

Topic 5: The National-Liberation War in Ukraine in the 16th - the first half of the 17th centuries

Plan

- 1. Reasons, moving forces, chronology and beginning of the National-Liberation War of the middle of 17th century.*
- 2. The main military operations. Formation of Ukrainian Hetman state and its policy.*
- 3. Pereyaslav Council and “Bereznevi staty”.*
- 4. Social and economical development of Ukraine in the second half of 17th century. Social policy of Hetman government. “Ruin”.*

Read the text and after that answer the questions:

A new epoch in the history of Ukraine had changed the map of Ukraine and reformed the division of forces on political arena of Eastern Europe. It was a mass revolt under the direction of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. The revolt transformed into a liberation war for the right of nation to determine its fate. Events of 1648-1656 up to the present moment a subject of fiery discussions of scientists, though all of them admit, that they had become the most radical turning point of the Ukrainian history since the times of Kyivan Rus Baptism.

Reasons of national liberation war in Ukraine against Polish-noble domination. Economic reasons; Political reasons – the aim was – independence of Ukrainian lands with the center in Cossacks Sich; Religious reasons – to prevent and to stop Catholic expansion on Ukrainian lands; Cultural reasons – war for free development of Ukrainian culture.

Beginning of the National-Liberation War. In the middle of April on the Yellow Waters the Polish leading 6-thousand detachment met with the united Cossack-Tatar one. On May 6 after long struggles, during which several detachments of registered Cossacks, sent to Poles for help, came over to Cossacks' side, the Polish advance-guard was defeated. Staggering by defeat, the Polish commanders turned the 20-thousand army in escape. Though on May 20 (Khmelnytskyi's army increased up to 15 thousand excluding the Tatar cavalry) Poles had been entrapped by Korsun' and

again came off second-best. Khmelnytskyi took many officers and grand magnates prisoners, captured Polish cannonry. Before the struggle the king Vladyslav IV died. Rzicz Pospolyta had lost the king, commanders and the army.

Poles were astounded by Cossacks' victories. Favorable conditions had been created for Khmelnytskyi and in June the Cossacks made their demands to the leader of the Polish gentry Adam Kysel: to enlarge the register to 12 thousand, to regulate conflicts between the members of Uniat and Orthodoxies in contradictions for temples. Though, both sides comprehended the tactical character of these negotiations and gathered force simultaneously. A decisive struggle took place on September 23 of Pylyavtsi on Podillya. Khmelnytskyi again demonstrated his commander talent and Poles had been completely defeated. Total value of captured by Khmelnytskyi equipments and other property had been valued at enormous for those times 7-10 million gold coins. The victory opened for Cossacks the way to the west – deep into the Polish lands. At the beginning of October the Cossack-peasant army made an ambush of the city of Lviv and practically possessed the city but due to enormous ransom and unwillingness of Khmelnytskyi to destroy Lviv the city was rescued. After the victory of Zamostya the advantageous position of Khmelnytskyi over the Polish army was obvious. Though Cossacks were weak after numerous struggles. The army suffered epidemics and lack of food, and Khmelnytskyi had to bury the hatchet with Poles. According to the concluded agreement the number of registered Cossacks increased and restored the rights of self-governing and free outlet to the sea. By the beginning of January 1649 Khmelnytskyi triumphal came back to Kyiv at the head of the victorious army. Excited crowd and Orthodox clergy greeted him as “a Ukrainian Moses” who “has liberated his nation from the Polish slavery”. Negotiations initiated in Zamostya were continued in February 1649 in Pereyasliv. Though this time it was not a leader of rebellious Cossacks in front of Poles but a confident owner of Rus.

It was very difficult for both sides to adhere to a truce. In spring, Khmelnytskyi began to accomplish his army, the Crimean khan Islam Hirej III with detachments of Tatar cavalry came in Ukraine. In the second half of May 30 regiments, comprising

120-150 thousand soldiers were gathered near Kyiv. The royal army was smaller and comprised two detachments: the 25-thousand army of Yan Kazymyr and 15 thousand at the head of Yarema Vyshnevetsky. When in June Khmelnytskyi approached Starokostyantyniv with his army, the army of Vyshnevetsky had to retreat to well-defended Zbarazhska fortress. Cossacks took in siege Zbarazh and when the royal army came to Poles for help, Khmelnytskyi suddenly attacked the army of Yan Kazymyr of Zboriv and encircled it. But under the pressure of the Tatar khan Khmelnytskyi was forced to reject the idea of complete defeat of Poles both of Zboriv as well as Zbarazh and to conclude truce with Poles. On August, 18 an agreement was signed according to which the register determined in 40 thousand Cossacks, on the Polish army and Jews was put a ban to be on the territory of Kyivshchyna, Bratslavshchyna, Chernihivshchyna, governmental offices on these lands could be held only by Cossack leaders and the Orthodox gentry and the Orthodox metropolitan took place in Senate. From the point of view of previous achievements of Cossacks the Zboriv agreement was of great importance. But as Poles considered that they yielded to the greats and Cossacks were convinced to obtain too little it had not been fulfilled completely. Zboriv events intensified also the relations between Khmelnytskyi and khan. Using the Tatar army turned always into numerous problems for Cossacks. Been afraid of the Cossacks' enforcement Tatars were disposed to the agreement with Poles. After signing the Zborivsky truce the Khan forced Khmelnytskyi to participate in a long campaign in Moldova where Cossacks suffered great losses.

At the same time the Seym didn't agree with the conditions of the Zboriv agreement and in 1651 the Polish army encroached upon Ukraine. Both armies met near Berestechko on Volyn'. The Polish army counted 150 thousand soldiers, including 20 thousand experienced German mercenaries; Ukrainians mobilized only the 100-thousand army supported by the 50 thousand Tatar cavalry. The struggle initiated on June 18 continued for two weeks and was ended by terrible defeat for Khmelnitski. The key reason of it was the fact that Crimean Tatars abandoned the battlefield at a crucial moment. But this grand struggle cost for Poles too much they

initiated negotiations of Bila Tserkva. It was clear, that signed on September 28, 1651 Bilotserkivsky agreement was not so advantageous for Cossacks as Zboriv one.

After concluding the Zboriv agreement in 1649 the relations between Ukraine and Poland remained very intensive. Accomplishment of new big Polish troops at the boundary with Hetmanshchyna, Moldavian campaigns of Khmelnytskyi, unwillingness of peasants to subdue to supremacy caused inevitable renovation of the war between the Cossack Ukraine and Poland. The Sejm took a decision on establishment of 50-thousand regular army and convocation of the pospolyt movement. The region near Starokostyantyniv was chosen first as a dislocation of the Polish army and then the village Sokal'. In turn Khmelnytskyi announced the formation of the army in Bila Tserkva. The Polish government had accomplished the biggest army as never before. The delay of khan prevented Khmelnytskyi to catch the royal army and permitted it to take advantageous stands of Berestechko.

However, Khmelnytskyi was not going to accept humiliating conditions and initiated to form a new army. On May 1, 1652, Cossacks attacked the 30-thousand Polish army near Batih, and defeated it. When the news had been spread all over Ukraine, peasant revolt broke out in Ukraine. Since this moment Khmelnytskyi faced a problem being present in all Ukrainian-Polish conflicts – in what way the Ukrainian nation is to decide on its destiny.

Khmelnytskyi considered that without the external support the Cossack army would be doomed to the Polish army pressure. The region rolled in revolts and rebellions; practically all resources of Cossacks were exhausted. The union with Tatar appeared to be very dangerous that's why Khmelnytskyi started to look for a new ally. Probable assistance of a powerful Turkish khan was rejected at once and Khmelnytskyi was inclined to the union with the Moscow tsar.

Pereyaslav Council and its decisions. So during 1648-1653 Ukraine was weakened by military campaigns and needed a powerful ally. The most powerful neighbor was Russia and she was also a Christian country. In 1654 the Pereyaslav Agreement between Ukraine and Russia was signed. It was a new military unite. But it was a big mistake of Cossacks leader – Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who held these

negotiations. Because after Pereyaslav Agreement Ukraine was occupied by Russia and Russia started to transform Ukraine in a province of Russian Empire.

Pereyaslav agreements, signed by Khmelnytskyi on January of 1654 with the Moscow tsar remain up to nowadays one of the most debatable episodes of the Ukrainian history. Nevertheless, Pereyaslav agreement had epochal consequences. But the help of the Russian tsar turned into the subordination of Ukraine and the liberation war gradually evolved into the war of Moscow with Poland for Ukrainian lands. In spring of 1654 the Moscow army at the head of Vasyl Zolotarenko marched in Byelorussia and won over a considerable part of the territory. Later, in autumn the struggles moved to southwestern Ukraine. Poland suffered disaster and devastation. In summer of 1655 taking advantage of the war of Poles on the south and east Swedes attacked from the north having occupied a great part of Poland. Khmelnytskyi evaluated the Swedish invasion as a good opportunity for complete devastation, but tsar willfully broke off relations with Swedes and began a war against them, signed a truce with Poles. The Cossack delegation was not allowed to negotiations. Panic and despair came over Cossacks strife and conflicts separated their leaders. In 1657 Khmelnitski died without finishing his begun struggle.

Formation of Ukrainian hetman state and its policy. During National-Liberation War Ukrainian Hetman State was created. It was an autonomous Cossack region within the territory of Rzecz Pospolita. The Orthodox church obtained equal rights with the Catholic church. Hetman was a ruler of state. First hetman and ruler was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. The hetman was at the head of administrative body, the army, finances and judge. He convened the Council, issued laws and held international negotiations. Khmelnytskyi followed an independent policy in all spheres. He held negotiations with Turkey, Crimea, Russia, Poland, and Moldavia.

Chronology

1648 Beginning of the struggle for liberation from Poland by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (1648-57).

1649 and 1651 Attempts at peace with Poland (Zboriv, and Bila Tserkva agreements).

1650 Establishment of Ostrohozsk, Sumy, and Kharkiv.

1654 Protection agreement with Moscow Tsar - Treaty of Pereyaslav.

Answer the questions:

1. Reasons of national liberation war in Ukraine against Polish-noble domination.
2. Chronology of the war and its motive forces.
3. Large revolt beginning.
4. The main military operations of 1648 – 1657.
5. Formation of Ukrainian hetman state and its policy.
6. Pereyaslav Council and its decisions.

Topic 6: Ukraine in 18th century

Plan

1. *Social and economical development of Left-Bank Ukraine in 18th century.*
2. *Pressure of Russian tsarizm on autonomy of Ukraine. Liquidation of Ukrainian state.*

Read the text and answer the questions after that:

On 25th July 1687 Ivan Mazepa was elected as new Cossack hetman. For the first few years Mazepa continued with policies of his predecessor; also built and renovated churches and monasteries. Literature, art and architecture, in the distinctive Cossack Baroque style, flourished under his patronage and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the first Ukrainian institution of higher learning, experienced its golden age.

In 1695 Moscow restarted war with Turkey and Crimea and the Cossacks had to fight wherever Tsar Peter sent them to. The Tatars exposed Ukraine to devastating raids. In 1700 Tsar Peter joined Poland in a war with Sweden in order to gain access to the Baltic Sea and the Cossacks had to march to the distant north, were many of them died in battles and from brutal treatment by the officers from Moscow. They were also used as manual labor in the construction of fortifications. To make things

worse, arrogant Russian regiments were pillaging Ukrainian towns and villages and abusing not only general population but also Cossack leaders.

All this disturbed Mazepa and he began to have few second thoughts about his alliance with Moscow. By the end of 1705 the war with Sweden went bad and in 1706 Swedish king Karl XII concluded peace with Poland thus leaving Moscow alone in this war. Consequently Tsar Peter ordered Mazepa to defend Ukraine without help from Moscow and to destroy the Polish nobles on the Right Bank, who supported the Swedes.

Mazepa used this opportunity to take over this part of Ukraine. But there was a popular Cossack colonel Paliy. Mazepa solved this problem by inviting Paliy to his place, where he was imprisoned and handed over to Tsar Peter, who sent him to Siberia for collaboration with the Swedes.

At the end of 1707 Tsar Peter ordered Mazepa to hand over the western lands to Poland. Mazepa did not obey, using all possible excuses to retain control of that part of Ukraine. While still pretending to be faithful to Tsar Peter, he conducted secret negotiations with Swedish and Polish kings. When in autumn of 1708 king Karl approached Ukraine and promised help in liberation from Moscow, Mazepa decided to switch sides. Unfortunately Moscow became aware of this plot before Mazepa could organize and inform the Cossacks and the population in general about the reasons and the advantages of his plan. Tsar Peter moved swiftly on Ukraine, destroying most of Mazepa's supplies and armaments and ruthlessly eliminated the people suspected of collaboration with Mazepa and the Swedes. He started extensive rumors that Mazepa intended to return Ukraine to the Polish domination.

This resulted in most Cossacks siding with Moscow and they subsequently elected a hetman submissive to Moscow – Ivan Skoropadski. The church stayed also on Moscow's side. Only Cossacks in Zaporizhia came out in support of Mazepa and his remaining four thousand troops.

The superior Muscovite forces routed Zaporizhia in May 1709 and next month, supported by Cossacks, loyal to Moscow, defeated Mazepa and the Swedes in a battle

near Poltava. Heartbroken Mazepa fled to Moldova where he died on 22nd August 1709.

Mazepa supporters did not give up hope of liberation from Moscow. In April 1710 they elected Orlyk as their hetman and continued the struggle, with the help from Sweden, Poland and Turkey for many years to come. They also drafted many interesting resolutions concerning a proposed Ukrainian government, based on democratic principles.

Pressure of Russian tsarism on autonomy of Ukraine. Liquidation of Ukrainian state. After the defeat of Mazepa, Tsar Peter intensified his efforts to subjugate Ukraine. Hetman Skoropadski had his powers restricted by Russian supervisors. His residence was transferred from Baturyn to Hlukhiw near the Russian border, where two Russian garrisons were stationed to ensure his loyalty to Moscow.

The Ukrainian population became burdened by the plundering of the Russian military units, dispersed throughout the country. Cossacks were sent to work on the construction of canals near St Petersburg, connecting the river Volha with the Baltic Sea. Thousands of Cossacks died from hunger, exhaustion and sickness. Russian nationals replaced many Cossack colonels.

In 1722, the Tsar appointed a council called the "Little Russian Collegiate", which was controlled by senior Russian officers and headed by brigadier Velmyaminow (Russian temporary ruler in Ukraine), to monitor and audit the hetman's activities and decisions. This, for practical purposes, transferred all powers to the Russians, leaving the Cossack hetman and his officers only with empty titles. Hetman Skoropadski was very upset by such situation; he became ill and died in 1722. Tsar Peter used this opportunity to abolish the office of hetman altogether. He directed the Cossack colonel Polubotok to perform the hetman's duties under the supervision of Velmyaminow (Russian temporary ruler in Ukraine) and refused to agree to Cossack requests to the election of a new hetman.

With Ukraine becoming almost a province of Russia, the Russification of political, religious and cultural life intensified. Intermarriages with Russians were encouraged and any efforts to regain independence were brutally suppressed. Cossack

colonels were kept under constant observation and subjected to house searches at the slightest sign of disloyalty. Even any attempts to obtain justice were punished; when, in 1737, Kiev's city counselors tried to defend their rights against Russian excesses, they were all jailed. Things were so bad, that when in 1740 an English general Keith was temporarily appointed in place of a Russian administrator, people were amazed by his human behavior and tolerance.

Times were hard for the top layer of Ukrainian society, but even harder for middle and lower classes and peasants, who suffered most from Russian exploitation. Cossacks were being forced to fight for Russia against the Turks, Tatars and Poles for small rewards, and often for nothing. Under such circumstances, the yearning for the return of the Hetmanate autonomy persisted. The possibility of this would happen occurred after the end of war with Turkey in 1740 and death of Tsarina Anna in 1741.

The short regency of Anna II was terminated by a palace revolution, whereupon the daughter of Peter I, Elizabeth was installed on Russian throne. Elizabeth was sympathetic to Ukrainian cause because, prior to becoming Tsarina, she befriended and fell in love with a handsome son of a Cossack court choir singer, Aleksey Rozumovskyi. She married him after her coronation. While visiting Kyiv in 1744, she agreed to promote the Cossacks' request to re-install the hetman's office and proposed Oleksey's younger brother Kyrylo Rozumovskyi for this position. Twenty year old Kyrylo, who studied abroad, returned in 1746, married into the royal family and was bestowed with many orders and titles.

Kyrylo Rozumovskyi In 1747 the Russian senate was requested to take steps toward the re- establishment of the Hetmanate. In February 1750, the ceremonious formality of election of new Cossack hetman took place in Hlukhiv, followed by celebrations and festivities.

In the spring of 1751 hetman Kyrylo Rozumovskyi, again with great ceremony and parade was installed as hetman. Unfortunately, being brought up in St Petersburg, Rozumovskyi was a stranger to Ukraine and the ways of life there. His Russian advisor Teplov was unsympathetic to Ukraine's newly won autonomy and did all he

could to hinder its development. Rozumovskyi himself was bored with life in Ukraine and preferred to spend most of his time in St Petersburg.

During this period, Ukraine was divided into several parts such as Left Bank consisting of the Hetmanate, Slobidska Ukraine and the Zaporizka Sich, The Right Bank, consisted of Halychyna (Galicia), Volyn, Bukovina and Transcarpatia. The Hetmanate included areas around Poltava, Lubny, Pereyaslav, Kyiv, Nizhyn, Chernihiv, Hlukhiv and also areas, around Starodub, Pochep and Mlyn. The neighboring areas centered around Kharkiv were called Slobidska Ukraine meaning free (from serfdom) lands also referred to as Slobidska Ukraine. They included Izyum, Balakliya, Okhtyrka, Sumy and, areas around Bilhorod, Ostrohozhsk.

To ensure lasting domination over these two parts of Ukraine, Russians tried to suppress the Ukrainian culture. They disallowed Ukrainian language in books, schools and theaters. Moscow controlled the church and government and the only way for a person to advance was to speak Russian and to be loyal to Moscow.

While Ukraine on the east side of the Dnieper (Left Bank) was being russified, the western Ukraine consisting of Galicia Volyn and Bukovina (areas around Lviv, Ternopil, Lutsk and Chernivtsi) was under the Polish influence. Polish authorities were preventing not only national, but also economic development of the Ukrainians. The Orthodox Church was being gradually taken over by Polish dominated Catholic Church.

Between western Ukraine and, the Russian dominated parts on the east side of the Dnieper, was a large territory on the Right Bank, partly de-populated by the recent wars involving the Cossacks, Poles, Russians, Turks and Tatars. Gradually, the Polish nobility began to return, reclaimed their landholdings and started to exploit Ukrainian peasants as serfs.

Tsarina Katharine II, who ruled Russia from 1762, after short reign of her husband Peter III, decided the cancellation of the Hetmanate. Hetman Rozumovskyi resigned and, in his place, in November 1764, Tsarina re-installed the "Little Russian Collegiate", under the presidency of Graf Rumyantsev. Rumyantsev's policy was to eliminate all remaining traces of Ukrainian autonomy and separatism; to introduce

serfdom of peasants and to integrate Ukraine with Russia. The Cossacks and the population resisted this at large.

In 1767 the Tsarina ordered the election of deputies from all parts of the Russian Empire in order to be informed what kind of government the people wanted. The deputies from Ukraine declared their desire for Hetmanate autonomy. This angered Rumyantsev and he sent out his officers to persuade the electors to elect deputies supporting his government. People who resisted were jailed. However in spite of all efforts of Russian authorities, the popular sentiment for return of the Hetmanate system continued.

In 1772 Galicia and, two years later, Bukovina were annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which had somewhat improved the conditions of the Ukrainians. In 1774 the Uniate church (renamed to Greek Catholic church) was, by imperial decree, equalized in status with the Roman Catholic Church. Educational reforms in 1775 allowed for instructions in the Ukrainian language. However on balance government policies favored the Poles.

The Cossack stronghold, the Zaporizka Sich, was subservient to Moscow and was utilized for raids on Crimea and Turkey. During the Turkish war, which started in 1768, several thousand Cossacks supported the Russians in battles on land and Sea. Their efforts were rewarded by eulogies from the Tsarina but little else and restrictions of the Cossack freedoms continued. Their lands were being colonized by Russians, Serbians and other foreigners with aim of creation of so called Novorossiia or the New Russia state in the south of Ukraine.

After end of the Turkish war in 1775, the Cossacks were being gradually disarmed and in the summer of that year, Russian general Tekeli surrounded the Cossacks in the Sich itself with a superior force and demanded abandonment of their fortress. Faced with such overwhelming odds, the Cossack chief Kalnyshevskiy surrendered. The Sich was destroyed and abolished by Tsar's edict of 3rd August 1775.

Kalnyshevskiy and other Cossack leaders were exiled to Siberia. The Cossack lands were granted to Russian nobles; Cossacks were told to disperse and settle in

towns and villages or to join Russian forces. Many Cossacks escaped and settled in Turkey near the Danube delta. In 1778 they were formally accepted under Turkish rule. By end of 1780 all districts, which were formerly under the Hetmanate, were incorporated into Russian regime. In 1783 all Cossack regiments were transferred to Russian forces; peasants were prohibited to leave their landlords, which made them serfs on their former land. Ukrainian church autonomy was abolished and church property was transferred to Russian treasury.

The Partitions of Poland or Partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth took place in the second half of the 18th century and ended the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzecz Pospolita*). The partitions were carried out by the Russian Empire, Kingdom of Prussia, and Habsburg Austria dividing up the Commonwealth lands among themselves. Three partitions took place:

- The First Partition: August 5, 1772.
- The Second Partition: January 23, 1793 (in which Austria did not participate).
- The Third Partition: October 24, 1795. With this partition, the independent nation of Poland ceased to exist.

The partitions are also divided by the partitioner into the Austrian partition, Prussian partition and the Russian partition.

Prussia took most of the Polish Royal Prussia that stood between its possessions in the Kingdom of Prussia and the Margraviate of Brandenburg, taking Ermland (Warmia), Royal Prussia without the city of Danzig (Gdańsk) (which in 1773 became a new province called West Prussia), northern areas of Greater Poland along the Noteć River (the Netze District), and parts of Kuyavia, (also the Prussian city of Thorn [Toruń]). Despite token criticism of the partition from Austrian Empress Maria Theresa, Austrian statesman Wenzel Anton Graf Kaunitz was proud of wresting as large a share as he did, with the rich salt mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka. To Austria fell Zator and Auschwitz (Oświęcim), part of Little Poland embracing parts of the counties of Kraków and Sandomir and the whole of Halychyna, less the City of Kraków. Catherine of Russia was also very satisfied. By

this "diplomatic document" Russia came into possession of that section of Livonia that had remained in Commonwealth control, and of Belarus embracing the counties of Vitebsk, Polotsk and Mstislavl. The Russian part included 120,000 km² and 1.2 million people with Vilnius (Wilno), the Prussian part (new provinces of New East Prussia and New Silesia) 55,000 km² and 1 million people with Warsaw, and the Austrian 47,000 km² with 1.2 million and Lublin and Kraków.

Answer the questions:

1. Ivan Mazepa as Hetman of Ukraine and his activities.
2. Relations between Ivan Mazepa and Russian tsar (ruler) Peter I.
3. Russian policy on Ukrainian lands.
4. Liquidation of Ukrainian autonomy and Ukrainian State by Russian absolutism.
5. Peasants revolts: Hajdamaki, Opryshki. Koliivschina.
6. Partitions of Poland.

Topics for abstract:

1. Cossack war: reasons and achievements.
2. Pereyaslav treaty and its results.
3. Main features of the Cossack state.
4. Ruin in the history of the Ukrainian state.
5. Mazepa and its time.
6. Cossack autonomy in the Russian empire.