Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi 2026, t. 20, z. 3
The Studies into the History of the Book and Book Collections 2026, vol. 20, no. 3
www.bookhistory.uw.edu.pl
https://doi.org/10.33077/uw.25448730.zbkh.2026.1000



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Book Publishing Activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in Europe (1914–1918)

Abstract: The article analyzes the distinctive features of the book publishing activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (ULU) during the First World War. These activities became possible due to financial support from Germany and Austria-Hungary, part of which was directed towards information and propaganda campaigns serving both the interests of the Central Powers and the promotion of the Ukrainian question in Europe. During the first three years of the war, the ULU implemented an extensive book publishing program that turned it into the leading Ukrainian publisher in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and several neutral countries. Books and brochures published by the ULU in European languages were distributed to state and university libraries, enabling foreign audiences to become acquainted with Ukrainian aspirations for statehood. The ULU also disseminated its publications among politicians and government officials in both the Central Powers and neutral states. A significant component of the ULU's publishing policy was the production of political, historical, and literary books and brochures designed to replace Ukrainian prisoners of war's "Little Russian" identity with a stronger sense of national consciousness and commitment to Ukrainian statehood. Distributed through camp libraries, Ukrainian books became an important instrument of cultural and national awakening. Their impact extended beyond prisoner-of-war camps, as they also reached Ukraine through various channels, contributing to the growth of national consciousness among young Ukrainians. This broad influence was closely related to the ULU's publishing policy, which prioritized works with a Ukraine-centered character and a strong potential to promote the idea of Ukrainian independence. To reach diverse audiences, the ULU also developed a multilingual publishing program that incorporated 12 languages.

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Keywords: book publishing activities – printing house – book – brochure – Ukrainian prisoner-of-war camps – Union for the Liberation of Ukraine – Europe

Słowa kluczowe: książkowa działalność wydawnicza – drukarnia – książka – broszura – obozy ukraińskich jeńców wojennych – Związek Wyzwolenia Ukrainy – Europa

Introduction

The non-party Ukrainian political organization, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (ULU, *Союз визволення України*, СВУ), was founded in Lviv by a group of Ukrainian émigré political activists at the outbreak of the First World War. The Union's principal task was to assist the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary in bringing about the military defeat of the Russian Empire and in establishing an independent Ukrainian state on its ruins. Initially, the ULU operated within the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and succeeded in securing the support of its government, although this assistance was not publicly acknowledged. This support was manifested, in particular, through financial assistance to the ULU, which in turn embarked upon intensive publishing activities and launched several periodicals. At the same time, the Union enlisted the cooperation of a number of publicists, who were given an opportunity to prepare and publish articles and brochures of a distinctly anti-Russian nature. In addition, the ULU republished works by Ukrainian writers and poets, as well as a wide range of popular academic literature on the history and geography of Ukraine.

In 1915, the ULU expanded its activities to Germany by establishing a separate office (the so-called "centralia") in Berlin, headed by Oleksandr Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyi[1]. This was made possible by substantial financial support received from the German non-governmental organization "Society for Internal Colonization" ("Gesellschaft für innere Kolonisation"), which was intended to finance a propaganda campaign among prisoners of war from the tsarist Russian Army. A key objective of this campaign was to identify and separate those prisoners who originated from the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire. For this purpose, the ULU emissaries were dispatched to the prisoner-of-war camps. With the assistance of the camp authorities, they compiled lists of Ukrainian prisoners who agreed to be transferred to Ukrainian camps.

1 Oleksandr Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyi (1880–1946) – a Ukrainian political, state, and public figure, publicist, and one of the leading members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Hetmanite movement.

The first of these was Rastatt, followed shortly thereafter by two others – Wetzlar and Salzwedel. Although the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainians gathered in these camps had been Russified, possessed only limited literacy (and in some cases were completely illiterate), and were intimidated by the prospect of reprisals from the Russian secret police upon their return home, the ULU envoys managed to undertake intensive cultural, educational, and national organizational work. As a result, a substantial number of Ukrainian prisoners of war underwent a process of national awakening.

One of the most effective methods for fostering national consciousness among the prisoners held in these camps was the Ukrainian printed word, disseminated both through camp newspapers and intensive book publishing. This was possible because the ULU acquired all the necessary printing equipment to establish printing houses within the camps and financed their operation for an extended period. At the same time, the ULU spared no expense in publishing propaganda brochures in different languages, arguing for the separation of Ukraine from Russia and the proclamation of its independence. Through these efforts, the ULU succeeded in bringing *the Ukrainian question* to the attention of the public in several European countries and in convincing a number of educated Europeans that Russia posed an existential threat to Europe.

Review of Research and Publications

Although various aspects of the activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (ULU) have long been the subject of extensive research in Austrian, German[2], and Ukrainian historiography[3], the subject is far from exhausted.

2 H. Grebing, *Österreich-Ungarn und die «Ukrainische Aktion» 1914–1918*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" 1959, Bd. 7, pp. 270–296; W. Bihl, *Österreich-Ungarn und der «Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine»*, [in:] *Österreich und Europa. Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, Graz – Wien – Köln 1965, pp. 505–526; W. Bihl, *Einige Aspekte österreichisch-ungarischen Ruthenenpolitik 1914–1918*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" 1966, Bd. 14, pp. 539–550; R. Mark, *Zur ukrainischen Frage im ersten Weltkrieg: Flugschriften des «Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraine» und ihm nahestehender Publizisten 1914–1916*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" 1984, 33, pp. 196–226.

3 Б.І. Корольов, І.С. Михальський, *«Союз визволення України (1914–1918 рр.)»: до історії створення та діяльності*, Луганськ 1996; І. Срібняк, Діяльність *Союзу визволення України серед полонених офіцерів російської армії в Австро-Угорщині (1914–1918 рр.)*, "Сурмач" 1997, ч.1–4, pp. 45–53; І. Срібняк, В. Васильчук, *Союз визволення України в 1914–1917 рр.: до історії культурно-просвітницької діяльності серед полонених вояків-українців у Австро-Угорщині*, Київ 1997; І. Срібняк, *Культурно-просвітницька і організаційна діяльність Союзу Визволення України у багатонаціональних таборах царської армії в Австро-Угорщині та Німеччині (1914–1917 рр.)*, *Проблеми історії України XIX – початку XX ст.,* Вип. III, Київ 2001, pp. 198–221.

Even the publication of the monograph by Lviv historian Ivan Pater on the ULU, which sought to provide a comprehensive study of the Union's origins and activities[4], served more as an invitation to further scholarly inquiry than as the final word on the subject. This is evidenced by several subsequent publications by the same author[5], which were intended to fill the gaps that had not been properly addressed in the aforementioned monograph.

Research on various aspects of the ULU's activities continued in the years that followed[6], resulting in the introduction of a substantial number of archival documents into scholarly circulation. The publication of two articles made it possible to reconstruct the ULU's efforts to establish libraries in the Ukrainian prisoner-of-war camps in Germany and Austria-Hungary. However, these studies refer only in passing to camp-based publishing as one of the sources through which these libraries were supplied with books[7]. Some aspects of the ULU's publishing process have also been examined in studies by Ukrainian scholars[8]; however, these works lacked a comprehensive synthesis of the events.

4 І. Патер, *Союз Визволення України. Проблеми державності та соборності*, Львів 2000.

5 І. Патер, *Просвітня діяльність Союзу визволення України серед військовополонених українців у таборах Австро-Угорщини та Німеччини (1914–1918)*, "Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність: Зб. наук. пр." 2010, вип. 19, pp. 559–571; І. Патер, *Міжнародна діяльність Союзу визволення України (1914–1918 рр.)*, "Галичина" 2013, ч. 22–23, pp. 174–186; І. Патер, *Союз визволення України: військово-політичний аспект (1914–1918 рр.)*, "Військово-науковий вісник" 2021, № 35, pp. 81–113.

6 І. Срібняк, *Культурно-просвітницька і організаційна діяльність Союзу Визволення України у багатонаціональних таборах царської армії в Австро-Угорщині та Німеччині (1914–1917 рр.)*, "Проблеми історії України XIX – початку XX ст." 2001, Вип. III, pp. 198–221; О. Супронюк, *Діяльність Союзу визволення України та його часопису «Вісник Союзу визволення України» як етап змагань за державність України (до 100-річчя виникнення)*, "Світогляд" 2014, № 4 (48), pp. 44–53; I. Sribniak, *Działalność narodowo-organizacyjna Związku Wyzwolenia Ukrainy w obozie jeńców armii cesarskiej Rastatt w Niemczech (1915–1918)*, "Wschodnioznawstwo" 2018, t. 12, pp. 231–242.

7 М. Палієнко, І. Срібняк, *Книжковий рух у таборах полонених вояків-українців у Німеччині під час Першої світової війни*, "Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України: археографічні дослідження унікальних архівних та бібліотечних фондів" 2020, вип. 25, pp. 163–175; М. Палієнко, І. Срібняк, *Книжковий рух у таборі полонених українців Фрайштадт (Австро-Угорщина), 1915–1918 рр.*, "Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України: археографічні дослідження унікальних архівних та бібліотечних фондів" 2021, вип. 27, pp. 181–192.

8 Д. Будков, *Інформаційно-пропагандистська діяльність українських політичних організацій за кордоном (1914–1918 рр.)*, "Київська старовина" 2002, № 5, p. 159; І. Морозова, *Українська еміграційна книга у Відні періоду Першої світової війни та Визвольних змагань*, "Записки Львівської національної наукової бібліотеки України імені В. Стефаника" 2013, вип. 5 (21), pp. 84–101; Р. Куцик, І. Коляда, С. Борчук, *Антиросійський наратив у брошурах Союзу визволення України: критика імперських ідеологем та міфотворення (1915–1916 рр.)*, "Науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис «Галичина»" 2021, № 34, pp. 51–67.

The paper most closely related to the subject of this article is I. Pater's examination of the ULU's publishing activities in Europe[9]. However, the author focuses primarily on the Union's periodical publications, while the book publishing dimension of the ULU's activities is addressed only briefly. Moreover, several bibliographical details presented in that study require correction. For example, I. Pater gives the title of one of Lonhyn Tsehelskyi's brochures as *Ukraina sveriges beriglömbda bundsförvani*, whereas the correct title, as established by subsequent research, is *Ukraina. Sveriges bortglömda bundsförvant*. Notably, it was this incorrect title that was subsequently used by virtually all other Ukrainian historians who referred to the brochure in their own studies. Nor was I. Pater accurate in dating the publication of certain books. For example, V. Khoma-Dovskyi's work *Ukrajina i Ukrajinci: s etnografskom mapom Ukrajine* was published in Zagreb not in 1915, as he states, but a year later. Likewise, it is worth noting that Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's German-language work *Die ukrainische Frage in historischer Entwicklung*, cited in I. Pater's article, was published not in 1916 but in the preceding year.

To prepare this article, the authors used archival documents from collections of the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (CDAVO of Ukraine), as well as digital copies of ULU publications available through the electronic library "Diasporiana.org.ua"[10]. Another valuable source consists of materials published in the journal "Вістник Союза визволення України" ("Bulletin of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine"), whose pages regularly featured announcements of books published at the Union's expense. Supplementary sources included materials containing information about one of the ULU's most actively supported publicists, L. Tsehelskyi, available online through Volodymyr Kupchyk's website and the website of the Ukrainian National Bar Association[11].

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The methodology for counting the ULU book publications requires a clear delineation of the publishing projects implemented by the Union during the

9 І. Патер, *Видавнича діяльність Союзу визволення України*, "Новітня доба" 2018, вип. 6, pp. 3–19.

10 See: https://diasporiana.org.ua/.

11 В. Купчик, *Літературно-публіцистична спадщина Лонгина Цегельського як історичне джерело*, *Інтернет-сторінка Володимира Купчика,* [online] http://www.kupchyk.lviv.ua/index.php?no=25 [access 14.09.2026]; П. Гай-Нижник, *Лонгин Цегельський – патріот, націонал-консерватор, соборник (ч. 1)*, [online] https://unba.org.ua/publications/print/9796-longin-cegel-s-kij-patriot-nacional-konservator-sobornik-ch-1.html [access 14.09.2026].

First World War. The primary unit of the count is an individual bibliographic publication with its own title page (cover), publication data, and complete text. This category includes monographs, brochures, popular booklets, collected materials (calendars), as well as educational and general-interest publications. Excluded from this total are printed materials that the ULU merely distributed or promoted. The criterion for classifying a publication as part of the Union's publishing output is the presence, on the title page, cover, or in the publication data, of an explicit indication of its affiliation with the ULU ("Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" or another official foreign-language form of the ULU's name), or with a publishing body of the ULU, which, in practice, consisted of the camp printing presses.

Also included in the count were publications produced by the ULU without an explicit indication of the Union's involvement. Their affiliation with the ULU, however, can be established through the documents of the ULU presidium, accounting books, the Union's publishing plans, correspondence and ULU publication catalogues, notices in the *"*Visnyk Soiuza Vyzvolennia Ukrainy", as well as documents relating to the payment for printing or print runs. The count also includes publishing projects whose costs were shared equally by the ULU and the authors.

For translated publications, if the same work was published in Ukrainian and in one or more other European languages, each language edition was counted as a separate publication for bibliographical statistics – for example, four separate editions, even though they were, in fact, different-language versions of the same work. Reissues (each new physical edition) were likewise counted separately, provided that the year of publication had been changed and the relevant information was indicated (e.g. second edition). The count included publications issued from August 1914 until the cessation of the ULU's activities in the summer of 1918. It should be noted, however, that the production of certain books under the ULU imprint continued for some time thereafter (until late autumn 1918), with the ULU still indicated as the publisher.

Ukrainian-Language Publications of the ULU

Throughout the existence of the ULU, book publishing remained one of its principal fields of activity, reflecting the leadership's determination to promote the spread of Ukrainian national liberation ideas. To this end, the Union organized the publication of a broad range of books and brochures, primarily by Ukrainian writers and publicists, while in some cases also commissioning Ukrainian translations of works by publicists from various European countries. Fully aware of the power of the Ukrainian printed word, the

ULU allocated substantial funds to book publishing, hoping that Ukrainian books would always find their readers. Given that the ULU's central office was located in Vienna (after its evacuation from Lviv), it was in the Austrian capital that the Union carried out the largest number of its publishing projects (both books and brochures). For the most part, the ULU relied on the services of the Viennese printing house of Adolf Holzhausen[12], where approximately three-quarters of all the Union's printed materials were produced.

One of the principal areas of the ULU's publishing activities was the dissemination of literary works by Taras Shevchenko, which were generally issued in relatively large print runs (especially for wartime conditions). Recalling one such publishing project in 1915 – the publication of *Кобзар* (*Kobzar*)[13] in an edition of 21 000 copies – the ULU Presidium member Volodymyr Doroshenko[14] noted its significance. In his view, this work had an enormous impact on Ukrainians: it "awakened Ukraine and became for us [Ukrainians – authors] an inexhaustible source of national consciousness"[15]. In addition, Shevchenko's *Великий льох* (*The Great Vault*) was published as a separate offprint in Vienna in 1915, with a foreword by Vasyl Simovych[16].

Seeking to promote the scholarly achievements of another outstanding Ukrainian, the renowned historian M. Hrushevskyi, the ULU published one of his works[17] in 1915. The following year, through the Union's efforts, the first volume of his *History of Ukraine* was published in Lviv (1916). The publication was subsequently mentioned in one of the Viennese periodicals in the form of a review of the book[18]. Among Ukrainian circles, the review's publication was interpreted as evidence of official Viennese interest in the Ukrainian cause, since "Streffleurs Militärblatt" was regarded as the semi-official journal of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War[19].

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12 Adolf Holzhausen (1868–1931) – an Austrian bookseller and publisher, with expertise in setting oriental typefaces.

13 Т. Шевченко, *Кобзар (вибір поезій)*, Відень 1915, вип. 1.

14 Volodymyr Doroshenko (1879–1963) – bibliographer, literary scholar, translator, and co-founder and member of the presidium of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

15 В. Дорошенко, *В сто-перші роковини*, "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1915, март, № 11–12, p. 2.

16 Vasyl Simovych (1880–1944) – a prominent Ukrainian linguist, philologist, educator, and public and cultural figure. During World War I, he worked as an organizer of national life in Ukrainian prisoner-of-war camps in Austria-Hungary and Germany, giving lectures on the Ukrainian language and literature to them.

17 М. Грушевський, *Як жив український народ. Коротка історія України*, Царгород 1915.

18 "Streffleurs Militarblatt" 1916, № 51, 23 Dezember, pp. 2–3.

19 Про німецьку історію України М. Грушевського, "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1917, 28 січня, ч. 5 (135), pp. 78–79.

The publication of works by the prominent Galician public figure L. Tsehelskyi was one of the ULU's publishing priorities, reflecting both the power of his journalistic and polemical writing and his uncompromising commitment to the struggle for independent Ukraine. In this regard, special attention should be paid to L. Tsehelskyi's *Самостійна Україна* (*Independent Ukraine*)[20], in which the author argued that the First World War could serve as a catalyst for the development of the Ukrainian national idea, endowing it with "extraordinary strength" that would enable its full self-realization through the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state[21]. As contemporary Ukrainian scholars R. Kutsyk, I. Koliada, and S. Borchuk have rightly observed, the significance of this brochure lay, among other things, in the fact that its central arguments contributed to the dismantling of Russian imperial myths[22].

Among publications of this kind was undoubtedly L. Tsehelskyi's polemical work *Русь-Україна а Московщина-Россія* (*Rus'-Ukraine and Muscovy-Russia*), in which he substantiated the importance of the "idea of Ukrainian statehood", arguing that it had become "the intellectual property not only of all nationally conscious Ukrainians, but also of the broader European public opinion – both of our friends and allies, and of our adversaries and enemies". The author revealed Russia's plans to annex Galicia during the war in order to suppress "Mazepism"[23]; however, such actions had the opposite effect. For a number of European countries the "call proclaimed by conscious Ukrainians for the creation, or rather the restoration, of the Ukrainian state" was heard "with ever greater force"[24]. It is clear that the intended readership of this book was the Ukrainian population, and therefore the entire print run was planned to be smuggled illegally into Naddnieprianska Ukraine[25] (Dnipro Ukraine, i.e., the Ukrainian territories under Russian imperial rule). Another

20 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1915, 15 серпня, № 23–24, pp. 20–21.

21 Л. Цегельський, *Самостійна Україна*, Відень 1915.

22 Р. Куцик, І. Коляда, С. Борчук, *Антиросійський наратив у брошурах Союзу визволення України: критика імперських ідеологем та міфотворення (1915–1916 рр.)*, "Науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис «Галичина»" 2021, № 34, p. 59.

23 Mazepism was a political and journalistic term derived from the name of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, used in the Russian Empire to denote manifestations of Ukrainian autonomism, separatism, and aspirations for political independence. In a broader historical sense, the term was used by Russians to characterize the Ukrainian national-political movement that appealed to the tradition of Ukraine's distinct statehood; in Russian official and public discourse, it generally carried a negative and accusatory connotation.

24 Л. Цегельський, *«Русь-Україна а Московщина-Россія» (історично-політична розвідка)*, Царгород (Стамбул) 1916.

25 В. Купчик, op. cit.

brochure by L. Tsehelskyi was devoted to clarifying the causes of the outbreak of the war[26].

Through the efforts of the ULU, a whole series of books was published during 1915–1917. These works addressed various themes from Ukrainian history and explored the specifics of the development of Ukrainian political thought and the public life of Ukrainians in Russia and Austria. They were authored by V. Doroshenko[27] and M. Lozynskyi[28]. This category should also include the work of Orest Kyrylenko (the pseudonym of O. Zherebko) entitled *Українці в Америці* (*Ukrainians in America*), published by the ULU in Vienna in 1916. In this work, the author examined the settlement patterns of Ukrainians in the United States and elsewhere in North and South America, pointing out the difficulty of determining the number of Ukrainian emigrants due to various self-designations used by emigrants from the territory of present-day Ukraine. He also described the everyday life, culture, economic activities, and religious and political engagement of Ukrainians in the USA[29].

Another group of publications concerned politically and socially significant topics, including Russia's policy toward Ukraine[30], the national revival of European peoples[31], Ukrainian ethnography[32], and the political and state-building aspirations of the Ukrainian people[33]. Among such publications, it is worth mentioning the brochure by O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyi, a member of the ULU Presidium, in which the author argued that "Ukraine's independence had become a political necessity of the present development of events" on

26 Л. Цегельський, *З чого виникла війна та що вона нам може принести*, Відень 1915.

27 В. Дорошенко, *Півтораста літ української політичної думки (від скасування Гетьманщини до нашого часу). Короткий історичний огляд*, Відень 1914; Дорошенко В., *Українство в Росії*, Відень 1917.

28 М. Лозинський, *Галичина в життю України*, Відень 1916. About the author: Mykhailo Lozynskyi (1880–1937) – a Ukrainian lawyer, political and public figure, diplomat, journalist, and publicist, and one of the prominent figures of the West Ukrainian People's Republic.

29 О. Кириленко, *Українці в Америці*, Відень 1916.

30 В. Будзиновський, *Як Москва нищила Україну. На підставі старих українських пісень*, Відень 1917.

31 М. Богданович, *Білоруське відродженнє*, Відень 1916; І. Шишманов, *Роля України в болгарськім відродженню. Вплив Шевченка на болгарських поетів передвизвольної доби*, Відень 1916; О.І. Бочковський, *Фінляндія і фінляндське питання*, Відень 1916; М. Троцький, *Литовці*, Відень 1917.

32 М. Возняк, *Наша рідна мова*, Відень 1916; В. Гнатюк, *Українська народня словесність (в справі записів українського етнографічного матеріялу)*, Відень 1917; М. Кордуба, *Північно-Західна Україна*, Відень 1917; М. Кордуба, *Територія і населення України*, Відень 1918.

33 В. Короленко, *Як упала царська влада (Оповіданнє простим людям про події в Росії)*, Відень 1917; М. Грушевський, *Якої автономії і федерації хоче Україна?*, Відень 1917; М. Троцький, *Як прийшло в Росії до революції*, Відень 1917.

a pan-European scale. He further maintained that the progress of "Western European culture directly depended on whether, in this war [referring to the First World War – authors], it would be possible to sweep from the face of the earth the danger posed to culture by the Muscovite state". According to O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyi, this could be achieved only by enabling Ukrainians "to enter the ranks of the civilized peoples of Europe and, in this way, to pull the ground out from under the feet of the Russian giant"[34].

With the ULU's support, a range of scholarly, socio-political, and literary books was also published. These included, among others, a brochure by the Ukrainian writer, literary scholar, and public figure Volodymyr Levytskyi on the way of life of the Ukrainian people under Habsburg rule[35] and the processes of their national revival[36]; a historical study by Volodymyr Antonovych[37]; biographical essays on prominent figures of Ukrainian history and culture (T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, P. Sahaidachnyi and others); as well as separate collections of literary works by Ukrainian writers, including H. Kvitka-Osnovianenko, P. Kulish, L. Hlibov, K. Klymkovych, V. Shashkevych, O. Storozhenko, S. Rudanskyi, V. Vynnychenko and others[38], as well as B. Lepkyi, R. Kupchynskyi, A. Chaikovskyi, V. Pachovskyi and others[39].

It is also worth mentioning the "Памяткова книжка-калєндар" ("Memorial Book-Calendar")[40], which contained "numerous articles on the cultural, economic and political life of Ukrainian people on both sides of the border, as well as the finest examples of the poetic works of national poets". The volume also included "the most detailed overview of military events over two years, along with [...] [an account of] Ukrainian life in Russia from the beginning of the Ukrainian national revival to the present day, and articles on political aspirations of the Ukrainian people during the war"[41].

34 О. Скоропис-Йолтуховський, *Значіннє самостійної України для европейської рівноваги*, Відень 1916, p. 15.

35 В. Левицький, *Як живеть ся українському народови в Австрії*, Відень 1915.

36 В. Гнатюк, *Національне відродженнє австро-угорських Українців (1772–1880 рр.)*, Відень 1916.

37 В. Антонович, *Хмельниччина в повісті Г. Сєнкевича*, Відень 1917.

38 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4405, оп. 1, спр. 180, арк. 105.

39 І. Патер, *Союз визволення України: проблеми державності та соборності*, Львів 2000, p. 87.

40 *Памяткова книжка Союза визволення України і Калєндарь на 1917 рік з 103 ілюстраціями*, Відень 1917, p. 379.

41 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4405, оп. 1, спр. 180, арк. 37.

The ULU's Book Publishing in European Languages

In order to promote the Ukrainian cause in Europe, the ULU also arranged for the publication of works by Ukrainian writers in various European languages, particularly those emphasizing the necessity of establishing an independent Ukrainian state. To this end, as stated in an unsigned and undated draft letter from the Union to one of its authors (Ivan Puluj[42]), the ULU regularly distributed its own printed publications, sending them to "various politicians and, in general, for the purpose of informing the German-speaking world". Such mailings could also include "other publications [that is, books issued by other publishing houses – authors] on the Ukrainian cause"[43].

One of the first such projects was the publication of historical works, most notably the German translation of M. Hrushevskyi's *Ein Überblick der Geschichte der Ukraina* (*A Brief Survey of the History of Ukraine*), published in Vienna in 1914[44]. Two years later, another of his works, *The Ukrainian Question in Historical Development*, was also published in German[45].

However, the principal focus of the ULU's publishing activity was political journalism and polemical writing, which provided the most effective means of countering Russian imperial propaganda. It is therefore unsurprising that the Union's most widely published author was the aforementioned L. Tsehelskyi, whose works were issued by the ULU in translation into various European languages and in rather large print runs. One of the first of these publications was his brochure (in Bulgarian)[46], made possible by the assistance of Professor Ivan Shishmanov[47]. Its publication in Sofia did not go unnoticed in Bulgarian political and academic circles, contributing to a broader understanding of the Ukrainian question[48]. At the same time, the appearance of this

42 Ivan Puluj (1845–1918) – a Ukrainian physicist, electrical engineer, inventor, translator, and public figure, and one of the pioneers in the study of X-rays.

43 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4405, оп. 1, спр. 88, арк. 54.

44 *Е-Архів Михайла Грушевського*, [online] https://hrushevsky.history.org.ua/item/0005788 [access 14.09.2026].

45 M. Hruschewskyj, *Die ukrainische Frage in historischer Entwicklung*, Wien 1915. (Зберігається в ЦДІА України в Києві, ф. 1235, оп. 1, спр. 181, арк. 129–162 зв.).

46 Л. Цехелски, *Не освободителка, а потисница на народитѣ (Какъ Русия "освобождава" Украйна)*, София 1914. It was later published in Romanian under a slightly changed title (*Царська Росія – гнобитель народів*), with a foreword entitled "The Ukrainian People" by Zamfir S. Arbure. See: [L. Ţeghelcky], *Russia Tarista – asupritoarea popoarelor*, Bukarest 1914. – authors.

47 Ivan Shishmanov (1862–1928) – a Bulgarian philologist, literary scholar, ethnographer, public and political figure, and diplomat; from 1903 to 1907, he served as Bulgaria's Minister of Public Education.

48 Т. Панов, *Болгарія й українська справа*, "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1916, 3 вересня, № 54 (114), p. 572.

brochure prompted a response from Russophiles. One of their most active adherents, the Galician Ya. Romanchuk, published a distinctly anti-Ukrainian brochure entitled *Европейската война и руско-украйнския въпросъ* (*The European War and the Russo-Ukrainian Question*)[49], in which he portrayed Ukrainianness as an Austrian invention and a German intrigue. In response to its publication, L. Tsehelskyi issued another work, *Украинство нѣмска интрига ли є? Отговоръ на русофилитѣ Я. Романчукъ и др. Н. Бобчевъ*[50] (*Is Ukrainianness a German Intrigue? A Reply to the Russophiles Ya. Romanchuk and N. Bobchev*), in which he exposed and refuted their defamatory claims about the Ukrainian people and their aspiration to secure national independence for their country[51].

The Union also covered the costs of publishing a German-language brochure by L. Tsehelskyi[52] with essays on the attitude of some European peoples towards Ukraine. The volume also incorporated several proclamations issued by the ULU[53]. Since L. Tsehelskyi was entrusted with important diplomatic missions by the Austro-Hungarian government in Berlin, he considered it reasonable to address German political circles[54] as well. His essay *Ukraine and Turkey* was included in the Turkish-language brochure *Ukrayna, Rusya ve Türkiye* (*Ukraine, Russia, and Turkey*), published and distributed by the ULU in Istanbul in 1915[55]. The volume also contained articles by M. Hrushevskyi, M. Melenevskyi, V. Doroshenko, and A. Zhuk[56].

It is also worth mentioning the ULU's publication of L. Tsehelskyi's brochure *Ukraine – Sweden's Forgotten Ally* (in Swedish)[57]. Its appearance was connected with L. Tsehelskyi's diplomatic mission to Sweden, undertaken with the aim of persuading that country to side with the Central Powers. Although the mission did not succeed in altering Sweden's foreign policy (official Stockholm chose to maintain its neutrality), circulation of the brochure

49 Я. Романчук, *Европейската война и руско-украйнския въпросъ. Статия въ отговоръ на брошурата отъ д-ръ Лонгинъ Цехелски «Какъ Русия "освобождава" Украйна» – София, 1914*, Варна 1914.

50 Л. Цехелски, *Украинството нѣмска интрига ли е? Отговоръ на русофилитѣ: Я. Романчукъ и д-ръ Н. Бобчевъ. Прѣводъ отъ украинския ржкописъ*, София 1915.

51 І. Патер, *Союз визволення України: проблеми державності та соборності*, Львів 2000, p. 99.

52 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1915, лютий, № 9–10, p. 23.

53 L. Cehelckyj, *Der Krieg, die Ukraina und die Balkanstaaten*, Wien 1915.

54 L. Cehelskyj, *Die großen politischen Aufgaben des Krieges im Osten und die ukrainische Frage*, Berlin 1915.

55 *Ukrayna, Rusya ve Türkiye: makaleler mecmuası*. İstanbul 1915.

56 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1915, січень, № 7–8, p. 17.

57 L. Cehelskyj, *Ukraina sveriges bortglömda bundsförvant*, Stockholm 1915.

helped foster a more sympathetic attitude toward the Ukrainian question among various segments of Swedish society[58].

The range of the ULU's publishing activities was quite diverse. In particular, the Union published a German-language work by the well-known Ukrainian geographer and cartographer Stepan Rudnytskyi, entitled *Ukraina und die Ukrainer* (*Ukraine and the Ukrainians*), in which the author argued for the necessity for Ukrainians of breaking "Russian great-power dominance" through the separation of Ukraine from Russia[59]. The author argued that "the unbroken (in case that Ukraine is not separated) Muscovite despotism will concentrate all its forces in order, within the next few years, to once again attempt to drown European culture in a sea of human blood"[60]. The Union also financed the publication in German of another book by the same author[61], the illustrated supplement to which (containing a total of 40 photographs) was additionally printed as a separate album[62].

In 1916, the ULU published (in German translation) two political essays by the renowned Ukrainian public figure and member of the parliament in Vienna Yevhen Levytskyi: *Ukraine, Ukrainer und die Interessen Deutschlands* (*Ukraine, Ukrainians, and Germany's Interests*) and *Die Ukraine, der Lebensnerv Rußlands* (*Ukraine, Russia's Lifeline*). In these works, Y. Levytskyi analyzed the position of German political elites regarding the Ukrainian question within the "Germany – Ukraine – Russia triangle", while also taking into account the strategic geographical importance of Ukrainian territories, located at the crossroads of trade routes between Europe and Asia[63].

The brochure by I. Puluj, *Ukraine and Its International Political Significance*[64], was also intended for the educated circles of German society. It was published in a print run of 3000 copies (1000 copies financed by the ULU and the remainder – at the author's own expense)[65]. The author advocated the idea that the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state would be expe-

58 І. Патер, *Видавнича діяльність Союзу визволення України*, "Новітня доба" 2018, вип. 6, p. 16.

59 S. Rudnyćkyj, *Ukraina und die Ukrainer. Mit einer ethnographischen Übersichtskarte der Ukraina*, Wien 1914. The same year, this work was also published in Italian (*L'Ucraina e gli ucraini*, Roma 1914), in Hungarian (Rudnickyj, István. *Ukraina és az ukrainaiak: Magyarország oroszföldi barátai*, Németből fordította K. Zámai Gergely, Budapest 1914), and a year later in English (S. Rudnitsky, *The Ukraine and the Ukrainians*, Jersey City 1915).

60 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1914, 30 падолиста, № 3–4, p. 16.

61 S. Rudnyckyj, *Ukraina Land und Volk eine gemeinfassliche Landeskunde*, Wien 1916.

62 S. Rudnyckyj, *Ukraina. Land und Volk (40 Bilder aus dem Gleichnamigen Werke)*, Wien 1916.

63 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1915, 30 серпня, № 25–26, pp. 22–23.

64 J. Puluj, *Ukraine und ihre internationale politische Bedeutung*, Wien 1915.

65 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4405, оп. 1, спр. 88, арк. 39.

dient, as it would significantly weaken the Russian Empire, reducing it to the status of a "Muscovite, Asian state". In this way, it would become possible to achieve a Europe-wide understanding, which undoubtedly gave the resolution of the Ukrainian question genuine international significance[66].

This goal was also served by the ULU's widely distributed *Ukraine and the War* memorandum, which contained concise information on the major events of Ukrainian history, the Ukrainian national liberation struggle, and political parties opposed to Russian Tsarism. It directly connected the achievement of Ukrainian independence with Germany's objective interest in eliminating the threat posed by Moscow[67].

The ULU also undertook the publication of a whole series of German-language brochures, authored by the Germans Paul Rohrbach[68] and Georg Kleinow[69], as well as by the Swedish scholar Alfred Jensen[70] (Jensen's brochure was devoted to the work of T. Shevchenko)[71]. The Union's particular attention to publishing works in German was determined by the fact that Germany was regarded by the Union's leaders (and especially by O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyi) as the state most capable of acting consistently in support of the idea of establishing an independent Ukrainian state.

Polish-Ukrainian interethnic relations and the justification of Ukraine's right to state independence were addressed in two brochures by Olherd-Ipolyt Bochkovskyi[72], published in Polish. In the first of these, the author, appealing to Polish readers, sought to present the Ukrainian question as an independent political issue. The central thesis of the brochure was that Ukrainians constituted a distinct nation with their own historical territory, language, culture, and political interests; therefore, Polish policy should recognize the agency

66 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1915, 10 жовтня, № 37–38, p. 16.

67 *Die Ukraine und der Krieg. Denkschrift des Bundes zur Befreiung der Ukraine*, München 1915, pp. 23–24.

68 P. Rohrbach, *Der Krieg und die deutsche Politik*, Weimar 1915. (Brochure author: Paul Rohrbach (1869–1956) – a German political publicist, historian, geographer, Protestant theologian, and colonial activist, with a particular interest in Eastern Europe and German foreign policy).

69 G. Kleinow, *Das Problem der Ukraina*, Wien 1915. (Brochure author: Georg Cleinow (1873–1936) – a German publicist, writer, political figure, and government official, specializing in Eastern Europe and nationality policy).

70 Alfred Jensen (1859–1921) – a Swedish Slavist, literary scholar, historian, writer, and translator, whose research focused on Slavic literatures and cultures, including Ukrainian literature and culture.

71 A. Jensen, *Taras Schewtschenko. Ein ukrainisches Dichterleben (Literarische Studie)*, Wien 1916.

72 Olherd-Ipolyt Bochkovskyi (1885–1939) – a Ukrainian sociologist, publicist, political and public figure, diplomat, and one of the founders of Ukrainian nation studies.

of the Ukrainian movement and not regard it merely as an object of Polish-Russian rivalry. O.-I. Bochkovskyi also devoted considerable attention to Ukrainian-Polish interethnic relations in Galicia, the Kholm region, Volhynia, and Right-Bank Ukraine, arguing that Polish claims to these territories were unfounded. He maintained that the conflicts which had arisen between the two peoples stemmed from the Polish nobility's "historical" conception of the Eastern Borderlands *(*Kresy Wschodnie*)*, whereas the new political reality required recognition of the Ukrainian people's right to national self-determination and statehood[73].

In another of his polemical works, O.-I. Bochkovskyi analyzed the prospects for Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation. He argued that both nations should do everything possible to ensure peaceful coexistence within their respective ethnic territories. At the same time, he acknowledged that historical grievances, competing territorial claims, and mutual distrust had repeatedly stood in the way of such reconciliation. O.-I. Bochkovskyi devoted particular attention to criticizing those political concepts that denied Ukrainians the right to a distinct national and political development, treating Ukrainian lands instead as an integral part of a future Polish state. At the same time, the author of the brochure considered that Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation was indeed possible, but only on condition that both sides fundamentally revise their approaches. In O.-I. Bochkovskyi's view, an independent Ukraine would pose no threat to Poland; on the contrary, it could become Poland's natural ally in Central and Eastern Europe and an important factor in deterring Russian imperialism[74].

O.-I. Bochkovskyi's third brochure[75], devoted to substantiating the Ukrainian national question, attracted less public attention. Nevertheless, it should likewise be regarded as part of the ULU's broader information campaign aimed at persuading the Polish public that Ukrainian independence posed no threat to Poland but was, rather, an essential prerequisite for a stable political order in Eastern Europe.

Thanks to the efforts of the ULU, a considerable number of books and brochures by Ukrainian writers and scholars from various countries were published, addressing different aspects of Ukrainian history and ethnography. These included brochures by M. Hrushevskyi (in Bulgarian)[76], Vasylii Kho-

73 O. Boczkowski, *Ukraińcy a Polska*, Wiedeń 1916.

74 O. Boczkowski, *Czy możliwe jest porozumienie polsko-ukraińskie?*, Wiedeń 1916.

75 O. Boczkowski, *Ukraińska kwestia narodowa, Wiedeń* 1917.

76 М. Хрушевски, *Прѣгледъ на украинската история*, София 1914.

ma-Dovskyi (in Croatian)[77], O.-I. Bochkovskyi (in Czech)[78], and others. In addition, the ULU issued a number of translated publications in French[79] and English[80], intended primarily to explain clearly to readers in those countries the distinction between Ukrainians and Russians and to provide a broader historical context for the Ukrainian question.

ULU Book Publications Produced in the Ukrainian Prisoner-of-War Camps

Ukrainian-language publications were produced by the ULU not only in Vienna and other European capitals but also in four prisoner-of-war camps for Ukrainian soldiers (Freistadt in Austria-Hungary and Rastatt, Wetzlar and Salzwedel in Germany), where the Union established camp printing presses. Their primary function was to print camp newspapers and other printed materials, such as theatre posters, invitations, tickets, and similar items. At the same time, however, these printing presses also produced books and brochures. The printing presses operated through financial allocations provided by the ULU, which were transferred to the camps on a monthly basis to reimburse the costs of printing various publishing projects. Their activities were directed by the camps' educational departments, while all technical printing operations were carried out by Ukrainian prisoners of war who had worked in the printing trade before the war. These specialists were organized into editorial committees (publishing sections, later reorganized as publishing societies).

In Freistadt camp, preparation for the publication of the prisoners' almanac-calendar "Розвага" ("Rozvaha") for 1916–1917 began as early as October 1915. The editorial committee drew up a plan for its contents, which included six sections ("calendarium", political, literary, economic, popular science, and Ukrainian studies). The projected volume of the almanac-calendar was initially set at 180–240 pages; however, during the preparation process it was expanded to 344 pages with numerous illustrations[81]. From the very beginning,

77 V. Choma-Dowski, *Ukrajina i Ukrajinci: s etnografskom mapom Ukrajine*, Zagreb 1916.

78 H. Boczkowski, *Ukrajina a ukrajinská otázka*, Praha 1915.

79 M. Hrushevsky, *La lutte nationale des Ukrainiens de Russie*, Lausanne 1916; L. Cehelskyj, *L'Ukraine, la Russie et la guerre,* Lausanne 1915; V. Stepankivsky, *L'Ukraine: son passé et son présent,* Lausanne 1915.

80 V. Stepankivsky, *The Ukrainian Question*, London 1914; M. Hrushevsky, *The Historical Evolution of the Ukrainian Problem,* London 1915; G. Raffalovich (Bedwin Sands), *The Ukraine: Reprint of a Lecture Under the Auspices of the London Anglo-Ukrainian Society*, London 1914.

81 "Розвага. Ілюстрований калєндар на р.р. 1916 і 1917 Памятна книжка полонених українців", Фрайштадт 1916.

the initiators of the publication realized that this calendar had to be "a literary work of a high standard, because it reflects the life, work, and struggle of the imprisoned soldiers for the liberation of their Motherland"[82].

An extended debate arose among the Ukrainian activists in the camp over the proposal to include texts translated from other languages in the almanac. Two opposing viewpoints emerged. Some members of the publishing section considered that the almanac should be an exclusively national work created by Ukrainian prisoners of war. Others (including V. Simovych) argued in favour of including translated texts as well, maintaining that "all the peoples living under the Russian regime [...] who are fighting for their national liberation create a single, united front against the tsarist regime; therefore, the inclusion of translated works devoted to the struggle for freedom, in the almanac would only strengthen the common front of Ukrainians together with other nationalities"[83]. In the end, the overwhelming majority of the prisoners supported V. Simovych's position, and this had a positive impact on the content of the almanac.

It was subsequently decided to decorate the almanac's cover with a vignette and to place, on its opening page, Ukrainian national symbols together with a drawing of reapers working in the fields, created by prisoner Yurii Balytskyi[84]. The final page of the almanac featured the Ukrainian national coat of arms designed by the artist Mykola Holubets[85]. Following the death of the distinguished Jewish writer Sholem-Aleichem, the editors decided to include excerpts from his works translated into Ukrainian. While assessing the overall state of cultural, educational, and national awareness work in the camp, the almanac declared that "the living spirit of our people has not been extinguished; our nation is capable of creating something great and powerful, if only it comes to know itself and attains national consciousness. Our enemies [that is, Tsarist Russia – authors] sought to crush us, sowing thorns and weeds in our fertile field, lulling us to sleep, forging us in chains, and trying to terrify us with brutal punishments – but in vain. We Ukrainians have not allowed ourselves to fall prey to our enemies, nor shall we allow ourselves to be destroyed in the future. Our national slogan is: "Independent Ukraine", and the only means of achieving it is struggle"[86].

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82 К. Даниленко, *Видавниче Т[оварист]во ім. Івана Франка*, [in:] *Союз визволення України. 1914–1918. Відень*, Нью-Йорк 1979, p. 163.

83 Ibidem, p. 164.

84 Yurii Balytskyi (pseudonym Mykyta Vykhor; ?–1919) – a Ukrainian artist and graphic designer, theatre decorator, and book illustrator, as well as an active participant in the cultural and educational life of Ukrainian prisoners of war at the Freistadt camp.

85 Mykola Holubets (1891–1942) – a Ukrainian historian, art historian, archivist, local historian, writer, publicist, editor, translator, and bibliographer.

86 "Розвага. Ілюстрований калєндар на р.р. 1916. і 1917", (Памятна книжка полонених українців), p. 90.

Given the almanac's universal appeal as an illustrated publication, the Freistadt camp printing press produced 2400 copies of it in December 1915. The brochure *Дві казки* (Two Tales) was[87] printed and issued here in an edition of 1000 copies[88] as part of the "Prisoner's Library" series (Ukrainian: "Бібліотека полоненого"). It was openly anti-Tsarist in character, presenting sarcastic and allegorical criticism of Emperor Nicholas II and the Most Holy Synod. The immediate impetus for the brochure was the visit to Freistadt paid by A.V. Romanova, a representative of the Russian Red Cross, who distributed makhorka (coarse tobacco) and devotional amulets among the prisoners while urging them to remain loyal to the Russian Emperor. Her appeal, however, met with a resolute rebuff from the Ukrainian activists in the camp. In addition, throughout 1916–1917 the printing press produced a considerable number of brochures by various authors about prominent Ukrainian figures, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and the national awakening of the Ukrainian people[89].

The ULU also supported the creative endeavours of prisoners, especially when these works gained recognition within the camp and contributed to raising national awareness among the other internees. One example was the performance in the camp on 11 March 1917 of the one-act play *В Тарасову ніч* (*On Taras's Night*)[90], written by prisoner Oleksa Kobets[91]. The event was reported on by the *"*Вістник СВУ" *("*Bulletin of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine"*),* which noted that "O. Kobets's dramatic portrayal made a great impression on the large audience", assuring its readers that this "work by the young and talented poet would be published as a separate edition with fine illustrations"[92]. The ULU continued to support O. Kobets's artistic pursuits, later publishing a collection of his poetry[93].

It should be noted that the ULU attached great importance to the dissemination of T. Shevchenko's works among the camp prisoners, as evidenced by the publication in 1918 of *Three Poems (The Dream, The Caucasus, Subotiv)*, issued through the efforts of the Ivan Franko Publishing Society in Freistadt (bearing the imprint: "Printed at the press of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine

87 *Дві казки* (Іван Чумак *Птичі змагання*, Микола Стратийчук *Відьма*), Фрайштадт 1916.

88 К. Пархоменко, *Два роки видавничої діяльності в таборі*, "Розвага", Фрайштадт 1917, 27 травня, ч. 22, p. 2.

89 К. Даниленко, op. cit., p. 172.

90 О. Кобець, *В Тарасову ніч*. Відень 1917.

91 Oleksa Kobets (real name Oleksa Varavva; 1889–1967) – a Ukrainian writer, poet, journalist, translator, and public and cultural figure, as well as an active participant in cultural and educational work among Ukrainian prisoners of war at the Freistadt camp.

92 "Вістник Союза визволення України" 1917, 1 квітня, ч. 144, p. 123.

93 О. Кобець, *З великих днїв*, Відень 1917.

in the Freistadt camp")[94]. At the same time, the camp printing press produced a whole series of brochures containing works by Ukrainian writers and poets[95].

A printing press also operated in the Rastatt camp, where the ULU financed the purchase of all the necessary equipment (in addition to the press itself, this included an electric motor and a paper-cutting machine). Its uninterrupted operation was ensured by members of the camp publishing house Ukrainian Movement (Ukrainskyi Rukh), from among the prisoners themselves. They also worked in the bookbinding workshop, where the printed sheets were bound into finished volumes. The completed publications were then supplied to the camp bookstore, which, during the first three months of 1917 alone, sold 1281 textbooks worth 3663.05 German marks (D. M.). During this period, the printing press (in addition to producing the camp newspaper "Rozsvit") also printed 4000 copies of brochures and 94 000 copies of various forms and printed materials, some of which were distributed to prisoners' labour detachments working outside Freistadt, as well as to other camps with a significant proportion of Ukrainian prisoners[96]. The most significant ULU publishing project in this camp was the printing of 5000 copies of V. Simovych's *Practical Grammar of the Ukrainian Language*[97].

In another camp for Ukrainian prisoners of war – Wetzlar – the ULU established a printing press staffed by members of the press section of the Ukrainian camp organization. Its functions were not limited to publishing the camp newspaper (initially it was "Prosvitnii Lystok", and from 1917 – "Hromadska Dumka"). Soon afterward, the printing press began fulfilling various printing orders for other camp organizations and also began publishing educational and political literature, theatre posters and programmes, forms, postcards, and other printed materials. In this context, it is worth noting that, for this purpose (as well as for the publication of the newspaper), the press section received regular financial subsidies from the ULU. Thanks to this support, in January 1916 it published the "Calendar for 1916" (in an edition of 500 copies) and "*The Pocket Notebook Dedicated to the Glorious and Bright Union for the Liberation of Ukraine*", which contained reprints of selected materials from the first eight issues of "Prosvitnii Lystok"[98]. In addition, in 1916 the series

94 Т. Шевченко, *Три поеми: Сон – Кавказ – Суботів*, Фрайштадт 1918.

95 Л. Глібів, *Байки*, Фрайштадт 1915; С. Руданський, *Веселі вірші*, Фрайштадт 1918; В. Винниченко, *Хома Прядка. Студент*, Фрайштадт 1916; О. Стороженко, *Гумористичні оповідання*, Фрайштадт 1918; *Маленький декламатор*, Фрайштадт 1918; Б. Грінченко, *Хата*, Фрайштадт 1918.

96 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4404, оп. 1, спр. 74, арк. 29.

97 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4406, оп. 1, спр. 10, арк. 52–53 (see also this book itself: В. Сімович, *Практична граматика української мови*, Раштат 1918).

98 ЦДАВО України, ф.4382, оп.1, спр.1, арк. 53 зв.

"Wetzlar Library of Ukrainian Prisoners of War" published a number of small, numbered brochures (Nos. 2–5). Some of them were devoted to important events in the camp (Nos. 2–3), while the others represented examples of the literary work of one of the Ukrainian prisoners[99].

From November 1916, the printing press came under the management of the Borys Hrinchenko Publishing Society. Through the efforts of its members, the so-called "bookbinding workshop" (*palityrna maisternia*) was established, where prisoners carried out various commissions for camp organizations. A bookstore kiosk was also opened in the premises of the cooperative "tea house" (buffet), offering camp residents books, brochures, and periodicals[100] for purchase, including publications of practical interest to the prisoners, the majority of whom were peasant farmers[101].

Among the ULU's publishing projects implemented in 1917, particular mention should be made of the publication of the brochure *Самостійна Україна* (*An Independent Ukraine*, a slightly modified version of the work by M. Mikhnovskyi), with an afterword entitled "From the Publishers", signed by O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskyi. Speaking on behalf of the Ukrainian people, he stated: "We stand for peaceful coexistence with all peoples of the world, not only with the Muscovite and Polish peoples, but at the same time we are gathering our strength in order to be ready to defend our right to a free life against all those who believe that we, our generation, having been born in bondage, must also die in bondage"[102]. It is also important to mention the third edition of the collection Our Song, which contained texts of a whole series of Ukrainian folk songs accompanied by musical notation[103].

Thanks to this and other printed materials produced by the Wetzlar printing press, it became possible to assemble so-called "travelling libraries", which were sent to prisoners' labour detachments outside the camp. This practice proved quite effective: letters and money began arriving at the camp from these labour detachments with requests for books on various subjects to be sent from the camp bookstore[104].

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99 *Модестові Менцінському – Полонені Українці Вецлярського табору*, Вецляр 1916; *Тарасови Шевченкови в 102 роковини його уродин полонені українці Вецлярського табору*, Вецляр 1916; А. Полуботок, *Дідова казка*, Вецляр 1916; А. Полуботок, *З минулого*, Вецляр, 1916.

100 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4382, оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 56 зв. – 57.

101 *Як оприділити вагу живої худоби*, Вецляр 1916.

102 *Самостійна Україна. Р.У.П.*, Вецляр 1917.

103 *Наша пісня*: [збірка українських пісень]. 2-е вид. Вецлар: Видання Союзу визволення України, 1916 (see also: *Наша пісня* (3-тє вид. виправлене), Вецляр 1917, p. 39.)

104 І. Срібняк, Н. Сидоренко, *Видавниче Товариство імені Бориса Грінченка в таборі Вецляр, Німеччина (кінець 1915 – початок 1917 рр.): до історії створення та діяльності*, "Український інформаційний простір" 2023, № 1 (11), pp. 221–237.

The printing press in the Salzwedel camp operated on similar principles, with all technical processes carried out by members of the press section of the Ukrainian camp organization. In May 1916, a book-and-newspaper kiosk was opened in the camp, and several months later a bookbinding workshop was established, where all books printed by the Ukrainian prisoners themselves were bound. In the autumn of 1916, a publishing commission was formed from among the section's members, tasked with issuing popular books and pamphlets for the prisoners. On its initiative, at the end of 1916, the publishing project *Library of Ukrainian Prisoners of the Salzwedel Camp* (Ukrainian: *Бібліотека полонених Українців табору Зальцведель*) was launched, within the framework of which, among other works, a whole series of brochures was published[105].

Thus, the ULU's publishing activities were so extensive that making precise quantitative estimates is a rather challenging task and requires a critical comparison of the figures proposed by researchers regarding the number of publishing projects carried out by the ULU. According to the calculations of historian D. Budkov, throughout the entire period of its existence the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine published a total of approximately 50 books and 30 brochures on Ukrainian studies[106]. At the same time, I. Pater's estimates differ significantly: the latter argues that during 1914–1916 alone, the ULU published more than 70 books with a total print run exceeding 200 000 copies, and that over the entire period of its activities it issued more than 150 books and brochures in Ukrainian and in foreign languages[107]. Neither researcher discloses the methodology behind their calculations, which indirectly indicates that these figures are estimates and, consequently, approximate.

In turn, the authors of this article have established that about 100 books and brochures were published through the ULU's efforts. These included more than 26 publications in Ukrainian, 28 in 11 other languages, and 39 Ukrainian-language publications produced by the ULU's camp printing presses. These data are verifiable due to the availability of digital copies of almost all of these books on the electronic library website "Diasporiana.org.ua" and other digital resources. At the same time, it should be noted that the number of completed book projects indicated here is not exhaustive. This is indirectly evidenced by

105 *Голос пробудженого українця*, Зальцведель 1916; Г. Вінекен, *Завдання нової школи*, Зальцведель 1917; М. Струмок [Микола Гладкий], *На війні та в неволї (поезії)*, Зальцведель 1917; З. Кузеля, *З культурного життя України*, Зальцведель 1918.

106 Д. Будков, *Інформаційно-пропагандистська діяльність українських політичних організацій за кордоном (1914–1918 рр.)*, "Київська старовина" 2002, № 5, p. 159.

107 І. Патер, *Союз визволення України: проблеми державності та соборності*, Львів 2000, p. 87.

archival documents as well, in particular by a letter from the owners of the Raukh and Lebedynskyi antiquarian bookstore in Chernivtsi addressed to the ULU, which included a list of books, some of which may have been published at the Union's expense[108]. In addition, at various times the Union published its own memoranda and reports[109] as separate brochures, not all of which have been discovered and introduced into scholarly circulation to date.

Conclusions

The publishing activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine during the First World War were a significant cultural phenomenon, since prior to that time Ukrainian books were published in extremely limited print runs and remained largely local in character (mostly in Eastern Galicia). The dramatic transformation of the political situation in Europe with the outbreak of the war enabled the foundation of the Union and its receipt of substantial funding from the Central Powers, which was largely directed toward conducting extensive information and propaganda campaigns in the interests of Ukraine, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. During the first three years of the war, the ULU facilitated the implementation of such a large number of publishing projects (both in quantitative terms and in terms of their range of subjects) that it became the most powerful Ukrainian publisher in these states, as well as in several neutral countries.

The ULU also organized the distribution of its own publications, which could be purchased at the Union's offices in Vienna and Berlin. In addition, a certain number of these publications (primarily Ukrainian-language editions) were sent to camps for Ukrainian prisoners of war in Germany and Austria-Hungary, while some copies reached Ukraine through various channels (mostly illegally). The books and brochures published by the ULU in European languages were donated to state and university libraries in Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as in neutral countries, thereby enabling an increasing number of Europeans to learn about the Ukrainian question. The ULU also engaged in targeted distribution of its foreign-language publications to politicians and state officials of the Central Powers and neutral states.

The main criterion used by the ULU in selecting works for republication

108 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4405, оп. 1, спр. 215, арк. 324.

109 *Die ukrainische Frage und der Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine*, Wien 1914; *Звідомлення з політичної діяльности Берлінської Централі Союза Визволення України в таборах українців полонених і на Українських землях, окупованих Німеччиною за час від половини травня 1915 року до половини травня 1918 року*, Відень 1918.

was their Ukraine-centered character and the potential contribution they could make to promoting the idea of Ukraine's independence. At the same time, the ULU widely practiced the inclusion in such works by Ukrainian and foreign scholars, writers, political figures, and publicists of its own appeals and program documents, thereby ensuring broad dissemination of the Union's principal ideas among the political elites of various European countries. The multilingual character of the ULU's publishing projects deserves particular emphasis: its publications were issued in 12 languages (Ukrainian, Polish, German, French, English, Italian, Turkish, Romanian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Swedish).

An important component of the ULU's publishing activities was the production of "targeted" brochures (political as well as historical, ethnographic, and literary in content) intended specifically for Ukrainian prisoners of war. Their purpose was to dismantle the remnants of their "Little Russian" perceptions and, instead, strengthen their national consciousness and their understanding of Ukrainian statehood. The Ukrainian printed word had always occupied a prominent place among the means of cultural and educational influence (alongside such forms as amateur theatre, folk song, and Ukrainian literacy schools), complementing and reinforcing the impact of this "triad". Through the publication of this category of books and brochures, which were distributed to camp libraries, it became possible to encourage a considerable number of Ukrainians to read. However, the influence of Ukrainian books was not limited to prisoners of war, as these publications reached Ukraine through various channels, significantly expanding their readership and contributing to the awakening of national consciousness among hundreds of young Ukrainians.

The publishing activities of the ULU became an important instrument of its information diplomacy, contributing to the incorporation of the Ukrainian question into the political discourse of a number of European states. The ULU's publications were deliberately distributed among diplomats, government officials, and parliamentarians in most European countries, thereby enabling them to become acquainted with Ukraine, with arguments in favour of its statehood and strategic significance, and with the history of its people, who had long struggled for their freedom. The ULU's information campaign, and particularly the publication of books in European languages, had an especially noticeable impact on political circles in Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire. Leading political figures in these states – including Bulgarian Prime Minister Vasil Radoslavov and Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior and one of the three de facto leaders of the Ottoman Empire – declared their support for the Ukrainian people's aspirations to statehood and their willingness to assist in the establishment of a Ukrainian state as a counterweight to the Russian Empire.

At the same time, in most cases it is impossible to separate the influence of printed publications from the personal contacts and diplomatic activities of the Union's representatives. In this context, it is therefore more appropriate to speak of the combined impact of the ULU's publishing, information and diplomatic activities. The Union's information campaign in Northern Europe contributed to a more amicable attitude towards the Ukrainian question among Swedish public and political organizations, although its diplomatic objective of persuading neutral Sweden to side with the Central Powers was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, leading politicians in other European states – including, paradoxically, the overwhelming majority of political leaders in Austria-Hungary and Germany – remained broadly Russophile in their outlook.

The ULU's activities among Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian Imperial Army in 1914–1918 can be regarded as fairly successful, although primarily in terms of creating an active and nationally conscious minority rather than achieving mass "Ukrainianisation" of all prisoners. Thanks to the Union's efforts, some Russified inhabitants of Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire moved from predominantly local, "Little Russian," or broader Russian forms of self-identification towards recognizing themselves as Ukrainians, adopting the Ukrainian language and national cultural tradition, and, at a higher level, supporting the idea of Ukraine's political independence.

At the same time, the scope and intensity of the cultural and educational infrastructure created by the ULU were exceptional. The Union succeeded in having Ukrainians separated into special national camps, through which approximately 100 000 Ukrainians passed; in general, over the course of the war, the ULU provided assistance to a considerably larger number of Ukrainian prisoners of war. The camps maintained schools, libraries, reading rooms, theatres, choirs, educational courses, cooperatives, and Ukrainian civic organizations, while periodicals and books were published in Ukrainian. A proportion of these activities was gradually undertaken by the prisoners themselves rather than solely by the ULU representatives drawn from the Ukrainian Galician and Bukovynian intelligentsia. This process represents a clear indicator of the transition from external propaganda to internal self-organization.

The most significant practical outcome was that the camps provided a pool of personnel for the Ukrainian state-building and military movements of 1917–1918. Prisoners who had undergone national and educational training in the camps formed the basis for the formation of the Greycoat and Bluecoat Divisions. Some former prisoners were sent to Volhynia and Podlasie (Ukr.: *Підляшшя*, Pidliashshia) to conduct Ukrainian national, cultural, and educational work, where their efforts resulted in the establishment of approximately 100 Ukrainian schools for 5000 children. Equally illustrative were the individ-

ual career paths of former prisoners such as Mykola Shapoval, Vasyl Prokhoda, Pavlo Dubrivnyi, Hryhorii Chyzhevskyi, and others, who subsequently became military, governmental, or public figures of the Ukrainian movement.

Thus, the significance of the ULU's activities was primarily qualitative rather than quantitative. The Union did not transform hundreds of thousands of prisoners into convinced advocates of Ukrainian independence, nor could it have done so in just a few years. Some soldiers remained indifferent or pro-Russian, while others joined Ukrainian organizations for circumstantial or pragmatic reasons. Nevertheless, the ULU succeeded in creating within the camps a smaller but well-organized and motivated core of nationally conscious Ukrainians, providing them with organizational experience, Ukrainian-language media and literature, and, to some extent, preparing them to participate in the Ukrainian Revolution. According to this criterion, the ULU's practical work should be regarded as substantially successful and probably one of its most effective fields of activity during the First World War.

Notes

Book publishing is a sphere of cultural, intellectual, and economic activities concerned with the preparation, production, and dissemination of books. It encompasses the entire process through which a book passes, from an author's manuscript to a finished publication and its circulation among readers. Ukrainian book publishing in interwar Czechoslovakia can be understood as the totality of institutions, individuals, financial mechanisms, publishing practices, and printed output that facilitated the production and dissemination of Ukrainian books.

Printing is a sphere of production and technological activity concerned with the manufacture and reproduction of textual and visual materials by means of printing. Its basis is the reproduction of text and images on paper or other materials using appropriate printing technologies. Printing encompasses the preparation of texts for publication, typesetting, page layout, the production of printing plates or forms, the printing process itself, binding, and other stages of print production.

Book distribution is the sphere of activity concerned with bringing books from the publisher or producer to the reader. It constitutes the final stage of the book trade and ensures the circulation of publications within society. Within a historical context, book distribution should be understood not only as a commercial activity but also as an important mechanism of cultural and intellectual communication. This was particularly significant in émigré communities, where distribution networks enabled publications to circulate beyond the places in which they were printed, reach Ukrainian communities in other countries, and maintain connections among geographically dispersed centres.

Information and propaganda activities refer to a deliberate and systematic set of actions aimed at disseminating particular information, ideas, assessments, and beliefs among a defined audience in order to shape its perceptions, views, and attitudes towards specific social, political, or cultural phenomena. In a historical context, information and propaganda activities may be understood as a set of organized communication practices through which political, civic, or cultural groups informed the public about their activities, promoted particular ideas, and sought to influence public opinion.

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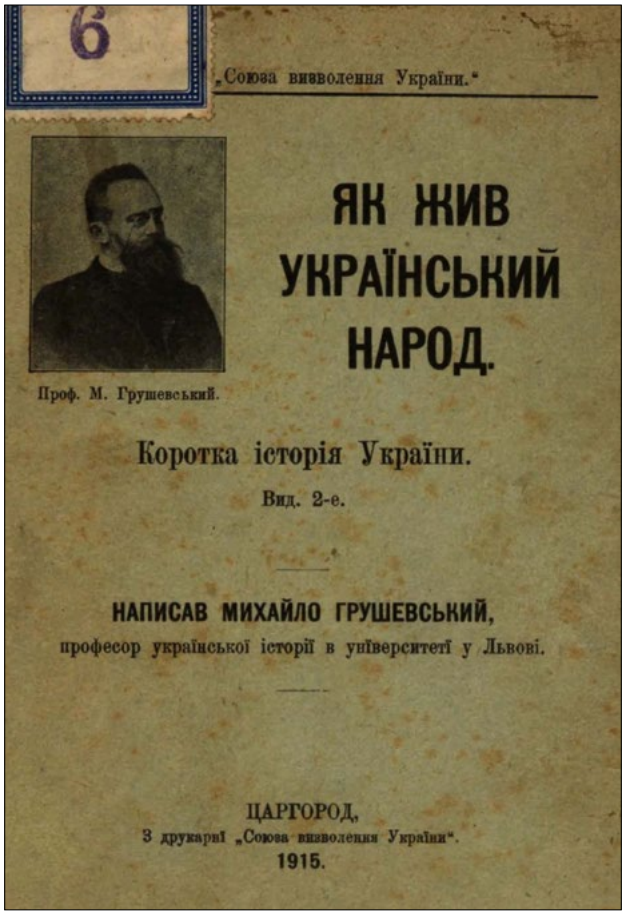
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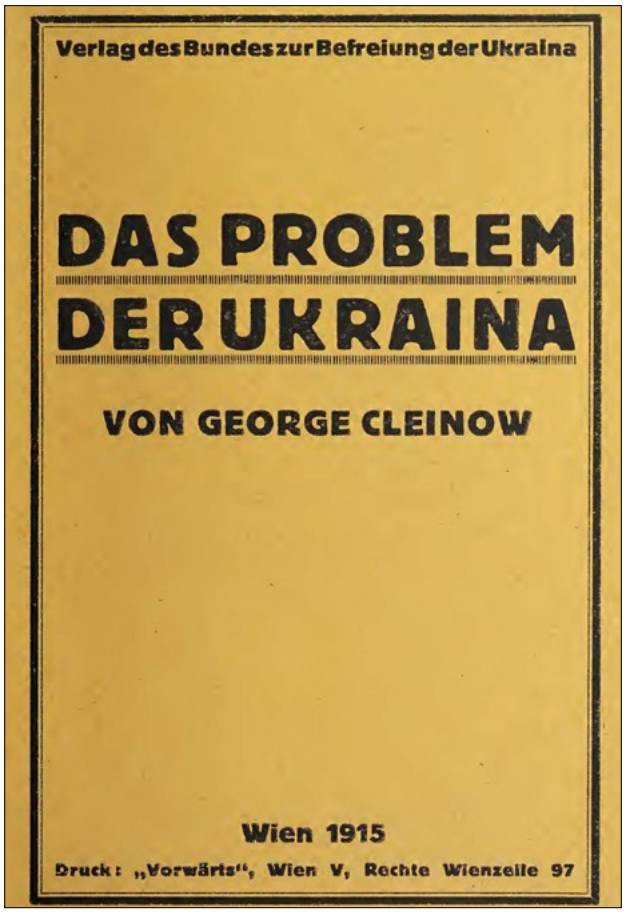
Illus. 1. Book cover by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi
"*Die ukrainische Frage in historischer Entwicklung*"
("*The Ukrainian Question in Historical Development*"),
published in 1915 in Vienna



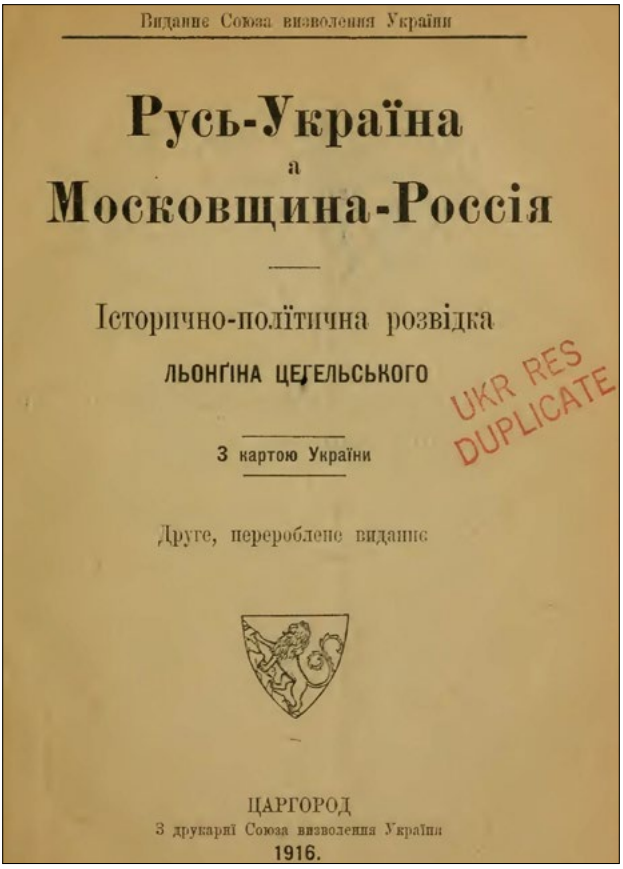
Illus. 2. Book cover by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi
"*Як жив український народ. Коротка історія України*"
("*How the Ukrainian people lived. A brief history of Ukraine*"),
published in 1915 in Istanbul



Illus. 3. Book cover by Georg Kleinow
"*Das Problem der Ukraina*" ("*The problem of Ukraine*"),
published in 1915 in Vienna

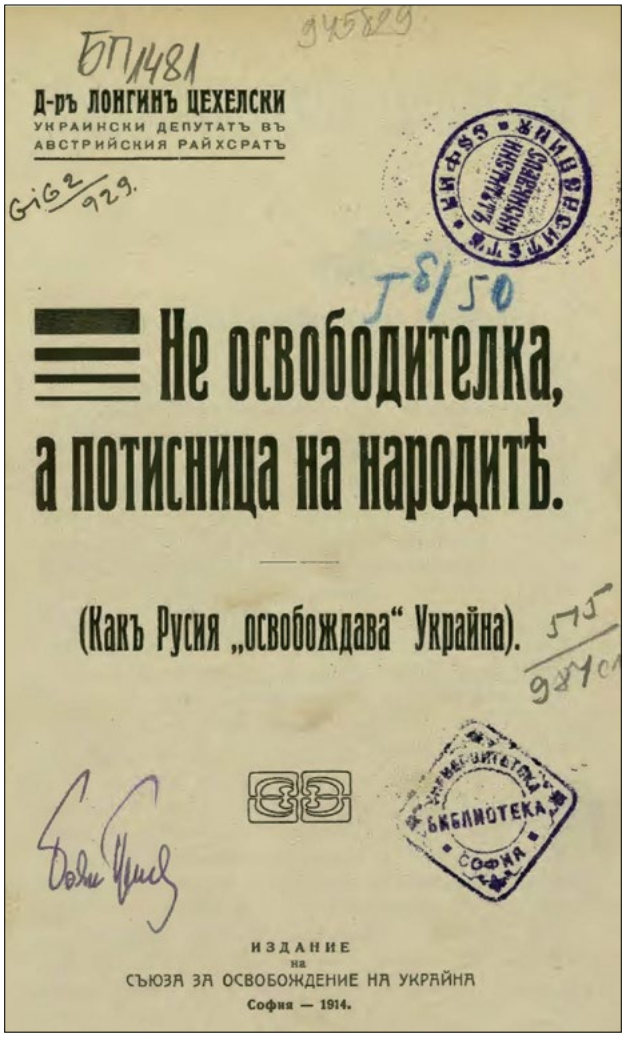


Illus. 4. Book cover by Longin Tsehelskyi
"*Русь-Україна а Московщина-Россія*" *(історично-політична розвідка)*
("*Rus'-Ukraine and Muscovy-Russia*"), published in 1916 in Istanbul



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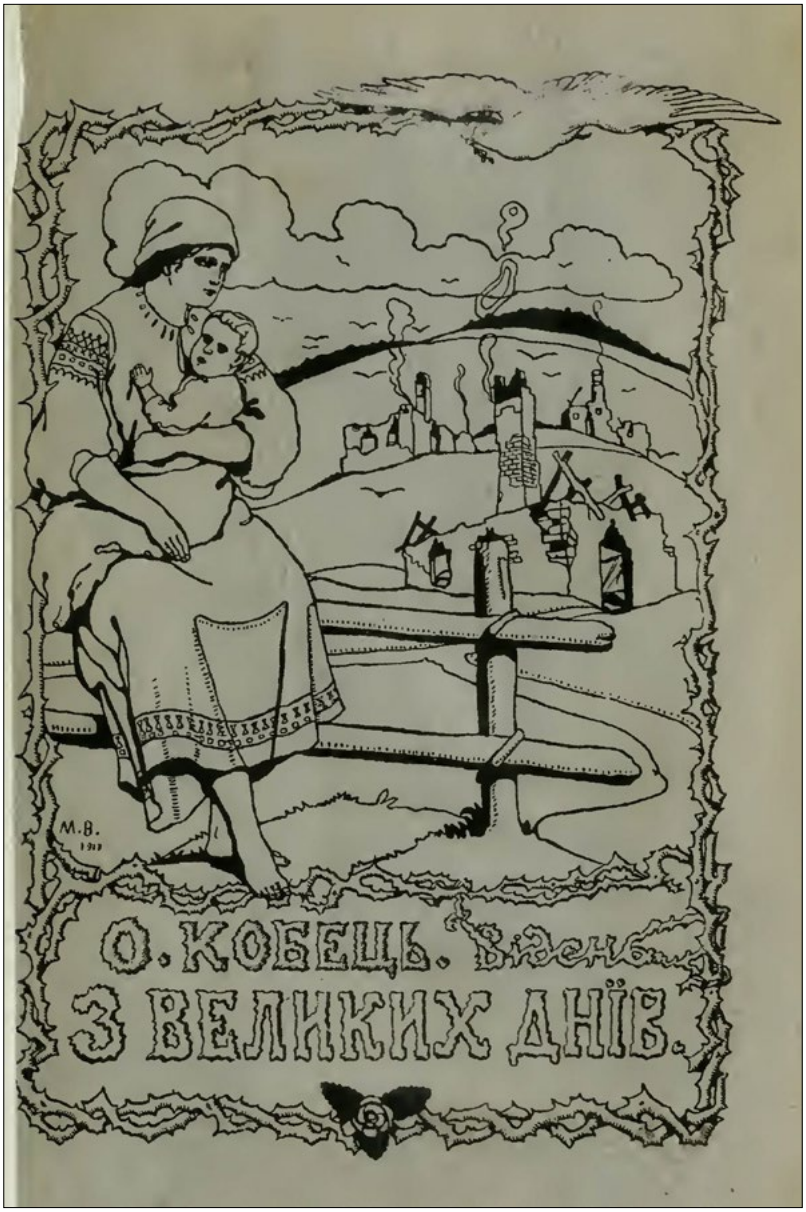
Illus. 5. Book cover by Longin Tsehelskyi
"*Не освободителка, а потисница на народитѣ (Какъ Русия "освобождава" Украйна)*"
("Not a liberator, but an oppressor of the people (How Russia "liberates" Ukraine))",
published in 1914 in Sofia



Illus. 6. Book cover by Mykhailo Vozniak
"*Памяті Івана Франка*" ("*Remembering Ivan Franko*"),
published in 1916 in Vienna



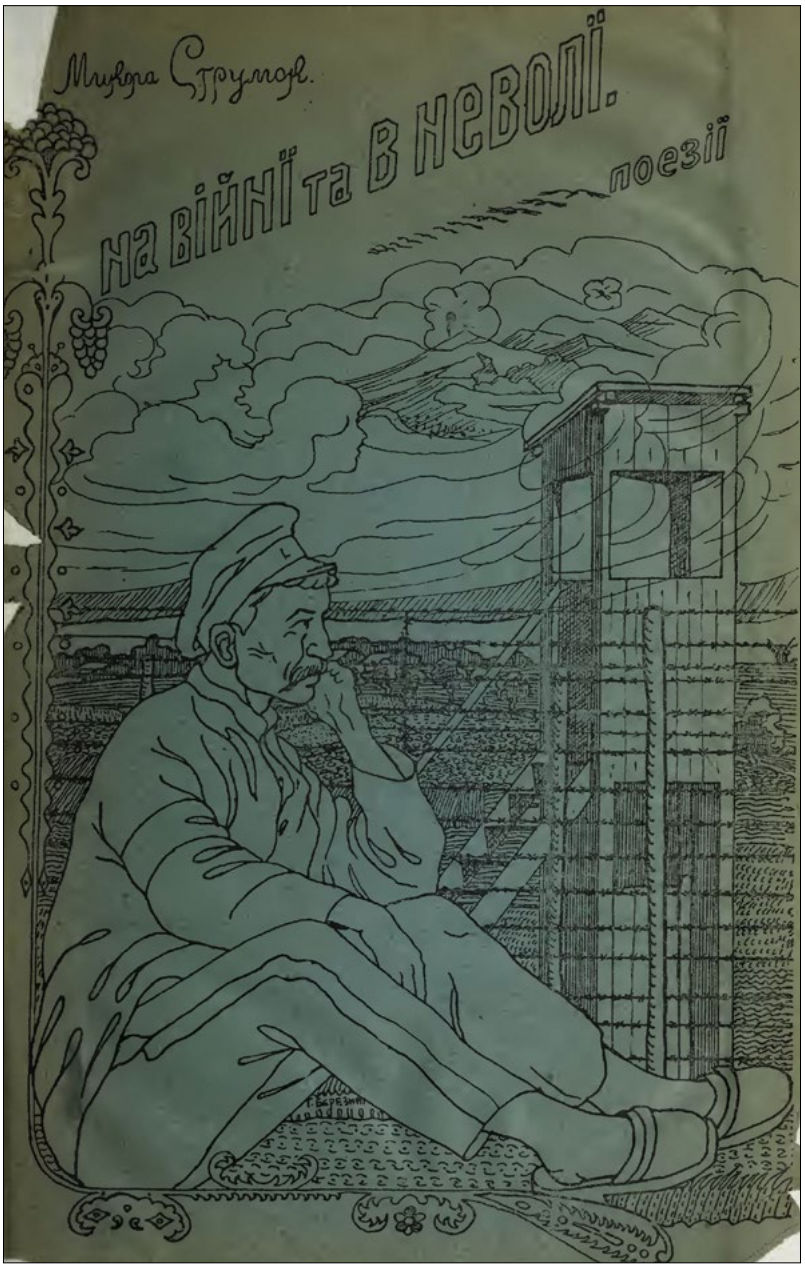
Illus. 7. Book cover by Oleksa Kobets
"*З великих днів* ("*From great days*"), published in 1917 in Vienna



Illus. 8. Cover of the commemorative book of Ukrainian prisoners of war "*Розвага. Ілюстрований калєндар на р.р. 1916. і 1917*. Памятна книжка полонених українців" ("*Rozvaha*. Illustrated calendar for the years 1916 and 1917"), published in 1916 in Freistadt



Illus. 9. Book cover by M. Strumok (the pseudonym of Mykola Gladkyi) "*На війні та в неволї: поезії*" ("*In War and in Captivity. Poetry)*", published in 1917 in Salzwedel



Illus. 10. Brochure cover page
"*Самостійна Україна. Р[еволюційна] У[країнська] П[артія]*."
("*An Independent Ukraine. R.U.P.*", a slightly modified version
of the work by M. Mikhnovskyi), published in 1917 in Wetzlar

