

Методологія, історіографія та джерелознавство аграрної історії

Methodology, historiography and source studies of agrarian history

UDC 94:[323.27:63]](477)«1917/1920»

DOI: 10.31651/2413-8142-2022-28-Kovalova

Nataliia Kovalova

*PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Professor of Department of Philosophy and Ukrainian Studies of SHEI
«Ukrainian State University of Chemical Technology», Dnipro, Ukraine*

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6192-9532>

e-mail: boriss2002@ukr.net

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Kovalova, N. (2022). «The chronicle of the red guelder rose» as a source from the history of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine (1917–1920). *Ukrainskyi Selianyn. [Ukrainian peasant]*, 28, 54-63. (In English). doi: 10.31651/2413-8142-2022-28-Kovalova

«THE CHRONICLE OF THE RED GUELDER ROSE» AS A SOURCE FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PEASANT REVOLUTION IN DNIPRO UKRAINE (1917–1920)

Abstract. Purpose. The purpose of the research is to find out the source-scientific potential of publications on peasant topics in «The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle» magazine (1929–1939).

Scientific novelty. It is for the first time that the author of the article analyzed the source value of the periodical for the study of the peasant revolution in Naddniprovyanshchyna in 1917–1920.

Conclusion. The article has defined the circle of authors of the «The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle», who included materials on peasant topics in their posts, and classified these publications. The following types of «The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle» publications have been distinguished by genre and species: memories (war memoirs), diaries, and historical and military essays (short historical articles). According to the origin of the authors and their affiliation to certain military formations, three groups of works have been distinguished: posts of war prisoners (of the Austrian army, Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen); memories of direct participants of the peasant revolution, natives of Naddniprovyanshchyna; works of soldiers of the Sich Riflemen, Ukrainian Galician Army and the Ukrainian People's Republic army (the last group is the most numerous).

It has been established that the chronological boundaries of «The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle» publications on peasant topics, as well as the territorial localization of the covered events, are determined by the author's time and place of stay on the territory of Naddniprovyanshchyna. The period of the second half of 1919 – early 1920 was reproduced in more detail through the efforts of the soldiers of the UGA. In the territorial dimension, «The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle» publications presented certain aspects of the history of the peasant revolution in certain localities of almost the entire Naddniprovyanshchyna.

It has been found that the authors of the memoirs revealed many aspects of the peasant revolution: pogroms by peasants of landlord estates, the nature of the policy of reconciliation with landlords, the phenomenon of peasant republics, features of national and cultural life and peasant attitudes in different regions. The most informative sources for the study of the peasant revolution in certain regions for a long time have been the memoirs of M. Mykhailuk, F. Meleshko, and the article of K. Ario. It has been concluded that the publications of the magazine can serve as an additional source for the study of insufficiently researched pages of the peasant revolution in Naddniprovyanshchyna of the period 1917–1920, in particular, its social and political aspects (clarification of the attitudes of the peasantry, its relations with the military).

Keywords: magazine, «The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle», memories, peasant revolution, peasants, Galician soldiers, historical source.

Наталія Ковальова

доктор історичних наук, доцент, професор кафедри філософії та українознавства, ДВНЗ «Український державний хіміко-технологічний університет», м. Дніпро, Україна
 ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6192-9532>
 e-mail: boriss2002@ukr.net

Бібліографічний опис для цитування: Ковальова Н. «Літопис Червоної Калини» як джерело з історії селянської революції у Наддніпрянській Україні (1917–1920 рр.). *Український селянин*. 2022. Вип. 28. С. 54-63. doi: 10.31651/2413-8142-2022-28-Kovalova

«ЛІТОПИС ЧЕРВОНОЇ КАЛИНИ» ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО З ІСТОРІЇ СЕЛЯНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ У НАДДНІПРЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ (1917–1920 РР.)

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні джерелознавчого потенціалу публікацій з селянської тематики часопису «Літопис Червоної Калини» (1929–1939).

Наукова новизна. Авторкою статті уперше проаналізовано джерельну цінність часопису для вивчення селянської революції у Наддніпрянській Україні в 1917–1920 рр.

Висновки. У статті визначено коло авторів «Літопису Червоної Калини», які вміщували у своїх дописах матеріали з селянської тематики та здійснено класифікацію цих публікацій. За жанрово-видовими ознаками виокремлено такі види публікацій: спогади (воєнні мемуари), щоденники, історико-воєнні нариси (короткі історичні статті). За походженням авторів і їх належністю до певних військових формувань виокремлено три групи творів: дописи військовополонених (австрійського війська, Легіону УСС); спогади безпосередніх учасників селянської революції, уродженців Наддніпрянищини; праці вояків УСС, УГА та армії УНР (остання група є найчисельнішою).

Встановлено, що хронологічні межі публікацій з селянської тематики, як і територіальна локалізація висвітлених подій, зумовлені часом і місцем перебування авторів на території Наддніпрянищини. Найдетальніше стараннями вояків УГА відтворено період другої половини 1919 – початку 1920 рр. У територіальному вимірі публікації «Літопису Червоної Калини» презентують ті чи інші аспекти з історії селянської революції в окремих місцевостях майже всієї Наддніпрянської України.

З'ясовано, що авторами спогадів розкрито багато аспектів селянської революції: погроми селянами поміщицьких маєтків, характер політики «примирення» з поміщиками, феномен селянських республік, особливості національно-культурного життя та селянських настроїв у різних регіонах. Найбільш інформативними джерелами з вивчення селянської революції в окремих регіонах протягом тривалого часу визначено спогади М. Михайлика, Ф. Мелешка і статтю К. Аріо. Зроблено висновок, що публікації часопису можуть слугувати додатковим джерелом для вивчення недостатньо досліджених сторінок селянської революції у Наддніпрянській Україні періоду 1917–1920 рр., зокрема, її суспільно-політичних аспектів (з'ясування настроїв селянства, його відносин із військовими).

Ключові слова: часопис, «Літопис Червоної Калини», спогади, селянська революція, селяни, військові-галичани, історичне джерело.

Problem statement. The journal «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose» was published in 1929–1939 in Lviv by members of the publishing cooperative «The Red Guelder Rose». The first publishing project of the cooperative, founded in 1921, was the «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose». Time passed, dates, titles and names were erased from memory, the participants of the liberation struggles emigrated abroad, or, as the obituaries testify, they often died of diseases at a young age. In order to preserve the historical memory of the events of the liberation struggle of 1914–

1921, the directorate of the cooperative decided in 1929 to establish the journal «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose» (hereinafter – CRGR). It was positioned as a military-historical monthly, the main genre of publications was memoirs. Peasant issues received cursory coverage on the pages of the journal. Source-based analysis of the publications of the CRGR allows to clarify certain aspects of the course of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine.

Resaerch analysis. Researchers of the Ukrainian revolution have prepared a significant set of works on the history of the creation and

military activity of the formations of the USSR¹, UGA on the territory of the Dnipro Ukraine². At the same time, the source value of the periodicals of that time, in particular the «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose», has not been revealed by researchers in such detail. I. Khoma analysed individual publications of the CRGR dedicated to the activities of the USSR in the Dnipro Ukraine³. V. Peredyriy gave a general assessment of the publications of the CRGR as a source for the history of the liberation struggles of 1914–1921 and prepared valuable recommendations for researchers of the journal's heritage⁴. Peasant issues of CRGR publications have not yet become the object of research. The analysis of these publications will allow to expand the source base of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine of the first decades of the 20th century, to clarify its individual aspects.

The purpose of our research is to clarify the source-scientific potential of publications on peasant topics of the journal «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose» (1929–1939). The tasks of the research are to determine the circle of authors of publications, to clarify the chronological and territorial limits of their interaction with the peasantry of the Dnipro Ukraine, to analyse the content and informativeness of the materials of the CRGR. In the interpretation of the peasant revolution, we base ourselves on the theoretical and methodological work of scientists of the Research Institute of Peasantry and Agrarian History Studies of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy⁵. The chronological boundaries of our research – 1917–1920 – are due to the time spent by the military servicemen from Galicia in the Dnipro Ukraine.

The statement of the basic material. The publishers saw the purpose of the journal «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose» as preserving the memory of the historical past of the Ukrainian liberation movement through the publication of sources scattered in private collections: «The purpose of our journal is to

awaken and nurture respect for our historical past, consolidate traditions, preserve historical materials that could be used in the future of our historiography»⁶. The publishers identified three categories of readers to whom the journal's publications were addressed: the participants of those events can restore in their memory «experienced moments of our history», future generations – «understand all the greatness and tragedy of our past»; historians – to get «a little raw unprocessed material» for their research⁷. Therefore, the publishers of the journal pursued the goal of turning it into a valuable source resource for historical science. Ten years later, the editors stated that this goal had been achieved: «Now you will not find a single historical essay or a single historical source work from the time of our recent liberation struggles that would not refer to the materials included in «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose»⁸.

The editorial board of CRGR did not develop and did not demand adherence to a clear methodology for writing memoirs, although it formulated certain tips for their preparation. 69 topics were recommended for the sample, but the authors were offered to describe their personal participation in military actions, their field of activity, their military unit or individual important events, illustrating the articles with drawings and photos. The authors could record both personal memories and information heard from eyewitnesses of the events. Posts were advised to be drawn up also in the form of a novel, sketch, or poem. All participants of the liberation struggle were invited to the circle of authors: «Anyone who knows how to write can write memoirs»⁹. The result of such a careless attitude towards the sources was the low informativeness of many memories, caused by the absence of dates, or the vague territorial localization of certain events. On the other hand, the CRGR publishers provided an opportunity for anyone to publish comments, clarifications, or even refute information. From today's perspec-

1 Хома І. *Історія військового формування Січових стрільців (1917–1919 роки)*. Львів: Видавництво Львівської політехніки, 2016. 240 с.

2 Завальнюк, О., Олійник С. *Українська Галицька армія на Поділлі (липень 1919 – травень 1920 рр.)*. Кам'янець-Подільський: Медобори-2006, 2013. 292 с.

3 Хома І. Збереження та популяризація історичної пам'яті про діяльність української армії 1917–1921 рр. (на прикладі військового формування Січових стрільців). *Historical and Cultural Studies*. 2014. Vol. 1, no. 1. С. 107–111.

4 Передирий В. *Видання «Червоної Калини» (1922–1939): історико-бібліографічне дослідження*. Львів: Львівська наукова бібліотека ім. В. Стефаника НАН України, 2004. 357 с.

5 Корновенко С. Селянська революція в Україні початку ХХ ст.: хронологія і внутрішня періодизація. *Український селянин*. 2017. Вип. 17. С. 48–56; Корновенко С., Глібшук М., Ільницький В., Компанієць О., Лозовий В., Пасічна Ю., Тельвак В. *Селяноцентричний феномен Української революції 1917–1921 рр.: аграризм*. Черкаси, 2021. 244 с.

6 Від редакції. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1929. № 1. С. 2.

7 З Новим Роком. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 1. С. 2.

8 Від Видавництва. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1938. № 1. С. 3.

9 Зберігаймо історичні цінності. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1930. № 10. С. 2–3.

tive, we note that the journal practiced oral history approaches.

By genre, we can single out the following forms of works: memories (war memoirs), diaries (some of their fragments have been made public), historical and military essays (short historical articles). Their authors were not professional writers, but ordinary citizens – participants in the military operations of 1914–1921. According to the origin of the authors and their affiliation to certain military formations, we propose to single out three groups of works on peasant topics: the posts of prisoners of war of the Austrian army or the USR Legion; memories of direct participants of the peasant revolution, natives of Dnipro Ukraine; the work of soldiers of the USR, UGA and the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic. In terms of content and issues, the military memoirs of the CRGR provide, first of all, coverage of the military career of the author or his military unit, while the peasant theme is of a secondary nature. The reproduction of this background allows us to reconstruct the fragments of the course of the peasant revolution in the Dnipro Ukraine through the eyes of the military: their contacts with the peasantry, the description of peasant attitudes, the characteristics of the peasant republics and the situation in the countryside.

The first group of memoirs – testimonies of prisoners of war about their stay in Dnieper Ukraine and relations with the peasantry – is represented by the works of two authors. Stepan Stechyshyn in the post «From the Memories of a Prisoner of War» characterized the state of the Ukrainian movement and the mood of the peasants of the Pyryatyn county of the Poltava governorate in 1916–1917. He met Ye. Chykalenko and, together with other prisoners of war from Galicia, actively participated in educational work in the county, and witnessed the destruction of landlord estates by peasants (he considered Bolshevik propaganda to be the reason for this)¹⁰. Lieutenant Volodymyr Struts of the USR in his memoirs «Bandit» revealed the situation in the villages of the Verkhniodniprovsk county of the Katerynoslav governorate in the second half of 1917. There he spent four months after escaping from captivity as a representative of

the Central Council for food work. The author witnessed the robbery of the landlord's economy by the peasants¹¹.

The second group of materials on peasant topics was created by the Ukrainian military – direct participants of the peasant revolution, natives of the Dnipro Ukraine. In their memoirs, Mykhailo Mykhaylyk and Fotii Meleshko recreated a comprehensive picture of the course of the peasant revolution within the village of Glodosy in the Kherson region. M. Mykhailik was a participant in the World War I, the battle near Kruty, personal adjutant of the Lypovets starost during the Hetmanate period, and under the Directory – a lieutenant in the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic. He died in exile in 1924, and numerous memories were scattered: some were confiscated by the police, others were dismantled by private individuals¹². It is because of this that the memoirs «Ukrainian Village in the Times of the National Revolution (Memories from the Struggle for the Liberation of One Village)», published in 1934, did not have an end. M. Mykhailik's manuscript is very informative in terms of content: the author described the cultural life in Glodosy before the February Revolution of 1917, the socio-political activation of the village community, the national-cultural and land initiatives of its members, clarified the circle of organizers of the peasant revolution in the village and its course at different stages (1917–1920)¹³.

Six months after the publication of M. Mykhailik's memoirs, the publishers of the CRGR published the memoirs of his fellow countryman and associate F. Meleshko, «Glodosy in the Time of the National Revolution», written in Prague in 1934. The author, an organizer of the Free Cossacks in Glodosy, criticized some of the statements of the late M. Mykhailik and presented his version of the course of the peasant revolution within this village. F. Meleshko deepened the information about the participants of the Ukrainian movement, the foundation and activities of the Free Cossacks¹⁴. In other memoirs – «Nestor Makhno and his Anarchy» (written in Prague in 1934 and published in Nos. 1–4 for 1935)¹⁵, F. Meleshko reflected on his impressions of the short-term cooperation of the Glo-

10 Стечишин С. Зі споминів полоненого. *Літопис Червоної Каліни*. 1932. № 7–8. С. 17–21.

11 Струць В. Бандит. *Літопис Червоної Каліни*. 1933. № 3. С. 17–22; № 4. С. 9–10.

12 Михайлик М. День 16 січня 1918 р. (ст. ст.). *Літопис Червоної Каліни*. 1932. № 2. С. 11.

13 Михайлик М. Українське село в часи національної революції (Спомин з часів боротьби за визволення одного села). *Літопис Червоної Каліни*. 1934. № 1. С. 10–14; № 2. С. 5–9.

14 Мелешко Ф. Глодоси в часі національної революції. *Літопис Червоної Каліни*. 1934. № 7–8. С. 20–24.

15 Мелешко Ф. Нестор Махно та його анархія. *Літопис Червоної Каліни*. 1935. № 1. С. 10–14; № 2. С. 12–14; № 3. С. 9–11; № 4. С. 14–17.

dosy rebels with N. Makhno in the summer of 1919. It consisted in an attempt to organize cultural and educational work among the Makhno army: staging performances, reading essays, creating a hiking library¹⁶. The author described the attitude of N. Makhno and his rebels towards the peasants, the situation in the villages during the military-political confrontation of various military formations (robbing of the peasants, destruction of the remnants of the landowners' estates). The chieftain himself and his army received a negative assessment from F. Meleshko.

The third group of materials on peasant topics, published in the columns of the CRGR, consists of the memories of soldiers, representatives of the formations of the USSR and the UGA. This group is the most numerous and diverse in content and issues. A different body of sources consists of the memories of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen dedicated to the Hetmanate period. In his memoirs «16 months in the ranks of the Kyiv Sich Riflemen» Ivan Vyslotsky, a standard-bearer of the USSR regiment, described his unsuccessful campaigning for the Central Rada in the village of Shkarivka near Bila Tserkva in the Kyiv region in the summer of 1918¹⁷.

The memories of Vasyly Ben, S. Petliura's assistant in the All-Ukrainian Union of Zemstvos, contain references to the atrocities committed by punitive squads during the time of the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky¹⁸. General and rather indirect information about the reaction of the Ukrainian countryside to punitive actions can be found in the memoirs of the USSR sotnyk Yevhen Zyblykevych¹⁹.

The posts of Ivan Andrukh, Nykyfor Avramenko, Zenon Stefaniv allow us to compare the vision of riflemen who served in the Zaporizhzhia Corps of General O. Natiyev with the situation in the border villages of Kharkiv and Chernihiv governorates. The memoirs of USSR sotnyk I. Andrukh were written on October 15, 1919 in the village of Zelenche (now Ternopil Oblast) under the impression of fighting (the author himself was shot by the Bolsheviks in 1921). He mentioned the disarmament and arrest by shooters of the punitive squad, which took

away the peasants' property and at the same time abused it in the village Buchky in Chernihiv region²⁰. After the publication of these memoirs, N. Avramenko issued critical remarks in which he refuted his compatriot's accusation that the soldiers of the 2nd Zaporizhzhia Regiment had robbed Ukrainian peasants (in his opinion, the soldiers requisitioned landowner's cattle from the peasants to feed the regiment), clarified the differences in attitude to the national issue of the Dnipro and Galician starshyna²¹. Another soldier of the 2nd Zaporizhzhia Regiment – Zenon Stefaniv (later a lieutenant of the UGA) described the mood and daily life of the peasantry in the border counties of the Chernihiv governorate: «the peasants are dark, unconscious», did not follow cleanliness and were under «Moscow influence»²². The presence of Ukrainian soldiers in this region contributed to the national awareness of the peasantry.

The second corpus of memoirs was created by the soldiers of the UGA about their stay in «Greater Ukraine», which lasted from July 1919 to the beginning of 1920. One of the first publications on peasant topics and a valuable source on the history of the peasant revolution was the article by Lieutenant Carl Ario «Essay on History of 14th brigade of UGA» (the author was the chief of staff of this brigade). The article was published in 10 issues of the CRGR for 1930²³, it contains maps-schemes of military actions, photos of UGA soldiers. By genre, it is a historical-military essay with minor autobiographical elements. The chronological boundaries of this work cover a long period – from the crossing of Zbruch in mid-July 1919 to the beginning of April 1920. The author uses the term «Great Ukraine» used in the orders of the UGA²⁴. K. Ario described the peculiarities of the UGA's relations with the peasantry of the Dnipro Ukraine (the route of the 14th Brigade passed through the territory of Podillia and Kherson regions): the peasants' perception of the Galician soldiers, assistance of military to the peasants during harvesting, food relations, and the political attitudes of the peasants. The situation in the German colonies of the Kherson governorate,

16 Мелешко Ф. Нестор Махно та його анархія. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1935. № 3. С. 9.

17 Вислоцький І. 16 місяців у рядах київських Січових Стрільців. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1935. № 9. С. 16.

18 Бень В. Чия вина? *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1929. № 2. С. 19.

19 Зиблікевич Е. Листопадові події на Великій Україні в 1918 р. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1929. № 3. С. 7.

20 Андрух І. Січові Стрільці у корпусі ген. Нагіїва. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1930. № 5. С. 17.

21 Авраменко Н. Причинки до споминів бл. п. сот. Івана Андруха: «Січові Стрільці в Запорожській дивізії Отамана Нагіїва». *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1931. № 3. С. 8–10.

22 Стефанів З. Два роки в Українській Армії (Спомини 17-літнього підхорунжого). *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 10. С. 9–10.

23 Аріо К. Нарис історії XIV бригади УГА. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1930. № 1. С. 16–18; № 2. С. 18–19; № 3. С. 19–20; № 4. С. 20–22; № 5. С. 19–21; № 6. С. 20–22; № 7–8. С. 25–29; № 9. С. 16–18; № 10. С. 19–20.

24 Аріо К. Нарис історії XIV бригади УГА. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1930. № 1. С. 16, 18.

to whose territory the remnants of A. Denikin's allied UGA formations were moved in January 1920, and the attitude of the colonists towards the Galician soldiers are described in detail. The author critically evaluated the results of his observations regarding the attitude of the peasants to the UGA, because the military unit was constantly moving, the soldiers stayed in the villages for 2-3 days: «The average population, since it was Ukrainian, was quite conscious and treated it, if not favourably, but still not hostile»²⁵.

The military memoirs of other Galician soldiers allow us to compare, verify and supplement the information given by K. Ario, in particular the memoirs of corporal Yaroslav Hrynevych «With the 14th Brigade in Great Ukraine» (a description of the Voroshilivka Peasant Republic and German colonies in the Kherson region)²⁶, the memoirs of Rifleman Bekalenko about the stay of the 3rd Brigade of RUGA in the German colony of Kolosovo (Bergdorf, now Transnistria) (a description of the street, village, and a typical German farm was made)²⁷, a post by subchief Denys Onyshchuk about the stay of the 2nd artillery division of the 3rd brigade of the RUGA in the wealthy German colony of Tsebrykovo in the Kherson region in the spring 1920 (disarmament by the Bolsheviks and assistance to Galicians by wealthy peasants during their escape)²⁸.

Volodymyr Marak described his military career and interaction with the peasantry in the work «A Brief History of the 9th Artillery Regiment of the UGA». This military unit marched on Kyiv, from where it was forced to retreat and wintered in Podillia. The author noted the consistent support of the Galician military by the peasants: during the typhus epidemic, the Christmas celebration, the regiment's performance against the Bolsheviks in April 1920²⁹.

The memoirs of lieutenant Petro Mygovych «At the 7th Lviv Brigade in Great Ukraine» shed light on the perception of the Galician army by the peasants of Podillia and Kyiv region, the cultural and educational activities of the soldiers, and the food condition of both the soldiers and the peasants. The military unit led an offensive on Kyiv in the summer of 1919, and the Galician

soldiers felt the difference in the attitudes of the peasantry – inhospitable attitude in the Podillia governorate devastated by military actions and support in the still prosperous villages of the Kyiv governorate at that time³⁰.

The author of the post «The Path of the 1st Galician Corps on the Campaign to Kyiv» was Mykhailo Skydan (a native of Kyiv region) – a member of the Labour Congress, a representative of the State Inspectorate, appointed to the headquarters of the 1st Corps of the UGA as a mediator between the population and the army³¹. The author analysed in detail the change in the attitudes of the peasantry and the organization of interaction with them as parts of the UGA advanced through the territory of the Dnipro Ukraine: the indifferent attitude of the nationally ignorant and war-weary population of the border strip, establishing contacts and communication with the Podillia peasants, conducting explanatory work among the peasants and organizing cultural events; establishment of food supply, assistance to peasants in collecting bread³². Galicians drew attention to the reluctance of the local peasant youth to fight: «Why are they at home and not fighting? Why do we have to fight, and they no?»³³.

Myroslav Kapii added a small fragment to the mosaic of attitudes of the peasantry, which had a changing character: in the village Letava in Podillia, he met sympathizers of the Central Rada (she gave the peasants land, then there was still kerosene and salt), and in general the peasants were indifferent to other short-lived political regimes and expressed the desire to establish a strong government³⁴. Such attitudes were popular in connection with the spread of destructive phenomena of the revolutionary era: in the spring of 1919, peasants robbed military trains with food, stole other military property, did not show empathy for wounded and sick riflemen, etc.

Memoirs dedicated to the events of the fall of 1919 have a typical character – each author faced a typhus epidemic and described the difficulties of overcoming the disease. In particular, lieutenant Pavlo Magas recalled the placement

25 Аріо К. Нарис історії XIV бригади УГА. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1930. № 9. С. 18.

26 Гриневич Я. З XIV Бригадою на Великій Україні. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1935. № 7–8. С. 2, 5–6.

27 Бекаленко. З днів УГА. Картки із денника 17-літнього учасника визвольних змагань. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1929. № 3. С. 10.

28 Онищук Д. Останній акт: (Уривок зі споминів 2-го тяжкого дивізіону 3 бригади ЧУГА). *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1931. № 9. С. 4, 10.

29 Марак В. Коротка історія 9 гарматного полку УГА. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 1. С. 17–21.

30 Мигович П. При VII-й Львівській Бригаді на Великій Україні. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1938. № 3. С. 16.

31 Скидан М. Шлях I-го Галицького Корпусу в поході на Київ. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1936. № 2. С. 7.

32 Ibid. С. 7–8.

33 Ibid. С. 10.

34 Капій М. За Збручем: Уривок із споминів. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1933. № 7–8. С. 12.

of his unit in dirty houses in the impoverished, pro-Russian village of Kanava near Nemyriv³⁵. The Christmas Eve among the inhospitable peasants of Podillia of the military, weakened by the typhus epidemic of the UGA, was described by gunner Stepan Vengrynovych («Christ is Born»)³⁶. In total, CRGR published three of his posts, designed as excerpts from a diary. In the second post «From the Memories of a Gunner», standard-bearer S. Vengrynovych described the villages through which his military unit passed in early January 1920 to their destination in the Kherson governorate, described the German colonies of Kassel and Neudorf (the economy, life and customs of the German colonists)³⁷.

The third post by S. Vengrynovych «Spring of 1920 in Ukraine» covers the period from April 11, 1920 (Military Galicians celebrated Easter in Birczula) to May 8, 1920 (the author was traveling from Vapnyarka to Zhmerynka to join the troops of S. Petliura). S. Vengrynovych told about the assistance of the Galician military in running the household to the local peasants and their support to the Galicians who opposed the Bolsheviks – the author himself found shelter with the peasants and worked on the hamlet³⁸.

Sotnyk Mykola Alyskevych in his memoirs «Half a Year under the Bolsheviks» described the long epic of the return of riflemen from Podillia to Galicia³⁹: treatment for typhus in Balta (beginning of February 1920), hiding together with other officers in the village of Popova Hrebliia (Olgopil County, Podillia Governorate), unsuccessful attempt to cross to Romania, further journeys in Podillia, and support of 18 fugitives from Galicia by the community of the village of Labushne of the Balta County.

Hospitable attitude of residents of the Babushky village in April 1920 (Zhytomyr region), in the last days of the UGA's stay in Dnipro Ukraine was described by Osyp Nimylovych: «... the houses in Dnipro Ukraine were not poor at that time, there was enough to eat and drink in each»⁴⁰.

Galician soldiers dressed in peasant clothes and helped the peasants work in the fields. The

peasants provided them with food, certificates and warned them of danger. The memoirs of UGA soldiers allow us to determine the social basis of this support and to find out the motivation of those people who hid Galician soldiers.

A lot of information about the peasant republics is provided as for the military-historical journal in the «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose». Lieutenant K. Ario and standard-bearer Ya. Hrynevych cite the example of the «Voroshilivka Republic» in Podilla, which united three villages (Voroshilivka, Vytava, Selishche), resisted all armies and took care of its own economic interests. The authors gave a negative description of this republic – a «bandit and robbery organization»⁴¹. Pavlo Selezion («a resident of the Sarny region and a witness to all those sad events») in two small posts characterized the two Bolshevik republics in Volyn: Prigorynska (the city of Dubrovysia with the Dubrovysia Volost)⁴² and Dermanska (which existed for a few days)⁴³. Both posts have a small volume and are not very informative in terms of content. Features of the Chyhyryn and Kholodny Yar republics were characterized by Yuriy Gorlis-Gorsky: principles of self-organization of the peasants, slogans and motives of their struggle, leaders⁴⁴.

The conclusions. The circle of authors of «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose», who included materials on peasant topics in their posts, is quite wide. Both officers and riflemen, participants in the military operations of 1914–1921, recorded their experience of being in the Dnipro Ukraine («Greater Ukraine»). According to the genre and species characteristics of the publication of the CRGR, it can be classified as memoirs (war memoirs), diaries, historical and military essays (short historical articles). Based on the origin of the authors and their affiliation to certain military formations, we have distinguished three groups of works: posts of prisoners of war (of the Austrian army, USSR Legion); memories of direct participants of the peasant revolution, natives of Dnipro Ukraine; works of soldiers of the USSR, UGA and the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic (the last group is

35 Магас П. В обіймах тифозної горячки. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1933. № 10. С. 4.

36 Венгринович С. Христос Раждається. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 1. С. 14.

37 Венгринович С. Зі споминів гарматчика. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 2. С. 14–16.

38 Венгринович С. Весна 1920 р. на Україні. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 5. С. 6–8.

39 Аліськевич М. Пів року під більшовиками. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1933. № 9. С. 21–23; № 10. С. 10–13; № 11. С. 20–22; № 12. С. 20–24.

40 Німилевич О. Спомини про останні дні 3-го полку 1-ої бригади УСС. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1936. № 5. С. 20.

41 Аріо К. Нарис історії XIV бригади УГА. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1930. № 9. С. 16; Гриневич Я. З XIV Бригадою на Великій Україні. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1935. № 7–8. С. 2.

42 Селезіон П. «Прігорінская Советская Соціалістическая Республіка». *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1931. № 6. С. 10.

43 Селезіон П. «Дерманська Республіка». *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1931. № 7–8. С. 14.

44 Горліс-Горський. Холодний яр. *Літопис Червоної Калини*. 1932. № 10. С. 6–8.

the most numerous). The intensity of the preparation of publications on peasant topics falls on the first half of the 1930s.

The chronological limits of the CRGR publications on peasant topics, as well as the territorial localization of the events covered, are determined by the time and place of stay of the authors in the territory of the Dnipro Ukraine (within the periodical, this is the period 1917–1920). The period of the second half of 1919 – the beginning of 1920 was recreated in the most detailed way by the efforts of the soldiers of the UGA. Territorially, the publications of the CRGR present certain aspects of history of peasant revolution in some localities of almost the entire Dnipro Ukraine.

The authors of the memoirs revealed many aspects of the peasant revolution: pogroms by peasants of landlord estates, the nature of the policy of «reconciliation» with landlords, the phenomenon of peasant republics, the peculiarities of national and cultural life and peasant attitudes in different regions. For a long time, we consider the memoirs of M. Mykhailiuk, F. Melshko and the article of K. Ario to be the most informative sources for the study of the peasant revolution in certain regions. The lack of meth-

odology for writing memoirs, the shortcomings of narrative sources (subjectivity, factual errors) significantly reduce the scientific value of the materials of the CRGR. Publications of the journal can serve as an additional source for the study of under-researched pages of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine of the period 1917–1920, in particular, its social and political aspects (clarification of the attitudes of the peasantry, its relations with the military).

Acknowledgements. The author of the article is sincerely grateful to the head of the Department of Ukrainian Studies of the V. Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine, candidate of historical sciences Kostyantyn Kurylyshyn for his help in the selection of literature, as well as to all members of the editorial board for their advice during the research and writing of the article.

Financing. The article was prepared based on the results of the research residency «The City, Citizens and Military Armies of the Ukrainian People's Republic: Perception of the Peasant Revolution in Ukraine and the Experience of Interaction (1917-1920)» at the Centre for Urban History of Central-Eastern Europe (Lviv, January 2022).

References:

1. Alyskevych, M. (1933). Piv roku pid bilshovykamy [Half a year under the Bolsheviks]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 9, 21–23; No. 10, 10–13; No. 11, 20–22; No. 12, 20–24. [in Ukrainian].
2. Andruk, I. (1930). Sichovi Striltsi u korpusi hen. Natiiva [The Sich Riflemen in the corps of Gen. Natiiv]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 4, 5–8; No. 5, 15–17. [in Ukrainian].
3. Ario, K. (1930). Narys istorii XIV bryhady UHA [Essay on the history of the 14th Brigade of the UGA]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 1, 16–18; No. 2, 18–19; No. 3, 19–20; No. 4, 20–22; No. 5, 19–21; No. 6, 20–22; No. 7–8, 25–29; No. 9, 16–18; No. 10, 19–20. [in Ukrainian].
4. Avramenko, N. (1931). Prychynky do spomyniv bl. p. sot. Ivana Andrukha: «Sichovi Striltsi v Zaporozhskii dyvizii Otamana Natiiva» [Reasons for commemorating the blessed memory of centurion Ivan Andruk: «Sich Riflemen in Otaman Natiiv's Zaporizhia Division»]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 3, 8–10. [in Ukrainian].
5. Bekalenko. (1929). Z dniv UHA. Kartky iz dennyka 17-litnoho uchasnyka vyzvolnykh zmahan [Since the days of UGA. Cards from the diary of a 17-year-old participant in the liberation struggle]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*, 3, 9–10. [in Ukrainian].
6. Ben, V. (1929). Chyia vyna? [Whose fault?]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 2, 19. [in Ukrainian].
7. Horlis-Horskyi. (1932). Kholodnyi yar [The Cold Ravine]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 10, 6–8. [in Ukrainian].
8. Hrynevych, Ya. (1935). Z XIV Bryhadoiu na Velykii Ukraini [With the 14th Brigade in Greater Ukraine]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 7–8, 2–6. [in Ukrainian].
9. Kapii, M. (1933). Za Zbruchem: Uryvok iz spomyniv [Beyond Zbruch. Excerpt from memoirs]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 7–8, 11–13. [in Ukrainian].

10. Khoma, I. (2014). Zberezhennia ta populiaryzatsiia istorichnoi pam'iaty pro diialnist ukrainskoi armii 1917–1921 rr. (na prykladi viiskovoho formuvannia Sichovykh striltsiv) [Preservation and promotion of historical memory of the activities of the Ukrainian Army 1917–1921 (on the example of the military formation of Sichovykh Stril'tsiv)]. *Historical and Cultural Studies*. Vol. 1, no. 1, 107–111. [in Ukrainian].
11. Khoma, I. (2016). *Istoriia viiskovoho formuvannia Sichovykh striltsiv (1917–1919 roky) [History of the military formation of the Sich Riflemen (1917–1919)]*. Lviv : Publishing House of Lviv Polytechnic. [in Ukrainian].
12. Kornovenko, S. (2017). Selianska revoliutsiia v Ukraini pochatku XX st.: khronolohiia i vnutrishnia periodyzatsiia [The Ukrainian Peasant Revolution in the Early XXth Century: Chronology and Autonomie Periodicity]. *Ukrainskyi selianyn [Ukrainian Peasant]*. 17, 48–56. [in Ukrainian].
13. Kornovenko, S., Hlibishchuk, M., Inytskyi, V. et al. (2021). *Selianotsentrychnyi fenomen Ukrainiskoi revoliutsii 1917–1921 rr.: ahraryzm [The peasant-centric phenomenon of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921: agrarianism]*. Cherkasy. [in Ukrainian].
14. Mahas, P. (1933). V obiimakh tyfoznoi horiachky [In the grip of typhoid fever]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 10, 4–5. [in Ukrainian].
15. Marak, V. (1932). Korotka istoriia 9 harmatnoho polku UHA [A brief history of the 9th artillery regiment of the UGA]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 1, 17–21. [in Ukrainian].
16. Meleshko, F. (1934). Hlodosy v chasi natsionalnoi revoliutsii [Hlodosy in the times of the national revolution]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 7–8, 20–24. [in Ukrainian].
17. Meleshko, F. (1935). Nestor Makhno ta yoho anarkhiia [Nestor Makhno and his anarchy]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 1, 10–14; No. 2, 12–14; No. 3, 9–11; No. 4, 14–17. [in Ukrainian].
18. Myhovych, P. (1938). Pry VII-ii Lvivskii Bryhadi na Velykii Ukraini [With the 7th Lviv Brigade in Greater Ukraine. Chronological course of events]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 2, 5–8; No. 3, 13–16; No. 4, 5–8; No. 5, 14–17; No. 6, 15–18; No. 7–8, 25–29. [in Ukrainian].
19. Mykhailyk, M. (1932). Den 16 sichnia 1918 r. (st. st.) [Day of January 16, 1918 (old style)]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 2, 11–13. [in Ukrainian].
20. Mykhailyk, M. (1934). Ukrainske selo v chasy natsionalnoi revoliutsii (Spomyn z chasiv borotby za vyzvolennia odnogo sela) [Ukrainian countryside in the times of the national revolution (Memories from the times of the struggle for the liberation of one village)]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 1, 10–14; No. 2, 5–9. [in Ukrainian].
21. Nimylovych, O. (1936). Spomyny pro ostanni dni 3-ho polku I-oi bryhady USS [Memories of the last days of the 3rd regiment of the 1st brigade of the USSR]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 5, 20–21. [in Ukrainian].
22. Onyshchuk, D. (1931). Ostannii akt: (Uryvok zi spomyniv 2-ho tiazhkoho dyvizionu 3 bryhady ChUHA) [The last act (excerpt from the memoirs of the 2nd heavy division of the 3rd brigade of the Red UGA)]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 9, 4–10. [in Ukrainian].
23. Peredyrii, V. (2004). *Vydannia «Chervonoi Kalyny» (1922–1939): istoryko-bibliohrafichne doslidzhennia [«The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle» (1922–1939): historical and bibliographical research]*. Lviv : Lviv V. Stefanyk Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. [in Ukrainian].
24. Selezion, P. (1931). «Dermanska Respublyka» [«Derman Republic»]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 7–8, 14. [in Ukrainian].
25. Selezion, P. (1931). «Prihorinskaia Sovietskaia Sotsiialisticheskaia Respublika» [«Prihorinskaya Soviet Socialist Republic»]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 6, 10. [in Ukrainian].
26. Skydan, M. (1936). Shliakh I-ho Halytskoho Korpusu v pokhodi na Kyiv [The path of the 1st Galician corps in the campaign on Kyiv]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 2, 7–10; No. 3, 14–19; No. 4, 10–14; No. 5, 9–13. [in Ukrainian].

27. Stefaniv, Z. (1932). Dva roky v Ukrainiskii Armii (Spomyny 17-litnoho pidkhorunzhoho) [Two years in the Ukrainian Army (Memoirs of a 17-year-old conscript)]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 9, 8–10; No. 10, 9–13. [in Ukrainian].
28. Stechyshyn, S. (1932). Zi spomyniv polonenoho [From the memories of a prisoner of war]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 7–8, 17–21. [in Ukrainian].
29. Struts, V. (1933). Bandyt [Bandit]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 3, 17–22; No. 4, 9–10. [in Ukrainian].
30. Venhrynovych, S. (1932). Khrystos Razhdaietsia [Christ Is Bourn]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 1, 14–15. [in Ukrainian].
31. Venhrynovych, S. (1932). Vesna 1920 r. na Ukraini [Spring of 1920 in Ukraine]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 5, 6–8. [in Ukrainian].
32. Venhrynovych, S. (1932). Zi spomyniv harmatchyka [From the memories of a gunner]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 2, 14–16. [in Ukrainian].
33. Vid redaktsii [From the editorial office] (1929). *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 1, 2. [in Ukrainian].
34. Vid Vydavnytstva [From the Publishing House]. (1938). *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 1, 3. [in Ukrainian].
35. Vyslotskyi, I. (1935). 16 misiatsiv u riadakh kyivskykh Sichovykh Striltsiv [16 months in the ranks of the Kyiv Sich Riflemen (1918–1919)]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. No. 7–8, 29–34; No. 9, 14–18; No. 10, 6–7; No. 11, 20–22; No. 12, 9–12. [in Ukrainian].
36. Z Novym Rokom [Happy New Year]. (1932). *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 1, 2. [in Ukrainian].
37. Zavalniuk, O., & Oliinyk S. (2013). *Ukrainska Halytska armiiia na Podilli (lypen 1919 – traven 1920 rr.) [The Ukrainian Galician Army in Podilla (July 1919 – May 1920)]*. Kam'ianets-Podilskyi : Medobory-2006. [in Ukrainian].
38. Zberihaimo istorychni tsinnosti [Let's preserve historical values]. (1930). *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 10, 2–3. [in Ukrainian].
39. Zyblykevych, E. (1929). Lystopadovi podii na Velykii Ukraini v 1918 r. [November events in Great Ukraine in 1918]. *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny [The Chervona Kalyna Chronicle]*. 3, 6–9. [in Ukrainian].

Надійшла до редакції / Received: 09.10.2022

Схвалено до друку / Accepted: 25.11.2022