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Publishing activity of the Ukrainian emigration in Warszawa and other cities of the Second Polish Republic in the interwar period

Abstract: The article examines two periods of publishing activity of the Ukrainian emigration in Poland in 1920–1930: first (1920–1924) – the period of internment camps for Ukrainian soldiers in Poland, and second (1924–1939) – the period of civilian emigration. The material and financial, social and cultural conditions of publishing houses, editorial offices and printing houses in the camps in such cities as Kalisz, Piotrków Trybunalski, Lancut, etc. are described. The main publishing centres of the Ukrainian press and book publishing, such as Warszawa, Lviv, Kraków, and others, are noted. Ukrainian political, cultural, scientific, and educational organisations and institutions operated in these centres. One of the main centres of Ukrainian book publishing in Poland was the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, which operated in Warszawa and was engaged in preparing, translating, and printing scientific works, literary fiction, textbooks, and other book products. The work also analyses the most famous magazines published in the camps of Ukrainian interned soldiers and later by civilian emigrants. The author summarises the main content, conditions, and cultural and historical significance of the Ukrainian press and book publishing for preserving the national identity of Ukrainians in emigration.

Keywords: publishing activity – Ukrainian emigration – press – Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warszawa.

Słowa kluczowe: wydawnicza działalność – emigracja ukraińska – prasa – Ukraiński Instytut Naukowy w Warszawie

Introduction

Ukrainians were the largest national minority in the Second Polish Republic, constituting more than 6 million citizens – about 15% of the total Polish population. This state of affairs resulted from a massive wave of political emigration after the defeat of the Ukrainian War of National Liberation in the 1920s. The largest number of former soldiers of the Ukrainian People's Army and civil Ukrainians settled in Poland in the 1920s and 1930s. The second reason was the redistribution of territories due to the signing of the Riga Peace Treaty, according to which the lands of Volhynia and Galicia became part of the Polish state.

A significant part of the Ukrainian military internees was the intellectual elite: scientists, teachers, priests, artists, writers, and others. Moreover, government institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic, many Ukrainian organisations, and scientific and artistic institutions went into exile. Having passed the difficult stage of adaptation to life in a foreign country and culture, they tried to resume cultural and educational activities among their compatriots abroad, including by publishing books and magazines. Press and book publishing became one of the main tools for preserving national identity, spiritual survival, development, and consolidation of Ukrainians in Poland.

Polish and Ukrainian scholars have researched the publishing activities of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland during the interwar period. Their works were primarily devoted to the press of Ukrainian emigration and periodicals published in the internment camps of Ukrainian soldiers in the early 1920s. The process of book publishing was analysed to a much lesser extent.

One of the first studies of the Ukrainian press of interned Ukrainians in Poland and other countries was the work of Kyiv-based researcher Natalia Sydorenko. In it, she analysed the press published in the first half of the 1920s in the camps of interned Ukrainians in the Czech Republic, Romania, Poland, and other countries.¹

The general picture of the abovementioned press was also supplemented by a historical and bibliographical study by Polish researcher Emilian Wiszka, initially published in Poland and then in Ukraine.² In this work, the researcher describes the historical and cultural background of the establishment and functioning of the Ukrainian emigration press and provides general bibliographical information about the periodicals, paying particular attention to the press published in the camps of interned Ukrainian soldiers.

1 Н. Сидоренко, *Національно-духовне самоствердження: у 3 кн.*, Київ 2000 and Н. Сидоренко, *«Задротяне» життя українських часописів на чужині (1919–1924)*, Київ 2000.

2 Е. Wiszka, *Prasa emigracji ukraińskiej w Polsce 1920–1939*, Toruń 2001 and О.Вишка, *Преса української еміграції у Польщі 1920–1939*, Львів 2002.

Aleksander Kolańczuk provides a general overview of the situation concerning the cultural and educational activities of Ukrainian emigration in Poland. He mentions some journals and books, mainly from the first half of the 1920s, published in the internment camps for Ukrainians.³

The work of Ukrainian researcher Yuliia Holubnych-Shlenchak was published in 2021. It summarises all the information she gathered on the publishing activities carried out in the internment camps of Ukrainians in Poland in the first half of the 1920s.⁴

There are also some publications on individual periodicals, focusing on the repertoire, publishers, editors and authors of specific journals of Ukrainian emigration published in Poland in the interwar period.⁵

This article aims to discuss the stages of the publishing activity of Ukrainians in Poland in the interwar period, considering the works mentioned above and supplementing them with information on the state of book publishing and the press of civilian emigration, including an analysis of the publishing activity of these Ukrainian institutions and organisations in the 1920s and 1930s, which have not been included in previous studies. The following scientific methods were used to study the problem: inductive, descriptive, historical, press content analysis, examination of documents, and critical analysis of literature.

Books and periodicals can be distinguished in the interwar period's publishing activity of Ukrainian emigration in Poland. Each of the above-mentioned types of publishing had its centres, authors, publishers, and editors. Chronologically, Ukrainian publishing activity is divided into two phases: the camp and civilian periods. The camp period covered the years 1920–1924, the period when internment camps for Ukrainian soldiers existed in Poland, where journals and a small number of books were published. In 1924, the camps ceased to exist, and the military men transferred to different cities in Poland or left for other countries for permanent residence. From 1924 to 1939, a second period of publishing activity concentrated in major cities, publishing centres

3 О. Коляничук, *Освітня, пресова та видавнича діяльність української еміграції в Польщі у 20-х роках ХХ ст., Український інформаційний простір*, 2(6), с. 119–138, [online] [https://doi.org/10.31866/2616-7948.2\(6\).2020.219800.2020](https://doi.org/10.31866/2616-7948.2(6).2020.219800.2020) [accessed 2.12].

4 Ю. Голубнич-Шленчак, *Видавнича діяльність інтернованої АрміїНР у таборах Польщі (1921–1924 ррр.)*, Київ 2021, [online] <http://surl.l and /rzuqa> [accessed 2021].

5 С. Кравченко, *Шляхи української еміграції в Польщі: часопис «Наш світ» у варшавський період (1924–1926 ррр.)*, [w:] «Збірник наукових праць НДЦП НАНУ», Вип. № 13, Львів 2005, с. 32–44; С. Кравченко, «На чужині» – українського студентського життя в еміграції на початку 20-х років ХХ ст., [w:] «Збірник наукових праць НДЦП НАНУ» 2006, Вип. № 14, с. 219–225; С. Кравченко, *журнал «Ми» (Варшава 1933–1937, Львів 1937–1939): програмні застави, художньо-публіцистична творчість, роль у літературному процесі*, [in:] «Збірник праць НДЦП НАНУ» 2007, Вип. 15, с. 51–60 et al.

such as Warszawa, Kraków, Lviv, and others. During this period, the nature of journals changed, and the number of books published increased significantly. Accordingly, the press published by Ukrainians in Poland can be divided into the camp press, which was published in internment camps, and the press of civilian emigration. All aspects of the Ukrainian emigration's social, cultural and political life were reflected in its pages and served to consolidate national forces.

The financial and technical conditions of the Ukrainian press were challenging. It operated «at the expense of Ukrainian institutions and private donations»;⁶ magazines were printed on cheap paper and prepared on a very primitive technical layout. Only a few issues were often published, after which the publishing house ceased to exist due to a lack of funds. Among the periodicals that were lucky enough to survive for a few months or even years are the literary monthly „Veselka” (1922–1923), the literary-military periodical „Nasza Zoria” (1920–1923) and the biweekly „Duchovna Besida” (1924–1925), almanac (yearbook) «Dnipro» (1922–1925, 1927–1940), the illustrated magazine «Duchovnyj Sijacz» (1927–1930), the yearbook «Za Derzhavništ» (1929–1938), the military literary magazine «Tabor» (1923–1924, 1927–1939), the literary magazine «My» (1933–1939), and others.

The camp publications were distinguished by their themes and repertoire. They mainly provided information about life in the camps of interned Ukrainian soldiers, about the social and cultural events that took place there. Nowadays, these magazines remain a unique source of information about this historical period. Moreover, the camp magazines provided an opportunity for their residents to use their creative potential. Many writers, scientists, teachers, engineers, and journalists, such as Yevhen Malaniuk, Mykyta Shapovalov, Jurij Darahan, and others, published their literary works there. Creativity helped them survive in difficult physical and mental conditions, united them around the editorial board, and allowed them to develop their national culture in a foreign cultural environment.

Camp magazines were published in cities where the internment camps were located – Kalisz, Łańcut, Piotrków Trybunalski, and others. In 1922, the Literary and Artistic Society «Veselka» was established in Kalisz, which in 1922–1923 published a literary magazine under the same name. The editorial staff included J. Darahan and Mykola Selehij. It published poems by Y. Malaniuk and J. Darahan, Apoloniy Padolyst, Mykola Osyka, plays by Fedor Krushinsky, Ivan Zubenko, Oleksa Karmaniuk, and even translations of world writers. The camp residents prepared the illustrations (P. Omelchenko, V. Tsymbal, M. Shcherbak,

6 Н. Сидоренко, *Національно-духовне самоствердження : у 3 ч. Ч. II. Преса інтернованих українців та цивільної еміграції (Чехія, Польща, Румунія, Єгипет, 1919–1924)*, Київ 2000, с. 243.

etc.). The magazine was among the most interesting and technically best edited among the Ukrainians' titles in the camp.

In Piotrków Trybunalski, a camp for interned Ukrainians existed only in 1920–1921. During this period, the satirical and humorous journal «VSIM», the biweekly «Na chwyłach žyttia», edited by the Ukrainian poet Y. Malaniuk, and the literary and military magazine «Ternystyj Szlach», edited by Oleksiy Kozlovsky, were published there. Piotrkow Trybunalski archive documents confirm the participation of Y. Malaniuk and other Ukrainian soldiers in various cultural events in the camps.⁷

According to the information provided by N. Sydorenko, more than 90 Ukrainian periodicals were published in Poland between 1920 and 1924 alone.⁸ Most of them were of cultural, literary, artistic, satirical and humorous types. For the interned soldiers, creativity was a way of escaping frustration and degradation under difficult material conditions and realising their spiritual potential. Polish researcher E. Wiszka noted that the camp and exile Ukrainian press was without exception anti-Soviet, while at the same time mostly loyal to the Polish state.⁹

In 1924, after the camps were closed, the camp press also ceased to exist, and periodicals of Ukrainian emigration began to be published more actively in the larger Polish cities. The most significant number of these was in Warszawa. Ukrainian periodicals were also published in Kraków, Gdańsk, Lviv and other cities. Among the periodicals of the civilian emigration, several groups can be distinguished: the press of governmental, state and political institutions in exile («Wisty Ukraińskiego Komitetu Centralnego w Polsce» 1923–1928; «Za Niezależność» 1934–1939; «Politycznyj Informacijnyj Biuletėn» 1934–1937); student periodicals («Na Czuzyni» 1924–1925, «Studentśkyj Hołos» 1927–1928) and others, scientific («Nasza Kultura» 1935–1937, «Ridna Mowa» 1933–1939) and others, confessional («Duchowna Besida» 1924–1925, «Duchowny Sijacz» 1927–1931, «Jewanhelśkyj Chrystyjany» 1938), etc, professional (specialised) («Tabor» 1923–1939, «Za Derżawniść» 1929–1938, «Promysłowo-Torgowelnyj Wistnyk» 1933–1934), etc., and literary, among others («Dnipro» 1922–1940, «My» 1933–1939, «Nasz Swit» 1924–1925, 1935–1936).

Among these groups of periodicals, the student press is a particularly valuable source of information, reporting on students' daily life, their material

7 State Archive in Piotrków Trybunalski. Starostwo Powiatowe Piotrkowskie. Bezpieczeństwo Publiczne. Ref. I, 1921, no. 72.

8 Н. Сидоренко, «Задротяне життя» українських часописів на чужині (1919–1924), Київ 2000, с. 5.

9 О. Вішка, *Преса української еміграції у Польщі 1920–1939*, Львів 2002, с. 212–213.

difficulties, problems with textbooks and other literature, and ways of coping with them. From these periodicals, we learn how the young people of the time lived, what adventures they had in exile, what they wanted and dreamed of.

Arkadiy Životko, a researcher of the history of the Ukrainian press, believes that among all Ukrainian migration periodicals published in Poland in the interwar period, three «occupied a distinct and respectable place in Ukrainian journalism.»¹⁰ These were the quarterly «My» and the monthly magazines «Nasza Kultura» and «Ridna Mowa.»

The magazine «My» was published in Warszawa (1933–1937) and Lviv (1937–1939), and was the organ of the literary group «Tank». This group consisted of young Ukrainian artists who lived in Poland in the 1930s, including Y. Malaniuk, Yuriy Lypa, Olena Teliha, Natalia Livytska-Kholodna, Boris Olchivsky, Pavel Zaytsev, Andriy Kryzhanivsky, and others. Later, due to ideological disputes, O. Teliha, Y. Malaniuk and Leonid Mosendz left the group.¹¹ The well-known Polish Ukrainian scholar Florian Nieuważny wrote the following about the role of writing in the literary process:

Znaczącą rolę w rozwoju literatury ukraińskiej w przedwojennej Polsce odegrała grupa skupiona wokół czasopisma-almanachu „My” (1933–39) w Warszawie, gdzie najpierw wokół poetów J. Lypy (1900–1944) i N. Liwyckiej-Chołodnej (ur. 1902) powstała grupa „Tank”, której członkami byli J. Małaniuk, O. Teliha, P. Zajcew, B. Olchivskij i in., a następnie ci poeci zaangażowali do współpracy innych, głównie A. Kryżaniwskiego i Jarosława Dryhynycha.¹²

[The group gathered around the magazine-almanac «My» (1933–39) in Warszawa played a significant role in the development of Ukrainian literature in pre-war Poland, where firstly around the poets J. Lypa (1900–1944) and N. Livytska-Kholodna (b. 1902) formed the ‘Tank’ group, whose members included Y. Malaniuk, O. Teliha, P. Zaytsev, B. Olchivskij and others, and later these poets involved also others, mainly A. Kryzhanivsky and Yaroslav Dryhynya.]

The main content of the magazine consisted of works by contemporary Ukrainian emigration writers and works by young authors from Soviet Ukraine that had not been published there. The journal served as a tribune of the literary process, and this was its most important historical role. Moreover, it published literary criticism and journalism that dealt with creativity problems, analysed the writers’ personalities and works, provided information about new books and

10 А. Животко, *Української преси*, Київ 1999, с. 285.

11 O. Weretiuk, *Życie literackie emigracji petlurowskiej w Polsce międzywojennej*, «Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze» 1996, vol. 3, pp. 282–295.

12 F. Nieuważny, *Українська література в Polsce*, [w:] *Słownik literatury polskiej XX wieku*, Wrocław 1992, s. 1149.

magazines, and featured reviews. In its programme assumptions and technical design, the magazine tried to follow the best Polish periodicals, such as the popular „Wiadomości Literackie” and „Skamander”. In a programme article ‘Europa i My’ [Europe and Us], the editors declared their intention to raise Ukrainian literature to a European level and dissociate from writers’ narrow social and national mission. There were constant discussions in the editorial board on this topic.¹³ Despite the declared separation from politics and public life and the focus on the aesthetic aspects of creativity, national and social issues were constantly present in the journal. This was a part of the task the Ukrainian emigration community faced then. By the end of the 1930s, the importance of historical and socio-political themes in the publication pages showed a steady upward trend.

Polish literary periodicals spoke favourably of the „My” magazine and its authors. „Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński” wrote about it in 1936 (no. 26) and 1937 (no. 12). The newspaper «Bunt Młodych» and the quarterly «Wschód» mentioned the magazine in the reviews of the Ukrainian press. A thorough assessment of the publication was given by the literary monthly «Kamena», which wrote after the publication of the first issue of «My» in 1933:

Niedawno ukazał się w Warszawie numer pierwszy ukraińskiego kwartalnika literackiego „My”, na którego treść składają się poezje Bohdana Łepkiego, Eugenjusza Małaniuka, Natalji Liwyckej-Chołodnej i Mikołaja Bażana, nowele oryginalne Andrzeja Kryżaniwskiego („Miasta i ludzie”) i J.K. („Ostatni atak porucznika von Hagenau”), artykuł zasadniczy Michajła Rudnyckiego „Europa i my”, fragment pierwszy pracy Małaniuka „Hohol”, wyjątek z utworu „Ukraina czy Małorosja” Mikołaja Chwyłowego oraz nowela pisarza irlandzkiego Liam O’Flaherty „Wojna domowa”. Zeszyt zdobi wkładka litograficzna Piotra Chołodnego, oraz pięknie pomyślana winiетка tegoż artysty. [...] Całość kwartalnika stoi na wysokim poziomie artystycznym i świadczy, że zapowiedź prospektu: „My” – to pierwsze i jedyne pismo ukraińskie, które formą i treścią orjentuje się według Zachodu i odpowiada wszystkim wymaganiom estetyki książkowej” – nie jest frazesem¹⁴.

[The first issue of the Ukrainian literary quarterly «My» has recently been published in Warszawa, the contents of which consist of poetry by Bohdan Lepki, Eugene Malaniuk, Natalya Livytska-Kholodna and Nikolai Bazan, original novellas by Andriy Kryzhanivskiy («Miasta i ludzie») and J.K. («Ostatni atak porucznika von Hagenau»), Mykhailo Rudnytsky’s seminal article ‘Europa i my’, the first section of Malaniuk’s work ‘Hohol’, an excerpt from Nikolai Khvylovy’s ‘Ukraina czy Małorosja’, and a novella by Irish writer Liam O’Flaherty

13 М. Рудницький, *Європа і ми*, «Ми», Варшава 1933, Кн. I, с. 95–106.

14 *Kronika Słowiańska*, „Kamena” 1933, nr 2, s. 31.

‘The Sniper’. The issue is decorated with a lithographic insert by Piotr Chłodny and a beautifully conceived vignette by the same artist. [...] The quarterly as a whole stands at a high artistic level. It proves that the prospectus announcement: «‘My’ – is the first and only Ukrainian periodical that orients itself according to the West in form and content and meets all the requirements of book aesthetics» – is not a platitude.]

The literary journal „My” played an essential role in the Ukrainian emigration’s literary life and the Ukrainian press’ history. The periodical served as a platform for creative Ukrainian youth, presented various trends in writing, sought to maintain spiritual ties with writers of Soviet Ukraine and European authors, and preserved and consolidated the spiritual potential of a nation torn by borders and historical circumstances. The periodical’s content reflected the pro-European aspirations of the Ukrainian artistic and intellectual elite. Translations of works of world literature were published.

Among the scholarly periodicals, the journals «Nasza Kultura» and «Ridna Mowa», published by Ivan Ohijenko in Warszawa, deserve special mention. The academic and literary monthly «Nasza Kultura» was published in Warszawa from 1935 to 1937, and its repertoire mainly covered Ukrainian scholars’ research in all humanities fields. The editors formulated their most important task as «wszechstronne i dogłębne naukowe opracowanie naszej kultury duchowej i materialnej»¹⁵ [a comprehensive and in-depth scientific study of our spiritual and material culture]. Over three years, more than 100 scholarly articles, studies, essays, reviews and overviews were published on the history of Ukrainian culture, literature, history, philosophy, religion, linguistics, ethnography, fine arts and more.

Volodymyr Lachocky, a researcher on the life and works of I. Ohijenko wrote that the scholar founded the journal at his own expense. He was its editor, and for a long time, he embodied the idea of consolidating the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia in the magazine, striving to make it as accessible as possible to all readers and keeping its price as low as possible.¹⁶

The monthly told the story of the origins of Ukrainians, the nation’s history, and its spiritual and material culture. The publications were of a high scientific level, their authors being professors and well-known scholars, such as Leonid Bilecky, Ivan Svencicky, Kyrilo Studynsky, Yaroslav Hordynsky, Vadym Szczerbakiwsky, Stepan Siropolko, Serhij Sheluchin and others. In addition to scientific research, the journal published fiction, poetry, prose, and even drama.

15 Національна освіта й наші завдання, «Наша культура» 1935, no. 1, с. 3.

16 В. Ляхощкий, *Просвітитель: Видавничо-редакційна діяльність Івана Огієнка (Митрополита Іларіона)*, Київ 2000, с. 178–182.

Permanent columns were: «Reviews and reviews», «Chronicle of scientific, cultural and educational life», «Bibliography of new publications», «Review of scientific periodicals», «From the editor and administration».

«...Silny narodowo charakter kształtuje się tylko dzięki głębokiej, systematycznej i konsekwentnej edukacji narodowej...»¹⁷ [A strong national character is formed only through a deep, systematic and consistent national education] wrote the editors in the magazine's first issue. «Nasza Kultura» aimed at preserving the national identity of Ukrainians in life in exile. It was an example of a genuinely scientific cultural journal that sought to develop Ukrainian scientific thought and bring it closer to the average reader.

I. Ohijenko also published the popular science monthly „Ridna Mowa”, which was published in Warszawa from 1933 to 1939 thanks to the financial support of such well-known Ukrainians as Pavlo Skoropadsky, Andrzej Szeptycky, Volodymyr Lewycky and others.¹⁸ The editor and publisher saw the task of the journal as a scientific and educational mission, in particular to help teachers, writers, scientists and even ordinary Ukrainians to use and improve their mother tongue correctly. The journal impresses with the variety of topics presented in the sections «History of the Ukrainian literary language», «Origin of Ukrainian words», «Ukrainian dialects», «Bibliography of new works for the study of the Ukrainian language», «Ukrainian language goldsmithing», «Ukrainian terminology», etc. Many publications were prepared for print by the editor himself, often signing them with pseudonyms, such as Professor, Uczytel, etc. I. Ohijenko was aware of the importance of the mother tongue for preserving national identity, especially in exile. His magazines «Ridna Mowa» and «Nasza Kultura» consolidated the intellectual elite of Ukrainians in the diaspora and continued national cultural traditions abroad.

The first examples of printing Ukrainian books in Poland also appeared in camps for interned Ukrainian soldiers. The «Veselka» Literary and Artistic Society and the «Czornomor» Publishing House were founded in the Kalisz camp. Printing and publishing houses were also established in Aleksandrów Kujawski, Szczypiorno, Łańcut and other places. Initially, books and textbooks were published for the educational and cultural life of the camps, where various schools, clubs and societies were opened. For example, in the Strzałkowo camp, *Zasady pisowni ukraińskiej* [Principles of Ukrainian Spelling] was published as one of the first books for the children.¹⁹

17 *Національна освіта...*, с. 3.

18 В. Ляхоцький, *Просвітитель...*, с. 138.

19 О. Вішка, *Преса української...*, с. 45.

At the beginning of 1921, a printing house (the publishing house of the Sixth Rifle Division) was established in the Aleksandrów Kujawski camp, with six printers and typesetters, and Lieutenant Ivan Lypowietsky (alias Chuchlij) as director. This printing house published the magazine „Nowe Życie” [New Life] and pamphlets for the use of the soldiers of the camp, including a grammar of the Ukrainian language and the Cossack encyclopaedia of Ukrainian Studies, *Naszą ojczyzną jest Ukraina* [Our Motherland is Ukraine] by Mykola Bytynsky, Ivan Lypowietsky, Oleksa Kostyuchenko and others.²⁰ In the same year, the Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Intercession (Pokrova, Intercession of the Theotokos) was founded, which published Ukrainian religious literature (*Liturgie Jana Chryzostoma, Teksty do śpiewu, Statut Bractwa Świętego Wstawiennictwa (Świętej Pokrowy), Krótki modlitewnik ukraiński*, etc.) [Liturgies of John Chrysostom, Texts for singing, Statute of the Brotherhood of the Holy Intercession (Pokrova), Short Ukrainian Prayer Book, etc.]. At the same time, a collection of works by M. Bytynsky (alias M. Overkovych), *W grzmotach i burzach* [In Thunder and Storms], was published in Szczypiorno.

In 1922, a new charitable publishing association with a religious and philosophical orientation, ‘Do światła’ [Into the Light], established a library which published the books by pastor F. Tom *Poszukiwanie prawdy* [Search for Truth], by Ern *Życie i osobowość Hryhorija Skoworody* [Life and Personality of Hryhoriy Skovoroda], *Boska Liturgia* [Divine Liturgy] of St. Ern, *Boska Liturgia św. Bazylego Wielkiego* [Divine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great] and *Historyczny przegląd ruchu kościelnego na Ukrainie* [Historical Review of the Church Movement in Ukraine] by Vasyl Bidnov and others. The edition consisted of 500 copies, and Chief Ataman Symon Petlura and the Minister of Health in the UPR government, Yevmen Lukashevych, provided funding for the publication.

In 1921, a publishing house with a printing house and a bookshop was also established in Łańcut, in the camp for interned Ukrainians, and the magazine «Nasza Zoria» was distributed in print. The camp’s first Ukrainian People’s University was established here, running faculties in natural sciences, mathematics, history, philology, economics, and military science. In the first year, 523 students enrolled at the university.²¹ There was a catastrophic shortage of educational materials, so textbooks began to be compiled and published independently and translated from French and German.²² The short story-tale *Oś i Aś* by Stepan Vasylchenko and the political work *Czerwony imperializm* by Fedor Krushinsky were also published in Łańcut. There were many well-educated

20 Н. Сидоренко, *Національно-духовне...*, с. 48.

21 Ibid, с. 80.

22 О. Вішка, *Преса української...*, с. 45.

Ukrainians in the camps who tried to continue their intellectual, scientific and creative work. Mykola Kapustiansky, a staff general of the URL army, wrote the work *Kampania wojsk ukraińskich na Kijów – Odessę w 1919 r.* [Campaign of the Ukrainian Forces on Kyiv – Odessa in 1919], in which he used personal records and memories of campaign participants, a diary of military events, intelligence reports and press reports. The book was published in Lviv by the Publishing Union «Dilo». This work opened the publishing series «Materiały do Historii Wojskowości» [Materials for the History of Military Affairs].

Towarzystwo Pomocy Emigrantom z Ukrainy [The Society for Assistance to Emigrants from Ukraine] was founded in Kalisz in 1921, with the Czornomor publishing house, established in 1922 thanks to the efforts of General Mykola Shapoval. It published a book, *Opowieści ze Wschodu* [Tales from the East], fairy tales and short stories by Vasyl Korolyv-Stary, poetry by Christina Alchevska, articles by Mykola Shapoval, the first volume of Leonid Bilecky's *Historia literatury ukraińskiej* [History of Ukrainian Literature], a textbook *Traktor i plug motorowy* [Tractor and motor plow] by Avksentij Ilnycky, and a booklet by Yuri Siroho *Lesia Ukrainka (Z okazji dziesiątej rocznicy śmierci)* [Lesya Ukrainka (On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of her death)].

Narodowy Związek Ukraińskiej Państwowości [the National Union of Ukrainian Statehood] was active in the Tarnów camp and founded the SUD publishing house. Books published included Otto Ejchelmann's *Projekt konstytucji – podstawowe ustawy państwowe URL* [Project of the Constitution – Basic State Laws of the URL], *Statut Narodowego Związku Ukraińskiej Państwowości* [the Statute of the National Union of Ukrainian Statehood], Halyna Zhurba's short story *Malanka (Szczedruwja 1922)*, a pamphlet published under the pseudonym Svij entitled *Jak zapewnić sobie prawo do odszkodowania* [How to Ensure the Right to Compensation], as well as textbooks by Valentyn Sadowski's *Podręcznik ekonomii politycznej* [Handbook of Political Economy], *Zarys geografii gospodarczej Ukrainy* [Outline of Ukrainian Economic Geography], and Levko Chykalenko's *Podręcznik geologii* [Handbook of Geology].

Under the leadership of I. Ohijenko, the publishing house «Ukraińska Autokefaliczna Cerkiew» [Ukrainian Autocephalous Church] was active in Tarnów and Lviv, publishing books of religious content, including *Sprawy kościelne w Ukrainie* [Ecclesiastical Affairs in Ukraine] by V. Bidnov, *Światowy ruch na rzecz utworzenia żywego ludowego kościoła narodowego* [The world movement for the creation of a living folk national church] by I. Ohijenko, *Ewangeliarz peresopnicki z 1562 roku* [Peresopnitsa Gospel of 1562], and *Ewangeliarz żytomierski z 1562 roku* [Zhytomyr Gospel of 1562].

The publishing houses «Teatr Narodowy», «Tryzub» and «Słońcekwiat» were also active in Tarnów, as well as the publishing house of the «Prosvita»

Society. In 1922, books by S. Vasylchenko *Na pierwsze gule*, Lyubov Yanovska *Na sianożati*, Ivan Togoboczny *Bojownicy o marzenia* [Fighters for Dreams], the almanac of literature and art «Słonecznik» [Sunflower], the collection on military subjects *Do broni* [To Arms] and Ivan Zubenko's essays *Nasi rycerze i męczennicy* [Our Knights and Martyrs] were published. In 1923, the almanack „Ozymyňa” was published in Kalisz, and it included works by Yevhen Malaniuk, Mykhailo Selegiya, and Mykhailo Osyka. According to N. Sydorenko, a researcher of the camp press, this almanack was dedicated to Christina Skaczkiwska, a legendary military doctor who survived the terrible conditions of captivity and severe illness and continued to help Ukrainian soldiers, spreading goodness and light around her.²³

Undoubtedly, the largest publishing centre for Ukrainians in Poland during the period of the camps' existence (1920–1924) and after their closure (1924–1939) was Warszawa, where Ukrainian book publishing developed most actively. From 1920, the Ukrainian Military Mission was active in the Polish capital and began publishing books on military subjects: *Nauka walki szabłą* [Learning to fight with a sabre], *Gwardia piesza* [Foot guard], *Józef Piłsudski* and *Śmieszne historie* [Funny stories]. There were also several different book publishing organisations and structures in the capital. These included the Ukrainian Central Committee, the Ukrainian Student Community, the Ukrainian Society of Military History, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, the Orthodox Metropolia and others. The Ukrainian Student Community founded the Boris Hrinchenko Publishing House. The literary group «Tank» created the publishing house «Wariah», which published the „Biblioteka Ukraińskiego Męża Stanu” [Library of Ukrainian Statesmen] series.

Higher courses in Ukrainian Studies were held in Warszawa, where a library was established containing books previously purchased by I. Ohijenko for the University in Kamieniec Podolski. After the collapse of the UPR, the library was taken into exile. A publishing house was established for educational purposes, and lectures by Vyacheslav Zaikin, Vyacheslav Prokopovych, and Valentin Sadovsky were published there.

Ukrainian scholars who found themselves in exile in Poland tried to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv or another city, but did not receive permission from the Polish authorities. However, in the early 1930s, the then authorities in Warszawa allowed the establishment of the Ukraiński Instytut Naukowy [UNI, Ukrainian Scientific Institute], which had no teaching rights but carried out extensive research and publishing activities. Among the Institute's staff were leading scholars and professors from Warszawa, Lviv, and other universities.

23 Н. Сидоренко, *Національно-духовне...*, с. 178.

Thanks to its vibrant publishing activity, more than 70 scientific and literary works were published in various series during the ten years of its existence. The Institute has become a centre of research on Ukrainian history, economics and culture in exile.

One of the researchers of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warszawa, Volodymyr Potulnycky, believes that the origins of this institution date back to 1925, when the Faculty of Orthodox Theology was established at the University of Warszawa. In addition to theological disciplines, philosophy, palaeography, the Church Slavonic language, Ukrainian grammar and the history of the Orthodox Church were taught here for three years of study. The faculty included I. Ohijenko, Roman Smal-Stocki, Vyacheslav Zaikyn, Oleksandr Lototsky and others. The most powerful scientific forces were concentrated there, which became the basis for the foundation of the Institute.²⁴

According to its statute, the main tasks of the new institution (Ukrainian Scientific Institute) were to study the Ukrainian nation's economic and cultural life and history, and to consolidate efforts to conduct scientific research. The UNI did not have the powers of a higher education institution. Still, it was a research institution with a governing body, the Scientific Council, which included the most renowned professors from the Jagiellonian University, the University of Warsaw, and other universities. The Institute had three departments: The Department of Ukrainian Social and Economic Life, the Department of Ukrainian Political and Cultural History, and the Department of Church History, which had units of legal theory and spiritual movements, philology, literary history, and economic sciences. Scientific activities were carried out by commissions, such as historical-literary, legal, translation of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical books, and research on the history of the Ukrainian movement and Polish-Ukrainian relations.

The Institute carried out intensive publishing activity – the collection „Prace Ukraińskiego Naukowego Instytutu w Warszawie” [Works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warszawa], scientific papers, translations of Ukrainian works into Polish and Polish works into Ukrainian, and textbooks were published. The scientific works of the Institute were presented in 13 publishing series: documentary materials, memoirs, translations, statistical, economic, philological, legal, historical, historical-literary, pedagogical, philosophical series, series of studies of the Ukrainian movement, and textbooks.

The Institute's publications covered Ukraine's past and present. Historical processes and the impact of turning points in history on the current situation

24 В. Потулицький, *Український Науковий Інститут у Варшаві (1930–1939)*, «Український археографічний щорічник. Нова серія» 1999, Випуск 3/4, vol. 6/7, с. 356.

of Ukraine were discussed. A special area of research was the Ukrainian economy, to which much attention was devoted. In addition, lectures and courses were organised in Ukrainian and Polish. Among the authors of the papers were Yevhen Hlovyinsky, Valentyn Sadovsky, Kost Maciyevych, Ivan Shovgeniv, Borys Ivanycky, Pavlo Shandruk, Volodymyr Salsky, Dmytro Doroshenko, Ivan Zilynsky, Ivan Rudnycky, R. Smal-Stocki, O. Lotocky and others.

In the early 1930s, the first volume of the *Ludność Ukrainy w ZSRR* [Population of Ukraine in the USSR] was published in the series „Prace Ukraińskiego Instytutu Naukowego w Warszawie”, which contained studies of the demographic problems of Ukraine by Tymosh Olesievych, Valentin Sadovsky and others. In turn, the second volume of the work, which was a continuation of demographic research, contained independent analyses by T. Olesievych, *Tabele statystyczne ludności ukraińskiej USRR według spisu ludności z 17.02.1926 r.* [Statistical tables of the Ukrainian population of the USSR according to the census of 17.02.1926]. The third volume was entirely devoted to the current economic situation of Ukraine. It contained works by Yevhen Hlovyinsky, K. Maciyevych, and V. Sadovsky, which were published under the title *Współczesne problemy ukraińskiej gospodarki* [Contemporary Problems of the Ukrainian Economy]. The fourth volume of the series contained a study by Kostiantyn Chekhovych on the scientific theory of Oleksandr Potebnia entitled *Oleksandr Potebnia – ukraiński myśliciel i językoznawca* [Oleksandr Potebnia – Ukrainian Thinker and Linguist] (1931). The fifth volume contained Professor O. Lotocky’s work, *Ukraińskie źródła prawa kościelnego* [Ukrainian Sources of Ecclesiastical Law] (1931), dealing with the oldest monuments of Ukrainian literature, including the legal status of church institutions. The sixth volume of the Institute’s series contained Lotocky’s memoirs of Ukrainian social life over the past 40 years. *Strony przeszłości* [Pages of the Past] consisted of three parts. Notably, the second part attracted interest. The editors of the „Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński” in 1934 promoted the publication of the second part of this work as follows: „Ukazał się drugi tom dzieła dyrektora UIN prof. O. Lotockiego pt. „Strony przeszłości”, liczący 30 stron, czcionką 8-punktową, z licznymi ilustracjami (portrety historyczne postaci itp.)”²⁵ [The second volume of the work of the director of the UIN, Prof. O. Lotocki, entitled ‘Strony przeszłości’ has been published. ‘Strony przeszłości’, consisting of 30 pages, in 8-point font, with numerous illustrations (historical portraits of figures, etc.)]. The seventh volume was a dissertation by V. Sadovsky, *Praca w Ukraińskiej SRR* [Work in the Ukrainian SSR]. The eighth volume contained memoirs by Polish authors such as Leon Wasilewski, Stanisław Stempowski, French general Tabui, and

25 *Z życia Ukraińskiego Instytutu Naukowego*, «Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński» 1934, nr 7 (42), s. 9.

others. The ninth volume contained Dmytro Doroshenko's work, *Zarys historii Ukrainy. Tom I do połowy XVII wieku* [Outline of Ukrainian History. Volume I until the mid-17th century] (1932–1933). The tenth volume contained the dissertation, *Kampania zimowa armii URL w 1920 r.* [Winter Campaign of the UPR army in 1920] by Oleksandr Docenko (1932). The philological series included Mykola Pushkar's study *Najmłodsza palatalizacja spółgłosek (szelestów) w języku ukraińskim*²⁶ [The youngest palatalisation of consonants (rustles) in the Ukrainian language].

Among the essential scientific works published by UNI, worth noting is also the philological study by R. Smal-Stocki, *Język ukraiński w radzieckiej Ukrainie* [The Ukrainian Language in Soviet Ukraine] (1936), the legal-historical study by Andriy Yakovlev, *Traktaty ukraińsko-moskiewskie w XVII–XVIII w.* [Ukraine-Moscow treaties in the 17th-18th centuries] (1934), the historical research by Boris Krupnytsky, *Hetman Pylyp Orłyk* (1938), and the historical-literary publication by R. Smal-Stocki *Taras Szewczenko. Interpretacje* (1935), Dmytro Czyzhevsky's philosophical study *Filozofia H.S. Skovorody* [The Philosophy of H.S. Skovoroda] (1934), Stepan Siropolka's pedagogical publication *Oświata publiczna w Ukrainie Radzieckiej* [Public Education in Soviet Ukraine] (1934), and the study on the Ukrainian movement *Archiwum M. Drahomanowa i korespondencja Kijowskiej Starej Hromady z M. Drahomanowym* [M. Drahomanov's archive and Kyiv Old Hromada's correspondence with M. Drahomanov] (1938).

In 1932, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute began a complete edition of Taras Shevchenko's works, edited by Pavel Zaytsev, a well-known Shevchenko scholar and professor at the University of Warsaw. Sixteen volumes were planned, of which only 13 were published by 1939.

In his article on the activities of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warszawa in the 1930s, the well-known Polish Ukrainian scholar Stefan Kozak notes:

Znaczącym osiągnięciem Instytutu, zarówno w koncepcji, jak i w realizacji, było wydanie dzieł zebranych Tarasa Szewczenki w szesnastu tomach [...] Z planowanych szesnastu tomów dzieł proroka wydano trzynaście, wraz z korespondencją poety, pamiętnikiem i tłumaczeniami jego utworów na inne języki, w tym polski. Osobny tom (XIII) był poświęcony relacjom Szewczenki z Polakami autorstwa Pawła Zajcewa, a całą edycję otwiera biografia literacka tego samego autora (t. 1).²⁷

26 *Pięć lat istnienia Ukraińskiego Instytutu Naukowego*, Biblioteka Narodowa, [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/aaf307b9-bfa5-456c-8ca2-3265fb0ee07b?page=26> [accessed 2025].

27 S. Kozak, *Ukraiński Instytut Naukowy w Warszawie (1930–1939)*, „Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze” 2008, z. 25–26, s. 20.

[A significant achievement of the Institute, both in concept and production, was the publication of the collected works of Taras Shevchenko in sixteen volumes [...] Of the planned sixteen volumes of the prophet's works, thirteen were published, together with the poet's correspondence, diary and translations of his works into other languages, including Polish. A separate volume (13) was devoted to Shevchenko's relations with the Poles by Pavel Zaytsev, and the entire edition opens with a literary biography by the same author (vol. 1).]

The Polish press of the time wrote about a complete edition of Taras Shevchenko's works. In particular, the editors of the „Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński”, analysing the seventh volume, noted that it contained the poet's prose works, which were not much appreciated or known primarily because they were written in Russian. Meanwhile, in the Warszawa edition, Shevchenko's prose was translated into Ukrainian, a language close to the poet and his era. The newsletter's editors considered this fact to be the most significant value of the publication. In addition, Shevchenko's prose works were accompanied by explanatory articles by P. Zaitsev, D. Doroshenko, L. Biletsky, I. Rudnitsky, extensive commentaries, and footnotes; the whole apparatus emphasised the high academic level of this edition.²⁸

The Ukrainian translation of Adam Mickiewicz's „Pan Tadeusz” by Maxim Rylsky is among the institute's extremely valuable literary publications. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the work's publication, it was provided with a foreword by Professor R. Smal-Stocki.

The Commission for the Translation of the Holy Scriptures and Liturgical Books was responsible for preparing texts for translation and their translation into Ukrainian. This Commission had branches in Lutsk and Krzemieniec. The Lutsk branch operated within the Society of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and translated the texts, which were then edited in Warszawa. Some of them were also published in Lutsk in the following years.

The Commission for Polish-Ukrainian Affairs was not established until 1934 and included many Polish and Ukrainian scholars. The Commission provided its publishing series and published the «Bulletin de la Commission pour l'étude des Problèmes Polono-Ukrainiens» in French, to raise the Ukrainian question to the international level.²⁹ The first publication of this commission was a monograph by the Polish author Leon Wasilewski entitled *Sprawa ukraińska jako zagadnienie międzynarodowe* [Ukrainian question as an international issue]

28 *Z wydawnictw Ukr. Instytutu Naukowego w Warszawie*, «Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński» 1935, nr 12 (99), s. 136.

29 С. Козак, *Український науковий Інститут у Варшаві (1930–1939)*, «Історіографічні дослідження в Україні : зб. наук. пр.» 2012, Вип. 22, с. 63.

(1934). Publications prepared by the Commission were published in separate series in Ukrainian and Polish.

Economics, philology and Shevchenko seminars, open to all interested parties, also represented the Institute's scientific activities. The workshops featured reports, lectures, abstracts and discussions on new books. Moreover, the Institute regularly organised public lectures at its headquarters and other institutions and appearances on Polish radio. The Institute's researchers regularly participated in international scientific conferences, symposia and congresses.

A significant segment of the Institute's research concerned the economic sphere. The economic series included works by V. Sadowsky, *Siła robocza w rolnictwie Ukrainy* [Labour Force in the Agriculture of Ukraine], I. Shovgenyev, *Gospodarka wodna w dorzeczu Dniepru na Ukrainie* [Water Management in the Dnieper River Basin in Ukraine], E. Hlowinsky, *Finanse ZSRR* [Finance of the USSR], Boris Ivanytsky, *Lasy i leśnictwo Ukrainy* [Forests and Forestry of Ukraine] and other scholars.

The Institute sent its publications through the International Exchange Office to 150 scientific institutions, academies of sciences in various countries, universities in major cities, etc. It also provided its books to the largest libraries, universities and the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Soviet Ukraine. In Poland, its publications were received by the Taras Shevchenko Society, the «Prosvita» Society, Ukrainian secondary schools and Polish universities. In return, the Institute received publications from Polish, Bavarian, Dutch, Finnish, Romanian and Danish academies of sciences, the Leningrad Institute of Slavonic Studies and others.³⁰

In 1935, the Institute celebrated the fifth anniversary of its foundation. On this occasion, a report on the Institute's activities was prepared and published at a celebratory college. It stated that priority was given to publishing and, in the first few years, 28 volumes were published in various scientific fields of interest to the Institute.³¹

In 1937, the Polish press reported on new publications by the Institute. Among them was a study of Taras Shevchenko's diary and related texts: the work by P. Zaytsev on earlier editions of the poet's diary and the dissertation by D. Czyżewski *Szewczenko i religia* [Shevchenko and religion]. There was also a monograph by Stanisław Kuczyński *Ziemie czernihowsko-siewierskie pod panowaniem litewskim* [The Chernihiv and Severe Lands under Lithuanian

30 *Ukraiński Instytut Naukowy w Warszawie*, «Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński» 1932/33, nr 2, s. 45–46.

31 *Pięćciolecie działalności Ukraińskiego Instytutu Naukowego w Warszawie*, «Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński» 1935, nr 13 (100), s. 159–160.

Rule], with a foreword by Professor Oskar Halecki, and a work by M. Handelsman *Polityka ukraińska księcia Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojna krymską* [The Ukrainian Policy of Prince Adam Czartoryski before the Crimean War], which dealt with the Polish emigration's awareness of the importance of the Ukrainian national cause for Poland and its confrontation with Russia. The press also reported on the publication of M. Drahomanov's archives, translations into Ukrainian of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical texts, and the printing of works from other fields of science.³²

During the ten years of the Institute's existence, more than 70 volumes of various texts were published, including 54 volumes of scientific papers and writings. The Institute's library, headed by J. Hlovinsky, collected about 10.000 research publications in 1939 and was the scientific centre of Ukrainian studies in Poland. It was established through exchanges with other Polish and foreign scientific institutions. After the Second World War (1939) outbreak, the institute stopped its activities, and its library disappeared.

Conclusions

All the periodicals and books published by Ukrainian emigrants in Poland in the interwar period were essential to the cultural life of Ukrainians in exile. They represented their cultural process, which was difficult to implement far from their national roots, as they had to overcome the expansive intentions of the foreign cultural environment. Ukrainian magazines and books showed great creative potential and progress. They inspired faith, gave hope for the future, and were a means of national self-realisation and consolidation through the artistic word, scientific and journalistic thought. Equally important were their communicative and aesthetic functions, especially of the literary publications, which reported on the literary process in exile and Soviet Ukraine, teaching Ukrainians about the achievements of Polish and world art, informed them about current affairs, and shaped their world view with a national and patriotic spirit.

One of the centres of Ukrainian publishing activity was the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warszawa, which functioned as a research, cultural, and educational institution. The repertoire of its publications was unique in terms of the range of topics and issues covered. The Institute's staff created a real centre for Ukrainian studies and disseminating knowledge in Warszawa. The authors' presentation, the publications' content and the accompanying apparatus attested

³² *Działalność Ukr. Inst. Nauk. w Warszawie w I-ym półroczu b. r. akad.*, «Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński» 1937, nr 7 (198), s. 82–83.

to their high scientific level. Lectures, conferences, and international cooperation have given the Institute's researchers ample opportunities to disseminate information on Ukrainian history and culture in Poland and worldwide. The destruction of the institute's archives and library during the war was a huge loss for the Ukrainian cultural and scientific legacy in exile. The search for UIN book editions in Warszawa and in the archives or libraries of other European countries may become an interesting research perspective.

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