wardens and evacuees or between different nationalities. Under these conditions, the role of women in prisoner of war camps became extremely important for humanitarian purposes⁶¹.

The first women's organization that operated within the camp (although its charter activities extended far beyond it) was organized in Gmünd in March 1916. The association was called the 'Women's Committee' and was led by Olga Tyshynska-Bachynska. Archival materials do not provide enough data to determine the composition of the committee members in terms of nationality or age. From the information regarding membership fees, we learn that about 50 women participated in the organization⁶². The activities of the committee affected all of the camp's prisoners and deportees. It had mainly focused on the national spirit, culture, and education. Moreover the members of the 'Women's Committee' in Gmünd encouraged about three hundred women to create embroidered patterns of their lands in exchange for pay. Such practices helped improve the financial situation and mental wellbeing of women who experienced fatigue and depression from camp life⁶³.

Along with the activities in women's organizations, Ukrainian women were engaged to the work in 'Prosvita' (a Ukrainian volunteer organization with a cultural and educational mission). In 1914 women constituted 1.3 out of 36.4 thousand members of the organization. Later their numbers grew to 15% of the 197 thousand members of 'Prosvita'⁶⁴. During the First World War, women also founded the largest women's organization in Galicia – 'the Union of Ukrainian Women' (1917), the activities of which were aimed at enhancing women, raising their educational levels, involving women in social work, and so on. The reading room of 'Prosvita' in Gmünd was founded by the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1916. The kitchen room of the 15th barracks was repurposed for this reading room, and six more branches of 'Prosvita' were opened later. The main purpose of these locations was a place for reading essays on patriotic themes for the formation of national sentiment⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ V. Vavrik, 1966, p. 15–17.

⁶¹ O. Bezhuk, 2013.

⁶² Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv (further: CSHAU in Lviv), fond 354 (The camp of Ukrainian refugee), opys 1, sprava 58 (Information about the membership payment dues by the members of the Woman committee), 2.

⁶³ V. Makovskyi, 1935.

⁶⁴ S. Perskyi, 1932, p. 138.

⁶⁵ V. Makovskyi, *Tabor ukrainskykh zbihtsiv i vyselentsiv u chasi Pershoi svitovoi viiny*, „Dilo” (Lviv), 1935, 31 August, p. 2.

In addition to the 'Women's Committee,' charitable activities in camps and prisons were launched by other women's organizations, including 'the Ukrainian Women's Committee of Wounded Soldiers'⁶⁶, and the 'Women's Section' of Gorodotsky, a suburb of Lviv. Its participants, under the leadership of M. Golubtsova, helped the prisoners in the 'Brygidky' prison. The Union of Ukrainian Liberation also focused on prisoner camps⁶⁷. Due to its work, a large number of Ukrainian prisoners were transferred to other camps in Austria-Hungary (Dong-Sardahel, Freistadt) and Germany (Vetslyar, Rastatt). Women's organization contributed to the opening of reading rooms, schools, business courses, distributed Ukrainian publications, including *Native word* and Shevchenko's *Kobzar*, and staged concerts during Christmas, Easter, and Shevchenko days⁶⁸. There were also processes which became dependent on the activity of women, which influenced the development of the entire society: 'Our womenfolk really work. i see that i was not mistaken when i wrote about them: 'patriots are quiet, but persistent'. And this is very important, because they will soon recreate, civilize, and change all the people'⁶⁹. Women declared their full rights to participate in public work, producing the means which made the public interpret them in a positive light⁷⁰.

Food shortages and the rapid increase of prices caused the appearance of such wartime symptoms as soup kitchens. These kitchens had to feed urban residents and prevent famine among those who were unable to provide for themselves. The 'Civic Committee of Women' called a council, which decided to take care of soldiers' families, and for this purpose three kitchens were organized⁷¹. As a result of the Russian occupation of Lviv many people were left without pensions and wages, including former Austro-Hungarian officials. The situation worsened with the closure of local banks, where residents had kept their savings. People who had lived in riches before were left now with limited means. At the same time, food prices increased, and speculation reached new heights. To avoid famine in Ukraine, the City Council decided to create a network of cheap and even free local kitchens and tea rooms in September 1914. To provide the necessary amount of food for these new kitchens, the Civic Committee of Women published in newspapers an appeal to local inhabitants to share food supplies⁷².

⁶⁶ O. Bezhuk, 2008.

⁶⁷ I. Pater, 2000.

⁶⁸ I. Sribniak, 1999, p. 47.

⁶⁹ LNSL. Manuscripts department, f. 48, spr. 121-b/17, 10.

⁷⁰ G. Lerner, 1976.

⁷¹ O. Vynnyk, 2010, p. 431–438.

⁷² „Wiek Nowy” (Lviv), 1914, 3 September, 11 September; B. Janusz, 1915, p. 85; S. Rossowski, 1915, p. 43–44; S. Łempicki, 1917, p. 18; O. Vynnyk, 2010, p. 431–438; H. Kramarz, 2001, p. 111–123.

These soup kitchens, which were intended to help people who had lost a breadwinner in the war, emerged through the initiative of socially active women. Ukrainian institutions joined the activities that were established in the city, and then five soup kitchens started their work in Lviv. The kitchens had been established by Ukrainians who were in the House of People on the Rutkovskiy St. and the members of the Sisters of St. Basil's seminary on Zhovkivska St., and also on St. Peter, Lychakivska, and Zyblykevich streets⁷³. Following the example set in Lviv, women throughout Galicia opened soup kitchens and field kitchens in various cities⁷⁴. The biggest problem for Ukrainians was a lack of products and employees, and very often the kitchens were unable to prepare enough food for the demand. Social activist Milena Rudnytska pointed to the misallocation of work during the war, as the kitchen in National House was run by men, while there was a lack of soldiers at the front. Remembering the defeat of the Ukrainians in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, women felt that this incorrect division of labor prevented state-building possibilities from becoming a reality⁷⁵.

Despite difficult working conditions, general enthusiasm in the kitchens proved that the women were ready to give everything they could to make the soldiers' lives less complicated⁷⁶. Even though working in the kitchen belonged to the traditional realm of women, Ukrainian women's involvement in the organization and activities during the war caused public admiration and gratitude. The authors of memoirs wrote about the importance of women: 'But for our patriotic womenfolk that undertook the work with the remnants of their forces, we could not have entered the system in any way'⁷⁷. The kitchen was a place where women were able to engage in social activity. They were able to organize the kitchen, although these activities did not meet either their status or skills: 'Frankly it was embarrassing to take over the work, you had neither the knowledge nor talent. a lot of friends also met in the kitchen: students of the university or teachers. We all worked in shifts, 24 hours without a break. Still, the work could not give us complete satisfaction'⁷⁸. However, for

⁷³ CSHAU in Lviv, f. 462 (Ukrainian civil committee, Lviv), op. 1, spr. 52 (Reference, reports, orders, letters and other documents concerning the activity and composition of samarytanska section, 1918–1920), 3.

⁷⁴ M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995, p. 193.

⁷⁵ M. Rudnytska, *Lvivske zhinotstvo pid chas lystopadovoho perevorotu*, „Ukrainskyi prapor” (Viden), 1919, 1 November.

⁷⁶ M. Halushchynskiy, 1934, p. 51–52.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 77.

⁷⁸ K. Olesnytska, *Ukrainski zhinky u Lvovi v lystopadi 1918 roku*, „Nashe zhyttia” (Our Life) (Philadelphia), 1944, no. 11.

some women who had lost sources of income, the work in such institutions made it possible for them to support themselves. They worked only for food and a place to sleep. In most kitchens the work did not provide any wages as most women volunteered (only a small fee was paid to the women who did the dirtiest and hardest work). For example, the kitchen staff in the room 'Falcon,' which could hold 1,200 visitors, consisted of 30 women who volunteered, and a few others who received a salary of 20 crowns and housing costs⁷⁹.

During the war Ukrainian women also enlisted in the 'Hospital,' as they called nursing. The first days after the liberation of Lviv from Russian occupation saw ongoing assistance to wounded and sick soldiers. In late June 1915, a resourceful group of women opened two hospitals in the building of the Studite Monastery, in which nursing courses had already been organized. Until this time the places in hospitals had been occupied by Polish women, because they had been specially trained. Still many women of different social backgrounds responded to the announcement for nursing courses: 'There were nuns, teachers, students, dressmakers, home assistants among us. There were two or three courses held to educate everyone'⁸⁰. After the approval of the hospital's suitability by the Military Commission, twenty-eight women joined the staff⁸¹. While the primary goal was helping only Ukrainian soldiers, hospitals helped men of different nationalities.

The medical activities of Ukrainian women had patriotic overtones. Despite the critical attitude toward the Austro-Hungarian administration, Galician Ukrainians overwhelmingly supported their country in the war, hoping that after a victorious war the Ukrainian regions would gain autonomy within the Habsburg monarchy: 'We establish hospitals on our own. We go to work without coercion. For this we should obtain freedom after the war'⁸². a sense of duty to the state and its people was actively observed among the population, as well as people's desire to participate in all the events that took place during the war, such as volunteer projects, medical projects (like opening hospitals), concerts that were aimed at raising funds for soldiers or civil etc. Almost everyone was engaged in the medical work, mainly teenagers. Thus, H. Matviichukova recalled: 'Today i received the documents of the infirmarer who had been refused to be accepted in staff structure. We did not want to involve those who are underage. Still, the exception was sometimes made. As sometimes it could change people's lives. i will participate in the war, and create

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ I. Dombachevska, *U shpytalnii, voennii sluzhbi*, „Nashe zhyttia” (Our life) (Philadelphia), 1952, no. 10 (11).

⁸¹ Ibidem.

⁸² H. Matviichukova, *Spomyny sestry-zhalibnytsi*, „Litopys Chervonoii Kalyny” (Lviv), III: 1931, 3 September.

a new page in our history. [...] We established the hospital and will work for free to make other people know how much we love our home⁸³.

Ukrainian and Polish women's organizations existed before the First World War in Galicia. Significantly, the women who were involved in the organized women's movement before the war also actively responded after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. On the eve of the war, the Ukrainian Women's Committee and the Women's League of Polish Galicia called for women to participate in work aimed at the realization of national interest⁸⁴. The realities of war demanded specific social and political actions, so both the Ukrainian and Polish national committees called for a revitalization of the national liberation movement. Despite the fact that representatives of the Ukrainian Women's Committee were not allowed to participate in a meeting of Ukrainian politicians in which a resolution on Austrian orientation in case of military conflict between Austria and Russia was adopted, women were not limited to supporting the foreign policy orientation of the Ukrainian political leadership. They adopted their own amendments to the resolution, stressing the idea of national independence instead of 'Austrian loyalty'⁸⁵.

For the first time during the war Ukrainian women participated in the activities of the Ukrainian Women's Committee of the Wounded Soldiers, a charitable organization which operated in Vienna in the autumn of 1914. While its creation was initiated by Ukrainian emigrants, its composition was constantly changing⁸⁶. The Committee's activities were based on the principles of relying on their own strength, economic independence, professional activity, mutual aid, and self-development⁸⁷. The main objective of a Committee member was to find Ukrainian soldiers and care of them in hospitals. Almost fifty thousand Ukrainian soldiers found themselves in Austrian hospitals during the war. Most of them were in poor condition. The women's organizations appealed to the leaders of the hospitals, demanding better nutrition and care for the wounded Ukrainian soldiers. Also, women wrote letters to the soldiers' families and supplied patients with books, calendars, or prayer books⁸⁸. These women's organizations did not deal with issues of ideology, but rather aimed to provide primary care, women's development, and modernization of social activity⁸⁹.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ M. Baidak, 2014a.

⁸⁵ O. Stepaniv, 1930, p. 42.

⁸⁶ M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995, p. 191.

⁸⁷ L. Burachynska, 1987, p. 51.

⁸⁸ O. Okhrymovych-Zalizniak, 1976, p. 49.

⁸⁹ M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995, p. 424.

Local branches of the Red Cross played an important role in helping the wounded and sick and also helped to solve problems within the civilian population. For example, the organization in Stanislav had 19 branches⁹⁰, cooperating with Ukrainian Red Cross Society in Kyiv as early as 1914. It was funded through public donations while also receiving support from the government. By the end of 1919, the female members of this society had assisted 12,152 wounded and interned. They also dug 180 war graves⁹¹. However, the work of the members of the Red Cross was not perfect; there were many complaints. Women did not receive answers to all private problems, so they were forced to seek help from others: ‘Mr. Professor or my brother writes to me bitterly that i know nothing about him’⁹².

Assistance for the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen was provided in another way. In July 1915, with the consent of the local authorities in Lviv, the ‘Protection of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen’ was founded, led by Luba Artymovych. The funds for the organization primarily came from individuals; for example, Madame Liukasova donated a large sum of 1,000 crowns. Ukrainian merchant Roman Zubyk gave blankets and material for white coats. Rural women sent pillows, embroidered towels, and linens⁹³. The custody committee of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, led by Termina Shuhevych, was also engaged in fundraising for the protection and care of the hospital for the riflemen⁹⁴. Ukrainian women’s support of the Sich Riflemen meant a challenge to Polish political superiority in Galicia.

After the Polish-Ukrainian War in Galicia in 1918–1919, which resulted in a Polish victory and the creation of a Polish administration, Ukrainian women had to adapt to the new political reality in order to be able to continue social activities. The most active Ukrainian women participated in the Samaritan Ukrainian civil committee⁹⁵, which included various forms of charity – material, financial, and moral support for interned prisoners and the disabled, both in Ukraine and in many camps located in Poland⁹⁶. In the beginning, this committee did not face Polish opposition, but eventually hospitals needed to get permission from the administration. The work of the women’s section took on a political character sometimes. Ukrainian women had to yield to the Poles,

⁹⁰ „Nasha meta (Lviv), 1919, no. 17, 24 August.

⁹¹ Ibidem.

⁹² LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 48, op. 1, spr. 12-p (Palagna Pryphan, v. Knihynyn, Letter to Roman Zaklynsky, 9 September 1917), 1.

⁹³ Ibidem.

⁹⁴ Ibidem.

⁹⁵ CSHAU in Lviv, f. 462 (Ukrainian civil committee, Lviv, 1918–1923), op. 1, spr. 34, 3.

⁹⁶ Ibidem, spr. 52, 1.

while Austrian mediation in Ukrainian-Polish disputes over Galicia had been common practice from before the war⁹⁷.

The war and privacy for women at home

At the turn of the twentieth century women and Ukrainian society as a whole guided the prevalent gender-role stereotypes about women in the family and women's 'natural destination' in the societal consciousness. Customs established before the war were characterized by distances between social spheres, for example, the roles of a priest, teacher, or lawyer were distinguished from one another in the minds of Galicians. Therefore different female roles with a set of 'proper manners,' impeding women's opportunities for self-realization, evolved. The adoption of a 'husband – wife' dicotomy was mandatory and the key to a 'normal' life. Unmarried women were considered to be 'defective.'

A Ukrainian family in the second half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century was the main source of ideas, customs, and traditions, passed down from generation to generation. The family unit was the most important building block of society for separating ethnic culture and psychology⁹⁸. Nepotism defined one's status in society. Traditionally the Ukrainian family was large and complex. The relationships among family members were based on special attention to public appearances (place), which were a priority compared to other influences⁹⁹. The role of a mother and a wife was considered the foundation for the 'correct' family structure. In pre-war Galicia women took a decisive preparatory (public) role in the 'visible' social activities of men and children¹⁰⁰. Everyday women's work seemed natural, for which a woman was tied to her husband, children, and the farm. In this family 'world' women implemented their organizational and pedagogical abilities and provided support for men. The family, carried by the matriarch, was necessary for the peace and confidence of men, regardless of the possible social, political, or professional setbacks. Commonly the wife determined her husband's success in professional, social, and political spheres. Still a woman was treated as 'different' relative to the male-centric model¹⁰¹, which was created from the cultural context.

⁹⁷ Z. Baran, 2014, p. 123–124.

⁹⁸ R. Chmelyk, 1999, p. 123.

⁹⁹ H. Horyn, 1993, p. 171.

¹⁰⁰ I. Cherchovych, 2012; eadem, 2013; I. Czerczowycz, 2014.

¹⁰¹ S. de Beauvoir, 1994.

World War I created a new reality in private family space. Since men were mobilized to the front, family relationships were built and maintained primarily through correspondence. In fact, during the war women became defenders of the home and had to solve everyday problems. An average woman's everyday experiences underscore the whole tragedy of mankind against the backdrop of global public disasters. In addition, it is important to understand that the quality of life often influenced the moral condition of women. The war showed that gender roles could be flexible, and that a woman could be the main supplier of needs. Although maintaining the family was stressful for women, it was still a means for growth and the development of new skills¹⁰².

A woman became the head of the family when the man left for the front. The war forced women to intensify their efforts to protect their children first. Mobilization created several problems: reducing income and a lack of parental care, since the women needed to work. As a result, juvenile delinquency, the number of orphans, and the number of working children increased. The living standards of refugee children often depended on local communities and charities. Although society tried to provide support, this help was often not enough. Some women criticized the war for cruelty, yet pointed to its role in the recognition of women's emancipation. 'Just look at the importance of women right now! They feed children, send bread to their husbands in the front'¹⁰³.

After the mobilization of men to the front, a woman mostly remained at home with her children, sometimes moved in with her parents or relatives, and only in exceptional cases (with the consent of elders) could she go to the front with her husband (although in most situations people disapproved of such requests because of the dangers and lack of appropriate conditions). Thus, the responsibility for the life and health of children lay on the shoulders of women. Such a burden seemed more difficult than staying at the front sometimes: 'Comparing my situation to the situation of soldiers at the front, it turns out that the position of women with children at the battle line is much worse than in the trenches. As a soldier is alone, the longing for home has subsided. He automatically takes orders and cares only about himself, without grieving for tomorrow. Think about the woman at the front with a responsibility not only for herself, but for the lives of small children'¹⁰⁴. Therefore every woman drew attention to the role and place of women in society, and relationships with

¹⁰² B. Chiarenza, 2006, p. 38.

¹⁰³ State Archives of Ternopil Region (further: SATR), f. P-3205, op. 1, spr. 4 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych, „Woman at the battle line”, vol. 1, 1915–1917), 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, spr. 6 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych „Woman at the battle line”, vol. 3, 1915–1917), 48.

family and community, looking for the answer to the question: 'What should a woman be like in a time of war?'

The new task for women whose husbands had gone to the front arose with the beginning of the war: they had to learn how to earn money to cover their own necessities. The types of work women engaged in were very different. Some women were farmers, which provided them with goods which could be used in exchanges with soldiers. In cities women received income from teaching and transcription. During the war, a lot of illegal, immoral, and even criminal ways of survival took place, and sometimes women were also involved. The black market flourished as women illegally produced and sold alcoholic beverages¹⁰⁵. Some resorted to fraud (for example, falsely fundraising for alleged victims of the war). Gambling and looting also became popular. Relying on people's gullibility, some women 'became' fortune tellers. Prostitution was a common way of earning money. The increased pressure to feed one's family led to an increase in the suicide rate, as well as the number of abandoned children.

The organization of life depended on the financial situation of women: some had to find a source of income (sometimes money was sent from the man at the front), while others might be funded by relatives. Thus, for example, O. Macovei sent his wife 500 crowns a month to provide enough money for living expenses¹⁰⁶. The lack of financial support from her husband and the rapid rise in food and industrial products (in Ukraine, for example, in 1917 the price of bread more than doubled compared to the price in 1913, potatoes – 2.7 times, meat – more than 3 times, oil – more than 5 times)¹⁰⁷ made it more complicated to sustain a family. According to K. Levitskyi, as a result of war events 'some states remained cut off from the world and famine began to look into the eyes'¹⁰⁸.

Aggravation at the front led to famine in Ukraine in the spring of 1916. Because of insufficient food, rationing of milk and bread was introduced, and people had to stand in line at stores to get their rations. Higher prices for consumer goods, a lack of regular sources of income, reduced wages, and variable speculation led to the demonstrations of thousands of Lviv citizens, mostly women and children who demanded the city department supply them with food. The demonstrators chanted 'Down with the war!' and 'Give us our fathers and sons!' At the end of the day the police managed to disperse the demonstration

¹⁰⁵ *Tainoie khranieniie shampanskikh vin*, „Lvovskii viestnik”, 1914, no. 71, 11 May.

¹⁰⁶ LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 66 (Osyp Makovei), spr. 3 (Letters of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 1 October 1915), 14.

¹⁰⁷ I.P. Krypiakevych, 1960, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ K. Levytskyi, 1930, p. 528.

and arrested 15 people, including 13 working women¹⁰⁹. Similar demonstrations due to lack of food occurred during these years. For example, a food riot took place in Lviv on 14 April 1920, in which mainly women and children participated. This time they threw stones at city hall, and the police barely managed to restore order¹¹⁰.

The primary challenge for the organization of life resulted from the complete destruction of many villages and the homes therein. Moreover, the remaining houses were dismantled 'to build trenches [...] The fields were covered with the holes of gun, secret places, and tombs. Returning to their homes, [people] faced emptiness and became beggars'¹¹¹. The war also caused an increase in crime, primarily committed by occupying soldiers, which became a part of everyday life. In the Ukrainian situation it looked like this: 'Russians already prevail in our land, they make their orders here'¹¹². Everyday problems were caused by material damage. The woman (name unknown) who ran away to America in September 1914 after the Russian army began an offensive in Galicia, later described the behavior of Russian soldiers in a letter to her relatives: 'Russian Cossacks entered the village and did what they wanted, they took a bicycle, 2 spoons, 2 combs, brushes, pants, and a pillow. They destroyed the floor in the house. When Russian soldiers entered the bar they usually broke glasses and bottles, poured wine and vodka, massed all the food, then they left the bar without ordering anything beyond the alcohol they had consumed'¹¹³.

The women of Galicia had to share their houses with Austrian or Russian soldiers, causing inconveniences. Ivanna Blazhkevych, a social activist and a resident of a frontline Galician village, remembered times when Russian soldiers were staying in her house in 1915: 'Once again fresh tenants. The team of engineers and Siberian battalion occupied the house. There is an office in one house, the commander and engineer with women in the second. They demand a table, chairs, other staff. Of course, people are on the move and can not have everything. But how can i give them all that?'¹¹⁴. It was very dangerous to stay at home during shelling, so women created hiding-places, usually dugouts, es-

¹⁰⁹ U. Edlinska, Ia. Isaevych, O. Kupchynskyi, 1986, p. 174.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 178.

¹¹¹ D. Kostiv, 1998, p. 430.

¹¹² *Lyst matery Paranky Hrytsuniak do dityi, pysanyi 5 padolysta 1914 roku z Chernykhovets, povit Zbarazh*, „Svoboda” (Jersey City), 1915, no. 16, 9 February.

¹¹³ *Lyst zi Zbarashchyny*, „Svoboda” (Jersey City), 1915, no. 8, 21 January.

¹¹⁴ LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 243 (Ivanna Blazhkevych), spr. 2 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych „Woman at the battle line”, 10.08.1917 – 1.11.1918), 73.

pecially for children. Losing animals was the biggest burden, because milk was considered a 'currency' that could be exchanged for scarce products¹¹⁵.

Ivanna Blazhkevych compared traditions of etiquette with Russian officers. 'I am sitting in front of my tea. No word is said from the owners of the table. My tea is almost cold, sugar is not even given. i do not know whether this is a typical behavior, or if they are very interested in news from different places. i think both. Anyway i drank cold tea with Russians for the first time'¹¹⁶. It was optional in the tradition of Russian women to 'cajole' guests to help themselves during their visits. As I. Blazhkevych wrote, 'The officers came for tea. It was quite clear that the food on the table was designed for guests. So why should i play comedy, asking hungry people to eat more?'¹¹⁷. After the tea ceremony at her own house, she realized that it was not accustomed to make any 'invitations' in the Russian tradition of hospitality: 'Now i have understood that while visiting they do not pay any attention on the insistent invitation to table. It is clear that the food has been served for the guests. My husband often used to blame me that i cannot invite the guests to the table. It is so difficult to play a comedy to invite the hungry people to have a meal. [...] Thus, i was so happy to see my guests from the foreign country savoring jam with hot tea'¹¹⁸. Blazhkevych made a conclusion that the Galicians were not properly aware of Russia and its people. Before the experience she was expecting to see the wives of Russian officers 'who are hardly more cultured than Eskimo women'¹¹⁹. The population of Galicia adhered mainly to the Austrian orientation with an ambivalent attitude toward the Russian authorities, as their culture was perceived as foreign¹²⁰.

The Great War created realities for the new definition of Home – 'Displaced home' which had become the reality homeless or forcibly displaced people. In the case of Ukrainian people, we are speaking about Gmünd camp (which functioned for the Halician Ukrainians removed from the war zone) and Talerhof an internment camp where the Austro-Hungarian authorities imprisoned mostly Ukrainians / Carpatho-Ruthenians of Galicia who sympathized with the Russian Empire. Magdalena Bylchynska remembered that during the forced eviction from villages women tried to save their children and take some foodstuffs to have something to eat for the first time. Accordingly to her recollections, mass migration of people (mostly women and children) was accom-

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 63.

¹¹⁶ I. Blazhkevych, *Spohady (30.7.1914 – 4.10.1921)*, „Dzvin” (Lviv), 1991, no. 5, 121.

¹¹⁷ SATR, f. P-320, op. 1, spr. 6 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych „Woman at the battle line”, vol. 3, 1915–1917), 65.

¹¹⁸ I. Blazhkevych, 1991.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem.

¹²⁰ O. Shchodra, I. Petrii, 2014, p. 375.

panied by weeping and cries, but women had a hope to come back home one day¹²¹. But Ilka Ehrenburg believed that no wonder was in their homelessness, because they had such legacy in blood, like ‘an old habit of homelessness’¹²² from the previous generations.

Refugees were an important sign of war. At first they were fled from panic and fear, but in 1915 forced evacuations began. At the beginning of August 1915, about one-hundred-thousand refugees moved eastward. People sold things on a way, sat on the train, and went a variety of ways, relying on chance and luck. This resulted in divorces, lost children, and death from disease. Many refugees remained close to the front line, hoping that it would be possible to return home¹²³. For example, the Gmünd camp, with a population of more than thirty-thousand people co-existing with different nationalities, ages, social statuses, religions, and political preferences saw a great deal of strife. Most women suffered from being separated from their families¹²⁴. In the camp, as in society in general, men and women were separated, the former fighting for social ideals, while the latter tried to survive and save the lives of their children¹²⁵.

Voluntary or forced escape had a strong impact on women. The hardest thing was to cope with the separation from their homes and move into the unknown. a lack of transportation for property and livestock created real panic because women had no idea where to go, where to live, what to eat. The journey to the camp, which was often accompanied by famine and death, generated a hatred for the war. Life at Gmünd was a shock for women, which at the beginning had no individual shelters, clothes, or food. Women had to live in barracks with 200–50 people, which destroyed the traditional concept of family values and violated the principles of individual space¹²⁶. Men and women eased themselves all together in the presence of the soldiers over ditches in Talerhof¹²⁷. Women had to wash themselves under such conditions in Talerhof: ‘The warriors ringed them in and they should undress, wash and grease their hair with Vaseline. Rude, shameless jokes sounded at the same time’¹²⁸. The camp created divides based on national and gender status or other differences that required competition for survival. However, the experiences of

¹²¹ M. Bylczyńska, 2012, p. 124.

¹²² I.K. Ehrenburg, 2010, p. 68.

¹²³ B. Bernatskyi, 1999, p. 12.

¹²⁴ L. Zhvanko, 2013.

¹²⁵ V. Makovskyi, 1935.

¹²⁶ Ibidem.

¹²⁷ LNSL. Manuscripts department, f. 9, op. 1, spr. o/н 122 (Camp Talerhof. Excerpts from the memoirs of Kosma Nikolayevich), 139 v.

¹²⁸ Ibidem, 140.

women in the refugee camps are difficult to reduce to a common denominator. Reactions to the surrounding circumstances depended on the individual's perception of a given situation. The most active women went to work outside the camp. They were employed in agriculture, forestry, industrial plants, defense programs, or served as servants, which made it possible for the family to avoid starvation. Thus women adapted to the realities of the camp. After the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in 1918, Gmünd was closed and women faced a new choice - to return home or build a new life in a new place¹²⁹.

The Great War was a time when the concept of motherhood had various meanings. Here we must distinguish the concept of motherhood from child-birth, as the birth rate declined during the war. Instead, caring for children, oriented toward 'child survival,' acquired a new meaning. In the absence of men, women also took on the role of father, i.e., providing children with food and protecting them from disease and death as a casualty of war¹³⁰. On the other hand, the war can be considered a time when the concept of motherhood became less emphasized due to the large number of orphans. Children without a mother became completely helpless, but at the same time seemed doomed to survive. In fact, women found themselves in a psychological trap, caught between their biological and social roles.

Educating children became difficult since many schools had been destroyed¹³¹. Interruptions in education led children to forget even the most basic material. Sometimes women in villages organized lessons for children at home. There were popular groups for girls, who were taught cooking, sewing, and how to provide first aid. The situation was somewhat different in the cities. For example, some schools in Lviv experienced a shortage of students, so school administrations threatened to close. One school even ran the following notice in the newspaper *Dilo*: 'We let you know that very few students applied for M. Shashkevych school. Due to this fact we demand the registration of children for urban public school in Ukraine immediately – otherwise the school will be closed'¹³². The situation with kindergartens in towns and villages also varied. In villages women had to raise children themselves, while in the cities in addition to preschools, special shelters were opened for women with young children¹³³. I. Blazhkevych regretted that she could not educate her son Bohdan anymore.

¹²⁹ Ibidem.

¹³⁰ LNSL. Manuscripts department, f. 1 (Biblioteka Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka), spr. 785/33 (Letter from Stepan Moroz to wife Fedora, 1915), 1.

¹³¹ *Iak diiet sia u chuzhykh, a yak u nas*, „Dilo” (Lviv), 1917, no. 240, 12 October.

¹³² *Opovishchenie*, „Ukrainske slovo” (Lviv), 1915, 5 September.

¹³³ *Otwarcie schroniska dla matek z niemowlętami*, „Kurjer Lwowski”, 1915, no. 68, 24 February (9 March).

She tried to substitute her absence with different toys. Any possibility to stay with her child was a great pleasure for her¹³⁴.

Protracted war, a lack of basic necessities, and the constant movement of troops in residential areas deprived children of familiar prewar joys. During the war the number of homeless children increased¹³⁵. Many of them became victims of the criminal world: they were injured, robbed and used in heavy physical work. The mobilization of men deprived children of a father figure, leading to disobedience and adolescent outrage. Along with the increase in violence in children and adolescents, some romanticism could be also seen, revolving around a faith in victory and the desire to contribute to the war effort. At train stations in Lviv, Kovel, Brody, police repeatedly detained boys who were trying to reach the front. During the war, there were many cases when mothers voluntarily abandoned their children, frequently at train stations or hospitals. Sometimes women committed infanticide.

Military realities determined the evolution of values and changed people's attitudes toward life, illness, or the war in particular. People learned to adapt under any circumstance. a Galician villager woman (name unknown) described the experiences of the war after the bombing of her house in a letter to her husband (1915): 'I wish not to know the war. But now everyone has sensed how it smells. All know that God is in the world and need to ask God for help. Now they know what war is, what hunger and cold mean, they know what it means to be ill'¹³⁶. The war influenced the 'development' of the death phenomenon, which became recognized as an everyday part of life. The views and efforts of the people left behind revolved around the problems of daily survival. Nothing was more important. The understanding of death deprived people of hostility and alienation¹³⁷.

The emotional component of everyday life, psychology, and family relations models are reflected in private letters. Usually they are very sincere, without heroic pathos, with simple questions, answers, and uncomplicated messages. The reason for this, as mentioned by O. Macovei, was that 'nothing new happens. Day to day are such as the two drops of water. Nothing to write about'¹³⁸. The lack of materials was also an important issue: 'You ask me why

¹³⁴ LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 243, spr. 2 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych „Woman at the battle line”, 10.08.1917 – 1.11.1918), 21.

¹³⁵ *Ukrainska opika nad syrotamy*, „Dilo” (Lviv), 1917, no. 290, 9 December.

¹³⁶ *Lyst z viiny*, „Svoboda” (Jersey City) 1915, no. 10, 26 January.

¹³⁷ *Lyst zi shpytaliu v Horishnii Avstrii*, „Svoboda” (Jersey City), 1915, no. 8, 21 January.

¹³⁸ LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 66 (Osyp Makovei), spr. 3 (Letters of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 1914), 1.

i do not write to you. Because there is nothing to write on¹³⁹. However, letters perfectly reflect the inner world of a man, his daily life, and they contain vast information which helps us understand the thoughts, feelings, hopes, ideals, and dreams of the individual in times of war.

Family relationships were very special, with different principles, beliefs, and habits. Each couple created its own values, though spouses differed by profession, education, social status, citizenship, mental or hereditary traits, qualities of character, and so on. Thus it is difficult to identify a single or universal type of relationship. Below i discuss the fate of three families with different material and social statuses. These three examples demonstrate that war breaks the traditional idea of the place and role of women in the family and provides an opportunity to form new relationships. Clearly, it is possible to search for other behavior models, but these examples show the diversity and background to the changes the war created.

The first type: Olga Levytska and Dmytro Basarab – family life broken by the war. The war led to changes in family relationships, gave women the opportunity to fill the roles of men, and eventually to choose an occupation. Prolonged separation of spouses gave rise to the formation of some families, and created equality where both partners considered their mutual needs. In such families communication was characterized by respect, correctness, and attempts in which each partner tried to relate to the other's situation. Here we consider the relationship between Olga Levytska and Dmytro Basarab¹⁴⁰. Their married life, which began at the beginning of the war, however, proved to be short-lived.

They met at the beginning of the war, when both were actively involved in student organizations and admired military affairs. The prohibition of women from joining the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen pushed Olga Levytska to create a family: 'Olga once was at crossroads, either to go to the USS or to get married. She wanted to go to war, but when it became clear that Ukrainian girls were forbidden to join the USS, Olga followed the voice of the heart and began to share fate and anguish with Dmytro¹⁴¹. In July 1914 the couple moved to Vienna, where they were married in St. Barbara's Church. Later, the couple moved to Fort Malborhet, and when the front line came closer to the fortress

¹³⁹ Ibidem, f. 1 (Shevchenko Scientific Society Library), spr. 785/3 (Letter of Demian Benko to his wife Maria, 1916), 1.

¹⁴⁰ CSHAU in Lviv, f. 866 (Olga Basarab-Levytska), op. 1, spr. 5 (Postcards of Olga Levytska to her groom Dmytro); spr. 6 (Postcards of Dmytro Basarab to his bride Olga).

¹⁴¹ S. Levytskyi, 1976, p. 28.

in winter of 1915, the officers' wives were obligated to leave. Then Olga moved to Vienna, where she took up social work¹⁴².

Letters between them were written in romantic and sublime tones, full of expressions of mutual admiration: 'I would like to be near you now, to hug you and look at you. You do not know how often, when you slept on my lap, that i loved to watch you and kiss your mouth gently so that you did not wake up'¹⁴³. The lack of information about her husband generated anxiety: 'Where are you now? i do not know where to look– in the mountains or at the front, or maybe in the woods. If i was now by myself, i would really go mad. i am thinking about you'¹⁴⁴. The separation forced the marriage to become a relationship by correspondence, which due to the war involved tangible notes of fatalism: 'If we are still destined to come together, so we'll get together then, but if not, then not'¹⁴⁵. In January 1915, Dmytro was already on the Austrian front lines of the Italian front. Olga tried to hide her concern for the life of her husband by maintaining a calm tone in her letters, and he asked for forgiveness for causing trouble¹⁴⁶.

Dmytro asked about life, lessons, and feelings in his letters. In response, she described in detail the course of her days – from morning walks to evening cases in the hospital. Olga asked Dmytro to send tobacco to patients, but also apologized for the request, for he also could need it, though she didn't like him to smoke. Dmytro maintained all the whims of his beloved, even if he did not share her views: 'I'll buy and send cigarettes to you, so that you can play the honorable one'¹⁴⁷. He believed that everyone should participate in the war efforts within their means¹⁴⁸. After all, he did not prohibit Olga from being charitable at their own expense¹⁴⁹.

In letters Dmytro and Olga also assured each other of their mutual fidelity and devotion: 'Don't hesitate, believe that you are the only one in the whole world'¹⁵⁰. Olga often poured her fears, emotions, and moods into her letters, 'Maybe i wouldn't cry if you were here. i would like to have you on my knees. i would like to hug you, everything would be easier'¹⁵¹. It can be seen from the letters that an inner sensual relationship was forming between them, as they

¹⁴² Ibidem.

¹⁴³ CSHAU in Lviv, f. 866, op. 1, spr. 5 (Postcards of Olga Levytska to her groom Dmytro), 73.

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, 74.

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem, 72.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem, spr. 6 (Postcards of Dmytro Basarab to his bride Olga), 157.

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, 184.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem, spr. 5 (Postcards of Olga Levytska to her groom Dmytro), 88.

guessed mutual sentiments and desires, and found accurate words. Sensing danger, Dmytro tried to prepare his wife with this fatal message: 'I sent money to you, because i do not need it. Who knows whether i will wake up tomorrow. Do not worry much, live while you can, but i do not know what will happen to me. i have compassion for you, Olga, I'm very sorry'¹⁵².

Olga's hope of creating 'their house' was broken by the news of her husband's death on 22 June 1915, which was sent by his friend. Olena Okhrymovych Zalizniak, Olga's friend, recalled the moment: '...she bent over the bloody towels used by his comrades to save him, over an unfinished letter which was found after his death. And two letters to her mother with the inscription: 'If i don't return, ask forgiveness for my broken life, for my sleepless nights, and my lost hope to help my son'¹⁵³. At the time of her husband's death, Olga was 26 years old. Her social activities in the hospital helped her to relieve her pain: 'She wore dark clothes and went to the hospitals to visit wounded soldiers, giving them a smile and consolation, though her own heart was full of sorrow'¹⁵⁴.

The letters of the Basarab couple contain little information of everyday life, which Olga only wrote about at the request of her husband. Instead there are many epistolary hopes to create their happy married life after the war. Confessions of love is another repeated theme. It is significant that neither Olga nor Dmytro did not complain about life or material difficulties. They relied on each other and agreed that a couple must be patient and trust in the 'blind luck of the war'¹⁵⁵.

The second type: Between work and home (by correspondence of Ivanna Blazhkevych). The state of common 'waiting,' daily routine, a lack of confidence in the future days, the proximity to death, that every time closed around more and more, brought hopelessness and escalated the desire for a male presence in the family. In order to 'get rid of dark thoughts,' women engaged in social work. Social activity affected not only the self-perception of women but also their private lives. Understanding that a woman could handle both domestic and social work on her own helped to form the partnership model of a family.

The letters of Ivanna Blazhkevych reflect the situation of a woman who tried to combine public- and private-sector activities that contributed to forming of a family partnership. The absence of a man at home during the war pushed privacy to the background. Social work became more important than coziness. Ivanna was called 'the devil, not a woman' for her activism. Her hus-

¹⁵² Ibidem, 87.

¹⁵³ O. Okhrymovych-Zalizniak, 1976, p. 48.

¹⁵⁴ L. Myshuha, 1976, p. 90.

¹⁵⁵ CSHAU in Lviv, f. 866, op. 1, spr. 6 (Postcards of Dmytro Basarab to his bride Olga), 187.

band, Ivan Blazhkevych, director of the village school, had been mobilized to the Austrian army at the beginning of the war. Later he was captured by the Russians in Turkestan. Ivanna stayed in the village Zalukva with their two children, Bogdan and Liuba¹⁵⁶.

The sophisticated material and psychological routine of the war underscored the importance of a male presence in the family: 'I'm sick at heart, because i can see my own infirmity. All this is too heavy for the one'¹⁵⁷. Letters from her husband were full of consolation. For example, he ordered, 'Keep calm. Be cheerful. Set out energy to balance the entire spirit in you'¹⁵⁸. Her financial position was difficult: It was useless to expect help from her husband, so 'at least i have comfort for myself, tubers and vegetables in the garden. The cow has food. There are some chickens. It will be enough for two or three months. And then the war will be over. All stubbornly hold to this thought'¹⁵⁹. Sometimes her father provided financial help from his village, Denisov. 'Some medicine and two pairs of black stockings' came from her husband's cousin¹⁶⁰.

In a letter to her sister, she explained that her house was the 'House of Hope,' where they lived with thoughts of a happy future, and it would be terrible for them and their children to move anywhere¹⁶¹. Her husband's house added a bit of confidence and anxiety, distracted from gloomy ideas. In fact 'here, in his house i rejoice to myself when i can..., if the cow doesn't give enough milk, or the pig does not want to eat...'¹⁶². The house for this woman was a pleasant memory of a joint married life¹⁶³. Together with a sense of responsibility for her children, she lived with the hope of her husband's return: 'Looking around i see i need his support, so i live with a hope of his happy return'¹⁶⁴.

In Ivan's letters, education and the health of the children were one of his main concerns. Bohdan was very glad when some photographs came. The father also asked Ivanna to 'educate their son well and teach him kindness.

¹⁵⁶ *Zhinka, ne uhdna zhodnii vladi (Korotke slovo pro pysmennytsiu Ivannu Blazhkevych)*, „Dzvin” (Lviv), 1991, no. 5, p. 117.

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 118.

¹⁵⁸ SATR, f. P-3205, op. 1, spr. 4 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych „Woman at the battle line”, vol. 2, 1915-1917), 53.

¹⁵⁹ I. Blazhkevych, *Spohady (30.7.1914 - 4.10.1921)*, „Dzvin” (Lviv), 1991, no. 6, p. 124.

¹⁶⁰ LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 41 (Hrushkevych), spr. 44 (Letters of Ivanna Blazhkevych to Jaroslav Grushkevych), 31.

¹⁶¹ Ibidem, 12.

¹⁶² Ibidem.

¹⁶³ Ibidem, 14.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem, 12.

It was his dream to form Bogdan into a hard-working man with the soul of a philosopher. i also wanted that¹⁶⁵. Despite the uncertainty of the future, her husband still created plans: 'God willing, we will go to Kyiv soon'¹⁶⁶. His letters ended with the words: 'Bonda! Bonda! If you could know how i miss you. i ask you to send photographs of the children'¹⁶⁷. While reading these letters, Ivanna rejoiced that 'my little children are not orphans'. After the death of their daughter Liuba, 'consolation' from Ivanna's husband was absent for six months: 'I wrote in German, in the hopes that it would go through the censors faster, but the use of a foreign language was not that touching'¹⁶⁸.

Ivanna Blazhkevych waited seven years for the return of her husband. During this time she managed to organize the 'Farmer' and the 'One's Own Help' organization. These organizations assisted in the return of prisoners of war from exile camps. Ivanna also hosted hundreds of soldiers in her own house, though sometimes it caused domestic and emotional troubles. The feeling of helplessness and insecurity at the beginning of the war eventually changed to determination and turned her into the type of woman called 'a man in a dress'.

After receiving the news of the return of her husband, Ivanna was gripped by the fear of the changes that might have occurred in each of them. However, the long-awaited reunion was emotional and dispelled doubts: 'I opened the door. And there was my dearest, so-long-awaited guest, the same as seven years ago. i felt half dead when i put my head on his chest, my closest friend. After seven years we were together again, still close and dear, though we had had different experiences, which gave us a rich source of memories for more than another seven years'¹⁶⁹.

The third type: The 'Perfect' family of Osyp Makovey and Olga Makovey (Korduba). During the war many families maintained traditional relations based on the idea of the 'perfect' family. In this case, the couple adhered to traditional practices with a 'dominant' husband and 'dependent' wife. The reason for this affiliation, on the one hand, was the material dependence of women on their husbands, and on the other, the fear of changing one's usual lifestyle to something unknown, which does not guarantee safety. Women were taught that 'her husband will give bread' and a 'good woman' should be a 'good house-

¹⁶⁵ Ibidem, f. 243, spr. 2 (Diary of Ivanna Blazhkevych „Woman at the battle line”, 10.08.1917 – 1.11.1918), 89.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem, spr. 6 (Ivanna Blazhkevych, „Accident' – memories from the time of World War I, fragment), 1 (Written by I. Blazhkevych hand: 23).

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁸ „Dzvin” (Lviv), 1991, no. 6, p. 140.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 147.

keeper'. Therefore it was not easy for Galician women to follow the path of an 'independent' life.

According to these ideas Osyp and Olga Makovey built their family. Married life for the Makovey family began long before the war, in 1903. The choice of this model was defined not only by traditional views, but the age difference (13 years), which, according to Osyp Makovey, gave him the right to 'educate' his desired companion. Their relationship remained unchanged during the war. Olga subordinated to the interests of husband, did not contradict his desires, and supported the idea of the importance of men. The war interrupted the marriage of Makovey family in Zalishchyky in the Ternopil region, where Osyp was the director of the teachers' seminary. During the war he served as a war correspondent in the Austrian army, and later, for health reasons, he was transferred to the position of Chief postal censors in Chernivci. At this time, Olga Makovey (Korduba) lived with her father in Berezhany.

Osyp Makovey spent 'four years minus three weeks' at the front and almost daily sent letters to his wife in which he 'described his personal life' in detail¹⁷⁰. Very often he did not get responses, and so he complained, explaining that the greatest tragedy of war is no news. 'Just think that you are not alive anymore, that you do not exist, that our family is gone'¹⁷¹. As a censor, Osyp saw a lot of letters in which human worries were described: 'You need to know', he wrote to his wife, 'in those letters from thousands of women exists the same sadness and longing as in yours, but even a hundred times worse, because there are people who have more horrible troubles than we do'¹⁷². However, he acknowledged that the war had generated thousands of meaningless letters caused only by regret and longing for family. He noticed national characteristics of the correspondence during the war: 'Germans told me that they had not got letters even for weeks – and that it was usual thing. They look at the matter differently, and our women would not agree with such order at all'¹⁷³.

Osyp's letters combine thoughts of a private, social, and political character with intensive business and everyday information, which he gave in a pedantic way. He carefully recorded material costs. Sending his wife 500 crowns per month (or more), he still pointed out the need for frugality: 'Tomorrow i will send a thousand crowns for daily costs. i lead such a household so that everything could be at home in the garden and in the field so there will be no

¹⁷⁰ LNSL, Manuscripts department, f. 66 (Osyp Makovei), spr. 3 (Letters of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 1 November 1914), 1.

¹⁷¹ Ibidem.

¹⁷² Ibidem, spr. 6 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 19 November 1916), 15.

¹⁷³ Ibidem, spr. 9 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 1 August 1916), 9.

need to buy anything. Think about everything for the whole year, so you will not need to rely on anybody¹⁷⁴. He explained his thoroughness with a desire to provide a decent life for his family after the war – this ‘terrible entertainment of the world’¹⁷⁵. Osyp Makovey described the content of each parcel (it was mostly food, clothes, tobacco) in details¹⁷⁶. He also called for austerity. He advised, for example, to mix high-grade tobacco with low-grade, for ‘it will last longer’¹⁷⁷. He spoke in detail about the weather, his diet, the interior of buildings he used to live in: ‘In Stanislaw i was waiting for half a night, tired on my way. i arrived only at 10 a.m., slept for 3 hours, then i had dinner and went again to sleep’¹⁷⁸. ‘At home we made a whole household: bought some plates we used while eating from cafe. It is not bad but there is no wine’¹⁷⁹.

Such pedantry, which bordered on triviality, is explained by the way he cared for his wife. Perhaps Osyp Makovey intended to compensate for the remoteness of his family by creating an imaginary family environment, without provoking ‘extra’ issues. In his view, the war for men had two consequences: on the one hand, they had become ‘more independent’ and could organize life without women’s care, while on the other, ‘as the war lasts even longer, husbands will become strangers to their wives’¹⁸⁰. Makovey accused the war of having taken away his private life: ‘I have already nothing to worry about, only that after the war i need to start up my private life again and bring back all i have lost in the war. This is pure hell, i married too late, my wife came too late, and now for the third year we have been living as if we were divorced – where is the truth in the world? Still, the war ends, and we will come back home not brave at all. While the commander in the form of a wife is waiting at home: very well, what the knight is there. Well, I’m still a strong guy’¹⁸¹.

Conclusion

Social and military activities of women during the war had a decisive influence on their cultural, educational, social, and political situation. The changes brought by the war helped some Galician women to break from their traditional home restrictions and acquire. During the war the conception of the

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem, spr. 6 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, dateless), 1.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, spr. 9 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 11 August 1916), 13 v.

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, spr. 11 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 9 June 1918), 1.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, 16.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, spr. 7 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 8 June 1916), 3.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 10 v. (21 June 1916).

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem, spr. 6 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 24 March 1916), 8.

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, spr. 10 (Letter of Osyp Makovei to his wife Olga, 14 November 1916), 11.

social roles of women changed, and the understanding of natural rights increased. Women gained more space for organizing their private living space and became confident in their capacity to make responsible decisions. Women who were at the forefront as ordinary soldiers, scouts, or nurses looked at their wartime experience as the turning point in their lives – for better or for worse. Under any circumstances, it was a risk that was not always clear to loved ones and not always respected by public opinion. But it was necessary to sacrifice for the sake of ‘liberation.’ However, new fashion and different behavior affected only a small portion of women, as the majority continued to live within the world of patriarchal ideas. The patriarchal state and traditions, based on religion in Galician society, remained decisive.

The ‘boundary situation’ affected by the war influenced the mood and behavior of women. They were forced to adapt to reality, and sometimes tried to avoid new challenges, wavering between desires and daily needs, between private and public interests. Ukrainian women went to war with a completely different social experience. Staying with men in the army and active social activities created a tendency for women to form distinctly individual life strategies. Women became less dependent on men, which affected family practices. The relationship between husband and wife continued to be perceived as something complete and inviolable. Circumstances also mattered. In the case of some women, contact with foreign men was sometimes the only opportunity to save themselves and their children’s lives. After the mobilization of men, women mainly remained at home with their children, sometimes moved in with their parents or relatives, and only in exceptional cases (with the consent of elders) could they go to the front with their husbands (although the men did not approve of this practice because of insecurity and the lack of suitable conditions). Women tried to overcome their isolation during the war through correspondence. In fact, ‘life in letters’ became the main form of existence of families. Women’s letters were full of introspection, the rethinking of one’s own value, sometimes a kind of ‘self-victimization’ as a consequence of war. However, life forced women to solve complex and urgent issues and changed the usual state of subordination.

The researches of the First world war are traditionally carried out on the line with the men’s narratives, depict a woman solely as a victim of war and give this way approvingly-positive meanings. However, female environment or single woman did not reflect a positive force during the war. Women and men acted in a variety of environments, often guided by purely personal interests, ruining the image of the ‘ideal woman.’ Women mainly adhered to the traditional social roles in time of war (wife, mother, homemaker), military and public activity of women were not always focused on the long perspective. We

can say with the confidence only that the war destroyed the social and territorial boundaries – real and imaginary, and then opened the woman's space for self-realization. Studying women's history, especially in the 'border situation', which was a war, it is important to avoid ideas about its integrity. Women's and men's stories can't exist separately, especially stories that relate to war.

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