STUDIE / ARTICLE

The ULU National and Organizational Work among Captured Ukrainian Officers of the Russian Army in Austria-Hungary (1917–the first half of 1918)

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The article analyses the main directions of national-organizational work carried out by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (the ULU) among Ukrainian officers of the Russian army who were held as prisoners of war in 1917 and the first half of 1918. Through the efforts of ULU representatives in the camps, Ukrainian ('Little Russian')[1] theatrical and choral groups, li-

1 'Little Russian' – a collective term referring to ethnic Ukrainians who, by rejecting their own national identity, advocated the political and national interests of the Great Russians. In practice, they accepted the theory of the 'three brotherly peoples' and denied the idea of Ukrainian statehood (full independence), instead adhering to the position of autonomy for Ukrainian lands within a 'democratic' Russia. They constituted an ethnic substratum prone to complete assimilation within the 'Russian sea'.

braries, reading rooms, and various educational courses were established. Ukrainian periodicals and books began to reach the officers' camps, leading to significant transformations in their worldview. The activities of the ULU among officers intensified after the fall of the tsarist regime, when it became possible to establish separate stations (camps) to hold Ukrainian officers. As a result, communities of Ukrainian officers were formed in Josefstadt[2] and Klein München, consisting of officers with Ukrainophile views who had already made their choice in favour of Ukraine. Consequently, some Ukrainian officers succeeded in shedding the remnants of 'Little Russian' identity in their consciousness and dedicated themselves to serving Ukraine. The emergence of an independent Ukrainian state became another 'watershed moment' for this group of officers. In March 1918, they began to enlist in the 'Grey Coats' Division,[3] which was formed from Ukrainian prisoners of war in Austria-Hungary. Their patriotic commitment became one of the significant factors in the development of the Ukrainian armed forces during the struggle for independence in 1917–1920.
Keywords: Ukrainian prisoners of war officers; camps; Ukrainian hobby and study groups; Union for the Liberation of Ukraine; Austria-Hungary.

2 Josefov (German: Josefstadt; since 1948 part of the town of Jaroměř, located approximately 15 kilometres northeast of Hradec Králové in eastern Czechia) is an eighteenth-century fortress town in which, at the beginning of the First World War, a POW camp was established for officers of the tsarist Russian Army taken prisoner. Following the Ukrainization of the camp, carried out through the efforts of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (ULU) in the spring of 1917, a Ukrainian community was formed there, overseeing the activities of several camp institutions, including an amateur theatre, a library, and educational courses. In the winter of 1918, the Josefstadt camp became a gathering point for Ukrainian officers from across Austro-Hungarian camps who had volunteered to enter Ukrainian service and join the 'Grey Coats' Division.

3 The 'Grey Coats' Division (1st Rifle-Cossack Division) was a Ukrainian military unit formed from Ukrainian soldiers of the former tsarist army who had been held as prisoners of war in Austria-Hungary. The division was composed primarily of Ukrainian POWs stationed in the Freistadt camp (soldiers) and the Josefstadt camp (officers). Its final training took place in the town of Volodymyr-Volynskyi (March–August 1918), after which the division was transferred to Ukraine and placed under the command of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi. Units of the division took an active part in the events of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1920.

Introduction

One of the consequences of armed confrontation on the fronts of the First World War was the capture of soldiers from opposing armies, who were subsequently held in prisoner-of-war camps. This also affected the tsarist army, whose frequent military defeats led to the establishment of a significant number of camps for Russian prisoners on the territory of Austria-Hungary. Convinced that Russia was and would remain a 'colossus on clay feet', the Austrian imperial government, while coordinating its actions with its ally Germany, made every effort to destabilize the Russian Empire. In doing so, it sought to exploit the aspirations of peoples oppressed by Russia—above all Ukrainians—for independent public and political life.

To this end, official Vienna sanctioned the creation of a camp for Ukrainian prisoners in Freistadt (December 1914) and, following the fall of the tsarist regime, resorted to separating prisoners according to nationality, including officers of the former tsarist army. These officers were held in a number of so-called 'mixed' camps throughout Austria-Hungary. Even a simple list of these camps conveys the geographical breadth of the locations in which Ukrainian officers were isolated: Klein München (near Linz), Marchtrenk, Braunau am Inn (all in Upper Austria); Gart (near Amstetten), Mühling (near Wieselburg), Spratzern (all in Lower Austria); Josefstadt, Theresienstadt, Deutsch Gabel (now Jablonné v Podještědí), Reichenberg (now Liberec) (all in the Czech lands); Zalaegerszeg and Varosszalonak (both in Hungary), and others.

This policy was facilitated by the existence, from the very beginning of the war, of a Ukrainian political non-party organization—the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (the ULU)—operating in Austria-Hungary. The ULU linked the creation of a Ukrainian state to the military defeat of Russia in the First World War. With its organizational assistance, Ukrainian ('Little Russian') hobby and study groups were formed, usually comprising a relatively small number of officers of Ukrainian origin, most of whom adhered to 'autonomist' political views. Their worldview, however, changed rapidly under the influence of revolutionary events in Russia and the political achievements of the Ukrainian Central Rada, prompting them to take an active part in national state-building.

Historiography

Research into the problem of the capture of soldiers and officers of the Russian army was initiated by Austrian historians in the late 1980s,[4] and their interest in this subject was subsequently sustained.[5]

With a delay of several years, the topic also entered the field of Ukrainian historiography. Ukrainian scholars focused both on the activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in camps holding captured soldiers of the Russian army—particularly the separation of Ukrainians and their concentration in national camps[6]—and on the general conditions of operation of these camps, especially

4 Fritz FELLNER, 'Die Stadt in der Stadt. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager in Freistadt 1914–1918', *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 43 (1989), Heft 1, pp. 3–32; Verena MORITZ, 'Das russische Kriegsgefangenenwesen 1914–1920', *Österreichische Osthefte* 41 (1999), Heft 1. pp. 83–106; Verena MORITZ – Hannes LEIDINGER, *Zwischen Nutzen und Bedrohung. Die russischen Kriegsgefangenen in Österreich 1914–1921* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe, 2005); Hannes LEIDINGER – Verena MORITZ, 'Verwaltete Massen. Kriegsgefangene in der Donaumonarchie 1914–1918', in *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Jochen OLTMER (Paderborn 2006), pp. 35–66.

5 Verena MORITZ, 'The Treatment of Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary 1914/1915: The Historiography of Prisoners of War in the Late Habsburg Empire', in *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I* (New Orleans, Louisiana, USA: UNO Press, 2014), pp. 233–246; Eadem, 'Kriegsgefangenschaft im Ersten Weltkrieg in Österreich-Ungarn: Themen und Fragestellungen als Ausgangspunkt neuer Forschungen', in *Die Mittelmächte und der Erste Weltkrieg*, eds. Christian M. Ortner – Hans Hubertus Mack (Wien: Militaria, 2016), pp. 292–300; Eadem, 'Lager in Niederösterreich: Kriegsgefangene, Flüchtlinge, Deportierte', in *Fern der Front – mitten im Krieg 1914–1918: Alltagsleben im Hinterland* (2016), Band 60, pp. 116–127; Verena MORITZ – Julia WALLECZEK-FRITZ, 'Prisoners of War (Austria-Hungary)', in *International Encyclopedia of the First World War,* https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/prisoners_of_war_austria-hungary (accessed 19.11.2025); Verena MORITZ – Julia WALLECZEK-FRITZ, *Kriegsgefangenschaft in Österreich-Ungarn 1914–1918: Historiographien, Kontext, Themen* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, ein Imprint der Brill Gruppe, 2022); Heather JONES, 'Prisoners of War', in *The Cambridge History of the First World War. The Cambridge History of the First World War*, ed. J. WINTER (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 266–290.

6 Ihor SRIBNYAK, *Diyalnist Soyuzu vyzvolennya Ukrayiny sered polonenykh starshyn-ukrayintsiv tsarskoyi armiyi u taborakh Nimechchyny ta Avstro-Uhorshchyny (1915–1918 rr.)* (Kyiv: Kyivskyy derzhavnyy linhvistychnyy universytet, 1996); Idem, 'Kulturno-prosvitnytska i orhanizatsiyna diyalnist Soyuzu Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny u bahatonatsionalnykh taborakh tsarskoyi armiyi v Avstro-Uhorshchyni ta Nimechchyni (1914–1917 rr.)', in *Problemy istoriyi Ukrayiny XIX – pochatku XX st.*, vyp. III (Kyiv: Instytut istoriyi Ukrayiny NANU, 2001), pp. 198–221.

Freistadt and Josefstadt.[7] Around the same time, Russian historians[8] also turned to this line of research, although the first synthetic monographs appeared only in 2010. Even then, Russian scholarship failed to produce substantial monographic studies, remaining largely limited to individual articles.[9]

A systematic study of the Ukrainization of captured officers (Ukrainians by origin) was initiated by two research papers based on documents from the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government Administration of Ukraine (TsDAVO of Ukraine).[10] Scholarly investigation of the everyday life and activities of captured Ukrainian officers continued thereafter, as reflected in a number of essays devoted to camps for captured officers of the Russian army where Ukrainian hobby and study groups operated.[11]

The Lviv historian Ivan Pater devoted considerable effort to examining the specific features of ULU activity, producing a comprehensive analysis of its history,

7 Idem, *Poloneni ukrayintsi v Avstro-Uhorshchyni ta Nimechchyni (1914–1920 rr.)* (Kyiv: Kyivskyy derzhavnyy linhvistychnyy universytet, 1999).

8 Yevgeniy SERGEEV, 'Russkiye voyennoplennyye v Germanii i Avstro-Vengrii v gody Pervoy mirovoy voyny', *Novaya i noveyshaya istoriya* (1996), no 4, pp. 65–78; Yevgeniy SERGEEV, 'Kriegsgefangenschaft und Mentalitäten. Zur Haltungsänderung russischer Offiziere und Mannschaftsangehöriger in der österreichisch-ungarischen und deutschen Gefangenenschaft', in *Kriegsgefangenschaft 1914–1920. Am Beispiel Österreichs und Russlands* (Zeitgeschichte; Jg. 25 Heft 11/12), (Innsbruck – Wien: StudienVerlag, 1998), pp. 357–374.

9 [9] Yelena S. SENYAVSKAYA, 'Polozheniye russkikh voyennoplennykh v gody Pervoy mirovoy voyny: ocherk povsednevnoy realnosti', *Vestnik RUDN. Seriya 'Istoriya'* (Moskva 2013), no 1, pp. 64–83.

10 I. SRIBNYAK, 'Diyalnist Soyuzu vyzvolennya Ukrayiny sered polonenykh ofitseriv rosiyskoyi armiyi v Avstro-Uhorshchyni (1914–1918 rr.)', *Surmach* (London 1997), no 1–4, pp. 45–53; Idem, 'Kulturno-prosvitnytska ta orhanizatsiyna diyalnist polonenykh ofitseriv-ukrayintsiv rosiyskoyi armiyi v taborakh Nimechchyny i Avstro-Uhorshchyny u 1917–1918 rr.', in *Ukrayinskyy konservatyzm i hetmanskyy rukh: istoriya, ideolohiya, polityka. Visnyk Kyyivskoho derzhavnoho linhvistychnoho universytetu. Seriya 'Istoriya, ekonomika, filosofiya'* (Kyiv: Kyivskyy derzhavnyy linhvistychnyy universytet, 2000), vyp. 4, (Zbirnyk naukovykh prats kafedry istoriyi Ukrayiny ta zarubizhnykh krayin, no. 1), pp. 173–190.

11 Idem, 'Ukrayinskyy hurtok polonenykh ofitseriv rosiyskoyi armiyi u tabori Tereziyenshtadt v Avstro-Uhorshchyni (1916–cherven 1917 rr.)', in *Pamyatky: arkheohrafichnyy shchorichnyk* (Kyiv 2011), t. 12, pp. 42–45; Idem, 'Tabir polonenykh ukrayinskykh ofitseriv u Klein Müncheni (Avstro-Uhorshchyna) navesni 1918 roku', in *Kyivski istorychni studiyi: zb. nauk. prats* (Kyiv 2015), no. 1, pp. 21–25; Idem, 'Kulturno-Prosvitniy Hurtok polonenykh ofitseriv-ukrayintsiv u avstriyskomu tabori Josefstadt (serpen 1917–lyutyi 1918 rr.)', in *Problemy vsesvitnoyi istoriyi* (Kyiv 2016), no. 2, pp. 187–202; Idem, '*Dokumenty NAF Ukrayiny yak dzherelo z istoriyi rozvytku ukrayinskoho natsionalnoho rukhu v taborakh polonenykh ofitseriv rosiyskoyi armiyi v Avstro-Uhorshchyni, 1917–persha polovyna 1918 rr.*', in *Arkhivy Ukrayiny* (Kyiv 2020), vyp. 3 (324), pp. 88–109.

formation, and work. Nevertheless, his studies contain only brief remarks on the organization's activities among captured Ukrainian officers of the Russian Army.[12]

In a broader historical context, this article is thematically linked to the works of Mark Cornwall, who has examined questions of loyalty and betrayal in the Habsburg monarchy,[13] as well as to the studies of Serhiy Choliy on Ukrainians at war, focusing on those mobilized into the Austro-Hungarian army and confronted with difficult ideological choices as defeat approached.[14]

In this article, the authors introduce into scholarly circulation a number of documents from the fonds of several Ukrainian archives that remain unknown to the wider research community. These materials shed additional light on processes unfolding among captured officers of the Russian army in 1917 and the first half of 1918. They make it possible to reconstruct the dynamics of changes in the worldview of Ukrainian officers and certain aspects of their everyday camp life, as well as to identify the specific features of cultural and educational work conducted among officers who made a conscious political choice in favour of Ukrainianism.

To this end, the authors also drew on documents from several Ukrainian archival repositories, including the Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainica, the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of

12 Ivan PATER, *Soyuz Vyzvolennya Ukrainy: problemy derzhavnosti ta sobornosti* (Lviv: NAN Ukrayiny, Instytut ukrayinoznavstva im. I. Krypyakevycha, 2000); Idem, 'Prosvitnya diyalnist Soyuzu vyzvolennya Ukrainy sered viyskovopolonenykh ukrayintsiv u taborakh Avstro-Uhorshchyny ta Nimechchyny (1914–1918)', in *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats* (Lviv 2010), vyp. 19, pp. 559–571; Idem, 'Soyuz vyzvolennya Ukrayiny: viyskovo-politychnyy aspekt (1914–1918 rr.)', in *Viyskovo-naukovyy visnyk* (Kyiv 2021), no. 35, pp. 81–113.

13 Mark CORNWALL, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary. The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: St. Martins Press, 2000)*;* Idem, ed., *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe*. Rev. and exp. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002); Idem, 'The Habsburg Monarchy: "National Trinity" and the Elasticity of National Allegiance', in *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*, eds. Timothy BAYCROFT – Mark HEWITSON (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 171–191; Idem, 'Morale and Patriotism in the Austro-Hungarian Army, 1914–1918', in *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, ed. J. HORNE (Dublin Trinity College, 1997); Idem, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (London: Springer, 2000).

14 Serhiy CHOLIY, *Viyskovyy obovyazok yak faktor modernizatsiyi imperiyi Habsburhiv 1868–1914* (Kyiv: Granmna, 2016); Idem, 'The State Ideologies of Army Recruitment in (Eastern) Europe', in *Ideology and Politics* 2018, no. 2 (10), pp. 25–60; Idem, 'Military Desertion as a Counter-Modernization Response in Austro-Hungarian Society, 1868–1914', *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* vol. 9 (2020), número 18, pp. 269–289.

Ukraine, and the Central State Audiovisual and Electronic Archive. This has enabled the introduction of a substantial body of sources into scholarly circulation. At the same time, analysis of the ULU's national-organizational work among Ukrainian officers of the tsarist army allows this material to be incorporated into broader academic debates on the transformation of national identity within the military, political mobilization in captivity, and the role of national organizations during the First World War. Finally, the factual material assembled here sheds further light on the early preparatory stages in the formation of the modern Ukrainian armed forces, since the vast majority of the officers later became members of the 'Grey Coats' (1st Rifle-Cossack Division). The analysis is based on micro-level examples of civic and national activism among Ukrainian officers in captivity, enabling a more comprehensive view of the research questions posed by the authors.

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The events of the First World War led to a situation in which about one million soldiers of the Russian Imperial Army[15] were held in Austro-Hungarian captivity (as of the end of 1917). Unfortunately, the historical literature contains no data on the number of captured officers of the Russian Army in Austria-Hungary (in contrast to Germany, where their total number as of 10 October 1918 is known to have been 14,500).[16] It may therefore be assumed with some certainty that approximately 10,000 captured officers of the Russian army were interned in Austrian camps. For the most part, they were held in relatively small camps (up to several hundred people), where they received limited monetary and food allowances. In general, living conditions were fairly acceptable, and camp residents had the opportunity to subscribe to Austrian newspapers and purchase books.

During 1915 and 1916, captured officers of the tsarist army, as a collective phenomenon, displayed almost complete loyalty to the Russian autocrat. Those few who were prepared to question imperial values were subjected to intense psychological pressure from the Black Hundreds,[17] who exerted considerable influ-

15 Nikolay N. GOLOVIN, *Voyennyye usiliya Rossii v mirovoy voyne*, t. 1 (Parizh: Tovarishchestvo obyedinennykh izdateley, 1939), pp. 145–147.

16 Wilhelm DOEGEN, *Kriegsgefangene Völker*. Band I. *Der Kriegsgefangenen Haltung und Schicksal in Deutschland* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1921), p. 28.

17 'Black Hundreds' (Chornosotentsi) – a collective term referring to supporters of Russian autocracy, primarily ethnic Russians but also members of other groups, who were active in the early twentieth century. They were associated with organizing and participating in anti-Jewish

ence within the officer milieu. At that time, only a small number dared to publicly declare their sympathy for Ukrainianism—Ukrainians by origin and conviction—after which they found themselves in the position of 'outcasts', and their continued stay in the camp effectively turned into a real 'hell'.

A typical reaction of the camp community was the decision to impose complete isolation (boycott), which included a ban on all camp inmates not only communicating with these individuals but even greeting them. It is evident that few of those brave officers who were willing to challenge the system could endure such an ordeal in silence; consequently, most submitted reports requesting transfer to other camps. With the overthrow of the Russian tsar, however, the situation in the camps began to change, and an increasing number of officers started to show an interest in 'politics'. The fall of the Romanov dynasty released officers from the obligation of loyalty to their oath, thereby removing a key factor that had previously distanced many Ukrainians—who were inwardly sympathetic to Ukrainianism—from the Ukrainian cause.

It was also significant that, beginning in 1915, Ukrainian periodicals and literature were sent to officers' camps by the ULU (in cases where individual officers expressed a desire to receive them). Visits by ULU emissaries to particular camps, aimed at informing prisoners about the political situation in Ukraine and Russia, became increasingly frequent. As a result, in 1917 a growing number of Ukrainian officers began to recognize the impending collapse of Russia, and after the Bolshevik coup the process of national self-awareness in the officers' camps gained new and powerful momentum. These changes in consciousness led to the formation of Ukrainian hobby and study groups and communities in many officers' camps in Austria-Hungary. Members of these groups organized 'Little Russian' libraries, subscribed to Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, held discussions on national topics, and increasingly declared their Ukrainianness and support for the national liberation movement in Ukraine.[18]

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pogroms and were united within several right-wing monarchist organizations, such as the Union of the Russian People and the Union of Michael the Archangel. The Black Hundreds were employed by the tsarist regime as a mass support base and strike force in defence of the foundations of the Russian Empire. Their activities were guided by the slogan 'Autocracy – Orthodoxy – Nationality', and their ranks often included socially marginalised and declassed elements.

18 Ihor SRIBNYAK, 'Protsesy natsionalnoyi samoidentyfikatsiyi polonenykh ofitseriv-ukrayintsiv v Avstro-Uhorshchyni na zavershalnomu etapi Pershoyi svitovoyi viyny', in *Suchasna ukrayinska natsiya: mova, istoriya, kultura. Mat-ly mizhnar. nauk.-prakt. konf. z nahody 15-richchya kafedry ukrayinoznavstva Lvivskoho nats. med. un-tu im. Danyla Halytskoho, 16 bereznya 2016 r.* (Lviv: Lvivskyy natsionalnyy universytet imeni Danyla Halytskoho, 2016), p. 231.

Nevertheless, the vast majority of captured Ukrainian officers continued to hesitate in making their political and national choice, since the process of Russification—never interrupted within the ranks of the Russian army—had lasted for far too long. In order to facilitate national-organizational work, the Austro-Hungarian authorities in the summer of 1917 took steps to establish a separate camp (Josefstadt, Czech lands)[19] for Ukrainian officers who requested transfer there in writing. Owing to the absence of Black Hundreds elements and 'Little Russians' in Josefstadt, the development of national consciousness among officers proceeded without obstruction.

At the same time, the practice became widespread of sending Ukrainian officers—particularly those who had proven active in educational work—to the soldiers' camp in Freistadt. Their participation in the cultural-educational and national-patriotic life of the Ukrainian organization there yielded entirely positive results, injecting renewed energy into the activities of various camp institutions. In addition, these officers actively participated in visits to working teams as 'men of trust', delivered lectures, headed individual hobby and study groups and organizations, and played an active role in the development of paramilitary structures within the camp.

Ensign Dmytro Skarzhenovskyi, who remained in the Německé Jablonné camp (in German: Deutsch Gabel; today Jablonné v Podještědí, Czech Republic) until mid-May 1917, was among the consistent supporters of Ukrainianism. He initiated correspondence with the ULU, which resulted in his receiving Ukrainian books and magazines. Like other Ukrainophiles who were not afraid to articulate their national and civic position, D. Skarzhenovskyi initially found himself in almost complete isolation among the Ukrainophobic officers of the tsarist army in that camp. The February Revolution contributed to a weakening of the anti-Ukrainian atmosphere there, after which some junior officers ceased to regard D. Skarzhenovskyi as a 'traitor' or 'sellout', although they still did not dare to 'publicly defend the rights of our people'. For the majority of camp inmates, however, his Ukrainophilism remained unacceptable—as D. Skarzhenovskyi noted in one of his letters—since the 'patriots of Russia' 'make a fuss, start such quarrels that, if I had been a little more expansive, there would probably have been fights'. He reported that this 'antagonism has recently reached unprecedented proportions' and

19 Centralnyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnya Ukrayiny (CDAVO Ukrainy), f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 178, ark. 70–71.

that he was already 'weary in spirit' and would ultimately be 'very happy to leave this hell'.[20]

In early May 1917, D. Skarzhenovskyi submitted a report to the camp commandant's office requesting transfer to Josefstadt—'so that he does not see an enemy growling, so that he does not see these tsarist scumbags, whose heart is not a heart but a stone, and whose mind and sense of human dignity—may God grant [them]'. In his letter to the ULU of 13 May 1917, he also reported that he was fully prepared to take advantage of this opportunity for transfer to Josefstadt. Together with him, Second Lieutenant Borodavka and Kushakov likewise expressed their desire to move to this camp.[21] With the assistance of the ULU, these officers were transferred to the aforementioned camp.

Another hobby and study group of Ukrainian officers (headed by Ensign Stanislavskyi) emerged in the 'Hart' camp near Amstetten, which was designed to hold 600 prisoners but in fact accommodated about 400 officers. In the officers' canteen, a large stage was constructed by the camp residents themselves and used for artistic events prepared by the officers. From the outset, two amateur theatrical hobby and study groups—Russian and Ukrainian—competed on the stage. According to the recollections of Yosyp Mandzenko, the activities of the latter were 'closely watched by the Moscals, fearing that some kind of "Mazepa-style sedition" would break out there'.[22]

Nevertheless, despite such close scrutiny, Ukrainians found opportunities for self-organization: lectures on Ukrainian studies were delivered during theatre rehearsals. In addition, the hobby and study group succeeded in establishing contact with the ULU, after which ULU Vistnyk (received by eight officers) began to reach the camp. As a result, national life in the camp gradually developed, and the Ukrainian hobby and study group expanded. At the same time, Ukrainians were subjected to particularly strong pressure, since ULU Vistnyk did not go unnoticed by the camp population as a whole. The 'Black Hundreds' reacted irritably to Ukrainian activity; even preparations for staging the play Bustle by Ivan Tobilevych (Karpenko-Karyi) were accompanied by threats to stone the actors.[23]

In view of this situation, members of the circle repeatedly appealed to the ULU with requests for transfer to Josefstadt, as recorded in their regular letter of

20 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1. spr. 172, ark. 71–71 back.

21 Centralnyy derzhavnyy arkhiv-muzey literatury i mystetstva Ukrayiny (CDAMLM Ukrainy), f. 1366. op. 1, spr. 56, ark. 2.

22 CDAMLM Ukrainy, f. 1366, op. 1, spr. 56, ark. 3.

23 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 178, ark. 73.

13 June 1917. Attached to this letter was a list of 32 officers (including Lieutenant-Colonel Volodymyr Abaza, Staff Captain Afanasiy Honcharenko, Second Lieutenant Y. Mandzenko, etc.),[24] which—according to the authors—contained 'not only conscious Ukrainians. A few men are only sympathetic compatriots, but people are quite serious, quite interested in the future of Ukraine'.[25]

Some time later, it became known that this group of captured Ukrainian officers would be transported to Josefstadt, which further inflamed the passions of the Black Hundreds. On the final day of their stay in the camp, the 'Black Hundreds' staged a full-scale 'demonstration': 'the Ukrainians were surrounded by the Moscals, and the latter brazenly looked into [their] mouths, trying to provoke anything'. Some Ukrainians did not even appear at this 'farewell dinner', unable to withstand the psychological pressure, and ultimately only 17 officers departed for Josefstadt.[26]

In the Spratzern camp there were more than 100 officers—Ukrainians by origin—but, according to a letter of 3 June 1917 (signed by 'Prosvita' Presidium member Lieutenant Feofil Sobko (Sobko-Sobkevich) and the secretary, Second Lieutenant Mytrofan Horbyk), the level of national consciousness among the vast majority remained rather low. However, within a short period of 'Prosvita' activity, a society founded by Ukrainian activists (along with a Ukrainian theatre and choir) brought about noticeable changes in the camp. 'Prosvita' comprised 54 officers, who succeeded in collecting 200 Austrian crowns (k.a.) for the needs of the society. These funds were used to purchase Ukrainian periodicals and books; in addition, some members acquired Ukrainian publications at their own expense. Amateur actors prepared two performances, which provided vivid impressions and consolation in everyday camp life.

To a certain extent, owing to these efforts—and above all as a result of political developments in Ukraine—a significant number of Ukrainian officers in this camp expressed a desire to be transferred to a Ukrainian camp (Freistadt or Josefstadt). Thus, in the List of Captured Officers of the Spratzern Station Wishing to be Transferred to the Station for Ukrainian Officers of 3 June 1917 (signed by M. Horbyk), 42 Ukrainian officers were recorded,[27] which suggests a relatively advanced level of Ukrainian national life in this camp. In addition, Second Lieutenant Yosyp

24 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 178, ark. 73 back –74; spr. 171. ark. 68–69, 71–71 back.
25 CDAMLM Ukrainy, f. 1366, op. 1, spr. 56, ark. 3.
26 CDAMLM Ukrainy, f. 1366, op. 1, spr. 56, ark. 3.
27 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 171, ark. 58–59 back, 66–67.

Mytkovskyi, Vasyl Bondarenko, Yuriy Khlypalo, Andriy Kilimitchenko, and Second Lieutenant Mykyta Kyselevskyi submitted reports requesting transfer.[28]

Requests for transfer to Josefstadt were also sent to the ULU from the Zalaegerszeg camp (Hungary), as indicated in the letter of Ensign Anton Trygub of 2 June 1917.[29] He reported 16 officers, while an equal number volunteered in response to the ULU call from the Mühling camp (near Wieselburg, Lower Austria), including Second Lieutenant Fedir Fabricius, Volodymyr Zhuryd, Mykhaylo Vashchenko, Ivan Horak, and others.[30]

Ukrainians were likewise present in the Marchtrenk camp (Upper Austria), which held about 400 captured officers of the tsarist army, the vast majority of whom were wartime officers without knowledge of European languages. In 1916, several nationally conscious Ukrainians were present there, including Vasyl Fedorovskyi (a teacher by profession), who openly demonstrated his devotion to the Ukrainian cause, and Ensign Zakharchenko, described as a 'nationally fully conscious' citizen from Poltava.[31] As a result of their efforts, a Ukrainian hobby and study group was established in the camp at the beginning of 1917. According to its leaders, its members 'got together well, gave readings and performances, and established a fairly large library'.[32] Ukrainian periodicals and books were supplied to the camp by the ULU, facilitating the numerical growth of the Ukrainian organization (36 officers as of June that year). A tangible outcome of the group's organizational and educational activity was that 22 of its members volunteered for transfer to Josefstadt.

In a similar manner, captured Ukrainian officers organized themselves in the Reichenberg camp (Czech lands), where in the summer of 1917 a Ukrainian community of 30 members—the 'Community of captured officers in Reichenberg'—was established. All activities of the community were managed by an elected board (Chairman—I. Horak; Secretary—Arkadiy Shpanovskyi). Lieutenant F. Sobko-Sobkevych, who after his transfer to this camp headed the 'Hromada' association and 'did readings, taught the language, lectured on Ukrainian studies, etc.',[33] made a significant contribution to the development of Ukrainian life in the camp.

28 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 178, ark. 88.
29 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 178, ark. 75, 87.
30 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 178, ark. 89–89 back; spr. 171. ark. 83–84.
31 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4404, op. 1, spr. 20, ark. 28.
32 Centralnyy derzhavnyy arkhiv hromadskykh obyednan Ukrainy (CDAHO Ukrainy), f. 269, op. 1, spr. 171, ark. 78, 79.
33 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 172. ark. 74–74 back.

The association had its own reading room and library (created with the assistance of the ULU) and organized historical and literary lectures and readings several times a week, although the camp was in acute need of textbooks for Ukrainian studies. Its members taught Ukrainian writing to all interested parties and organized discussions on various social and political topics. Despite the lack of sheet music and musical instruments, the 'Hromada' nevertheless found opportunities to prepare theatrical performances.[34]

In another officers' camp—Braunau am Inn—there were about 150 officers of various nationalities, out of an otherwise uncertain total number of inmates (Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, and Poles) who had come from Ukraine and intended to return there. As a result of the activities of a group of Ukrainian officers, a hobby and study group was established in the camp. Its members united around the principles of a 'Free, Independent and absolutely Independent Ukrainian People's Republic' (it may be assumed that this occurred after the proclamation of the Fourth Universal by the Ukrainian Central Rada). Among its members were Lieutenant-Colonel V. Abaza; Captain (Sub-commander) Pavlo Lyubych; Captains Oleh Gordiyenko and Herasym Drachenko; Second Lieutenant Yuriy Prokopenko; Andriy Matkovskyi; Ignat Fesenko; Mykhaylo Murzak; Mykyta Perepadya; Yevgeniy Sushchenko; and Ivan Komarnytskyi. The activities of the hobby and study group were directed by its head (V. Abaza) and an elected presidium (H. Drachenko, P. Lyubych, A. Matkovskyi), while the duties of librarian were performed by Ensign M. Perepadya.[35]

The ULU regularly sent Ukrainian publications and periodicals to this camp (in particular, Bulletin of Politics, Literature and Life) and provided moral and material assistance. Thanks to this support, the Ukrainians 'organized a drama troupe in the camp, arranged a library and, in general, had their common family, united by common interests'.[36] In an effort to accelerate the development of the national cause in the camp, on 7 February 1918 the group appealed to the Ukrainian community of the Freistadt camp with a request to send the texts of the plays Dream Fighters by Ivan Togobochnyi and Burlaka by I. Tobilevych (Karpenko-Karyi), with the aim of preparing performances for camp residents.[37]

34 'Ukrayinske zemlyatstvo "Hromada polonenykh ofitseriv u Raykhenbergu" (Chekhy)', in *Vistnyk polityky, literatury y zhyttya* (Viden 1918), 9 lyutoho, no. 5/6 (188/189), p. 79.
35 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 36–36 back, 37 back, 38–39.
36 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 36–36 back, 37 back, 38–39.
37 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4404, op. 1, spr. 267, ark. 250.

A real 'watershed' for members of Ukrainian hobby and study groups was the February Revolution, which freed prisoners from the oath given to the Russian tsar. When news spread throughout the camps about the departure of several groups of Ukrainian officers from Josefstadt to Volodymyr-Volynskyi to form the 'Grey Coats' (Sirozhupannyky) Division, a significant number of captured officers expressed their willingness to join the ranks of this Ukrainian formation.

Such intentions on the part of Ukrainian officers from the Braunau am Inn camp were expressed in one of the letters (signed by H. Drachenko and A. Matkovskyi) addressed to the ULU, in which they also requested information about the political situation in Ukraine.[38] Having learned about the formation of Ukrainian military units from among prisoners, the hobby and study group held a general meeting on 10 March 1918 and decided to appeal to the Austrian military authorities with a request to transfer Ukrainian officers to Klein München or Freistadt.[39]

In their regular letter of 13 March 1918, members of the Ukrainian community informed the ULU about the political moods of officers in the camp, noting that 11 members of the Ukrainian hobby and study group were absolutely devoted to the national cause, while another 20 officers 'are adherent to the creation of Ukraine grounded on its own self-government [...] they are more or less conscious and reliable'. The remaining captured officers (over 100 people) 'are either extremely hostile towards the national revival of Ukraine [...] or show absolute indifference to everything and are not at all interested in the events in Ukraine'.[40]

Commenting on the attitudes of officers of other nationalities who had lived in Ukraine before the war, the leaders of the Ukrainian hobby and study group observed that 'the Germans favour the cause of Ukraine's defence, while the Poles are extremely hostile to it and in no way agree to support the advance of Ukraine'. However, the most acute confrontation existed between Ukrainian officers and the 'Great Russians', since for the latter the defence of Ukrainian national-liberation ideas had always been regarded as the gravest crime. In his letter to the ULU of 2 April 1918, Lieutenant-Colonel V. Abaza described the internal situation as follows: 'In the camp there is complete antagonism between the Ukrainian officers and the "Great Russians", and therefore any kind of productive work, both

38 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 9–10.
39 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 28.
40 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 36 back.

on the cause of our native language and in general on the Ukrainian cause, is impossible'.[41]

It is worth noting that the process of compiling lists of captured officers intended for subsequent transfer to Klein München (32 persons) and Freistadt (9 persons) revealed a complete misunderstanding on the part of the Austrian authorities of the national-political views of those included. These lists contained 'many undesirable people who were known only from the negative side in the sense of sympathy for Ukraine'; moreover, the names of some members of the Ukrainian circle were omitted for unknown reasons. Captured Ukrainian officers therefore petitioned the ULU, requesting transfer to one of the camps where the formation of Ukrainian military units was planned, and also asked the ULU to accept 250 books from the camp library and forward them to one of the educational societies in Ukraine.[42]

These requests were specified in a letter to the ULU dated 12 April 1918,[43] signed by V. Abaza, which contained a list of captured officers recommended for transfer to Freistadt. According to V. Abaza, the remainder (27 officers), despite having applied for transfer to this camp, would be better sent to Klein München 'for preparatory work'. The reason for this assessment by the head of the Ukrainian hobby and study group was that among these 27 officers 'some of them, although they were supporters of the Ukrainian cause, were not convinced enough and were too hesitant'.[44] Ultimately, this appeal was heard by the ULU and the Austro-Hungarian military authorities: the lists were corrected, and members of the Ukrainian hobby and study group were temporarily transferred to the Freistadt camp.

On 29 April 1918, 30 disabled officers left Braunau am Inn for Klein München and, a few days later, were sent home as citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Not all disabled officers were included in the list, which prompted complaints from some of them. Officer Vasyl Ivashkevych, in particular, reproached the ULU that among those sent 'there were many having nothing to do with Ukraine and never having had, such as the Moscals, who were not even born on the territory of Ukraine'. This situation deeply concerned the author of the letter, and he expected an effective response from the ULU and the Embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Austria-Hungary.[45]

41 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 56 back, 68.
42 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 36 back, 89.
43 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 179, ark. 188–188 back.
44 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 179, ark. 188 back.
45 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 179, ark. 207–208.

During the formation of the 'Grey Coats' Division, members of Ukrainian circles from other camps likewise appealed to the ULU. Thus, in particular, captured Ukrainian officers (Staff Captain Mykhaylo Lysyi, Second Lieutenant Volodymyr Tarnovskyi, Kyryl Kravchenko, Oleksij Leontovych, and Ivan Skuchar-Skvorovsky) from the Hungarian Varosszalonak camp expressed their desire 'to join the ranks of defenders of the native land' (letter to the ULU of 5 March 1918) and requested transfer to Freistadt.[46] A similar wish was expressed by another ten Ukrainian officers; however, these individuals withdrew their support for Ukrainianism the very next morning as a result of 'laughter, insults', and accusations of 'treason to the Slavic idea' and 'fratricidal war'.[47]

Officers from the Nagy Szombat camp, in their letter to the ULU of 8 March 1918, asked 'to be transferred to the Ukrainian camp as soon as possible so that we can join the ranks of the Ukrainian Army'. A list of five individuals was attached to the letter (Lieutenant Danylo Krasovskyi, Second Lieutenant Arkadiy Zakharchuk-Zakharchenko, Second Lieutenant Nazar Andriutsa, Petro Domoradskyi, and Yevgeniy Chernenko).[48] From the Salzerbad camp, Ensign Vasyl Zhuryd appealed to the ULU; together with his colleagues (a total of 23 officers), he requested transfer in order to join the Ukrainian Army.[49]

In their letter, seven Ukrainian officers from the Mühling camp expressed their gratitude to the ULU for the measures taken to expedite their transfer to Volodymyr-Volynskyi. In their appeal to the Austro-Hungarian authorities, Lieutenants Sergiy Ponomarenko from Poltava region and Leonid Zadorozhnyi from Kyiv region; Second Lieutenant Makar Skrypai from Kyiv region; Second Lieutenant Anton Kostyk from Podillia; Yaroslav Bilokopytov from Kharkiv region; Yepifan Terenko; and Yermil Herasymenko from Poltava region declared their wish to serve the people of Ukraine.[50]

With regard to transfer from the Marchtrenk camp, a group of officers appealed directly to the leadership of the Freistadt camp 'government' for assistance. Thus, on 11 March 1918, officers Horshkovskyi, Maksai, and Demidov from Marchtrenk requested support for their transfer to the Ukrainian camp, since their

46 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 6, 11–12.
47 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 43–43 back.
48 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 21–21 back, 22, 23.
49 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 25, 40.
50 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 15–15 back.

colleagues had already departed for Volodymyr-Volynskyi, while they, for unknown reasons, remained in a hostile environment.[51]

From the Reichenberg camp, in March 1918, 22 officers (among them Lieutenant-Colonel Franz Maurer) and three soldiers volunteered to join the Ukrainian Army, as the head of the Ukrainian community, F. Sobko-Sobkevych, informed the Presidium of the Ukrainian Armed Forces in his letter.[52] Shortly thereafter, 15 of them were included in the list for transfer to the Freistadt camp.[53] Ultimately, owing to the small number of Ukrainian compatriots in Reichenberg, all members of the community were transferred to Freistadt and Klein München in April–May 1918.[54]

On 25 March 1918, the captured officers—brothers Staff Captain Lavr Cherkasevych and Second Lieutenant Kostiantyn Cherkasevych (Salzerbad camp)—appealed to Andriy Zhuk, a member of the ULU Presidium, requesting assistance in coming under the command of the Ukrainian Central Rada.[55] Captain Arsen Lindener, a prisoner from the same camp who had graduated from the Academy of the General Staff, asked A. Zhuk for help 'in the transfer to the Freistadt camp [...] for subsequent deployment to the ranks of the Ukrainian Army'.[56] Some prisoners submitted similar requests to the editors of the central ULU organ Vistnyk of Politics, Literature and Life. This was done, in particular, by Lieutenant Oleksandr Lyush from the Wieselburg camp, who in his letter of 2 May 1918 asked 'to be transferred [...] to one of the camps where Ukrainian divisions are being formed'.[57] The letter of another Ukrainian officer—Ensign Ivan Avramenko from the Wegscheid camp near Linz, dated 10 March 1918—contained a request to allow him 'to join the ranks of the Ukrainian Army to defend his native land' from the Bolshevik invasion as soon as possible.[58]

A considerable number of letters from Ukrainian officers in captivity, in which they expressed their desire to participate in the development of the armed forces of the Ukrainian People's Republic, convincingly testified to the effectiveness of the methods of national consciousness-raising employed by the ULU. These

51 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 31, 48.
52 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 33–34.
53 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 167, ark. 90.
54 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 60, ark. 249; f. 4404, op. 1, spr. 9, ark. 386.
55 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 179, ark. 169.
56 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 179, ark. 190.
57 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 4405, op. 1, spr. 179, ark. 218.
58 CDAHO Ukrainy, f. 269, op. 1, spr. 166, ark. 35–36 back.

methods were implemented through the delivery of Ukrainian literature (primarily historical works) to the camps, as well as periodicals published by the ULU and Galician Ukrainians. Initially, Ukrainian books and press materials were kept by trusted individuals among the Ukrainian officers, and their arrival in the camps was not publicized. However, soon after the February Revolution, it became possible to establish so-called 'Little Russian' (Ukrainian) mini-libraries, as was the case in the Josefstadt camp (even prior to the decision to 'Ukrainize' it).[59]

It was precisely familiarization with Ukrainian books, together with the monitoring of political developments in Russia and Ukraine (and subsequent discussion of these events), that had a powerful impact on the political consciousness of captive officers, leading them to recognize the deceptive and insidious nature of the postulates of the 'Russian World' (Russkiy mir). In addition, political influence on Ukrainian officers in captivity was significantly reinforced by lectures and discussions delivered by ULU members from among Galicians and Bukovinians (including Vasyl Symovych, Stepan Smal-Stotsky, Roman Dombchevskyi, and others). Although officially employed in the educational departments of POW camps for soldiers, they found ways to conduct intensive sessions even during their short visits to officers' sections of the camps.

An effective instrument for shaping political and national consciousness was handwritten periodicals produced by Ukrainian officers in captivity themselves, usually in one or two copies. Among them was the weekly Nash Holos ('Our Voice'), which aimed 'to spread national, political, and economic awareness among comrades by thoroughly acquainting them with the needs of the Native Land—past and present—to clarify our aspirations for the future, inform about world events of contemporary life, highlight camp-related matters, unite comrades, and thereby bring up conscious citizens of Free Ukraine'.[60] Its production, in the form of a wall newspaper, was carried out by an editorial team that included Ensign Vasyl Prokhoda,[61] who would later become a well-known Ukrainian military figure, socio-political and cultural activist, and the historiographer of the 'Grey Coats' Division.

Thanks to the establishment of amateur theatrical troupes in officers' POW camps, plays by Ukrainian playwrights were frequently staged on improvised camp

59 For more details, see I. SRIBNYAK, *Kulturno-Prosvitniy Hurtok polonenykh ofitseriv-ukrayintsiv*..., pp. 187–202.

60 CDAVO Ukrainy, f. 3533, op.1, spr.1, ark. 8 back, 9.

61 Centralnyy derzhavnyy audiovizualnyy ta elektronnyy arkhiv (CDAEA), od. obl. A-80, P-493.

stages. This, in turn, contributed to the formation of national identity among prisoners who had been born and raised in Ukraine but had been Russified through the imperial school system and military service. Participation in preparing theatrical performances, as well as attendance as spectators, had a strong national effect, as it enabled the recreation on stage of elements of the prisoners' pre-war world and evoked feelings of nostalgia. Camp theatre proved particularly effective in influencing the so-called 'Little Russians' (malorosy), who tended to 'philosophically' accept reports of defeats of the Russian army and such significant events as the accession to the throne of Emperor Karl, the successor of Franz Joseph.

Only the fall of the Romanov dynasty finally awakened them from their 'lethargy', as this event rapidly eroded their previously unchallenged belief in the invincibility of the Russian Empire and shattered their deep-seated faith in 'the Tsar and the Fatherland'. As a result, one of the most significant consequences of the February Revolution in Russia and the emergence of the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv was the breakdown of deeply rooted imperial stereotypes in the consciousness of some Ukrainian officers in captivity—those who could now dare to recall their Ukrainian origin without fear. The abolition of autocracy and, consequently, the release of officers from their oath of loyalty to the Russian tsar created far greater opportunities to instil national-liberation ideas among soldiers from Ukraine—those who identified themselves as Ukrainians and clearly wished to link their future life and service with their homeland.

At the same time, it should be noted that a significant proportion of Ukrainian officers continued to hesitate in making their political and national choice, since the process of their Russification—relentlessly carried out within the ranks of the tsarist army—had lasted far too long. Under the influence of Black Hundreds propaganda, this category of Ukrainians identified themselves as 'Little Russians', and their most radical political aspiration extended only to autonomy within a future 'democratic' Russia. This group of officers in captivity not only sabotaged proposals of the Ukrainian Central Rada to assist in the defence of Ukraine against the Bolshevik onslaught, but also attempted to discredit members of Ukrainian camp hobby and study groups who had openly expressed their willingness to place themselves at the disposal of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Moreover, some adherents of the 'Little Russian' identity demonstrated a readiness to fully follow the political line of the Black Hundreds, while at the same time displaying a superficial fascination with certain ethnographic aspects of Ukrainian culture—such as 'Little Russian' theatre, Ukrainian song and dance tra-

ditions, and culinary customs. At the same time, most 'Little Russians' gradually began to drift towards political Ukrainianness, subconsciously realising their unwillingness to fight for a 'great and indivisible' Russia—a tendency that became particularly evident after the Bolshevik coup, which plunged the empire into civil war. In addition, the everyday behaviour of many 'Little Russians' was largely dictated by practical expediency: they were determined to escape captivity and return home at any cost. For this reason, some were even willing to demonstrate loyalty to Ukraine in order to join the 'Grey Coats' Division.

The political views of the 'Little Russians' (or their absence) often resulted in various forms of tension and even open conflict, particularly in Josefstadt, where a Ukrainian community had been established. The transfer of Ukrainian officers from other camps to Josefstadt (at their own request) strengthened the Ukrainian character of the camp; however, there were relatively few consistent advocates of full Ukrainian independence among its residents. Among the newly arrived officers, not all joined the Ukrainian camp organization, nor were they eager to sign political statements. At the same time, they did not dare to openly oppose Ukrainian political actions, since doing so would have meant transfer to a Russian camp without the right of return. As a result, the only option left to the 'Little Russians' was quiet opposition to Ukrainian initiatives or cautious sabotage while awaiting further developments.

In those camps where Ukrainians were outnumbered—typical multiethnic camps for officers of the Russian army—'Little Russians', together with the Black Hundreds, resorted to various forms of pressure against those who dared to declare their national identity. The most common method used to influence these so-called 'renegades' was a boycott, which usually followed once all attempts at persuasion had been exhausted and included intimidation of Ukrainian officers and threats against their family members in Ukraine—by passing relevant information to Russian military counterintelligence. Under such conditions, the only way out for a Ukrainian officer was to request transfer to the Josefstadt camp.

Conclusions

The process of establishing the ULU's organizational and educational work in POW camps holding captured officers of the Russian Army was accompanied by considerable difficulties, caused primarily by the conservatism of the Russian of-

ficer corps. The vast majority of officers remained loyal to the oath sworn to the Russian autocrat, and only the collapse of the empire in February 1917, together with the subsequent radical socio-political changes in Russia, managed to undermine—albeit only partially—the unity of the Russian officers' corporation, prompting some to recall their own national origin.

This development, however, primarily concerned wartime officers mobilized from the Ukrainian provinces. Before the war, many of them had worked as teachers or minor employees, and some had incomplete university education; nevertheless, they were united by their relationship to Ukrainians and to the land on which they lived. At the same time, senior officers with pre-war professional military education generally did not accept Ukrainian national-liberation ideas, remaining loyal to monarchical postulates.

Changes in the worldview of younger officers occurred to a considerable extent as a result of ULU activity in their environment. Owing to its organizational and educational assistance, it became possible to establish Ukrainian ('Little Russian') theatrical and choral groups, book collections, reading rooms, and various educational courses. Ukrainian periodicals and books began to reach officers' camps, although at first their circulation was not publicized among the broader prisoner population.

The ULU's work among officers intensified after the overthrow of tsarism, when it became possible to establish separate stations (camps) to hold Ukrainian officers who declared in writing their wish to be transferred there. As a result, Ukrainian officers' communities were formed in Josefstadt and Klein München, consisting of officers with Ukrainophile views who had already made their choice in favour of Ukraine. The principal advantage of such camps was the almost complete absence of Black Hundreds elements and 'Little Russians', which made it possible to intensify cultural-educational and national-organizational work among captured Ukrainian officers.

Under these conditions, some Ukrainian officers succeeded in shedding the remnants of 'Little Russianness' in their thinking, subordinating themselves to the task of serving Ukraine. The emergence of an independent Ukrainian state became another 'watershed' for this group of officers, who in March 1918 began to express their desire to join the 'Grey Coats' Division, formed from captured Ukrainians on the territory of Austria-Hungary. Their patriotic commitment became one of the important factors in the development of Ukraine's armed forces during the Ukrainian people's struggle for liberation in the period 1917–1920.