






Yuliia Holubnycha-Shlenchak
Borys Grinchenko Kyiv Metropolitan
University, Kyiv, Ukraine
y.holubnycha-shlenchak@kubg.edu.ua
 0000-0001-6591-4493

Ihor Sribnyak
Borys Grinchenko Kyiv Metropolitan
University, Kyiv, Ukraine
i.sribniak@kubg.edu.ua
 0000-0001-9750-4958

Natalia Yakovenko
Taras Shevchenko National University
of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine
zaliznaledi@ukr.net
 0000-0002-3493-5950

Viktor Matviyenko
Taras Shevchenko National University
of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine
vikmaryuniv@ukr.net
 0000-0002-0012-5175

Publishing activities of the interned soldiers of the UPR Army in Poland, 1921–1924

Abstract: The article highlights the peculiarities of the publishing activities of the interned soldiers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic Army who were held in the camps of Aleksandrów Kujawski, Szczypiorno, and Kalisz during 1921 – the first half of 1924. It has been established that publishing activities in the aforementioned camps can be characterized by considerable intensity, despite all the hardships of camp life endured by the Ukrainian soldiers. A significant contribution to the intensification of publishing activities was made by the publishing sections of the cultural and educational departments of the divisions, as well as by various public organizations. Thanks to their efforts, the needs of the interned soldiers of the UPR Army for Ukrainian printed materials were met – albeit minimally – and the publishing movement itself served as one of the foundations of cultural and educational work in the camps. Initially, camp-based publishing developed through the activities of divisional printing houses, which produced educational and professional military literature, memoirs, and other materials. The publishing effort gained additional momentum with the establishment of the “Chornomor” publishing house in Kalisz, which produced literature of a purely practical nature as well as works authored by internees – remarkable for their rather high quality, especially given the conditions of a camp-based press. The vigorous activity of this publishing house was largely driven by the desire of the interned soldiers to create a space for creative expression in their daily lives and to find opportunities for personal self-realization. Among the internees there were many who either possessed – or aspired to acquire – professional skills as writers, journalists, or artists (e.g. members of the “Veselka” society). Thus, the energy of their creative efforts was embodied in the publication of their artistic projects, which had a significant impact not only on the camp inmates but also on the broader Ukrainian political émigré community in Europe. The Ukrainian books published in the POW camps for Ukrainian soldiers in Poland laid a durable

foundation for the internees' national and state-building worldview, while also serving as the primary source of their knowledge of Ukraine's history, geography, and culture.

Keywords: publishing activity – printing house – book – internment camps (POW camps) – UPR Army – Poland

Słowa kluczowe: działalność księgo wydawnicza – drukarnia – książka – obozy internowanych żołnierzy – Armia URL – Polska

Introduction

Under pressure of Bolshevik forces, the UPR Army was forced to retreat beyond the Zbruch River on November 21, 1920, after which its personnel were interned. Initially, the internees were placed in camps located in Aleksandrów Kujawski, Pikulice, Piotrków Trybunalski, Łañcut, Wadowice, and Kalisz. In late 1921 – following the closure of several camps during the spring and summer of that year – the remaining internees were concentrated in Kalisz, Szczypiorno, and Strzałkowo. From the very first days of internment, the army command and the highest UPR leadership made every effort to maintain the morale of the interned Ukrainian soldiers, seeking to prevent any signs of demoralization among the camp population. In accordance with the directives of Symon Petliura, Chief Otaman of the UPR Army, intensive cultural and educational work was initiated in the camps. This included the establishment of publishing efforts for newspapers, journals, brochures, and books in the Ukrainian language, which became a powerful factor in fostering national-patriotic unity and mobilizing the interned soldiers under the slogan of the UPR revival. Camp-based publishing activity was most active in Aleksandrów Kujawski, Szczypiorno, and Kalisz, which can be explained by the presence of divisional printing presses in these camps. Equally important was the fact that among the soldiers in these camps were capable organizers who managed to secure the necessary funding and establish publishing operations. Additionally, camp-based publishing was actively supported by the commanders of the 2nd *Volyn*, 3rd *Iron (Zalizna)*, and 6th *Sich* Divisions of the UPR Army – Generals Oleksandr Zahrods'kyi, Oleksandr Udovychenko, and Marko Bezruchko, respectively.

Analysis of Research and Publications

Some facts concerning publishing activities in the internment camps of the UPR Army soldiers in Poland were presented by S. Narizhny in his well-

known work “Ukrainian Emigration...”¹. Half a century later, contemporary Ukrainian scholars joined the research of this topic, gathering the first empirical data – although these remained rather fragmentary in nature. In this context, it is worth to mention a brief note by O. Zaremba, which included several facts regarding the specifics of publishing and distributing religious literature among the internees². A concise overview of Ukrainian book publications produced in the camps was done by L. Kuzhel³. A more substantial overview of the issue concerning “camp-based” functioning of the Ukrainian book among the interned soldiers of the UPR Army in Poland during 1921–1922 was carried out by T. Kivshar⁴.

At the same time, a number of Polish and Ukrainian scholars were engaged in intensive research and publication efforts, which made it possible to reconstruct the circumstances of internment of Ukrainian soldiers in the camps of Poland⁵. As a result, a significant number of scattered facts concerning publishing activities in the camps were accumulated; however, these did not provide a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of publishing in the POW camps of the interned Ukrainians in Poland. It should be noted, however, that none of the aforementioned researchers set out to specifically examine the characteristics of publishing activity in these camps, nor the dynamics of the dissemination of Ukrainian books among the internees.

Certain issues related to publishing in the internment camps were briefly addressed by the well-known Polish scholar Emilian Wiszka, whose monographic works contain valuable factual information on the activities of divisional printing houses and the periodical and book publications produced

1 С. Наріжний, *Українська еміграція. Культурна праця української еміграції між двома Світовими війнами*, Прага 1942, ч. I, pp. 33–52.

2 О. Заремба, *Релігійна книга в українських таборах інтернованих в Польщі (1920–1923 рр.)*, [in:] „Вісник Українського Товариства охорони пам’яток історії та культури, Київ 1995, вип. 4, pp. 54–55.

3 Л. Кужель, *Українська книга 20-х рр. XX ст. в Польщі: табірні видання*, [in:] Теоретичні та організаційні проблеми формування репертуару української книги та періодики: доповіді та повідомлення Міжнародної наук. конф. (Львів, 25–26 серпня 1995 р.), Львів 1996, pp. 82–84.

4 Т. Ківшар, *Український книжковий рух як історичне явище (1917–1923 рр.)*, Київ 1996, pp. 248–253.

5 Z. Karpius, *Jeńcy i internowani rosyjscy i ukraińscy na terenie Polski w latach 1918–1924*, Toruń 1997; І. Срібняк, *Обеззброєна, але нескорена: Інтернована Армія УНР у таборах Польщі й Румунії (1921–1924 рр.)*, Київ–Філядельфія 1997; М. Павленко, *Українські військовополонені й інтерновані у таборах Польщі, Чехословаччини та Румунії: ставлення влади і умови перебування (1919–1924 рр.)*, Київ 1999; О. Коляничук, *Українська військова еміграція у Польщі 1920–1939 рр.*, Львів 2000; J.J. Bruski, Petlurowsy: *centrum Państwowe Ukrainkiej Republiki Ludowej na wychodźstwie (1919–1924)*, Kraków 2000; І. Sribniak, *Encyklopedia jeniectwa: ukraiński Aleksandrów*, Warszawa – Paryż 2018.

therein⁶. A significant amount of factual material concerning circumstances of functioning of the Kalisz POW camp was collected by the efforts of Aleksander Kolańczuk, while the researcher provided some important data about the Ukrainian book-publishing projects implemented there⁷. This information was significantly supplemented by E. Andrysiak, who published a number of works at different times, and for their preparation she used valuable archival sources⁸. At the present stage, topics related to publishing activities are also reflected in the works by Yu. Holubnycha-Shlenchak⁹. The specific features of camp libraries – though only indirectly related to the issue – were examined in a separate paper conducted by historians from Kyiv¹⁰.

Aiming at providing a comprehensive reconstruction of publishing activities of interned Ukrainian soldiers in Poland, the authors of this article have used archival materials preserved in Ukraine (Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine). In addition, an important source for illuminating the book movement in the camps is the material found in camp periodicals, whose editorial boards regularly published information about the printing of new books and the ongoing activities of local libraries. The memoirs of Fr. Petro Bilon also possess considerable source value, as it

6 E. Wiszka, *Prasa emigracji ukraińskiej w Polsce 1920–1939*, Toruń 2001; O. Вішка, *Преса української еміграції в Польщі (1920–1939 рр.): історико-бібліографічне дослідження*, Львів 2002; E. Wiszka, *Szósta Siczowa Dywizja Strzelecka Armii Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej. Formowanie szlak bojowy internowanie 1920–1924*, Toruń 2012.

7 A. Kolańczuk, *Internowani żołnierze Armii UNR w Kaliszu 1920–1939*, Kalisz – Przemyśl – Lwów 1995; A. Kolańczuk, *Nekropolie i groby uczestników ukraińskich walk niepodległościowych w latach 1917–1921*, Przemyśl 2003; A. Kolańczuk, *Ukraińcy i ich życie w Kaliszu w latach 1920–1939*, [in:] *Kalisz – miasto otwarte. Mniejszości narodowe i religijne w dziejach Kalisza i ziemi kaliskiej*, red. K. Walczak i E. Andrysiak, Kalisz 2006, pp. 80–101; A. Kolańczuk, *Ukraińscy emigranci polityczni w życiu naukowym, kulturalnym, społecznym i gospodarczym w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Przemyśl 2019.

8 E. Andrysiak, *Drukarstwo kaliskie okresu międzywojennego w świetle bibliografii druków kaliskich*, „Zeszyty Kaliskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk” 2006, no 9, pp. 119–132; E. Andrysiak, *Księgozbiory mniejszości narodowych w Kaliszu do 1939 roku*, [in:] *Kalisz – miasto otwarte. Mniejszości narodowe i religijne w dziejach Kalisza i ziemi kaliskiej*, pod red. K. Walczaka i E. Andrysiak, Kalisz 2006, pp. 124–130; E. Andrysiak, *Książki i biblioteki ukraińskie w Kaliszu w okresie międzywojennym*, „Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny” 2025, vol. 22, № 1, pp. 97–112.

9 Ю. Голубнич-Шленчак, *Діяльність видавництва та друкарень у таборах інтернованих військ УНР в Польщі (1921–1924 рр.)*, „European philosophical and historical discourse” 2019, vol. 5, № 1, pp. 59–69; Ю.В. Голубнич-Шленчак, *Видавнича діяльність інтернованої Армії УНР у таборах Польщі (1921–1924 рр.)*, дис. д-ра філософії, Київ 2021.

10 М. Палієнко, І. Срібняк, С. Голованов, *Книжковий рух у таборах інтернованих вояків-українців Армії УНР у Польщі (1921 рік – перша половина 1924 року)*, „Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України: археографічні дослідження унікальних архівних та бібліотечних фондів” 2023, вип. 30, pp. 326–345.

was through his efforts that a number of books were published in the internment camps for Ukrainian soldiers¹¹.

The aim of this research is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of publishing in the internment camps of Ukrainian soldiers of the UPR Army during the years 1921–1924, as well as to determine the impact of the published books on the formation of the internees' national and state-building worldview.

Aleksandrów Kujawski – Szczypiorno

Despite all the hardships of confinement within the limited space of the camp, the soldiers of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division of the UPR Army succeeded in uniting their efforts and, in February 1921, published a 96-page book on the history of their military unit, which was dedicated to the division's commander, General-Khorunzhyi Marko Bezruchko. The book contained detailed accounts of the battles in which the division participated, accompanied by diagrams; it also included an overview of the soldiers' achievements in the cultural and educational sphere, a list of the division's commanding officers with precise indication of their positions (including a portrait of M. Bezruchko and his brief biography), and a list of the fallen. In addition, the sections titled "Our Supplies in Figures", "Our Press", "Our Riflemen", "Our Heroes", and "Our Humor" provided extensive information on various aspects of the division's daily life and activities¹².

The publication of this book was reviewed by Captain Yevhen Malaniuk, whose survey appeared in the camp newspaper "Ukrainskyi Surmach" (the section "Literature and Bibliography"). The reviewer emphasized that this modest book would become a true treasure for future historians, while for contemporaries it serves as "a wreath laid on the grave of our fallen brothers [...], woven from simple wildflowers – yet flowers dear and close to the heart". In the author's view, the "finest flower in the wreath" was "Duma pro pokhid" by Mykola Bytynskyi, written in an elevated national tone that appealed to the deepest patriotic sentiments of the Ukrainian soldiery. In conclusion, Ye. Malaniuk noted that organizing the publication of this book under conditions of internment was a highly challenging task; nevertheless, the initiators of the project fulfilled it with honor and even ensured a high standard of printing quality¹³.

11 П. Білон, *Спогади*, Пiтсбург 1952, ч. 1, pp. 65–66, 95.

12 Зiрниця, Александрiв Куявський 1921, 5 лютого, № 3/4, p. 45.

13 Український сурмач, Щипiрно-Калiш 1922, 16 липня, № 19, p. 4.

At times, individual internees took the initiative in launching publishing projects, among whom the most active was Fr. P. Bilon, chaplain of the field church of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division. The Camp Brotherhood of St. Protective Veil, founded by him in March 1921 within the 6th Sich Riflemen Division, identified the publication of religious literature as one of its key objectives. Not even the fact that all printed materials at the time could be reproduced only by hectograph deterred the members of the Brotherhood. Using this method, Fr. P. Bilon personally printed 40 copies of the “Divine Liturgy”¹⁴.

Soon, however, publishing activity in the camp was significantly intensified, following the transfer of the divisional printing press to the publishing section of the cultural and educational department of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division. To equip the press, the headquarters of the aforementioned division succeeded in securing the necessary funds: on 24 February 1921, 61,630 Polish marks (hereafter – P.m.) were spent for this purpose, and on 20 March of the same year, additional 34,430 P.m. were allocated for the purchase of printing equipment. The division continued to allocate additional funds for the needs of the printing press, spending further 5,000 P.m. for the purchase of equipment¹⁵. The printing press itself – a crucible-type machine, more commonly known as a “Bostonka”¹⁶ – was acquired through the efforts of General Marko Bezruchko in April 1921¹⁷.

By the order of the division commander, Captain Ivan Lypovetskyi (who used the pseudonym Khukhlii)¹⁸ was appointed head of the printing press. The staff also included two typesetters and two printers¹⁹, who received a monthly wage ranging from 750 to 1,500 P.m., depending on the volume of work completed. 25% of profits from the sale of printed materials were allocated to the needs of the division, while the remaining 75% were distributed among the printing staff as compensation²⁰.

These appointments, along with the principle of material incentives for the printing staff, enabled the press to begin its work successfully. One of its main

14 За державність. Матеріали до історії Війська Українського, Варшава 1938, № 8, p. 158.

15 Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВО України), ф. 2373, оп. 1, спр. 36, арк. 17.

16 The main printing mechanism of the “Bostonka” consisted of two plates: one of them (the bed) held the form in place, while the other plate (the crucible) pressed the sheet against the form – *Authors*.

17 I. Sribniak, *Encyklopedia jeniectwa: ukraiński Aleksandrów*, Warszawa – Paryż 2018, p. 54.

18 E. Wiszka, *Szósta Siczowa Dywizja Strzelecka Armii Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej. Formowanie szlak bojowy internowanie*, Toruń 2012, p. 407.

19 ЦДАВО України, ф. 2439, оп. 1, спр. 108, арк. 72.

20 ЦДАВО України, ф. 2373, оп. 1, спр. 36, арк. 17.

priorities was fulfilment the orders of the publishing section of the division's cultural and educational department. These were primarily various brochures, including the "Anthology of Ukrainian Songs" (comprising 24 songs from the repertoire of the divisional choir), which featured works by composers Mykola Lysenko, Kyrylo Stetsenko, Ostap Nyzhankivskyyi, Petro Nishchynskyyi, among others²¹. Somewhat later, the printing house produced copies of "Comparative Grammar of the Ukrainian Language" by M. Levytskyi (which included a Ukrainian-Russian dictionary), the "School of Ukrainian Plast Scouts" booklet, and the "Cultural and Educational Work in the Army" brochure by Ludendorff, which had been translated and prepared for publication by a group of officers from the 6th Division²².

In addition to the reproduction of printed materials, an equally important task was to ensure the possibility of gluing and binding the printed products. In view of this, on June 22, 1921, in Aleksandrów Kujawski, with the assistance and financial support of the charitable organization YMCA, a bookbinding workshop was established. It employed nine workers and two instructors. Just one month after its establishment, the workshop had already produced bindings for 139 books²³.

The Community of Officers of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division carried out its own publishing projects in the Aleksandrów Kujawski camp. In particular, using its funds, the divisional printing house published the "Statute of the Community of Officers" and a brochure translated from French by Captain Herlit, "The Army We Do Not Need"²⁴ (in 25 copies), as well as a collection of articles entitled "On the Ruins", dedicated to the participants of the November Raid of 1921²⁵.

The publication of the long-awaited textbook on Ukrainian Studies for officers and Cossacks, "Our Homeland – Ukraine" (120 pages in length, with a total print run of 2,000 copies), became an eagerly anticipated event for the camp's inhabitants. The publishers themselves positioned the textbook as the "encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies," consisting of several sections²⁶. At the end of the textbook, a section was included that provided explanations of certain historical terms and names. The book was enriched with drawings,

21 Нове життя, Олександрово [Александрів Куявський], 1921, 20 червня, № 56, р. 4.

22 О. Вішка, *Видавнича діяльність вояків Армії УНР, інтернованих в Александрові Куявському*, [ін:] *Збірник праць Науково-дослідного центру періодики*, Львів 1995, вип. 2, р. 362.

23 Н. Сидоренко, *Національно-духовне самоствердження: у 3 ч. Преса інтернованих українців та цивільної еміграції (Чехія, Польща, Румунія, Єгипет, 1919–1924)*, Київ 2000, т. 2, р. 47.

24 О. Вішка, *Преса української еміграції в Польщі (1920–1939 рр.)*, Львів 2002, р. 105.

25 На руйнах, Щипіорно 1922.

26 Нове життя, Александрів Куявський 1921, 7 листопада, № 93, р. 4.

illustrations, diagrams, and maps. Officers of the division – M. Bytynskiy, I. Lypovetskyi, O. Kostyuchenko, I. Marchenko, and Bartovskiy – volunteered to prepare various sections of the textbook²⁷.

The printing house in the camp was also used by the members of the aforementioned Brotherhood of St. Protective Veil, who prepared and printed small prayer books and a liturgy for the camp choir. The Brotherhood also published the “Short Ukrainian Orthodox Prayer Book”, comprising 46 pages, which included the prayer book itself – originally issued by the Kamianets Cyril and Methodius Society – and the Liturgy of John Chrysostom. A total of 1,500 copies were printed, 200 of which were distributed for free among the division’s riflemen²⁸.

The Brotherhood founded a book collection in the camp, where religious and philosophical literature from various publishers, as well as photographs of the field church, could be purchased. Using the funds raised from sales and donations, the members were able to publish the “Statute of the Brotherhood of St. Protective Veil of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division”, the “Liturgy of John Chrysostom”, and “John Chrysostom’s Homily for Easter”. A Synodikon was printed, in which the names of all fallen soldiers were inscribed²⁹. Small brochures were also published, including “Texts for Singing” (10 pages) and “The Matter of De-Russification of the Orthodox Church Service in Ukraine” by Vasyly Bidnov (28 pages)³⁰.

Following the closure of the camp in Aleksandrów Kujawski in the autumn of 1921, the 6th Sich Division was relocated to Szczypiorno (near Kalisz), which led to the establishment of a united Kalisz group of interned UPR Army units in Poland. This also resulted in merger of the divisional publishing houses and their printing presses (of the 6th and 3rd Iron Riflemen Divisions)³¹. This consolidation made it possible to ensure publication of several camp periodicals and fulfil various printing orders for cultural and educational departments of the aforementioned divisions.

The printing house also produced books (primarily of a religious nature) which became possible due to intensified activities of the Brotherhood of St. Protective Veil, whose members were committed to the “promotion of ideas of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church both among their own community

27 Н. Сидоренко, *Національно-духовне самоствердження: у 3 ч. Преса інтернованих українців та цивільної еміграції (Чехія, Польща, Румунія, Єгипет, 1919-1924)*, Київ 2000, т. 2, р. 48.

28 За державність. Матеріали до історії Війська Українського, Варшава 1938, № 8, р. 160.

29 П. Білон, *Спогади*, Пітсбург 1952, т. 1, р. 100.

30 Релігійно-Науковий Вістник, Щипіорно 1922, листопад, № 4-5, р. 61.

31 ЦДАВО України, ф. 2439, оп. 1, спр. 108, арк. 82.

and abroad”³². To this end, on the initiative of Fr.P. Bilon and the prominent Ukrainian public figure Yevhen Bachynskyi, a religious publishing society, “To the Light”, was established in the camp (March 1922)³³. The goals and objectives of the aforementioned society were shaped by its founders’ desire to “familiarize the Ukrainian public with Western spiritual and philosophical literature, with a specific practical aim – to influence on our intelligentsia, which remains unaware of its obligations to the faith and national Church and neglects the behests of Christ”³⁴.

According to Fr. P. Bilon, during its entire existence, the society “To the Light” published four books, including “The Search for Truth” by Frank Tom and “Thomas the Unbeliever” by Dr. Alt (translated from French by Ye. Bachynskyi and issued in a print run of 500 copies). The next publication was “The Life and Personality of Hryhorii Skovoroda” by Volodymyr Ern, translated from Russian by Ye. Malaniuk, with a print run of 500 copies. The funds for its publication were provided by S. Petliura and Yevhen Lukasevych, the Head of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Poland. Sometime later, the book “Divine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great” was published in translation from Greek (500 copies), which became possible through the financial contribution of Archpriest Petro Tabinskyi³⁵.

The publishing house had plans to release a series of more books of religious and philosophical nature, including “The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts”, “The Council of Ukrainian Saints”, “The Autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church”, “The New Hierarchy” (Vasyl Lypkivskyi’s views on church hierarchy with additions by Fr. P. Tobinskyi), and “A Historical Overview of the Church Movement in Ukraine” by V. Bidnov³⁶. For further operation of the publishing house and acceleration of its work, Fr. P. Bilon planned to acquire a personal printing machine, while Ye. Bachynskyi was to relocate to Przemyśl. However, due to his departure to the United States, Fr. P. Bilon was compelled to cease his publishing activities in Poland entirely in 1923, after which all the aforementioned publishing projects remained unrealized.

32 Нове життя, Щипіорно 1921, 26 грудня, № 97, р. 4.

33 П. Білон, *Спогади*, Пітсбург 1952, т. 1, р. 92.

34 За державність. Матеріали до історії Війська Українського, Варшава 1938, № 8, р. 169.

35 П. Білон, *Спогади*, Пітсбург 1952, т. 1, р. 92.

36 П. Білон, *Спогади*, Пітсбург 1952, т. 1, р. 97.

Kalisz

Book publishing in the Kalisz camp was distinguished by the highest level of activities compared to other locations housing UPR interned army units. This was partly due to the strong cohesion of the troops dislocated there – the 2nd Volyn and 3rd Iron Riflemen Divisions – the active engagement of members of their cultural and educational departments, and the willingness of the divisional commanders (Generals O. Zahrodskyi and O. Udovychenko) to fully support the dissemination of Ukrainian literature among the camp inhabitants. The latter exerted maximum effort to create their own printing infrastructure, providing necessary organizational and material support to initiate the operation of the printing presses possessed by both divisions.

As a result, by the spring of 1921, it became possible to organize the production of textbooks for their general education schools. Particularly notable were the achievements of the militarymen of the Iron Division, who established a mobile printing press where, in small print runs (of 20–30 copies), prayer books were produced, several works by General P. Shandruk were published, “A Short History of the 3-rd Iron Division” by Colonel H. Chyzhevskyi was printed, as well as collections of folk songs and posters. Military textbooks and memoirs were published in somewhat larger print runs, numbering several hundred copies³⁷. It was of great significance, enabling, according to the prominent Ukrainian educator and public figure S. Siropolk, the continuation of Ukrainian publishing activities with the aim of “providing the camps with genuine books – from prayer books and almanacs to textbooks on military affairs and general education,”³⁸ thereby at least minimally satisfying the demand of the interned soldiers for Ukrainian literature.

During the first half of 1922, the Kalisz camp printing house also published a number of works on military science, including the brochure “The Importance and Role of Officers in the Army”, “The Essence of War and the Significance of the Army” – materials published in the “Military-Scientific Bulletin” and “How to Conduct Shooting Training in the best way”, featured in the journal “To Arms” (“Do zbroi”). In addition, the following works were prepared for publication: “What Discipline Is, Its Importance and Principles”, “Night Duties”, “Textbook for Conducting Tactical Exercises in the Field”, “The Importance of Fire and Musket Accuracy”, “The Significance of Demonstration Exercises”, “Field Statute Program”, and “Garrison Statute Program” (report by Colonel V. Siharyv, part 262, of 1 September 1922)³⁹.

37 ЦДАВО України, ф.3525, оп.1, спр.1, арк.11–11зв.

38 ЦДАВО України, ф.4433, оп.1, спр.1, арк.12.

39 ЦДАВО України, ф.1078, оп.2, спр.304, арк.148.

In total, over the entire period of its operation, the printing house produced 26 books. Among them were Vasyl Sihariv's papers "The Importance and Role of Officers in the Army" and "A Collection of Training Programs for Senior Infantry Cossacks", Yevhen Elzenberg's work "The Infantry Outpost" and others⁴⁰. A two-volume work titled "Along the Thorny Path: Memoirs" was also published, which included the recollections of camp members P. Shandruk, A. Korshnivskiyi, Pylyp Zahoruyko, Vasyl Smutnyi, F. Tkach, K. Yarovyi, M. Zlenko and others⁴¹. The printing house also produced a collection of poems titled "A Drop" by I. Zubenko (dedicated to General-Cornet Oleksandr Udovychenko), as well as two of his other booklets, "Our Knights and Martyrs"⁴².

In the autumn of 1922, an event occurred in the Kalisz camp that imparted significant dynamism to the publishing process – the establishment of the "Chornomor" publishing house, which was granted possession of the printing press and equipment of the printing facility belonging to the Joint Junior Officers' School of the UPR Army⁴³. The commencement of its work became possible through the financial assistance of the Ukrainian Public Committee (UPC) in Prague, whose Head, Mykyta Shapoval, was the brother of General Mykola Shapoval, the Commander of the aforementioned school. The latter did his best to turn the publishing house into a profitable enterprise. In his letter to the UPC of January 25, 1923, General M. Shapoval stated: "When founding our publishing house, we primarily intended to issue small booklets that would possess popular, practical, economic, and technical value. This, of course, does not preclude the publication of other types of literature"⁴⁴.

At the same time, the publishing house was prepared to undertake other publishing projects. Thus, at the request of Dr. Ivan Lypa, it issued his work "The Bonfire", and later his son, Yurii Lypa, approached the publishing house with a request to print his book "The Inextinguishable Lamp" in memory of his father⁴⁵. At different times, the publishing house also produced individ-

40 Л. Кужель, *Українська книга 20-х рр. XX ст. в Польщі: табірні видання. Теоретичні та організаційні проблеми формування репертуару української книги та періодики: доповіді та повідомлення Міжнар. наук. конф. (Львів, 25–26 серпня 1995 р.)*, Львів 1996, р. 81.

41 Н. Сидоренко, *«Задротяне життя» українських часописів на чужині (1919–1924)*, Київ 2000, р. 43.

42 Л. Кужель, *Українська книга 20-х рр. XX ст. в Польщі: табірні видання. Теоретичні та організаційні проблеми формування репертуару української книги та періодики: доповіді та повідомлення Міжнар. наук. конф. (Львів, 25–26 серпня 1995 р.)*, Львів 1996, р. 82.

43 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 1–2; спр. 6, арк. 8.

44 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 6, арк. 3.

45 М. Бойчак, Р. Лякіна, *Українські лікарі за кордоном (Польща 1920–1924 рр., Чехословаччина 1922–1940 рр.)*, Київ 2009, р. 127.

ual works of members of “Veselka” literary and artistic society, including F. Krushynskyi’s sketch “Motria Kochubeivna”, O. Karmaniuk’s “Maksym Svynei”, I. Olbracht’s play “The Fifth Act”, as well as critical essays by O. Turianskyi, Ye. Malaniuk, and M. Selehii. It also published the almanac “Ozymyna”, which featured works by Ye. Malaniuk, M. Selehii, and M. Osyka. However, it should be noted that these printed works were issued under the imprint of the “Veselka” publishing house (as evidenced, at least, by some information announcements of the latter)⁴⁶.

Thinking of further distribution of its publications, from January 1923 the publishing house actively began establishing contacts with bookstores, libraries and organizations. Primarily, it concerned the UPC in Prague, the bookstore of T. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, and Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady. (The first book issued by the publishing house, “The Tractor and the Motor Plow and Their Application in Agriculture”, was written by A. Ilnytskyi, a former internee and student of the mentioned academy⁴⁷. In June 1923, the UPC ordered 300 copies of the book “The Uprise of Organic Life on Earth” by V. Koroliv-Staryi, which had been printed by the publishing house, and 100 more copies were dispatched, at their request, to the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society bookstore⁴⁸. Subsequently, additional 100 copies of K. Kautsky’s “From Democracy to State Slavery” and V. Koroliv-Staryi’s “Chmelyk”⁴⁹ were sent to Prague.

During its first year, the newly established publishing house generated sufficient profit to expand its production basis by leasing the printing facilities of the 3-rd Iron Riflemen Division (December 1923)⁵⁰. In 1924, “Chornomor” undertook the publication of literary works, materials on the history of Ukraine, memoirs, and thematic brochures, accepting orders from Galicia and Czechoslovakia⁵¹ in an effort to secure the greatest possible number of orders for production of printed materials.

The publishing house’s success is further evidenced by its 1924 catalogue and an announcement in “Veselka” journal, which featured information about an extensive list of published books, including: Leonid Biletsky’s “History of Ukrainian Literature. Vol. 1”; “Self-Instruction Manual of the Polish Language for Ukrainians” by O. Karmanyuk; “Former and Contemporary Ukrainian Po-

46 Театральне мистецтво, Львів 1923, вип. 1, січень, р. 16.

47 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 9, арк. 1.

48 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 6, арк. 12.

49 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 9, арк. 22.

50 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 6, арк. 34.

51 Чорномор: Бюлетень Об’єднання українських емігрантських організацій в Калішу та його околицях, Каліш 1924, ч.4, р. 12.

litical Emigration”; Klym Polishchuk’s novella “The Red World”; Maurice Maeterlinck’s drama “Monna Vanna”; Vasyl Koroliv-Staryi’s “The Animal Organism” and “The Uprise of Organic Life on Earth”; Yurii Siryi’s “Lesia Ukrainka” (published on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the poetess’ death); Khrystia Alchevska’s poetry collection “Clematis”; V. Korniienko’s “The Zaporizhzhian Treasure”; Ivan Zubenko’s drama “The Last Victim” and his historical notes “Knights and Martyrs”; Yelysei Karpenko’s play “White Nights” and his drama “Autumn Nights”; as well as poetry collections by Vasyl Vyshyvanyi (“The Days Go By”), Osyp Turiansky (“Beyond the Limits of Pain”), Yu. Lypa (“The Inextinguishable Lamp”), and others. In total, throughout its entire period of operation, “Chornomor” published 617 books and brochures of various genres, as evidenced by the catalogue of printed materials produced by the publishing house’s printing facilities⁵².

Conclusions

It should be emphasized, first and foremost, that the publishing activity in the three POW camps of the UPR interned Army analyzed in this article was marked by considerable intensity, despite all the hardships of camp life experienced by the Ukrainian soldiers. A significant contribution to intensification of this activity was made both by the publishing sections of the cultural and educational departments of the divisions and by the public organizations that emerged in the camps, bringing together internees according to their professional or artistic interests. Throughout 1921, publishing activities in the camps were supported by contributions from divisional funds as well as the personal efforts of division commanders, which ensured that the printing presses were properly equipped and provided with suitable premises for normal operation.

At the same time, publishing in the camps also developed thanks to donations from benefactors, as it took place in Aleksandrów Kujawski, which enabled Brotherhood of St. Protective Veil and “To the Light” publishing house to translate and publish specialized literature (of religious nature), as well as original writings by the internees. Although difficult conditions of camp life did not allow for the full implementation of planned projects or the production of materials of proper quality, there are ample arguments to assert that the needs of the interned soldiers of the UPR Army for Ukrainian-language printed materials were, at least minimally, met, and that publishing movement itself played an essential role in the cultural and educational work within the camps.

52 ЦДАВО України, ф. 4005, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 14–15.

The most favorable conditions for the development of book publishing arose in Kalisz, as the living conditions for soldiers in this camp, compared to others, were relatively acceptable, allowing for the establishment of a printing press staffed with qualified personnel. It became possible there to begin printing a wide range of publishing projects, including educational and military professional literature, memoirs and several periodical publications. In turn, the “Chornomor” publishing house, founded in Kalisz and primarily aimed at publishing literature of a purely practical nature as well as works by camp inmates, quickly expanded its publishing range, which could satisfy any taste. Its books and pamphlets were printed in fairly high quality (for a camp publishing house) and were sent to various centers of Ukrainian emigration. The reasons of its success lay in financial contributions from the UPC, which covered a significant portion of the “Chornomor”’s ongoing expenses, as well as the commercialization of its operations.

In any case, the successful operation of this publishing house was largely due to the desire of the soldiers interned in the camp to create a space for creativity in their daily lives and to have opportunities for personal self-realization, since among the internees there was a significant number of those who either already had – or wished to acquire – the profession of a writer, journalist, or artist (members of the “Veselka” society). Thus, the synergy of their creative efforts was realized in the publication of their artistic projects, which had a significant impact not only on the internees but also on the broader Ukrainian political emigration in Europe. Ukrainian books, printed in the camps for interned Ukrainian soldiers in Poland, laid a lasting foundation for the national-state worldview of the internees, while at the same time remaining their most important source of knowledge about history, geography, and culture of Ukraine.

Note

The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) – a charitable American organization that provided humanitarian aid in various European countries, including assistance to prisoners of war and internees in camps.

Hectograph is a printing device used for producing small-run printed materials. Its working principle was as follows: a flat wooden or metal tray was filled with a mixture of gelatin, glycerin, and water, which had the ability to absorb ink. To create a manuscript, aniline dyes were used; these were transparent and dried quickly. The manuscript was then pressed onto the set mixture, leaving an impression on its surface. A sheet of thin paper was placed over the impression to produce a copy.

Spirograph is an improved version of the hectograph, featuring a special wooden tray to which a roller was attached for better pressing of the paper to produce a copy. This allowed for higher-quality and clearer impressions.

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ЦДАВО України, ф. 1078, оп. 2, спр. 304.
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List of illustrations

Illus. 1. Rectangular logo of the “Chornomor” Ukrainian publishing house, 1922, Kalisz internment camp (Central State Archives of Supreme Authorities and Government of Ukraine – fond 4005, inventory 2, file 2, sheet 148)



Illus. 2. Circular logo of the “Chornomor” Ukrainian publishing house, 1922, Kalisz internment camp (Central State Archives of Supreme Authorities and Government of Ukraine – fond 4005, inventory 2, file 2, sheet 16)



Illus. 3. Printing house of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division in the Szczypiorno internment camp (in the photo: far right – head of the Cultural and Educational Department of the 6th Sich Riflemen Division, Captain Mykhailo Bytynskyi; next to him – head of the printing house, Captain Ivan Lypovetskyi), 1923 (Heroika, [online] http://geroika.org.ua/u-polskomu-poloni/6-sich_dyv-2/)



Illus. 4. Title page of the collection of articles “On the Ruins”, published in the Szczypiorno camp by the Cultural and Educational Department of the headquarters of the 6th Rifle Division in 1922 (State Scientific Archival Library in Kyiv, Ukraine)



Illus. 5. Title page of “Motria Kochubeivna” (the book by Fedir Krushynskyi), published by the “Veselka” Publishing House, 1922, Kalisz internment camp (Diasporiana website, [online] <https://diasporiana.org.ua/drama/krushynskyj-f-motrya-kochubeyivna/>)



Illus. 6. Title page of the “The Inextinguishable Lamp (in Memory of Ivan Lypa)” book published by the “Chornomor” Publishing House, 1924, Kalisz internment camp (Diasporiana website, [online] <https://diasporiana.org.ua/ukrainica/svitylnyk-neugasymyj-pamyaty-ivana-lypy/>)

