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## THE POLISH PRESS AS A SOURCE OF RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF POLES IN UKRAINE IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

### **Abstract**

*Insufficient coverage of the history of Poles in Ukraine during the war and the revolution is largely due to a narrow source base. The Polish press is an important source for studying the history of the Polish community in Ukraine at the beginning of the twentieth century. **The aim** of the study is to clarify the importance, ideological orientation, thematic informativeness, representativeness and characteristics of the functioning of the Polish press in Ukraine. **The research methodology** is based on the analysis of the existing Polish press in Ukraine on the basis of the criteria of popularity and publication period, their genre, thematic and ideological orientation, audience, editorial policy, authors, and content. System-analytical and comparative-historical methods have been applied, thanks to which the characteristics of certain periods of the Polish press functioning have been determined. **The scientific novelty** lies in the disclosure of the source aspect of the study of the Polish press in Ukraine. It was found out that the Polish press in Ukraine in the first decades of the twentieth century is a significant, often unique source of reliable information about the events of Poles' socio-political, socio-economic, and cultural life. **Conclusions.** The emergence, development and functioning of the Polish press can be divided into three periods: 1905-1914, 1914-1916, and 1917-1921, which are defined by the beginning of its existence, the significance of the events that influenced the development of society – World War I, the*

*Russian February Revolution and the Ukrainian National Revolution. This influenced the content, character and ideological orientation of materials, and the formation of the editorial staff.*

**Key words:** *Polish press, research sources, World War I, Ukrainian National Revolution, Poles, Ukraine*

**The problem statement.** Historical research requires facts and a profound source base, which becomes the basis for generalizations and conclusions. The most important in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the periodicals. They create their own epoch, touching on different aspects of society's life, are themselves a part of the political life and therefore are a valuable source for scholars. With the loss of Polish statehood at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the role of representation of their nation in the world was played by the creative, scientific intelligentsia, as well as the Polish press.

**Analysis of recent studies and publications.** The research of Polish periodicals published in Ukraine in the first decades of the twentieth century was carried out by Polish and Ukrainian researchers. Quite a complete list of Polish publications of the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was presented and characterized in the Soviet period in the works of K. Gartztecki (Gartztecki, 1969). A. Ślisz, in his monograph on the Polish press in the war and revolutionary period (1915-1919), presented the Polish periodicals as an integral, special phenomenon that developed from its own medium, operated under extraordinary conditions, and was an autonomous system of Polish propaganda on the territory of Russia, including in the Ukrainian lands (Ślisz, 1968). During the period of independence in the 1990s, the Polish historian T. Zienkiewicz (Zienkiewicz, 1990) characterized the Polish press and defined its impact on society in the context of Polish literary and artistic life in Kyiv from 1905 to 1918. As a part of the research on the history of Poles in Right-bank Ukraine from 1905 to 1918, scientific articles about the conditions of the functioning of the Polish press, its regional features by A. Z. Witwicka-Dudek (Witwicka-Dudek, 2002), M. Korzeniowski (Korzeniowski, 2009), O. Bilobrovets (Bilobrovets, 2014), C. Oliper (Oliper, 2014) appeared. However, the source aspect of the Polish press in Ukraine in the first decades of the twentieth century has not received

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the proper coverage and is of practical importance in the studies of the history of Poles in Ukraine.

**The aim** of the study is to clarify the significance, ideological orientation, thematic informativeness, representativeness, and characteristics of the functioning of the Polish press in Ukraine at the beginning of the twentieth century as an important source of research on the history of Poles in Ukraine.

**The outline of the material.** Formed at the end of the nineteenth century, the Polish political parties and public organizations were able to be legitimized only during the revolution in Russia in 1905. In the Polish socio-political movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one can distinguish three main tendencies: conservative, nationalist and socialist, each of them was represented by several political parties. In the Ukrainian lands at that time all the main directions of the Polish social movement were represented in the Polish environment. Due to the legal possibility of conducting political and social activities after the Russian Revolution of 1905, several organizations and societies emerged here. During the same period, the first legal Polish newspapers were founded. The organization of periodicals was undertaken by professional journalists and writers, as well as by nationally conscious, civically and politically minded wealthy Poles, who funded the printing of newspapers and journals.

The greatest number of Polish publications were concentrated in Kyiv. During the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905, when the Tsarist power was forced to proclaim the expected freedom of speech and freedom of the press, in December 1905 the most popular and longest-running daily newspaper, *Dziennik Kijowski*, was founded. Due to its thematic orientation, it was later designated as political, social and literary. Ideologically, the newspaper expressed the interests of the nationalist camp and, in particular, of the Party of People's Democrats. The newspaper was organized by V. Kulikowski, and the first editor was V. Levitsky from Lviv. The publication was sponsored by landowner W. Grokholski. A few months after the newspaper was published, J. Bartoshevich became its editor-in-chief, who together with other members of the editorial staff - V. Kulikowski, S. Wierski, Z. Skarzynski, and Z. Raczkowski belonged to the National League (*Ligy Narodowej*) (Moszyński, 1902).

Ideologically, the newspaper expressed the ideas of the nationalist camp (narodowytsi), which were supported by the great landowners of the conservative tendency. The newspaper tried to unite and represent the interests of all Poles in the South-Western region, declared the necessity to establish Polish statehood and support Polish property in Ukraine, and rejected the desire of Ukrainians to create their own political life. The publication was oriented and had considerable support among Polish industrialists, intelligentsia, and labor immigrants from the Kingdom of Poland.

In 1908, the Party of People's Democrats was split into right-wing and left-wing parties, which were focused on the means to achieve the set goal. The right advocated passive resistance to power, while the left sought greater activity in the attack on tsarism. Because of these changes in June 1914, J. Bartoszewicz, V. Kulikowski and Zielinski left the editorial board of the newspaper *Dziennik Kijowski*. E. Paszkowski remained the editor of the newspaper. The publication voiced a vote of confidence in the endeavor, but distrust of Russia. (CSHAU (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine. F. (Fund). 274. D. (Description) 1. C. (Case) 2441. Sheet 24).

The newspaper was very popular thanks to its informational power. It had its own correspondents in all the major Polish cities and European capitals and was oriented towards readers from the Ukrainian lands. Advertising took up a significant part of the first and last pages. Various companies and stores offered their products. There was information about the death of prominent Poles, announcements of private doctors, various services offered by companies, exchange rates, meetings of various cultural and educational, sports public organizations, announcements of theatrical and circus performances, concerts, public lectures, announcements of job searches and vacancies, housing rentals, etc. For researchers of the everyday life of Poles in Ukraine in the first half of the twentieth century, this information will give a sufficiently complete picture of the life of Poles in Kyiv at that time.

The newspaper had regular columns: *Sprawy Polskie* (Polish Affairs), which provided information about Poles from various cities and countries; *Z prwincji* (From the Province), about the life of the Polish community in Ukraine; *Z prasy Polskiej* (From the Polish Press), material from other Polish newspapers; *Kronika* (Chronicle), current city news; *Oststni wiadomości* (Latest News), calendar of historical events, etc.

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The articles on current issues of social and political life aroused considerable public interest. An overview of international events was also published, reviews of the theatrical performances were given, and later excerpts from literary works.

At the beginning of 1905, the Polish liberal-democratic, mainly professional, intelligentsia united in the Polish Kresow Association and came out with a programme of cultural autonomy for Poles in Ukraine recognising the right of the Ukrainians to live independently as a state. At the beginning of 1906, its representatives organized the newspaper *Głos Kijowski*, headed by D. Szajnski and A. Slivinski, which existed for only four months. The ideological programme was continued by the weekly newspaper *Świt*, edited by Jan Knott, R. Neumann, and R. Nowinski, members of the Polish Students' Corporation of the University of Kyiv. The publication was labeled as "socio-economic, political, and literary" and was published from January 1906 to 1908 due to the lack of a significant number of columns and advertisements. The newspaper was popularized by the publications of prominent Polish and Ukrainian public figures: S. Brozovsk, J. Korczak, W. Sviatoslavsky, I. Franko, M. Hrushevsky, and V. Vynnychenko. Cooperation between progressive Ukrainian and Polish politicians, who supported the ideas of social democracy, began to emerge in the pages of the newspaper and in real life (Witwicka-Dudek, 2002).

The same liberal-democratic tendency was pursued by the newspaper *Goniec Kijowski* (*Courier of Kyiv*) founded in 1909, which was edited by V. Lipinski and was very popular among officials and estate managers. The newspaper promoted the ideas of the federation of Ukrainians and Poles and the recognition of the national aspirations of the two nations (Garztecki, 1969).

At the beginning of 1914, another publication of the democratically minded intelligentsia, united in the democratically independent Polish Group in Ukraine appeared in Kyiv: the biweekly *Kłosa Ukrainskie*, edited by the well-known journalist Jan Ursin-Zamaraevich, who had previously worked for the St. Petersburg publication *Kraj* (*Region*). This is a well-designed biweekly, which had a literary character at first, but then a socio-political orientation. The journal's contributors included several prominent journalists, writers, public and political figures. In particular – A. Drogozewski, Ludgard Groholski, Lucjan Knoll, Cornel Makuszynski, Zenon Piotkiewicz, Eugene Starczewski, Olena Sabanska,

later –Jozef Flach, Bronislawa Ostrowska, Henry Ulyashin, and others. (Ślisz, 1968).

The camp of conservatives in Ukraine was represented by great landowners and industrialists, who in 1907 founded *Krajowa Partia* in Kyiv, Volyn and Podillia provinces (CSHAU F.442. D. 636. Case 647. Sheet 165). The party's ideology was to defend the rights of the Polish owners of Right-bank Ukraine. Their interests were represented by the publication *Kresy* (Kresy) founded in 1907, which was headed by the lawyer Ignacy Likhovsky. The programme, plans and objectives of the party, and the policy of agreement with the authorities for the interests of all Poles in the region were published in the newspaper before the official registration of the party. The aim of the newspaper was also to understand the needs and aspirations of local Poles and the possibilities of satisfying them (Kresy, 1907). The newspaper had a small number of columns with texts on socio-political topics: correspondence, chronicles, telegrams, and current news.

After a short period of existence, the journal declined, and the position of the great landowners and industrialists, but with some deviation from the agreement policy, was continued by the new literary monthly journal *Nasza Przeszłość* (Our Past), published in 1908-1909 and founded by Otto Glinka (Ślisz, 1968). The journal published literary works, historical and philosophical studies, analyses of the economic situation, and so on.

The socialist trend had its own publications. The newspaper *Robotnik* (Worker) was published by the PPS faction in 1901-1911. There was a secret publishing house in Kyiv, which published 19 issues of the newspaper. In 1906 the PPS held three district conferences and published three issues of the *Hasło* newspaper, which included resolutions of the conferences. In particular, political autonomy for Ukraine and cultural autonomy for the Polish population were recognized (Koko, 2004).

Thus, the Polish press, which was published by representatives of the main Polish political parties and expressed their interests and sentiments, is a valuable source for the study of the socio-political life of Poles in Ukraine. Activities of political parties, presentation of positions, programme positions, attitudes towards important public events, statements of political and public figures, discussions, and political struggle in the press allow us to trace the formation of new social and

political initiatives and concepts, and their influence on the contemporary events.

Apart from the socio-political publications of the 1905 revolution period, the press of literary and artistic orientation can also be noted. In particular, *Biały Paw* is a satirical and humorous weekly published by T. Pudłowski. Excerpts from literary works were published in the above-mentioned publications *Świt*, *Nasza Przeszłość*, *Kłosa Ukraińskie* and others. Criticism, comments, and reviews of theatrical performances were published in many newspapers and periodicals. These materials give an idea to researchers of literary and artistic life about the social activity of the authors, the perception of their works by society, and the opposite effect on it.

An important source for the study of church history is the Catholic periodicals published at this time. Thus, the clerical weekly *Lud Boży*, published between 1907 and 1918 and edited by priests Kazimierz Stabinski, Jozef Zmigrodski, and Stanislaw Zhukowski, was popular among the Polish population (Korzeniowski, 2009). It provided the latest information from large cities of the world as well as local news and a weekly Roman Catholic calendar, biographies and activities of famous religious figures and stories from the lives of saints, information about the church and secular life from all over the world and Ukraine.

The regional Polish press of the early twentieth century is an important source of information about the life of Poles in the provinces in terms of identifying the leaders of public life, the existence of public organizations, their activities, support for general trends in social movement and determining their characteristics.

It is known that in the period before the outbreak of World War I there was a regional Polish press, in particular in Odessa and Proskurov. In Odessa, the Polish progressive democratic society began publishing the weekly newspaper *Zycie Polskie* (Polish Life) in 1906, which soon changed its name to *Nowiny Polski* (Polish News). The editor of the publication was lawyer Jan Mydoszewski. Due to insufficient support from local Poles and the authorities' censorship, the publication was closed. The interests and needs of the Polish community in Podillia were expressed by the weekly *Tygodnik Podolski* (Polish weekly), founded by lawyer S. Zembruski and published in Proskurov in 1910-1912. After the publication was stopped in 1912-1914, in Podillia thanks to the priest V. Baranowski, a representative of the conservative trend, the biweekly

*Nasza wieś* (Our Village) began to be edited by J. Rosinski. (Oliper, 2014).

A new period in the socio-political life of Poles in Ukraine and the publishing of printed media came with the outbreak of World War I. The majority of the Polish population supported the Russian authorities, motivated by Slavic solidarity and hoping for political autonomy under Russian rule.

*Dziennik Kijowski* remained the main Polish publication in Ukraine. The newspaper was distinguished by a professional team of journalists, who presented high-quality journalism and current news of Polish life from all over the world and from the provinces. Politically, the newspaper satisfied various directions of public opinion, as it often presented opposing views and opinions. The thematic content of the newspaper was changed and new columns were created corresponding to wartime. The beginning of the war was marked by numerous appeals published in the newspaper by political and public figures and social groups from the provinces for support of the Tsarist power, information about the enlistment of volunteers into the army, and worship services for Russia's quick victory in the war. From June 1915 a significant number of materials and regular columns in the newspaper were dedicated to refugees and highlighted the activity of organizations providing aid to victims of the war. The articles about military events, news from all fronts and lists of donations for Polish war victims became daily. Newspaper advertisements and announcements, reports on life in the provinces provide a vivid record of the population's survival under war conditions.

The biweekly *Kłosy Ukraińskie*, founded in February 1914, lost its regularity with the outbreak of the war but retained its lush illustration and, literary and artistic orientation in its texts. The number of public information materials dedicated to the attitude of various groups of Poles to the war, the necessity to renew the statehood, the need to unite the entire society, and to support Polish victims of war increased substantially. Ideologically, this publication expressed the views of the Polish democratic and progressive establishment (Bilobrovets, 2014).

With the withdrawal of the Russian army in June 1915 from the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, the mass emigration of Poles and refugees to the Russian Empire, in particular to Ukrainian lands, began. Among them, there were significant groups of the scientific and creative



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intelligentsia - journalists, publishers, writers, directors, artists, and others. Thus, in the summer of 1915, a group of employees of the Lviv-based publication *Słowo Polskie* of the National Democratic orientation - Z. Wasylewski, S. Grabski, and I. Wierzynski made an unsuccessful attempt to publish the newspaper *Nowiny* (News) in Kyiv (Zienkiewicz, 1990).

At the end of 1915, the editor of the biweekly *Świat Kobiety* (Woman's World), E. Zhmijevska, moved to Kyiv and resumed publication of the journal in Kyiv. The journal contained materials about women's movement, the place and role of a woman in literary works, excerpts from works, a column on beauty and health, dancing and theatrical activities, chronicles of events, advertisements, and so on. In 1916, due to the increased emphasis on the development of the feminist movement and women's socio-political activity, the publication changed its name to *Pszedświt* (Dawn). A considerable part of the material was devoted to the further fate of Poland in the war, steps to restore its statehood, refugees' affairs, reports by public organizations on their activities, etc. The contributors to the journal were J. Flach, A. Grudnicka, V. Gunther, J. Kornetsky, and others. (*Pszedświt*, 1916).

In 1916 the Polish journal for young people *Młodzież* was published in Kyiv, edited by S. Gżymalowska and T. Uchma. The monthly journal was aimed at scouts and was supported by the organization *Związek młodzieży Polskiej* (Polish Youth Union). In 1917, the journal became the property of an organization edited by S. Siedlaczek. A significant place in the journal was taken by patriotic materials, the theory and practice of the scouting movement, correspondence about the life of Polish youth from various cities and towns, games and entertainments, the school's tasks in educating young people, etc. (*Młodzież*, 1916).

Considering the increase in the number of Polish intelligentsia in Ukrainian cities as a result of evacuation and refugees, professional Polish publications began to appear in Kyiv. The *Pszegląd Naukowy i Pedagogiczny* (Scientific and Pedagogical Review), which covered the development of education, was one of them, with V. Peretyatkevich as its formal editor and S. Kalinowski as its actual editor. The publication included theoretical studies of humanities and social sciences - psychology, philosophy, history, etc., as well as the development of schools in Ukraine. The professional medical publication *Polski Miesięcznik Lekarski* (Polish Medical Monthly) was edited by W.

Szumowski and W. Trzebski. Both journals were published from the end of 1916 to the spring of 1917. The main task of the journal *Wiadomości Bibliograficzne* (Bibliographic Notices), headed by A. Drogoszewski, the founder of the bibliographic institution *Skarbiec druków polskich* (Treasury of Polish Prints), was to take into account the last printed Polish publications in Russia. In February 1917 the journal *Muzeum Polski*, dedicated to activities and monuments of art and culture, replaced this publication. L. Grocholski was its editor and patron (Zienkiewicz, 1990). The main purpose of the journal was to present monuments of culture and to provide an overview of them. The monthly journal included museum scientific and theoretical materials, a list of cultural institutions and their content, the organization of museum exhibitions, and a review of archival documents on Polish history.

A new stage in the development of the Polish press in Ukraine came as a result of gaining democratic freedoms after the February Revolution in Russia during the Ukrainian National Revolution of 1917. In addition to the traditional Polish political camps, the Liberal Democratic one was added, which accused the conservatives and nationalists of collaborating with the Tsarist power. The main slogan for the majority of Polish political forces became the struggle for independence of the Polish state.

The ideological disunity of Polish political forces and the struggle of different views on the solution to social problems resulted in the pages of the Polish press. Its characteristic feature after the February Revolution was the great diversity, both political and thematic. As a result of the revolution, the programmes were adjusted and tactics were changed, which strengthened antagonism. Every political camp, and public organization sought to have its own body to conduct its own policy. However, these publications were not long-lasting.

In Ukraine, in contrast to major Russian cities, Polish political forces showed unity in defending the national rights of the Polish people and recognizing the right of Ukrainians to live their own political life since February 1917. Thus, in Kyiv, in March 1917, the Polish Executive Committee in Rus (PEC) was established as a representative body for all Poles. However, in June 1917, at the Third Congress of Polish Organizations, a split occurred, as a result of which the representatives of the Polish Democratic Parties left the Congress. The PEC began to be dominated by National Democrats (ND) (*Dziennik Kijowski*, 1917).

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*Dziennik Kijowski* continued to hold the leading position, and E. Pashkovsky became its editor-in-chief after Yu. Voloshynovsky. The newspaper published appeals, reports, and announcements of the Polish Executive Committee, which made it a semi-official body of the PEC. Its general policy and the content of materials were in line with the ND programme.

An attempt to create a body of the nationalist camp in Kyiv was made at the beginning of 1917. Even before the February Revolution on February 18, 1917, the governor approved the publication of the biweekly *Przegląd Polski*, whose editor was to be O. Dębski. It was planned to publish articles concerning general problems of Polish life, domestic and foreign policy, as well as literary, critical, scientific, historical and economic materials in the journal. Due to the technical difficulties and political peripeteia of the February Revolution, the publication of the first issue was postponed. The first issue was published on June 1, 1917. The journal focused on publicists and politicians from the ND group. The permanent authors of the texts were S. Grabsky, J. Bartoszewicz, M. Lutosławski, as well as I. Wierzynski. J. Andrzejewski, Jan Kornecki, J. Lutosławski, K. Skrinski and others also cooperated with the journal. (Tarasiuk, 2014).

The journal was divided into several parts. The first part contained materials on history, economics and theory of politics, the second – texts about the war, the third – about Polish affairs in the province and the life of the Ukrainian population, and the fourth – articles about the political line of the Polish affairs in the international arena. The authors paid attention to the history of Right-bank Ukraine. After four issues were published, the journal ceased to exist within two months (Tarasiuk, 2014).

The *Jedność* (Solidarity) was under the influence of ND. The Polish Trade Union *Jedność* published *Robotnik Polski* in Kyiv. The editor-in-chief of the journal was S. Florchak. R. Kavalec and R. Reis cooperated with him. The first issue was published on April 23, 1917, and the last one – was on December 3, 1917. The aim of the publication was to attract Polish workers to build a free and democratic Poland, who had to prepare themselves for new activities in a revived Poland (Tarasiuk, 2014)

In May 1917 the Democratic independent group issued the newspaper *Demokrta Polski* (Polish Democrat), as a supplement to *Kłosa Ukrainskie* and as a non-periodical publication, which lasted until the

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beginning of 1918. The Democratic forces united after the split, establishing the Polish Democratic Centralization (PDC), which in July 1917 began publishing *Gazety Narodowej* (National Newspaper). The editor of the newspaper was J. Ursyn-Zamaraev, who temporarily stopped editing and publishing the journal *Kłosa Ukraińskie*. In December 1917, The PDC began publishing a new weekly political publication, *Głos Narodowy* (National Voice) (Garzdecki, 1969).

Newspapers were also published in other Ukrainian cities. The regional Polish press demonstrated the features of Polish life in the province, the existence and activities of various socio-economic and cultural education orientation, statistics in the organization of Polish schools, and the position of the Polish community on solving national and local issues of public life, etc. This information is often unique and makes it possible to investigate unreported pages of history.

The *Tygodnik Odeski* (Diary of Odessa), an ND social and literary newspaper, edited by A. Kowalszczewski-Siedlecki with the participation of Z. Belina-Brzozowski, Jan Maszewski, H. Pruszyński, and Jan Wielkoszewski, was published in Odessa in 1915. The journal's editorial board stated its task in the introductory article of the first issue of the weekly newspaper, emphasizing that "it should become a tool for affirming national ideas and a hope for a bright future" (*Tygodnik Odeski*, 1915, p. 1). The *Tygodnik Odeski* was still associated with ND and was published until the end of 1917. In the newspaper, in addition to journalistic materials on the needs of the day and excerpts from literary works, there were constant columns: *Z chwili* about the latest events in the life of Poles from various cities, *Kronika* of Odessa life, reports of public organizations on their activities, announcements, etc.

In 1917, the socio-political and literary weekly newspaper *Wyzwolenie* (Liberation) appeared in Odessa, which was the body of the Polish Executive Committee, dominated by Democrats and PPS members, which was reflected in the distinctly anti-ND character of the publication. The editor-in-chief of *Wyzwolenie* at first was F. Cieczecki, and then K. Kirst. The newspaper was published until the end of 1917 (Ślisz, 1968).

The Polish political forces of various orientations began publishing their own newspapers in Kharkiv in February 1917. The newspaper *Hasło* was the body of the nationalist press. From the 8th issue, the weekly newspaper became a biweekly one. It was published by members of the

Union of United and Independent Poland in Kharkiv. The editor of the newspaper was K. Zhegestovsky. On June 2, 1918, he was replaced by Jan Dolenga. The first issue of the newspaper appeared on July 16, 1917. Overall, nearly 30 issues of the newspaper were published from 1917 to 1918. The aim of the publication was to unite all Poles in Ukraine through the support of contacts between Kharkiv and Polish colonies. On August 29, 1917, the editorial board declared that it was the main body of Polish policy in emigration. (Tarasiuk, 2014)

The Polish socialist parties set up their own press. The Polish Socialist Association in Kharkiv published the weekly *Jedność robotnicza*, the first issue of which was published on March 25, 1917. The Association's programme was based on vague declarations of support for a democratic environment in Russia, and several democratic, political and economic standards. A great influence on the publication was made by the PPS-left, in particular by Z. Zaremba and T. Zharsky. However, there were ideological differences and disagreements between them, which resulted in the pages of the weekly. (Zienkiewicz, 1990).

In the middle of 1917, the weekly *Życie Polskie*, the body of the Democrats in the Podillia and an expression of the interests of the local Polish intelligentsia, was founded in Vinnytsia thanks to the efforts of a well-known member of the democratic camp, the owner of Vinnytsia estates, and head of the Polish Democratic Centralization S. Stempowski. The newspaper covered the activities of Polish educational associations and foundations. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper was W. Sviederski. Another journal, *Przegląd Rolnici* (Agricultural Review), was initiated in Vinnytsia by R. Bninski, a member of the local agricultural association. The first issue of the weekly journal was published in December 1917 (Ślisz, 1968).

From 1917 to 1918, the weekly *Tygodnik Kresowy* was published in Zhytomyr under the editorship of K. Rosinkevich and later by V. Horodysky. As noted in the first issue, it was a chronicle devoted to political, social and literary themes, as well as the national activities of the Polish population on Right-bank Ukraine. The editorial article stated that the journal would be non-partisan in order to "impartially and fairly assess events" and that "the people and the church are two sacred things to which all the strength of our people will be devoted" (*Tygodnik Kresowy*, 1917, p. 5). The weekly journal is an important source of reproduction of the life of the Polish community in Volyn and Zhytomyr.

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The journalistic articles covered the attitude and ways of solving important issues of public life, the position of the local Polish elite towards them, the activity of public organizations, current issues of educational development, the life of refugees and their return to Poland. The weekly features the latest news about the activities of the Ukrainian Central Council in the columns: *Z republiki ukraińskiej*, news about Polish life in Ukrainian cities and towns – *Listy z kraju*, review of Polish affairs in the region – *Pszegład spraw polskich*, review of military affairs – *Pszegład spraw wojskowych*, local chronicle, advertisements and announcements.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the analysis of the Polish press in Ukraine in the first decades of the twentieth century proved that it is a valuable and, in some aspects, the only source for the study of the history of Poles in Ukraine. The thematic and ideological orientation of Polish publications allows us to study various spheres of life of the Polish community in Ukraine – socio-political, social, economic, and cultural. During this period, we can distinguish three periods in the development of the Polish press, associated with changes in frequency and duration, thematic content, and the number of publications caused by important changes in the life of society due to revolutions and war.

The first period: 1905-1914 was the time when under the conditions of democratization of society, the Polish press began to be published in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities. Polish publishing had its peak in 1906 and 1907. It was notable for its genre and ideological diversity, representing the main Polish political camps, high-quality editorial staff, thematic and informational richness. The second period: 1914-1916 related to World War I and was initially marked by the change of format, often by a reduced number of pages and irregular printing of publications due to high cost and shortage of paper. Thematically, most of the materials were devoted to issues of war – military operations on the fronts, refugees, the activities of associations that assisted them, etc. As a result of the evacuation of the population and flow of refugees from the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia and the appearance in Ukrainian cities of a significant number of Polish intelligentsia, a number of Polish publications were launched – political, youth, women's, and professional. The third period: 1917-1920 was conditioned by the February Revolution in Russia and the Ukrainian National Revolution. The main feature of this period is the increase in the number of the Polish press, its great

ideological, genre and thematic diversity, and the activity of the regional press.

Polish printed publications at that time represented all areas of Polish socio-political life. In general, understanding the ideological orientation of the Polish press allows the researcher to navigate the journalistic materials, to compare and determine the trends and characteristics of the Polish social movement in Ukraine. The Polish periodicals are also a valuable and often the only source for studying Polish life in the province, which allows us to supplement significantly the history of Poles in Ukraine during the state-building period for the Polish and Ukrainian peoples in the first decades of the twentieth century.

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### ***Білобровець О., Кухарьонюк С. ПОЛЬСЬКА ПРЕСА ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ІСТОРІЇ ПОЛЯКІВ В УКРАЇНІ У ПЕРШІ ДЕСЯТИЛІТТЯ ХХ СТ.***

#### ***Анотація***

*Недостатнє висвітлення історії поляків в Україні в добу війни і революції значною мірою зумовлене вузькою джерельною базою. Важливим джерелом вивчення історії польської спільноти в Україні на початку ХХ ст. є польська преса. Метою даного дослідження є з'ясування важливості, ідеологічної спрямованості, тематичної інформативності, репрезентативності, особливостей функціонування польської преси в Україні. Методологія дослідження полягає в аналізі наявної польської преси в Україні на основі критеріїв популярності й тривалості видань, їх жанрової, тематичної та ідеологічної спрямованості, аудиторії розповсюдження, редакційної політики та авторів, змістовного наповнення. Застосовано системно-аналітичний та історико-порівняльний методи, завдяки яким визначено особливості окремих періодів функціонування польської преси. Наукова новизна полягає в розкритті джерелознавчого аспекту вивчення польської преси в Україні. З'ясовано, що польська преса в Україні у перші десятиліття ХХ ст. є важливим, часто унікальним джерелом достовірної інформації про події польського суспільно-політичного, соціально-економічного та культурного життя поляків. Висновки. У появі, розвитку та функціонуванні польської преси*



можна виділити три періоди: 1905–1914, 1914–1916, 1917–1921 рр., що визначаються за початком її появи, значимістю подій, що вплинули на розвиток суспільства – Першої світової війни, російської лютневої та Української національної революцій. Це вплинуло на зміст, характер та ідеологічне спрямування матеріалів, формування редакторських колективів.

**Ключові слова:** польська преса, джерела дослідження, Перша світова війна, Українська національна революція, поляки, Україна

***Biłbrowiec O., Kucharionok S. PRASA POLSKA JAKO ŹRÓDŁO BADAŃ HISTORII POLAKÓW NA UKRAINIE W PIERWSZYCH DEKADACH XX WIEKU.***

***Streszczenie***

Niewystarczające omówienie historii Polaków na Ukrainie w czasie wojny i rewolucji wynika w dużej mierze z wąskiej bazy źródłowej. Polska prasa jest ważnym źródłem do badania dziejów społeczności polskiej na Ukrainie na początku XX wieku. **Celem** niniejszego opracowania jest wyjaśnienie znaczenia, orientacji ideowej, informacji tematycznych, reprezentatywności, cech prasy polskiej na Ukrainie. **Metodologia** badań polega na analizie istniejącej prasy polskiej na Ukrainie na podstawie kryteriów popularności i czasu trwania publikacji, orientacji tematycznej i ideowej, odbiorców dystrybucji, polityki redakcyjnej i autorów, treści. Zastosowano metody systemowo-analityczne i historyczno-porównawcze, dzięki którym określono specyfikę poszczególnych okresów funkcjonowania prasy polskiej. **Nowością naukową** jest ujawnienie źródłowego aspektu badań prasy polskiej na Ukrainie. Stwierdzono, że prasa polska na Ukrainie w pierwszych dekadach XX wieku jest ważnym, często unikalnym źródłem rzetelnych informacji o wydarzeniach z polskiego życia społeczno-politycznego, społeczno-gospodarczego i kulturalnego Polaków. **Wnioski.** W powstaniu, rozwoju i funkcjonowaniu prasy polskiej można wyróżnić trzy okresy: 1905-1914, 1914-1916, 1917-1921, które wyznacza początek jej pojawienia się, znaczenie wydarzeń, które wpłynęły na rozwój społeczeństwa - Pierwsza wojna światowa, rosyjskie lutowe i ukraińskie rewolucje narodowe. Wpłynęło to na treść, charakter i kierunek ideowy materiałów, tworzenie zespołów redakcyjnych.

**Słowa kluczowe;** prasa polska, źródła badań, I wojna światowa, Ukraińska rewolucja narodowa, Polacy, Ukraina.

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