

## **LONHYN TSEHEL'SKY'S DIPLOMATIC AND FINANCIAL MISSIONS IN THE USA AND CANADA (1920-1921)**

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After the defeat in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918-1919, the Galician government and numerous Ukrainian communities left abroad. The competition on the diplomatic front was an issue at the forefront of the history of Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR - Zakhidna Ukrainska Narodna Respublika) from 1919 to 1923. Diplomatic representatives went out to a number of countries, and delegations were sent to all major international forums and conferences where the fate of Western lands was decided. However, activities in the international arena required considerable funds and public funds were not sufficient. Subsequently, financial difficulties began to jeopardize not only diplomatic competitions, but also the functioning of the Galician emigration government and the fundamental cause of the struggle for ZUNR independence. In order to receive financial aid in 1920, a mission led by Lonhyn Tsehelsky was sent to the USA and Canada, which should, if possible, also incline the governments of these countries to the side of the Galicians. Yevhen Petrushevych had great hopes for the financial assistance of the USA diaspora and the support of the USA government.

The activities of a diplomatic mission led by L. Tsehelsky were partly considered in the famous works of Y. Slyvka<sup>1</sup>, as well as M. Lytvyn and K. Naumenko<sup>2</sup>. Among noteworthy publications that have recently appeared and to some extent touch the problem, we can note the works of O. Krasivsky<sup>3</sup>, O. Rublev<sup>4</sup>, V. Piskun<sup>5</sup>. However, the works of Oleksandr Pavliuk are the most thorough researches on this issue<sup>6</sup>. His research "Ukraine's Struggle for Independence and the USA Politics (1917-1923)" was written with the understanding of the case and with the involvement of a wide range of sources, primarily the archives of the ZUNR government in Rome. A separate section of this paper is dedicated to covering the activities of the ZUNR diplomatic mission

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<sup>1</sup> Slyvka 1985.

<sup>2</sup> Lytvyn 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Krasivskyi 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Rublov 2004.

<sup>5</sup> Piskun 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Pavliuk 2001; Pavliuk 1997; Pavliuk 1996.

in the United States in 1921. However, the author did not use the materials of the Ukrainian archives, in particular the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, which make it possible to fully reveal the problems raised by O. Pavliuk, first of all L. Tsehelsky's activities and disciplinary investigation instituted against him, and the matters of mission formation. This is the very purpose of our publication.

In September 1919, a delegation of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in Lviv (UHK – Ukrainyskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet) arrived in Vienna. It consisted of Stepan Fedak, Vasyl Struk, and Yevhen Hutsailo. This delegation demanded that the ZUNR government increase the financing of the region from state funds.

At this time, in Vienna, there was an Office of the State Secretariat headed by O. Burachynsky, who represented ZUNR interests abroad. However, neither O. Burachynsky nor the UNR financial agent H. Suprun, who was also addressed by S. Fedak, was able to allocate funds for the UHK in Lviv. On this occasion, a meeting of Galician emigrants took place in October 1919, at which it was decided to seek help from the United States and send two delegates there. The first affirmed delegate was L. Tsehelsky, while regards the second one there were some discussions as two candidates claimed this position: S. Herasymovych and V. Struk<sup>7</sup>.

After S. Fedak's departure to Lviv for two months, the debate over the nomination of the second delegate and the question of how to transfer money continued. S. Herasymovych was trying to get authority from the financial institutions of the region to organize broad economic actions in the United States; and V. Struk, being in Prague, came up with the idea of concentration of all future American proceeds in the Ukrainian bank, which they had just planned to create. The Assistance Committee, founded in Vienna at the end of 1919 under the leadership of I. Horbachevsky, kept the opinion that all funds from the United States should come to Vienna, where many Galician emigrants gathered and where contacts with the country were best to establish and necessary amount of money to send. The region was instead concerned about both V. Struk's concept and the Assistance Committee's proposal, as the heads of financial institutions kept the opinion that a future dollar fund should be established in Lviv, not abroad.

In December 1919, Y. Petrushevych arrived in Vienna, and recognized the delegates' trip to the United States as very important and urgent. After meeting with the Ukrainian community in Vienna, he decided that a separate mission, consisting of L. Tsehelsky (chairman) and I. Bobersky (deputy), should go to the United States and Canada, and also include S. Herasymovych and V. Struk, if necessary.

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<sup>7</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 2.

In accordance with this decision, Y. Petrushevych issued a decree in Vienna on January 4, 1920 establishing a mission to the United States and Canada. The purpose of the mission was to obtain funds to support ZUNR (Galicia and Bukovyna), with the assistance of the Ukrainian organizations of the USA and Canada, in particular to assist the victims of the Ukrainian-Polish war, for the development of Ukrainian organizations and the maintenance of the government. L. Tsehelsky received powers from Y. Petrushevych and money for a trip for himself and I. Bobersky in the amount of \$ 4,400 from the office of the Embassy in Vienna<sup>8</sup>.

After Y. Petrushevych's departure to Paris, the Presidium of the Assistance Committee in Vienna issued L. Tsehelsky a warrant dated February 24, 1920, which instructed him and I. Bobersky to go to North America to organize a mass of local Ukrainians funds to help the victims of the war in Galicia and Bukovyna. The money was to be donated to the Assistance Committee in Vienna, and from there to the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in Lviv.

On March 12, 1920, L. Tsehelsky was issued a brief instruction signed by O. Burachynsky and S. Holubovych (from the ZUNR government), V. Sinhalevych (from the ZUNR embassy in Vienna), K. Levytsky, and I. Semak (from the Assistance Committee in Vienna). It was done in order to legitimize the diplomatic mission and to prove the USA government that both the Galician public and the government stand in need of material assistance. In addition, the composition of the delegation in the amount of four persons was approved: L. Tsehelsky, I. Bobersky, S. Herasymovych and V. Struk<sup>9</sup>.

L. Tsehelsky left for the United States on March 23, 1920. On the way, he drove to Paris, where he received oral instructions from Y. Petrushevych to contact the USA government, despite the financial assistance. He arrived in America on April 11, 1920, settled in New York, where he was received quite cool. The local community treated the Galician government with great prejudice as "separatist, reactionary, Habsburg, and Denikin" type, as L. Tsehelsky wrote in one of his reports in October 1921<sup>10</sup>.

Aiming at a dual mission, humanitarian and political, L. Tsehelsky began his activity very carefully, paying a special attention to a rather hostile mood of American Ukrainians, some of whom were significant supporters of the Communists, others of S. Petliura. All of them spread the "hottest slander" in the USA and Canadian press against the government of Y. Petrushevych, his person

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<sup>8</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 4-5.

and his surroundings, which caused a negative attitude of government circles<sup>11</sup>. M. Sichynsky and M. Tsehlynsky are particularly distinguished in this case.

For this reason, L. Tsehelsky initially appeared to be only a commissioner of the Assistance Committee, trying first and foremost to gain the favour of American Ukrainians. At that time, political support and what is more financial support to the government was out of the question. Subsequently, the action of L. Tsehelsky was supported by the following organizations: the Ukrainian National Committee led by P. Poniatyshyn, the Ukrainian National Union, "Provydinnia" (Providence), and periodicals: "Svoboda" (Freedom), "America" and "Nova Khvyliia" (New Wave). Instead, "Ukrainski Shchodenni Visty" (the Ukrainian Daily News), "Narodna Volya" (National Freedom), "Narodna Pravda" (National Truth), "Ukraina", "Ukrainski Sichovi Visty" (Ukrainian Sich News), and virtually the entire Canadian press, treated this action hostile, containing materials in the column "Dopysy z kraiu" (Posts from the Region) aimed at discrediting Y. Petrushevych and his government<sup>12</sup>.

In these circumstances, the Temporary Ukrainian Chief Accounting Committee (TUHRK – Tymchasovyi Ukrainsky Holovnyi Rakhunkovyi Komitet) was established in the United States, headed by L. Tsehelsky. TUHRK launched a broad agitation campaign in the press, letters, proclamations, and at numerous rallies, where L. Tsehelsky spoke himself. During one of the rallies in Cleveland, L. Tsehelsky was severely beaten by the supporters of Bolsheviks, which not only the American but the Galician press wrote about<sup>13</sup>. The purpose of the campaign was to agitate among the so-called national camp, inclination of public opinion in favour of the ZUNR government, and collection of donations sent to the region.

The campaign was quite successful, and some influential circles supported the position of the ZUNR government. In the summer of 1920, the written proposals to appoint an official representative of the ZUNR government in Washington began to come to Y. Petrushevych, who was then in London. Due to these wishes and L. Tsehelsky's personal written request, Y. Petrushevych nominated the latter as a "political agent for the defence of the ZUNR interests before the USA Government" on September 24, 1920<sup>14</sup>. At the same time, the dictator expressed his wish that L. Tsehelsky went to Washington for 4-6 weeks and conveyed national and state claims of the Galician population to the representatives of the American government through personal auditions. In particular, L. Tsehelsky had to present facts of repression by the Polish government against the Ukrainian population and to incline the USA

<sup>11</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 4-5.

<sup>14</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 5.

government to their side as soon as possible, since the Galician delegation went to a conference in Riga, fearing that due to the efforts of Polish representatives negative decisions could be made for ZUNR.

L. Tsehelsky began to make a wide range of acquaintances and arrange various agreements with representatives of American business. The first contacts about granting a cash loan L. Tsehelsky began to establish in the summer of 1920, with the American Ukrainian Sokhotsky, who, with the assistance of the Ukrainian bank, which was about to be formed, had to provide financial assistance to the government. However, in September the talks went to a dead end because of "personal misunderstandings", and then L. Tsehelsky made contact with the rich American Peter James Fuller and provided him with "political and economic information about Galicia"<sup>15</sup>.

Apparently because of this Fuller, L. Tsehelsky links with the USA business communities, and as early as October 20, 1920, he communicates to Stepan Vytvytsky, a government official for foreign affairs, who is interested in many American businessmen with prospects for oil exploration in Galicia, but they want significant concessions. The further content of the letter shows that L. Tsehelsky had already made many promises at the time, as he asked S. Vytvytsky to write to Y. Petrushevych in London, so that he extended his powers and "to be sparing and leave something for his stakeholders" and „so that they could be given some useful investments" By a letter dated October 30, 1920, L. Tsehelsky said that these businessmen would lend and "do the job of recognition, but they would also crave oil, forests, concessions for railways and for the entire restoration of the land"<sup>16</sup>.

In response to these messages, the government sends L. Tsehelsky, as a spokesman for the ZUNR in New York, a letter dated November 18, 1920, stating, in particular, that "when Americans recognize independence as a business, they should not be sparing of promises because it can promise 50% or more of Galician oil as well as the restoration of the region, because no commitments have been made in this respect and it can continue to make the case quite real"<sup>17</sup>.

In his report of January 20, 1921, L. Tsehelsky informed Y. Petrushevych that he was in talks with a respectable group of people and had already reached certain agreements. L. Tsehelsky reported that "the group is giving political and financial support, namely, to win the recognition of our state in Washington, and in exchange for a monopoly of tobacco, for the oil, coal, water and railway

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<sup>15</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 6-7.

concessions will give a loan and set up a bank with large millions for that aim". He added that he still had two more groups associated with the new president<sup>18</sup>.

On January 22, 1921, he wrote a letter to Kostia Levytskyi demanding clarification on his status and powers, as well as, taking into consideration the negotiations he was conducting, accurate data on land restoration, tobacco monopoly, coal deposits, earth wax, oil, needs of railway materials.

This is followed by a letter from L. Tsehelsky dated January 26, 1921, asking him to send the tobacco statistics to the telegraph, and at the same time informing him of an offer made to him by the Americans: they give an interest-free loan equal to the value of the 20-year tobacco monopoly paid 7.5% of the income from processed tobacco exported from the region. With this in mind, on March 11, 1921, the government sent L. Tsehelsky a detailed report on tobacco production in Galicia, together with statistics for 1912, 1913, 1914<sup>19</sup>.

Among the group of people, whom L. Tsehelsky negotiated with, were: Fuller, Colby and Tumulti. They were the ones who the government had to conclude agreements with on tobacco monopoly, oil production, and region reconstruction and electrification. However, as L. Tsehelsky mentioned, the talks were thwarted, because of the lack of relevant data from the region and the defeat in the USA elections of Democrats, who were supported by his allies.

Immediately after the breakup with Fuller, L. Tsehelsky began talks with the editor of *Evening Mail* Nicole, but they also failed.

In April 1921, he established contacts with the Ukrainian Naval Union, whose representative, named Avrutis, he met in the fall of 1920 through Reviuk, the editor of periodical "Svoboda" (Freedom). Initially, L. Tsehelsky's interests were purely personal; then he was offered to become a reseller between the countries of Eastern Europe. For this job he had to earn \$ 10,000, but he refused because he was a representative of ZUNR. After that Avrutis offered a loan to the Galician government in the amount of one million dollars. On April 17, 1921 L. Tsehelsky informed K. Levytskyi on the terms of getting it: "Ukrainian-American Shipping Company will accept 8% of bonds per million dollars - emission in America, redemption up to 10 years, they will pay us a quarter of dollars now, a quarter to them for risk, the rest remains in the company as an 8 percent share of the state for 10 years, the campaign is welcomed, further negotiations will depend on the consent of the president - a cable with his signature, Lonhyn"<sup>20</sup>.

The next day, April 18, L. Tsehelsky received the answer by the telegram: "I agree on the terms, the agreement and transfer of money addressed to me to

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<sup>18</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 8.

Credit Lionne in Paris should be accelerated. Three thousand for the mission. Dr. Yevhen Petrushevych”.

The matter seemed settled, but L. Tsehelsky suddenly disappeared. Mykytei had been sending him telegrams all May, describing the government's financial difficulties, but he did not respond.

As can be seen from the contract and later testified by L. Tsehelsky, on May 7, 1921, being a representative of the ZUNR government, he concluded a one-million-dollar loan agreement in New York with the Ukrainian shipping company, which pledged to accept eight-percent bonds of Galicia republic for the sum of \$ 500,000 on July 1, 1921, and pay \$ 125,000 in cash the same day. The second part of the \$ 500,000 bonds was to be delivered to the company in instalments of \$ 75,000 each month starting from August, for which the company was required to pay 25% in cash. The contract made it clear that 50% of the bonds were owned by ZUNR, the other 50% were unconditionally owned by the company, but the government could redeem them within ten years. At the time of the redemption, the company received privileges for sea freight and passenger transportation between Galicia and the United States. L.Tsehelsky was handed a \$ 7500 deposit, which would later have to be deducted from the total payments<sup>21</sup>.

At the same time, in his letter to K. Levytsky dated by May 18, 1921, L. Tsehelsky states that today (May 18, but not May 7!) he has concluded a preliminary agreement with the Ukrainian Naval Trading Company. Its main principles are: "We give one million of our bonds, they give us \$ 250,000 in cash; they will be rewarded by the value at risk and the means of selling a quarter of the bonds for \$ 250,000 and we invest half a million as our share by the time the bonds are redeemed"<sup>22</sup>.

Further L. Tsehelsky wrote that the company is American-Jewish-Ukrainian, so other Ukrainian communities did not trust it and therefore it was decided to create a separate bank to finance the loan. He advised them to sell another half a million bonds, for which they had to pay 70%, selling them in Canada, Brazil and Argentina. Therefore, L.Tsehelsky began to demand the Y. Petrushevych's announcement as to the issue of eight percent bonds for one and a half million dollars for sale in all countries of America and to grant him the status of a diplomatic representative of ZUNR for the issue of these bonds, as well as confirmations that they are responsible for ZUNR with all their property<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 8-9.

<sup>22</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 9.

In this letter, L. Tsehelsky does not mention the \$ 7500 deposit taken by him from the Ukrainian Shipping Company, but promises to send more than one hundred thousand dollars on July 1.

However, months went by and the funds he promised were not received, so the Galician government had doubts about L. Tsehelsky's ability to do financial affairs, and help him decide to send the appropriate people. For this purpose, on May 31, 1921, an Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission was created, consisting of Robert Berezovsky (chairman) and Luka Myshuha (secretary).

The organizational charter of May 31, 1921 stated that this mission should "resolve matters financially", "support the activities" of an authorized representative of the government in the USA, and achieve the earliest possible recognition of the ZUNR<sup>24</sup>. In the fourth paragraph, it was stated that all the most important presentations and political actions should be carried out by the Head of Mission R. Berezovsky together with L. Tsehelsky as a "diplomatic representative of the Government"<sup>25</sup>. In accordance with the change of status from "political agent" to "diplomatic representative" Y. Petrushevych issued new "credentials" to L. Tsehelsky on May 31, 1921<sup>26</sup>.

The commission left Vienna on June 23 and was instructed to first check the agreement with the shipping company, as L. Tsegelsky's reports were confusing and unclear. When they arrived in New York on June 30, they did not find L. Tsegelsky, but instead learned from Lototsky and Reviuk that he „had made some kind of swinish trick" with the Ukrainian Shipping Company<sup>27</sup>.

As misunderstandings arose about the powers of L. Tsehelsky and R. Berezovsky, a joint meeting of two missions was held on July 7, 1921, at which they concluded that "an extraordinary mission is a part of the diplomatic mission and creates a unity with it"<sup>28</sup>. The mission was divided into two divisions: diplomatic and financial-trade. The mission's head and diplomatic representative was L. Tsehelsky. R. Berezovsky headed the finance and trade department, and L. Myshuha became the secretary of the mission and a member of the financial and trade department<sup>29</sup>. All political actions were to be discussed at joint meetings, at which all three members had an equal right to vote in the decision-making<sup>30</sup>.

However, the collaboration did not work. L. Tsehelsky painfully perceived the emergence of a diplomatic mission and regarded its arrival as a

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<sup>24</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 2192, d. 2, c. 14, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 2192, d. 2, c. 14, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> Pavliuk 1996, p. 107.

<sup>27</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Pavliuk 1996, p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 12.

sign of distrust. Conflicts began between him and the representatives of the mission, which quickly gained personal character.

On June 18, 1921, L. Tsehelsky left for Montreal and within one day concluded an agreement with Boer to launch a "State Loan" in Canada, which provided for \$ 1 million dollars sales of ZUNR government bonds in Canada and a further expansion to \$ 9 million dollars secured by state property. The sale of the bonds was to be carried out by the bank of Saint Trost Company for three months, and L. Tsehelsky had to contact the government in the matter of additional issue of bonds for nine million dollars. Boer, as a front-line worker, received 10% of the first million, and 8% of the following ones. Three people signed the contract: L. Tsehelsky, Boer and his lawyer McTigue. In addition, L. Tsehelsky signed two documents the same day, which (without Y. Petrushevych's confirmation) granted Boer exclusive rights to rebuild railroads in the Galicia Republic and extraction of oil and ozokerite on state soils to the east of the Limnytsa River for 25 years. In the contract, L. Tsehelsky acted as "the only legally authorized deputy in America"<sup>31</sup>.

Later, according to the testimony of lawyer McTigue, it became known that L. Tsehelsky received \$ 4,000 for signing the agreement and \$ 5,000 during July. Of course, the money was earmarked for the government, but as one can guess, L. Tsehelsky did not send a single cent.

L. Tsehelsky arrived in New York on July 3, 1921, and told the Extraordinary Mission that he had terminated his agreement with the Ukrainian Naval Company because he had no money, and instead began negotiations with another company to sell a ZUNR government bond in Canada in the amount of \$ 1 million and \$ 9 million bail on state property, but the case is still pending<sup>32</sup>.

R. Berezovsky and L. Myshuha informed L. Tsehelsky that, according to Y. Petrushevych's order of June 21, 1921, they were to extend a \$ 100,000 National Defence loan to the United States. He begged them to wait for the loan to be announced before the first of August, in view of the agreement with the Ukrainian Shipping Company, but R. Berezovsky did not agree and announced the loan.

At the same time the Ukrainian Shipping Company announced the sale of bonds signed by L. Tsehelsky for \$ 1 million. The scandal began. At the request of R. Berezovsky and L. Myshuha to explain the situation, L. Tsehelsky "stood up for everything and stated that he knew nothing about it, that everything had been falsified, that he had not signed any announcement and had not empowered anyone before, and that his signature on the announcement was not authentic"<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 12.

However, under pressure from R. Berezovsky, L. Tsehelsky was forced to publish on July 23, 1921, in the American periodicals "Ostoroga" (Caution), in which he reported that the appeal, which appeared in New York with his signature, "calling the Ukrainians of the United States to buy bonds of the Western Ukrainian State had never been issued through him and had not empowered anyone before the publication. The only loan left in the United States is the National Defense Loan only, which is transferred by a financial mission from Dr. Berezovsky and Dr. Myshuha, and only the appeals signed by that Mission, which are featured in Ukrainian newspapers these days, are important"<sup>34</sup>.

The agreement with the Ukrainian Shipping Company was officially terminated at the end of July 1921, when L. Tsehelsky strongly demanded from the representatives of the company to pay \$ 250,000 in cash by August 1, 1921. After the company's lawyers had not agreed and wanted to impose new terms, L. Tsehelsky announced the agreement torn off by the fault of the company, and therefore did not give back the deposit of \$ 7,500.

Moreover, L. Tsehelsky went to Montreal and there, on July 18, 1921, concluded an agreement with Saint Trost Bank on the financing of the Canadian loan. In this agreement, which was only a supplement to the previous one (dated June 18), L. Tsehelsky noted that Y. Petrushevych, started issuing bonds for \$ 1 million by decree of June 21, 1921, and authorized him to conclude this agreement on behalf of Galicia republic. The contract also said that the Saint Trost Bank would sell the bonds and pay the money received to Boer in the amount of 12.5%, and 87.5% - into the hands of the representative of the Galician Republic (i.e. L. Tsegelsky)<sup>35</sup>.

There was a very interesting situation when three loans were announced almost simultaneously: the first one by the National Defence in the USA for \$ 100,000, signed by R. Berezovsky and L. Myshuha; the second one by the Ukrainian Shipping company in the USA for \$ 1,000,000 signed by L. Tsehelsky; the third one by the State Loan in Canada, also signed by L. Tsegelsky.

The most interesting was the thing that Y. Petrushevych did not know anything about the announcement of the State Loan in Canada, and therefore requested the ambassador V. Sinhalevych to inform I. Bobersky, who was the ZUNR representative in Canada, about \$ 100,000 National Defence loan from the USA and about the government's intentions of a similar loan to Canada in future. For this purpose, I. Bobersky had to convene the representatives of the largest Ukrainian organizations, set up a committee and prepare very thoroughly.

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<sup>34</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 12-13.

<sup>35</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 13.

Only I. Boberskyi began to take the first steps in this direction, as on August 3, 1921, a message appeared on "Kanadiisky Ukrainets" (Canadian Ukrainian) about the beginning of the "State Loan" of Galicia Republic for one million, with reference to Y. Petrushevych's decree of June 21, 1921 signed by L. Tsehelsky as a representative of ZUNR. In the report it was also said that a syndicate was created to sell the bonds, headed by A. Boer.

According to Fr. Semybratovych, "when the local people compared the date and number of the decision of the American and Canadian Loans, they gained distrust to the action of loans on the whole"<sup>36</sup>. After the publication in the press as to L. Tsehelsky's announcement about the illegality of the Ukrainian Shipping Company loan, chaos began. Upon this, R. Berezovsky advised Y. Petrushevych in his report of July 26, 1921, "an urgent change of diplomatic mission, because no one treats him seriously and has no trust", and L. Myshuha in his letter to Petrushevych, with the same date, reports that L. Tsehelsky's periodical *Narodna Volia* (National Freedom) alludes the connection „with people who should have gone to crime long before"<sup>37</sup>.

In this situation, L. Tsehelsky, on July 23, 1921, tendered a resignation petition to Vienna, motivating it by a lack of trust, conflicts, and misunderstandings over the duality of the mission, and personal setbacks with "financial conditions that were solely for the purchase of funds to save the Government and The President"<sup>38</sup>. Y. Petrushevych did not accept his resignation. Instead, on August 11, 1921, L. Tsehelsky received a letter from the government with the task of "trying to strengthen the political cause" in the USA<sup>39</sup>. After moving to the capital, Tsehelsky intensified in this direction. With the help of New Jersey Republican Senator Joe Frelinghausen, who had a good relationship with the new Secretary of State, Charles Hughes, L. Tsehelsky sought an audience with C. Hughes and President W. Harding. But Washington's position was clear: neither the president, nor the secretary of state, nor even the deputy secretaries of state were accepting representatives of governments and states not recognized by Washington<sup>40</sup>. On September 17, 1921, L. Tsehelsky managed to meet with the Head of Western Europe's State Department of the USA, W. Kessel, and on September 20, with the administrative assistant of the same department, Professor C. Martin, but these meetings did not yield results either<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Pavliuk 1996, p. 111.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 111.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 112.

In late November 1921, R. Berezovsky left the mission and left Washington for Vienna. Before leaving, he told L. Tsehelsky that he would provide the government with a detailed report on his activities. To this threat, according to R. Berezovsky's confession, L. Tsehelsky also replied with the threat that "he is not afraid of any responsibility, because he has Dr. Kostia Levytsky in his own pockets... the whole government is afraid of him because he has such materials that one has only to proclaim them once, and it will destroy Dr. Petrushevych's entire government"<sup>42</sup>.

However, there was obviously something to be afraid of, and L. Tsehelsky, anticipating the events, sends a letter to Petrushevych on November 27, 1921, in which he points to the reproaches against him, at the same time refuting each of them. In the same letter, L. Tsehelsky notes that "his position has become impossible, not because he is discredited, but because he has not a single penny" and asks for his resignation again<sup>43</sup>. Y. Petrushevych sent him a telegraph order from December 7, 1921 to remain in his place, carry out the mission and wait for further instructions, but L. Tsehelsky leaves the USA without permission, and on December 10, 1921 he leaves for Vienna<sup>44</sup>. In such a situation, Y. Petrushevych, on December 18, 1921, transfers all cases to L. Myshuha, authorizing him to "temporarily conduct the affairs of the diplomatic mission of the Galician Republic, as well as the trade and financial department"<sup>45</sup>.

After L. Tsehelsky's visit to Vienna, a disciplinary investigation was instituted against him, conducted by K. Levytsky as the head of the foreign affairs department. However, rumours spread among the Viennese diaspora that K. Levytsky wanted to destroy L. Tsehelsky as his longtime political rival, so a commission of three people was formed to investigate the case objectively: Dolnytsky, Keranovych and Semaka. This commission resolved that L. Tsehelsky's activity in the first year of his stay in the United States from April 10, 1920 to May 1921 was "very remarkable and useful, which caused Tsehelsky to raise a large amount of money for the Government and for those Ukrainians, who are in need within the region and abroad. But when Tsehelsky began to deal with a loan for the Government from various American financiers, his blunders began"<sup>46</sup>.

The blunders, according to the investigation materials, were very serious. L. Tsehelsky was accused of power excess, financial fraud, undermining the prestige of the government due to immoral behaviour and waste of state money.

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<sup>42</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 18.

<sup>43</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 19.

<sup>44</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Pavliuk 1996, p. 117.

<sup>46</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 19.

In addition, he violated Y. Petrushevych's order and left the mission without permission.

Judge Volodymyr Yavorsky handed down a verdict in which Tsehelsky was found guilty in almost all charges, except for scams with women and some financial expenses (this could not be documented). Y. Petrushevych issued an order "to apply disciplinary action against Tsehelsky"<sup>47</sup>.

Tsehelsky himself denied almost all the charges. He only acknowledged that he had signed agreements with the Ukrainian Maritime Union and Boer and received \$ 7,000 Canadian and \$ 2,500 American dollars from them, which he "spent on ... debt and mission expenses"<sup>48</sup>. The most interesting was the thing, that according to L. Tsehelsky's calculations himself, he did not spend anything, but on the contrary, the government still owed him a considerable amount of money (!): „denies the misuse of funds selected for the account of the State Treasury and submits that the money received from the Government was given to the Mission's agenda and, after his own accounts, is filing a claim of \$ 4,589 to return from state funds"<sup>49</sup>.

The loan deal in Canada was completed as early as August 16, 1922, when Y. Petrushevych issued an order to liquidate the "State Loan" in Canada and launch a new \$ 250,000 National Defence Loan<sup>50</sup>. The government's financial affairs were continued by Luke Mishuha, thanks to his persistence and dedication, he was able to change the wary attitude of Ukrainians in the USA and his mission was able to raise \$ 138,500<sup>51</sup>, which effectively saved the ZUNR exile government from financial collapse.

Undoubtedly, in this story, Tsehelsky looks in a rather unattractive light. However, it is difficult to pick words to explain further actions of Y. Petrushevych. During the investigation, it became clear that Boer and his entourage, according to L. Myshuha are "notarial liars, thieves and "batiars" (Ukr. *batiar* means a depraved, frivolous man)". In his report on November 27, 1921 L. Tsehelsky admitted that "Kurdydyk is an accomplished bandit, Boer is a ruffian, and the rest themselves are "batiars"<sup>52</sup>. "Y. Tsehelsky was charged that in a loan action in Canada despite the 1921 warning, he had contacted "with people above all uncertain and too compromised"<sup>53</sup>, and despite all that... Y. Petrushevych himself, without Tsehelsky's involvement, continues to cooperate with Boer (!). In January 1922, a lawyer McTigue arrived in Vienna to Y.

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<sup>47</sup> Pavliuk 1996, p. 117.

<sup>48</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 22.

<sup>49</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 23.

<sup>50</sup> Zakhidno-Ukrainska 2003, p. 629-630.

<sup>51</sup> Pavliuk 1996, p. 122.

<sup>52</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 12.

<sup>53</sup> CSAHAA of Ukraine, f. 4460, d. 1, c. 2, p. 2.

Petrushevych, and in March, Boer himself, and new agreements were concluded with him<sup>54</sup>. Against this background, the disciplinary investigation of the ZUNR government against Y. Tsehelsky looks at least strange.

Thus, L. Tsehelsky's mission failed. L. Tsehelsky actually compromised himself in the eyes of Americans. It was difficult to expect from the American society with its strict moral principles that L. Tsehelsky's serious perception as a politician and any steps in support of the mission he led.

However, Luke Myshuha managed to correct the situation. Nevertheless, he changed the wary attitude of Ukrainians in the USA and his mission was able to raise financial resources to support the exile government.

#### Misiunile Diplomatice și financiare ale lui Lonhyn Tsehelsky în SUA și Canada (1920-1921)

##### REZUMAT

Articolul se bazează pe analiza documentelor de arhivă și evidențiază fapte puțin cunoscute privind activitatea Misiunii extraordinare a Consiliului Național Ucrainean (în limba ucraineană: UNRada – Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada) a Republicii Populare a Ucrainei Occidentale (în limba ucraineană: ZUNR – Zakhidna Ukrainska Narodna Respublika) în Statele Unite ale Americii, în 1920-1921, condusă de L. Tsehelsky. Sunt analizate problemele formării, principalele sarcini, direcțiile muncii și motivele care au dus la eșecul misiunilor, sunt evidențiate activitățile șefului acesteia, precum și ancheta disciplinară inițiată împotriva lui. Sunt cercetate acuzațiile de abuz de putere, fraudă financiară, subminarea puterii de stat datorită comportamentului imoral și delapidării banilor publici. Separat, ne-am îndreptat atenția asupra tranzacțiilor cu Ukrainian Shipping Company (Compania Ucraineană de Transport Maritim) și a omului de afaceri Boer, împrumuturi de sume importante de bani efectuate de guvernul galițian, care s-au terminat cu scandaluri renumite. Este evidențiat faptul, că în ciuda eșecului misiunii lui L. Tsehelsky, situația a fost redresată de Luka Myshuha, care a schimbat atitudinea precaută a ucrainenilor din Statele Unite ale Americii, iar misiunea sa a adunat resurse financiare pentru a susține guvernul aflat în exil.

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**Keywords:** government, ZUNR, Ukrainian Shipping Company, Boer, loan, agreement, disciplinary inquiry

**Cuvinte-cheie:** guvern, ZUNR, Ukrainian Shipping Company (Compania Ucraineană de Transport Maritim), Boer, împrumut, înțelegere, anchetă disciplinară