

УДК 94:63](477)«1922/1939»

DOI: 10.31651/2413-8142-2023-30-Kovalova

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Bibliographic Description of the Article: Kovalova, N. (2023). Peasant issues on the pages of the yearbook «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» (1922–1939). *Ukrainskyi Selianyn. [Ukrainian peasant]*, 30, 77-87. (In English). doi: 10.31651/2413-8142-2023-30-Kovalova

PEASANT ISSUES ON THE PAGES OF THE YEARBOOK «HISTORICAL CALENDAR-ALMANAC OF THE RED GUELDER ROSE» (1922–1939)

Abstract. Purpose. *The purpose of the research is to study observations of various aspects of life and activities of the peasantry in Naddniprianska Ukraine, made by the soldiers of the Galician units, participants of the national liberation movement of 1917–1920 in the «Greater Ukraine», reflected in the texts of the periodical «Chervona Kalyna Historical Calendar-Almanac» (1922–1939).*

Scientific novelty. *For the first time, the author of the article analyses problems and the content in periodical publications on peasant studies in the period of 1917–1920.*

Conclusion. *In this article, we define a certain circle of authors writing for the «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose», who published materials on peasant topics. By genre, these articles belong to war memoirs. Based on the origin of the authors and their affiliation to certain military formations, we have distinguished the following groups of authors: soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army and the Sich Riflemen Legion (prisoners of war and active servicemen); emigrant peasants; foremen and riflemen of the Sich Riflemen «from Kyiv» and Ukrainian Galician Army. It has been established that the circle of contributors to the calendar-almanac is significantly different from the collective of authors of the «Chervona Kalyna the Chronicle».*

The publications of the «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» logically fall into four sets defined by the problematics: the first group of works describes peasants managing farming in the conditions of the First World War and in 1917 – early 1918, the peasant-landlord relationships; the second group highlights the influence of the Bolshevik propaganda on peasants' worldview and trends among them at the beginning of 1918; the third group of posts is devoted to the interaction of the Sich Riflemen Legion with the peasantry of the Naddniprianshchyna region (February – September 1918); the fourth group of articles highlights the relations of Galicians (Sich Riflemen «from Kyiv» and Ukrainian Galician Army) with the peasantry in 1919–1920.

It is established that the authors of the memoirs revealed the course and culminating aspects of the peasant revolution, in particular, the wars between villages for the land that used to belong to landlords, the creation of the first collective farms, compensation for losses to landowners, consequences of the land ownership eradication for the landlords. Military Galicians became witnesses and active participants in the formation of the peasant mindset on the basis of the national system of values – just as the peasants of the Naddniprianska Ukraine, pro-Bolshevik at the beginning of 1918, were actively opposing the Bolsheviks and helping the Ukrainian army at the end of 1919 – the beginning of 1920. Articles in the «Chervona Kalyna Historical Calendar-Almanac» serve as an additional source for the study of the peasant revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine.

Keywords: *peasantry, Galician soldiers, «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose», memoirs, peasant revolution.*

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Бібліографічний опис статті: Ковальова Н. Селянська проблематика на сторінках щорічника «Історичний календар-альманах Червоної калини» (1922–1939 рр.). *Український селянин*. 2023. Вип. 30. С. 77-87. doi: 10.31651/2413-8142-2023-30-Kovalova

СЕЛЯНСЬКА ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА НА СТОРІНКАХ ЩОРІЧНИКА «ІСТОРИЧНИЙ КАЛЕНДАР-АЛЬМАНАХ ЧЕРВОНОЇ КАЛИНИ» (1922–1939 РР.)

Анотація. Метою дослідження виступає оцінка різних аспектів життя і діяльності селянства Наддніпрянської України воїнами галицьких частин, учасниками національно-визвольного руху 1917–1920 рр. на «Великій Україні», відображена у публікаціях часопису «Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини» (1922–1939).

Наукова новизна. Авторкою статті уперше проаналізовано проблематику та змістове наповнення публікацій часопису з селянознавчої тематики періоду 1917–1920 рр.

Висновки. У статті визначено коло авторів «Історичного календаря-альманаху Червоної Каліни», які публікували у своїх творах матеріали з селянської тематики. За жанровою приналежністю ці публікації є воєнними мемуарами. За походженням авторів і їх належністю до певних військових формувань нами виокремлено такі групи авторів: вояки австро-угорського війська і Легіону УСС (військовополонені та чинні військовослужбовці); селяни-емігранти; старшини і стрільці «київських» Січових Стрільців та УГА. Встановлено, що коло дописувачів календаря-альманаху суттєво відрізняється від авторського колективу «Літопису Червоної Каліни».

За проблематикою визначено чотири комплекси публікацій «Історичного календаря-альманаху Червоної Каліни»: у першій групі творів охарактеризовано селянське господарювання в умовах Першої світової війни і в 1917 – початку 1918 рр., відносини селян із поміщиками; у другій групі висвітлено вплив більшовицької пропаганди й агітації на поведінку селян та їх настрої на початку 1918 рр.; третя група дописів присвячена взаємодії Легіону УСС із селянством Наддніпрянщини (лютий – вересень 1918 р.); четверта група публікацій часопису висвітлює відносини галичан («київських» Січових Стрільців та УГА) із селянством в 1919–1920 рр.

З'ясовано, що авторами спогадів розкрито перебіг та кульмінаційні аспекти селянської революції, зокрема, війни між селами за землю поміщика, створення перших колективних господарств, відшкодування збитків землевласникам, наслідки ліквідації поміщицького землеволодіння. Військові-галичани стали свідками й активними учасниками формування національно орієнтованого селянського світогляду – як пробільшовицько налаштовані на початку 1918 р. селяни Наддніпрянщини наприкінці 1919 – на початку 1920 рр. активно протидіяли більшовикам і допомагали українському війську. Публікації календаря-альманаху слугують додатковим джерелом для вивчення селянської революції в Наддніпрянській Україні.

Ключові слова: селянство, військові-галичани, «Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Каліни», спогади, селянська революція.

Formulation of the issue. «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» became the first publishing project of the cooperative founded by the participants of the liberation struggle of 1914-1921 with the aim of preserving the memory of the glorious past of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, the «Kyiv» Sich Riflemen and the Ukrainian Galician Army. The journal was published from 1922 to 1939 – 18 issues of the calendar-almanac are known. Unlike the «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose», all numbers of which are digitized and available on the Internet, the «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» is not so popular among researchers and is difficult for readers to access. The most complete collection of the periodical is kept in the funds of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. Turning to this historical source makes it possible to supplement the picture of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine, in particular, to trace the evolution of peasant attitudes and behaviour in 1917–1920.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The military and political activities of the USSR Legion, the «Kyiv» Sich Riflemen (hereinafter – SR), and the UGA have been studied in detail by scientists. Among the latest studies, we note the works of M. Lazarovych¹, M. Lytvyn², I. Khoma³, O. Zavalniuk, and S. Oliynyk⁴. Involvement in the scientific circulation and analysis of the publications of the journal «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» (hereinafter – HCARGR) has an episodic character⁵. The source potential of this journal, in particular from peasant issues, have not yet been explored by researchers of the struggle of Galician soldiers in the Dnipro Ukraine. The source analysis of the publications on the peasant theme of the journal «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose» has been carried out by us in other publications⁶. A valuable basis for our research is the bibliographic index of publications of «The Red Guelder Rose», prepared by V. Perediryi⁷.

1 Лазарович М. Політична активізація українських січових стрільців у контексті революційних подій в Наддніпрянщині (1917 – початок 1918 р.). Україна – Європа – Світ. Міжнародний збірник наукових праць. Серія : Історія, міжнародні відносини. 2015. Вип. 15. С. 63–70.

2 Литвин М. Від національного війська до соборної держави: до 100-річчя створення легіону Українських січових стрільців. З історії західноукраїнських земель. 2013. Вип. 9. С. 3–24.

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

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

5 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.

6 Ковальова Н. Селянська революція в Наддніпрянській Україні (1917–1920 рр.) на сторінках «Літопису Червоної Каліни». *Universum Historiae et Archeologiae = The Universe of History and Archeology = Універсум історії та археології / гол. редкол. С. Світленко. Ніжин : НДУ ім. М. Гоголя, 2022. Т. 5 (30). Вип. 1–2. С. 70–80; Kovalova N. «The chronicle of the red guelder rose» as a source from the history of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine (1917–1920). *Український селянин*. 2022. Вип. 28. С. 54–63.*

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

The purpose of the research is the evaluation of various aspects of the life and activities of the peasantry of Dnipro Ukraine by the soldiers of the Galician units, participants of the national liberation movement of 1917–1920 in «Greater Ukraine», reflected in the publications of the journal «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» (1922–1939). The task of the research: determination of the circle of authors of publications on peasant studies, analysis of the issues of the published materials, their informativeness (the peasant insurgent movement remained outside the scope of our research). The chronological boundaries of the research – 1917–1920 – are determined by the time of the Galician soldiers' stay in the Dnipro region.

Presenting the main material. By genre, the main form of publications of the «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» are memoirs (war memoirs). According to the issues of the publications, we propose to single out four groups: posts of prisoners of war of the Austrian army or the USSR Legion and memories of civilians (natives of the Dnipro region) about the events in the countryside in 1917 – at the beginning of 1918; evidence of the influence of Bolshevik propaganda on the peasantry at the beginning of 1918; reminiscences of USSR riflemen about their stay in Dnipro region (February – September 1918); memories of soldiers of the «Kyiv» SR and UGA about the interaction with the peasantry during their struggle in «Greater Ukraine» in 1919–1920. According to the content and issues of the publication of the HCARGR, the author's military career is covered, and the peasant theme, as in the «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose», has a secondary nature. The reproduction of this background allows us to reconstruct the course of the peasant revolution in the Dnipro region through the eyes of military Galicians: their contacts with the peasantry, the evolution of peasant attitudes and behaviour. In interpreting the peasant revolution, we base ourselves on the theoretical and methodological work of scientists of the Peasantry Institute of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy⁸.

The first set of works published on the pages of the HCARGR yearbook is devoted to the characteristics of the state of peasant farming in the conditions of the World War I and the

revolutionary events of 1917 – early 1918 and the relations of peasants with landlords. Their authors are Galician prisoners of war and civilian residents of the Dnipro region – emigrants to Poland.

Sub-commissioned officer of the USSR Mykhailo Duda described the year he spent in Russian captivity doing agricultural work. From April 1916, he worked on the Vodyany hamlet near Luhansk in a wealthy farm that had agricultural machinery, 80 dessiatins of land, and 14 horses. The owner of the hamlet Soroka and his son-in-law fought at the front, and his wife, along with her 18-year-old daughter and two prisoners of war, managed the farm. The author of the memoirs described the process of farming, his conduct of cultural and educational work among the peasants, the campaigning of political parties in the Luhansk region in the spring of 1917. M. Duda was a witness and active participant in the processes of self-organization of the peasants and their arrangement of armed guards, the awakening of the national consciousness of the peasants, and the formation of anti-Bolshevik attitudes in Luhansk region⁹.

Another prisoner of war, Ilya Rogatynskiy (a peasant from Terebovlya county), documented the influence of Bolshevik agitation on the development of spontaneous peasant struggles against landlords and other landowners in the villages of Glukhiv county on Chernihiv region in February 1918. According to the observations of the author of the memoirs, deserters from the frontline incited the peasants to seize and divide privately owned land (other sources confirm this). The impetus for the seizure of other people's property was the mass abuse of alcohol by the rural population as a result of the pogroms of distilleries and alcohol warehouses. The Bolshevik-controlled villages, after the massacre of their landowners, engaged in armed confrontation for land with other rural communities – their neighbours. Such an example of hostilities between two villages was described by I. Rogatynskiy – residents of Studenky killed the family of a landowner in Kucherivka and began to demand from their neighbours to give them half of the lord's land. The Kucherivka community refused to share its landowner's land with another village. Each village created its own «army» (they even used artillery), and as a result of this confrontation, many peasants suf-

⁸ Корновенко С. Селянська революція в Україні початку ХХ ст.: хронологія і внутрішня періодизація. *Український селянин*. 2017. Вип. 17. С. 48–56; Корновенко С., Глібішук М., Льницький В., Компанієць О., Лозовий В., Пасічна Ю., Тельвак В. Селяноцентричний феномен Української революції 1917–1921 рр.: аграризм. Черкаси, 2021. 244 с.

⁹ Дуда М. Відгуки на Слобожанщині в 1917 р. Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1937 рік. Львів, 1936. С. 151–154.

ferred – each community had wounded, killed, burned houses¹⁰. The Bolshevik terror unfolding in Hlukhiv region at the beginning of 1918, in particular the murders of landowners, figures of the Ukrainian movement, is described in detail in other memoirs of an Austrian prisoner of war (the author himself was saved from the massacre by the peasants)¹¹.

Two months of stay under Bolshevik rule and its attitude towards property and peasants in Zaporizhzhia at the beginning of 1918 are characterized in the anonymous memories of an eyewitness of those events who emigrated to the territories controlled by Poland. These memories were recorded and published by the writer Serhii Daushkov¹². The heroine of the story, together with her husband, worked for hire in the farms of German colonists. According to her, there were a total of 37 families of landless peasants in Molochansk. For a month, they received food aid from the Bolsheviks from supplies requisitioned from the colonists. A month later, all the landless from Molochansk were relocated to a German estate near the village of Bohdanivka near Berdyansk and forced to work. The peasants were faced with a choice: to divide the property of the fugitive landowner among themselves, or to jointly cultivate his land, which was 300 dessiatins. Buildings and agricultural machinery were preserved in the estate, but grain and livestock were taken away by the Bolsheviks earlier. During the month, the peasants sowed the landowner's fields and put his estate in order. The peasants' respect for other people's property (they did not divide the owner's property) and their diligence saved the estate workers from the massacre after the return of its owner, when the German troops expelled the Bolsheviks. The memoirs describe the repression of the peasants by both the Bolsheviks and German troops and landlords.

The course of the peasant revolution in the Poltava region (in the vicinity of the Hrebinka station) is covered in the memoirs of Ustia Hrytskyk, a resettled woman from Volyn¹³. Her parents had at least six children and could not feed a large family from their own land plot, which was about three dessiatins. Even before the World

War I, they moved from Volyn to Poltava region – there, the father and older brothers got a job working for the railway. In 1917, Ustia turned 12 years old, and her growing up took place against the background of numerous changes of political regimes and authorities. The girl witnessed the redistribution of landlord land and the evolution of the attitudes of the peasantry: at first, in the spring of 1917, the peasants timidly expressed their desire to redistribute the landlord's land¹⁴, and during the Bolshevik regime they carelessly cultivated this land – even after the land cut, the welfare of the peasants did not improve. The girl noted the following manifestations of the policy of war communism (characteristic for other regions as well): shortage of salt, sugar, and manufactured goods; exchange of manufactured goods for food; concealment of grain by peasants (they used it to feed livestock or processed it into moonshine); requisitioning of cattle by the Bolshevik authorities and misuse of moonshine taken from the peasants by party members¹⁵; the rise of class struggle. The author of the memoirs noted the support of the wealthy peasants of the Ukrainian authorities, their sympathy, in particular, for the person of S. Petliura¹⁶. After the death of their father during a typhus epidemic, the girls' search for work in Bolshevik institutions was unacceptable to the family. In the end, after many months of wandering in Kyiv, Ustia and her family left Soviet Ukraine and returned to Volyn, controlled by Poland. These memories were published in the HCARGR in 1929, when the girl was already 24 years old.

Therefore, the works of Galician prisoners of war and Ukrainian emigrant peasants testify to the rejection of the Bolshevik propaganda by a part of the peasantry of the Dnipro region, as well as its consequences – destructive for agriculture and tragic for individual peasants. The distribution of landlord property did not lead to a significant improvement of peasant life, and the change of political regimes was accompanied by the return of the owners and their punishment of the peasants.

The second group of posts by the HCARGR consists of the memories of the Sich Riflemen

10 Рогатинський І. Війна між двома селами (Епізод з революційних днів на Великій Україні). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Каліни на 1934 рік*. 1933. С. 25–26.

11 Білокін С. Глухівська трагедія (Із записок Іллі Рогатинського). *Сівєричина в історії України*. 2009. Вип. 2. С. 159–167.

12 Даушков С. В німецькому дворі (З оповідань емігрантки). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Каліни на 1933 рік*. Львів, 1933. С. 142–150.

13 Грицик У. Дещо з того, що пережила...: Спомини ці написані дівчиною селянкою з Волині, яка свої дитячі літа підчас війни та революції перебувала на Полтавщині. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Каліни на 1933 рік*.. 1929. С. 89–97.

14 Ibid. С. 90.

15 Ibid. С. 92.

16 Ibid. С. 93–94.

about the influence of Bolshevik propaganda and agitation on the behaviour of the peasants and their mood, observed by Galician soldiers at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918. The Russian army was disintegrating, soldiers (most of whom were peasants) were returning home from the front or from captivity. Bolshevik agitators worked hard with them – it was a planned campaign aimed at discrediting Central Rada, in modern language – PSYOP.

In the centre of the «crazy soldier's element» was the USSR sotnyk Roman Sushko (one of the organizers of the «Kyiv» Sich Riflemen, later a colonel)¹⁷. He was part of a group of USSR officers who were returning from Russian captivity from under Tsaritsyn to Kyiv through the territory of the then Chernihiv governorate (via Konotop, Bakhmach). The journey from Volga by rail took about a week. In the train, sotnyk R. Sushko witnessed and participated in numerous discussions among the military about «agrarian land», «iron political platform», the Ukrainian-Bolshevik war, about «one kettle and one louse», etc. At the same time, conversations about a strong Ukrainian army, order in the region and the authority of the Central Rada were also popular¹⁸. However, the reality that the riflemen encountered on Ukrainian territory was the opposite and disappointed them.

The already mentioned prisoner of war Ivan Rohatynskyi witnessed the use of the main thesis of the Bolshevik PSYOP in Chernihiv region at the same time – «We ate together from the same pot during the war». According to his memories, Bolshevik agitators used this technique to discredit the Central Rada in the national question and land policy: «We don't need <...> to divide. Why do we need Ukraine. <...> The Bolsheviks are giving us land as a gift even now, and the Ukrainian bourgeois Central Rada is only making promises»¹⁹. This propaganda found support among the poorly educated peasantry of the territories bordering Soviet Russia.

Soldiers of the USSR Legion, who under the terms of the Treaty of Brest came to the aid of the Central Rada in February 1918, witnessed the spread in Right-Bank Ukraine among former soldiers of the Russian army and peasants of the

Bolshevik propaganda theses about «one bowl» from which they ate together during the war²⁰. Myron Zaklinskyi, the commander of the USSR, went with his military formation and recorded the mood of the peasantry along the following route: Kamianets – Bar – Zhmerinka – Vapnyarka – Odesa – Kherson – Oleksandrivsk. He noted the tangible impact of Bolshevik agitation in some villages and the total ignorance of the peasantry about the politics and activities of the Central Rada as a result of the inactivity of Ukrainian political parties in 1917. According to his memories, most of the peasants were only interested in the land issue, ignoring conversations about the creation of an independent state and education in schools in the native language. A few supporters of the Central Rada among the peasants, aware of its activities, were former soldiers of the Ukrainian units²¹. He ascertained both Austrophile sentiments among the peasantry and intentions to resist the Austrian troops. Nationally-conscious peasants who supported the Ukrainian government, according to Zaklinskyi's memories, were found by riflemen in Zaporizhzhia – there the local peasantry considered the USSR their native army, and not foreigners, as it was felt in Podillia²².

The doctor Volodymyr Shchurovskyi came to the same conclusions: he contrasted the «dark villages» of Right-Bank Ukraine, affected by the Bolshevik agitation, with the nationally conscious peasants of Zaporizhzhia²³.

The memoirs of the mentioned authors (V. Shchurovskyi and M. Zaklinskyi) along with other works of Galician riflemen can be attributed to the third set of publications of the HCAR-GR, dedicated to the stay of the USSR Legion in «Greater Ukraine» in the spring and summer of 1918 as part of the group of Archduke Wilhelm of Habsburg (Vasyl Vyshyvanyi). In particular, V. Shchurovskyi and M. Zaklinskyi became witnesses and participants in the interaction of the Usus with the peasantry of Zaporizhzhia and Kherson region during the period of increasing repression by the Austrian military command, local authorities, and individual landowners regarding the compensation of the peasants' previously looted landlord property. The authors of

17 Сушко Р. Січові Стрільці за Центральної Ради (Мої спомини про 1 сотню СС). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1928 рік.* 1927. С. 9–37.

18 Ibid. С. 12.

19 Рогатинський І. Війна між двома селами (Епізод з революційних днів на Великій Україні). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1934 рік.* 1933. С. 25.

20 Заклинський М. Перший раз на Великій Україні. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1931 рік.* 1930. С. 22.

21 Ibid. С. 21–22.

22 Ibid. С. 28–29.

23 Щуровський В. Українські Січові Стрільці на Запоріжжю. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1929 рік.* 1929. С. 40, 42.

the memoirs described the course of punitive actions in some villages, in which military formations of the USSR were also involved, that is, grain requisitions and the disarmament of peasants. As noted by doctor V. Shchurovskiy, the riflemen acted in agreement with the peasants and carried out these actions «tactfully and humanely»: in the Oleksandrivsk county, the peasants themselves brought the required amount of grain to the designated places, and also provided the riflemen with food²⁴. According to M. Zaklinskyi, the riflemen tried to help the rebels by giving them weapons from their stocks²⁵. V. Shchurovskiy explains the transfer of Archduke Wilhelm Habsburg's group to the Kherson region in June 1918 with the trust that the peasants had in the Galician soldiers in Zaporizhzhia – thanks to their favourable attitude towards the USSR, the peasants, disturbed by the atrocities of the Austrian troops, refrained from launching large-scale uprisings, as it was in Kyiv region²⁶.

Myron Zaklinskyi described the course of the «population pacification» action with the participation of the USSR in the town of Dobrovelichkivka and surrounding villages in the Kherson region. Music, dances, singing, conversations about faith and customs convinced the local population that the riflemen were «true Ukrainians» (not «Austrians»), «our people», so the peasants met them with bread and salt, supplied food for the sotnia²⁷. In the person of the lieutenant, Dr. V. Starosolskyi, the riflemen helped the peasants appeal the decisions of the authorities or Austrian military units. Starosolskyi even visited the most affected villages²⁸. Protection of peasants from abuse landlords, support of Ukrainian public figures persecuted by the hetman authorities or Austrian courts, were accompanied by numerous complaints against riflemen from the Austro-Hungarian and German military command.

Sanitary desiatnyk Ivan Horbatsyo described the military actions of the USSR against the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1918, mentioned the subsequent stay of his unit in the Kherson re-

gion and the involvement of riflemen in punitive expeditions (which he did not specify). The author of the memoirs noted the influence of pro-Moscow elements, both during the time of the Central Rada and during the Hetmanate period²⁹.

Sotnyk Mykhailo Horbovyi got to Kherson region in June 1918. The riflemen travelled by train decorated with yellow and blue flags and quotes from T. Shevchenko's «Kobzar». The local population perceived the Galician soldiers as «Austrian Cossacks». The latter, on any occasion, carried out cultural and educational work among the people of Dnipro region³⁰. Lieutenant Levko Lepky of the USSR left a few lines of his memories of his stay in the Kherson region in the summer of 1918: the riflemen were a guarantor of order and peace for the local population, their return to Bukovina caused regret and anxiety³¹.

A tolerant attitude towards the peasantry of the Dnipro region was also shown by those military Galicians who served in units of the Austro-Hungarian army. In his memoirs, the commander of the 24th regiment of the Hungarian division (made up of Galicians), lieutenant Dmytro Fedorovych V. (surname was not identified), described a lot of information about the relations of the military with the peasantry of the Azov region³². His sotnia was stationed in the Greek colony of Kermenchyk, Katerynoslav governorate. Military Galicians were in the Dnipro region for half a year and were satisfied with their situation: «...the people are kind, life is good»³³. Representatives of various ethnic groups lived in the territory where the lieutenant was the «district commander»: Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks, Germans (the author of the memoirs described their economy and customs). «I had no enemies, except the landowners, from whom I requisitioned even for money», - this is how lieutenant V. characterized his position in the region³⁴. With the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the sudden retreat of the Hungarian troops, the commander of the sotnia found himself in the epicentre of the struggle between various po-

24 Ibid. С. 44.

25 Заклинський М. Січові Стрільці на Херсонщині. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1933 рік.* Львів, 1933. С. 63.

26 Щуровський В. Українські Січові Стрільці на Запоріжжю. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1929 рік.* 1929. С. 44.

27 Заклинський М. Карні експедиції УСС-ів у Херсонщині. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1933 рік.* Львів, 1933. С. 71.

28 Ibid. С. 75.

29 Горбачьо І. На поміч Центральні Раді. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1927 рік.* 1926. С. 28.

30 Горбовий М. Від'їзд УСС на В[елику] Україну 1918 р. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1932 рік.* Львів, 1931. С. 66–70.

31 Лепкий Л. Осінь 1918 р. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1927 рік.* 1926. С. 86.

32 Дмитро В. Осінь 1918 року на Україні. Вирваний листок із воєнних споминів. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1926 рік.* 1925. С. 62–82.

33 Ibid. С. 62.

34 Ibid. С. 67.

litical forces: the Makhnovists, the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian authorities, and ordinary bandits. A sotnia of Galicians (one hundred and twenty people and one officer) marched to Mariupol under a blue-yellow flag³⁵, got on a train there and went to Galicia. During the trip, the military helped civilians fleeing the war, picked up their compatriots, etc. They had to fight and shoot to break through: «Each station had a different authority»³⁶. The author of the memoirs described the general picture of the peasant uprising against the Hetmanate: «Clouds of peasants. Old grandfathers, young people and children; one with a braid, one with a scythe, one barehanded. Petliura's name was then pronounced as the name of a god: the avenger and the miracle worker. The people poured in like a flood»³⁷.

So, the second set of publications of the HCARGR is devoted to the opposition of the Galician military to the Bolshevik agitation at the beginning of 1918, and the third set of memories covers the stay of the USR Legion in «Greater Ukraine» from February to September 1918. The memories we analysed contain information about the course of the peasant revolution against the background changes in power: the protection of the interests of the peasants by the USR and the latter's tolerant attitude towards the Galicians as part of the Austro-Hungarian army.

The fourth set of publications of the HCARGR (the most numerous) is devoted to the interaction of Galicians with the peasantry during their struggle as part of the «Kyiv» Sich Rifleman and UGA in the Dnipro region in 1919–1920.

Petro Reshetylo-Mytsak, a rifleman of the 1st Doroshenko Infantry Regiment of the UPR Army, described the influence of the Bolshevik agitation on the army of the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the organization of opposition to the Ukrainian authorities from the side of the peasantry. The author of memoirs, originally from Galicia, was mobilized to the Ukrainian army at the age of seventeen. He joined the ranks of the «Kyiv» Sich Rifleman and at the end of January 1919, he defended Kyiv. With his own eyes, the young

soldier observed cases of hostile attitude of the peasants of the Kyiv region to the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic: in the village of Semypolky, the Bolsheviks, with the help of local peasants, captured the Ukrainian military, or the peasants shot the riflemen in the back³⁸. The Army of the Directory was formed from nationally unconscious peasants, who were quickly agitated by the Bolsheviks and deserted. Therefore, the author calls the peasants the third force that fought against the Ukrainian army (after the Bolshevik cavalry and panzers)³⁹.

The mood of the peasantry, their attitude towards the Ukrainian army in different regions of the Dnipro region was described by the soldier of the UGA Luka Lutsiv⁴⁰. After the crossing through Zbruch on July 16, 1919, the Podillia peasants met the tired Galician soldiers in different ways: sometimes with disdain, and sometimes with hospitality. At the end of August 1919, in the vicinity of Kyiv, the peasants met Ukrainian soldiers in Austrian uniforms as liberators and treated them to all the products and vegetables that they refused to sell to the Bolsheviks⁴¹. The rebels of Ataman Zelenyi, who maintained contact with the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, helped Galicians (almost two hundred soldiers) to escape from the Denikin «prison of honour» from the Darnytsia station in early October 1919. Luka Lutsiv, the author of memoirs, was among the fugitives. The peasants of the surrounding villages hid the fugitives, fed them, and transported them from one village to another. Insurgents «managed» in the vicinity of Tripillia: «The villages lived their separate life»⁴². However, the further the military Galicians went from the hospitable Kyiv region, the more indifferent the population of Podillia treated them⁴³.

UGA rifleman Ivan Tomynchuk, mobilized to the army at the age of 18, also described his hungry wanderings in the Podillia region in the summer of 1919: the peasants refused to share food with the UGA soldiers («there is no bread for the Austrians») and they had to eat green apples from the orchards. Because of this, the rifleman fell ill with typhus for the second time. «In Podillia, near Zbruch, there are bad people.

35 Ibid. С. 72–73.

36 Ibid. С. 78.

37 Ibid. С. 79.

38 Решетило-Мицак П. Зі споминів сімнадцятилітнього новобранця. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1932 рік.* 1931. С. 60, 65.

39 Ibid. С. 65.

40 Луців Л. На Україні: (Уривки споминів). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1928 рік.* 1927. С. 90–98.

41 Ibid. С. 91.

42 Ibid. С. 97.

43 Ibid. С. 98.

Horse thieves and Bolsheviks themselves», the author of the memoirs tried to find the reason for such indifference of the Ukrainian peasantry⁴⁴. Lieutenant, doctor of the USSR Roman Havan-skyi explained the mistrust of the Podillia peasants in the Ukrainian army by the fact that the governorate was located in the front line and the population was demoralized by constant military operations and, in particular, by the long confrontation of the UPR army with the Bolsheviks⁴⁵.

The aforementioned memoirs of R. Havan-skyi and V. Shchurovskyi talk about the help of local peasants in rescuing the Galician soldiers⁴⁶. The military very often left their ill in private residences in the villages and towns of Podillia, and the peasants also fell ill with typhus and died⁴⁷. Therefore, the military tried to help the local population with medicines⁴⁸.

During half a year of Bolshevik rule, the attitude of the peasantry towards the Galician military and the UPR army changed significantly. Many authors of the HCARGR describe the provision of assistance to the people of Galicia – refugees from the Bolshevik repressions. In particular, after the transfer of certain parts of the RUGA to the troops of S. Petliura in the spring of 1920, Galicians found salvation from the Bolshevik massacre in the German colonies in the vicinity of Odessa. In particular, V. Kryvokulskyi spent two months as a guest of a German colonist in the village of Vyhoda, and then two weeks with his relative in another colony⁴⁹.

A. Shustykevych, a 22-year-old lieutenant of the UGA, described in detail his wanderings through the German colonies of the Kherson region and the forests of Podillia⁵⁰. In Mykolaiv, the lieutenant together with other riflemen escaped from the Bolshevik train, which was planned to take Galicians to Russia. Then the fugitives hid in German colonies – under the guise of Austrian prisoners of war, they worked as hired labourers or public shepherds. In January

1921, Shustykevych entered Romania illegally (he crossed the Dniester by boat). The author of the memoirs characterized the situation in the Ukrainian countryside at the end of 1920: the peasants' rejection of the Soviet government, Bolshevik terror, and the struggle against the rebels. The way home for Shustykevych's brother P. Okolot was different. They escaped from the train together, but got separated on the way. The author of the memoirs described a five-week hiding in a German colony – a Galician grazed corn, potatoes, pastured cows and pigs⁵¹. After a series of dangerous adventures, with the help of the peasants, he crossed the Zbruch.

The epic of the return to Galicia, which began in June 1920 after the retreat of Polish and Ukrainian troops from Kyiv, was described by Yevhen Yavorivskyi, a soldier of the UGA⁵². The retreat was difficult – they walked through forests, no one wanted to sell bread to the soldiers along the way. And in Podillia, the military-Galicians felt a very favourable attitude of the peasants, which was not there a year ago – then the local population hated the Ukrainian army and was waiting for the Bolsheviks⁵³.

Conclusions. On the pages of the «Historical Calendar-Almanac of the Red Guelder Rose» a significant number of memories about the stay of Galician soldiers in «Greater Ukraine» have been published, in which peasant themes are revealed in one way or another. We singled out the following groups of authors: soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army and the USSR Legion (prisoners of war and active servicemen); emigrant peasants; officers and riflemen of the «Kyiv» Sich Riflemen and UGA. The circle of contributors to the calendar-almanac is significantly different from the author's collective of the «The Chronicle of the Red Guelder Rose». According to the issues of the HCARGR publications, we will distinguish four sets of works: in the first group of works, the peasant economy in the conditions of the World War I and the rev-

44 Тominчук І. Зі споминів стрільця УГА / Записав Степан Фещук. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1934 рік*. 1933. С. 117.

45 Гаванський Р. Памятного 1919 року: (Спомини з Великої України). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1929 рік*. 1929. С. 121.

46 Щуровський В. Зі записків лікаря Бригади УСС. *Календар Червоної Калини на 1924 рік: ювілейне видання в десятиліття виступу УСС, 1914–1924*. Львів; Київ, 1923. С. 79–90.

47 Ibid. С. 84–85.

48 Гаванський Р. Памятного 1919 року: (Спомини з Великої України). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1929 р.* 1929. С. 125.

49 Кривокульський В. Після переходу. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1926 рік*. Львів; Київ, 1925. С. 136.

50 Шустикевич А. Спомин з Одеси. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1928 рік*. Львів; Київ, 1927. С. 102–114; Шустикевич А. Втеча за Дністер (Спомин). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1931 рік*. Львів, 1930. С. 121–131.

51 Околот П. З пекла на волю. *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1934 рік*. Львів, 1934. С. 155.

52 Яворовський Є. З Київського домію (З останніх сторінок мого записника). *Історичний календар-альманах Червоної Калини на 1927 рік*. Львів; Київ, 1926. С. 135–143.

53 Ibid. С. 142.

olutionary events of 1917 – early 1918 and the relations of the peasants with the landlords are characterized; the second group highlights the influence of Bolshevik propaganda and agitation on the behaviour of peasants and their mood at the beginning of 1918; the third group of posts is devoted to the interaction of the USSR Legion with the peasantry of the Dnipro region (February – September 1918); the fourth group of publications of the HCARGR covers the relations of Galicians («Kyiv» SR and UGA) with the peasantry in 1919–1920.

The authors of the memoirs revealed the course and culminating aspects of the peasant revolution at the end of 1917 – the beginning of 1918: wars between villages for the landowner's land, the creation of the first collective farms, compensation for losses to landowners, the consequences of the liquidation of landlord land ownership. Military Galicians became witnesses and active participants in the formation of a nationally oriented peasant worldview – like the pro-Bolshevik peasants of Dnipro region at the beginning of 1918 («We ate together from the

same pot during the war») at the end of 1919 – the beginning of 1920 actively opposed the Bolsheviks and helped the Ukrainian army. Publications of the HCARGR serve as an additional source for the study of the peasant revolution in Dnipro Ukraine.

Gratitude. The author of the article expresses her sincere gratitude for the help in the selection of literature to the head of the Department of Ukrainian Studies of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, PhD in History Kostyantyn Kurylyshyn, as well as to all members of the editorial board for the advice given 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 East Central Europe (Lviv, January 2022).

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Надійшла до редакції / Received: 01.11.2023

Схвалено до друку / Accepted: 03.12.2023