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## VIEWS AND PUBLIC POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF STANISŁAW STEPOWSKI DURING THE YEARS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION. 1917 – 1921

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to present and analyze the public views and public political activity of one of the leaders of the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine, Stanisław Stempowski, to clarify his place and role in the public political life of Ukraine during the Ukrainian National Revolution and state formation. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity and objectivity. Owing to the chronological method and historical political and proposographical analysis, the policy of the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine in relation to the Ukrainian statehood has been elucidated through the position of its leader. The scientific novelty consists in presenting the public views and public political activities of the Polish democrat Stanisław Stempowski in the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the Ukrainian and Polish state formation in the first decades of the 20th century. Conclusions.* Stanisław Stempowski, a Polish landowner from Podillia, belonged to the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine and was a consistent supporter of the Ukrainian state independence. From his childhood, he developed friendship and respect for the Ukrainian people and accepted the Ukrainians as the masters of their land during the revolutionary and democratic transformations of 1917. After becoming the leader of the party of the democratic camp in Ukraine – the Polish Democratic Central, which united the majority of Polish democratic groups, he held struggle with the Polish nationalists (National Democrats, Endeks), defended the autonomy and interests of the Polish population in Ukraine. The Polish democratic camp supported the Ukrainian statehood, cooperated with the Ukrainian Central Council at various stages of statehood. As Minister of Land Affairs and Health and Social Welfare in two governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Stanisław Stempowski contributed to the development of the Ukrainian state. An extraordinary personality, intellectual, translator, freemason, social and political figure with a vivid democratic and civic position, Stanisław Stempowski left his bright mark in the Ukrainian and Polish history.

**Key words:** Stanisław Stempowski, the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Revolution, public views, public and political activity.

## ПОГЛЯДИ ТА ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ СТАНІСЛАВА СТЕМПОВСЬКОГО В РОКИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ. 1917 – 1921 РР.

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* полягає у розкритті суспільних поглядів та громадсько-політичної діяльності одного з лідерів польського демократичного табору в Україні Станіслава Стемповського, з'ясування його місця і ролі в суспільно-політичному житті України періоду Української національної революції. **Методологія** базується на застосуванні принципів історизму, системності та об'єктивності. У роботі використано також історико-системний та історико-типологічний методи, що уможливило показати суспільно-політичне життя поляків в Україні в революційну добу. Завдяки хронологічному методу та історико-політичному й пропозографічному аналізу показано політику польського демократичного табору в Україні у ставленні до української державності через позицію його лідера. **Наукова новизна** полягає у висвітленні суспільних поглядів та громадсько-політичної діяльності польського демократа Станіслава Стемповського у подіях Української національної революції та українського і польського державотворення у перші десятиліття ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Польський землевласник з Поділля Станіслав Стемповський належав до польського демократичного табору в Україні та був послідовним прихильником незалежності Української держави. З дитячих років у нього сформувалася приязнь та повага до українського народу та сприйняття його як господаря цієї землі під час революційно-демократичних перетворень 1917 року. Ставши керівником партії демократичного табору в Україні – Польського Демократичного Центру, що об'єднала більшість польських демократичних груп, проводив боротьбу з польськими націоналістами (Національними демократами, ендеками), відстоював автономію та інтереси польського населення в Україні. Польський демократичний табір підтримував українську державність, співпрацював з Українською Центральною Радою на різних етапах державності. Як міністр земельних справ і здоров'я та соціальної опіки в двох урядах УНР, С. Стемповський сприяв розвитку Української держави. Непересічна особистість, інтелектуал, перекладач, масон, суспільний і політичний діяч із вираженою демократично-громадянською позицією, Станіслав Стемповський залишив яскравий слід в українській і польській історії.

**Ключові слова:** Станіслав Стемповський, польський демократичний табір в Україні, Українська національна революція, суспільні погляди, громадсько-політична діяльність.

**Problem Statement.** Stanisław Stempowski is a representative and one of the leaders of the Polish democratic camp in Ukraine during the years of the revolution and Ukrainian statehood. He was the party leader of the Polish democrats in Ukraine – the Polish Democratic Central, Minister of Agriculture and Health in the government of the UNR in 1920, and an active participant in socio-political life in Ukraine and Poland in the first decades of the 20th century. His views on the development of society, the tasks of the Polish population in Ukraine during the years of the Revolution, and his attitude towards the Ukrainian issue are distinctly democratic and progressive. The figure of Stanisław Stempowski, his beliefs, and his public and political activities in Ukraine have been poorly covered to this day.

**Review of Recent Research and Publications.** The activities of the Polish political forces in Ukraine during the years of revolutionary transformations and state-building processes of 1917 – 1921 have little historiography and are presented primarily in the study by Henryk Jabłoński (Jabłoński, 1948), that was published during the post-war period. This issue has become the subject of research by modern Ukrainian and Polish historians, in particular Maksym Potapenko (Potapenko, 2010), Mariusz Korzeniowski, (Korzeniowski, 2024) and the others. At the same time, there is little research into the life path and public activities of the leader of the Polish democrats in Ukraine, Stanisław Stempowski. A short biographical article by Tetiana Zaretska is available in the Encyclopedia of Ukraine (Zaretska, 2012).

S. Stempowski's life path was studied by the Ukrainian researcher V. Kolesnyk in detail (Kolesnyk, 2008). The scholars refer to the study of the Polish author Grażyna Borkowska mainly (Borkowska, 1999), dedicated to the relationship between Stanisław Stempowski and the famous writer M. Dąbrowska, presenting the views, social position and character traits of the writer, publicist and a public figure. The source base for these studies were the memoirs written by S. Stempowski in 1940 – 1943 and covering the period from the birth to the beginning of World War I (Stempowski, 1953). However, nowadays, there is no study that would focus on the socio-political activities of the famous Polish democrat in Ukraine during the period of the state formation. The writing of this article was also facilitated by the memoirs of Stanisław Stempowski for the period of 1917 – 1920, published in three parts in the Parisian edition of “Historical Notebooks” of the Literary Institute, edited by E. Giedroyets (Stempowski, 1972 – 1973). They were handed over to the editorial office by S. Stempowski's son, Jerzy. It was a copy of the notes for his son. The original “Memoirs” during this period was in the possession of Maria Dąbrowska and later in the possession of her friend Anna Kowalska, but was lost after their deaths.

**The purpose** of this study is to elucidate the public views and activities of the leader of the Polish democrats in Ukraine, Stanisław Stempowski, and to clarify his place and role in the socio-political life of Ukraine during the era of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

**Research Results.** Originality of thinking, vivid individualism, freedom-loving behaviour, and defense of one's own position were evident in Stanisław Stempowski as a child, developed and strengthened during his student years while studying at Dorpat University, and were able to be realized in public and political activities during the democratic revolutionary transformations of 1917 – 1920.

Stanisław Stempowski was born in Podillia, in Guta-Czernelivetska in the estate of his parents, Jadwiga Bienkiewicz and Hubert Stempowski in 1870. His father was the owner of a glass factory. Two brothers, an elder Petro brother and a younger brother Tadeusz, were raised in the family together with Stanisław (Borkowska, 1999, p. 8). It is obvious that from his mother he inherited morality and mercy towards the disadvantaged, a desire for education, and from his father – energy, principledness, and a desire for development.

His intelligence, comprehensive knowledge, and a good orientation in the environment were formed in his childhood. Stanisław was raised in a multilingual culture. He learned German, spoke French, which he heard from a governess and from a French worker who worked in the factory. The brothers had Ukrainian nannies, Ukrainian colleagues, and friends. When the parents left home, the servants would take the children to the village, where they learned the Ukrainian language, songs, and customs. His friendship with the Ukrainians would make his stay after the 1905 Revolution peaceful and would determine his fate as a politician and publicist. Even as a teenager, despite his mother's piety, he resolutely departed from the Catholic religion, as it limited his freedom (Borkowska, 1999, p. 10).

When choosing an educational institution after graduating from gymnasium in Kamianets-Podilskyi, he decided to enter the Veterinary Institute in Dorpat (Tartu). This decision was justified by the fact that the local university had a greater autonomy compared to other Russian universities and it admitted students who had previously been politically compromised. The Polish student organizations operated there, which was also unusual for Polish lands invaded by neighbours. However, he did not join the so-called “Convention” – an organization that united the Polish students, but moved to the “Kukhnia” (“Kitchen”), which consisted not only of the Poles, but also of students from Belarus, Ukraine, and

Russia. The “Kitchen” was more democratic, a little politically left, open to discussions (Stempowski, 1953, p. 120).

In Dorpat, Stanisław Stempowski became fascinated with socialist ideas, and became acquainted with the publications “Class Struggle” and “Predsvit”, which were brought to the city by Bronisław Kulakowski, who had been dismissed from St. Petersburg University. Stanisław Stempowski recalled later: “The turn to Polishness occurred through the school of the socialist press, which tore me away from my noble past” (Borkowska, 1999, p. 14). In 1892, Stanisław Stempowski was arrested for public “subversive” activities and, after being imprisoned in various prisons, was eventually taken to Kyiv. By court decision, Stanisław Stempowski was sentenced to 3 years of police surveillance, which he spent not far from his home, in the village of Shebutyntsi located along the bank of the Dniester river, which was an inheritance from his great-grandmother Tekla Komorowska. In 1883, he married his cousin Maria Stempowski. The family had three sons (Miklas, 2020, p. 98).

After being released from police surveillance in 1897, Stanisław Stempowski and his family moved to Warsaw, where he took up publishing and translation activities. His work was helped by his acquaintance and collaboration with friends from the University of Dorpat, in particular Nanatson. In Warsaw he translated Lev Tolstoy's novel “Resurrection”. Later, the magazine “Pravda” was bought from the famous publisher Alexander Świątochowski, but this activity was not successful. Later, Stanisław Stempowski, together with Stanisław Posner and Ludwik Krzywicki, became the owners of the famous magazine “Ogień”, the first issue of which was published at the end of 1902. The magazine was of a scientific and journalistic nature. The credo was written by Ludwik Krzywicki: “I believe in the importance of science, the significance of art and the noble impulses of a man”. Stanisław Stempowski, who was not a member of any party or organization, maintained the political neutrality of the weekly, which was difficult to achieve in the case of party commitments. However, in December of 1905, the editorial office of the magazine was raided and it was banned (Stempowski, 1953, p. 230). The Warsaw period of Stanisław Stempowski's life was intense, interesting, demanding a lot of strength and energy, and contributed to establishing contacts with intellectual circles and the creative intelligentsia.

From Warsaw, Stanisław Stempowski returned to Podillia, because his father, in uncertain revolutionary times, decided to divide the estate between his sons. Stanisław Stempowski inherited the filfvarok in Vynnykivtsi, where there was barren land and poor buildings. Owing to his entrepreneurship and good organization of work, things went uphill. Observing his son's successful management, Stanisław also inherited Guta-Czernelivetska from his father (Kolesnyk, 2008, p. 118). During this period, his attitude towards the Polish gentry, the Ukrainian peasants, and the Ukrainian issue became clearly defined. Adherence to the ideas of the People's Democratic Party (PPP) and rejection of the positions and policies of the People's Democrats (NDEK) became the basis of his public activities.

The democratic transformations of the 1905 revolution in Russia led to the intensification of a public and political life in Podilska province, in which S. Stempowski also participated. He participated in election campaigns for the First and Second State Duma, organized gatherings of the nobility of Lityn County, conducted educational activities, and he was a member of various commissions of the county zemstvo. At the end of the 19th century, the Poles managed to reach an agreement with the authorities on the creation of agricultural societies formally headed by a representative of the Russian authorities. Such societies arose in Kyiv region, Volhynia, and Podillia (Korzeniowski, 2024, p. 152). At the invitation

of Marian Baranetski, a founder and chairman of the Agricultural Society in Proskurov, S. Stempowski became its member. In December of 1914, he was elected a chairman of the economic department of the Society (Stempowski, 1953, p. 330).

The fundamental position of this new period of life was S. Stempowski's desire to live as a Pole among the Ukrainians, without forgetting that he had neighbours around him – people of a different nationality, a different faith, and a different language. It was a difficult position, requiring flexibility, respect for others, patience, indulgence, and an inner conviction that one could and should fight the ghosts of the past. To a large extent, this position stemmed from the peculiarity of the Stempowski family, which consisted in its openness to the reception of otherness – ethnic, linguistic, and religious. The family distanced itself from national liberation myths, messianic and insurgent romanticism. In the eyes of a father Hubert, the January Uprising was a matter of shame and a topic closed for discussion (Borkowska, 1999, p. 8).

S. Stempowski gave a clear description of the majority of the Polish landowners in Podillia, calling them “parasitic colonists, since they did not combine their economic, cultural, and social activities with the interests of people and their future, while remaining the Poles and even emphasizing this Polishness, “which history will one day use for the purpose of fraternal coexistence between the two peoples and filling the chasm that the colonialist, a blind policy of the nobility lords and magnates dug between us” (Stempowski, 1953, p. XIV).

As S. Stempowski recalls, “in Podillia the majority of the Polish landowners were avid card players, or traders, or hunters, thoughtless and dissolute people who fell prey to the vague and lying Endek ideology, which appealed to God and Fatherland, cunningly personifying Fatherland with their estates, and then they came up with the strange term “Polish estate”, implying the Polish landowners” (Stempowski, 1953, p. XIV). Understanding the essence of social relations, a positive attitude towards the Ukrainian people, respect for working people, for order were the defining features of his personality and character. Because of this, S. Stempowski enjoyed authority among the peasants, but he clearly saw how they succumbed to agitation and external influences, which was manifested during the pogroms of 1917 – 1918.

The political self-interest of the Polish landowners was evident at the beginning of World War I, when they sided with the authorities in each of the three parts of the confiscated Polish lands for their own benefit, in order to preserve their estates and class privileges. S. Stempowski was convinced of this during a trip with Marian Baranetski to Warsaw with the offer to keep horses and cattle that were supposed to be evacuated or killed (Stempowski, 1973a, p. 110).

World War I gave the Polish population a chance to revive Poland's independence and sparked a significant patriotic upsurge. A number of the Polish democratic organizations were established in Ukraine, which were legalized and began activities after the Russian February Revolution. In March of 1917, the meeting of “The Polish Democratic Union” was held in Kyiv, the board of which included well-known Polish public figures, in particular Jewhenij Starczewski, Józef Brominski, Roman Knoll (Polski, 1917, 26 marca, p. 3). In April of 1917, the organization “The Polish Democratic Union in Rus” was founded in Kyiv (Polskie, 1917, 24 kwietnia, p. 3). “The Democratic Union of Polish Youth” emerged among student youth as an ideological society of a national progressive orientation, which took a centrist position between two long-existing student ideological groups – nationalist and democratic. The Union's charter noted the national and social orientation of its ideology (Wśród, 1917, 24 marca, p. 3). In May, another democratic organization was legalized – “The Democratic



Independence Group”, which included the editors of the publication “Kłosy Ukraińskie” Jan Ursyn-Zamarayev, Karol Waligursky, Dr. Józef Flach, and Tadeusz Garztecki (Grupa, 1917, 11 czerwca, p. 3).

The Polish political environment in Ukraine immediately reacted to the events of the February Revolution in Russia and to the situation in Ukraine related to the Ukrainian national movement and the creation of its state and political bodies. On March 6, 1917, a gathering of representatives of about 50 Polish public organizations, societies, institutions, the public, the press, and political groups of Kyiv and the provinces took place in Kyiv, with 150 people participating. This gathering was called the First Polish Congress, at which the Polish central authority in Ukraine was established – the “Polish Executive Committee in Rus”. The head of the PEC was the Endek Joachim Bartoszewicz (Zebranie, 1917, 07 marca, p. 3). By decision of the PEC of 07.03.1917, the dispatch was sent to the leaders of the Provisional Government in Russia the support was stated (Korzeniowski, 2019, p. 69).

On June 18–24, 1917, the Polish Communist Party in Russia convened the Third Congress of Representatives of Polish Organizations in Kyiv. As a delegate to the Congress, Stanisław Stempowski, on behalf of the Democratic Bloc, spoke out against the party-political decisions that exceeded the Congress’s powers, suggesting removing from the agenda irritating and acute political issues that created tension and undermined the unity and coherence of the Congress’s work. At the Congress of the democratic bloc, in his speech, he emphasized the unacceptability of the extraterritorial Polish policy in Ukraine, which was suggested by the Narodovtsi, and which would create a duality of the Polish power (Zjazd, 1917, p. 29). R. Knoll was instructed to write a written protest on behalf of the Polish Democrats (Bruski, & Korzeniowski, 2023, p. 166).

Sharply criticizing the policies of the Endeks, S. Stempowski emphasized that “they put modern meaning into the outdated forms of border fighting, creating governments and armed forces outside the borders of their native Poland and pursuing the “national policy” (Stempowski, 1973a, p. 129). The general position of the democrats regarding the tasks of the Polish population in Ukraine is set out in the works of one of the leaders of the bloc, Je. Starczewski. He noted that “true national autonomy should be limited to solving exclusively cultural issues of this national minority. Language, education, schools, cultural and philanthropic institutions, and to a certain extent economic affairs are meant” (Starczewski, 1917, p. 16). The Polish democrats sought to defend their own national interests in an independent Ukrainian state.

The democratic camp in Ukraine also opposed the creation of the Polish army outside Poland, considering it the prerogative of state power. This issue was controversial and was discussed at the Congress. In 1918, during his trip to Ukraine, the representative of the PPS from Warsaw, Tadeusz Hołówko, at a meeting with the Poles in Vinnytsia, noted the position of the leader of the Polish Democrats, S. Stempowski, who opposed the creation of the Polish army in Ukraine. He argued that the role of Polish armed units would be limited to protecting Polish estates and fighting peasants, which would deepen the hatred of the Ukrainian people towards the Poles (Hołówko, 1931, p. 170).

The secession of delegates from the democratic bloc at the Third Polish Congress resulted in the creation of the Democratic Central (DC) party, which united the majority of Polish democratic groups in Ukraine and elected Stanisław Stempowski as the party's leader. Another positive consequence of the split in the Polish political forces was the emergence of the Conservative National Labour Union (Stronnictwo Pracy Narodowej) led by Janusz

Radziwiłł, Wacław Grzybowski, and Stanisław Horwath, who had previously allied with the Endeks (Stempowski, 1973a, p. 130).

The Polish Central supported the Ukrainian Central Rada, which turned into the Ukrainian Parliament, with representation of national minorities. The consistent policy of supporting Ukraine's independence by the Polish Democratic Bloc is the most fully argued by its representative, Deputy Vice-Secretary for Polish Affairs in the Ukrainian government, Roman Knoll. In his publication "The Ukrainian Notes", he wrote in particular: "The Polish democracy actively supports the state and organizational activities of the Ukrainian people and wholeheartedly contributes to this" (Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), zesp. 1, sygn. 1, p. 5). The Polish democrats recognized the Polish property in Ukraine as a national treasure that must be defended with all forces and also considered "the belonging of Chełm region to Ukraine and its reservation of the fate of neighbouring states within Austria-Hungary unacceptable" (Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), zesp. 1, sygn. 1, p. 5).

Further developments, including the coming to power of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and the abolition of private property, which primarily affected the Polish landowners, caused protests among the Polish political environment in Ukraine. The demagogy of the Bolsheviks, their populist slogans, and the collapse of the front led to the influx of armed masses of deserters into the Ukrainian lands, looting, and the burning of landowners' estates.

The period of 1917 – 1919, described by S. Stempowski in "Memoirs", contains enough examples of the behaviour of people who belonged to different social groups, representatives of the constantly changing authorities, the Ukrainian peasants, and soldiers. In particular, he notes the episode when the Ukrainian peasants maintained order amidst chaos, digging up and stacking vegetables not for money, not on orders, but for the sake of order, because that is how it should be. In contrast, this order aroused resistance and wild anger among the Muscovites of the Bolshevised Semenovsky Regiment (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 75).

In early October of 1917, S. Stempowski's Vinnykovtsi estate was burned down and he and his wife moved to Vinnytsia. The Polish public life there had been quite active and diverse since the beginning of the democratic reforms of 1917. Since a sufficient number of landowners gathered in Vinnytsia, the "Association of Polish Landowners of Podillia" with the cooperative society "Polkoppodol" and simultaneously "The Union of Polish Agricultural Workers in Podillia" with the "Labour Mediation Bureau" soon emerged to satisfy material interests. The Polish House with a theatre was also founded under the leadership of Bolesław Szczurkiewicz, the "Central Civic Committee" (CCC) headed by a chairman Tadeusz Mostowski and a department of "The Polish Society for Aid to War Victims" (PSAWV) headed by Czesław Jakubowski, which provided assistance to refugees from destroyed and looted estates. Under increasingly difficult conditions, Maciezh szkoła, led by Leta Jaroszynska, operated. On the initiative of left-wing circles at the Polish House, the "University for All named after Traugutt" was established, in which occasional lecturers conducted lecture series on the nature, history and literature of Poland. Finally, there established "The Union of Military Poles" (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 77).

S. Stempowski did not participate in the public life of Vinnytsia, as he was connected with Lityn and had to travel to meetings of the new zemstvo, where he was a member of the land commission. Observing the events and a frequent change of power, he sharply spoke out against any nationalism, including Polish. He wrote the following: "Fearful and disgusting is any nationalism and its slogans, especially those thrown at the dark masses, filled with the

idea that people are different from each other, with a sense of hatred (I see our endecks)”. In his opinion, “the bourgeoisie, small merchants, artisans, the quarter and semi-intelligentsia, as well as individual cynical intellectuals, are susceptible to nationalist psychosis. A worker and a peasant do not know it” (Stempowski, 1973b, s. 78).

The end of 1917 – the beginning of 1918 was marked by a significant disorder, the presence of gangs of front-line deserters who were engaged in looting, robbery, and attacks on manor houses in Podillia. The population had a significant number of weapons in their hands, which posed a threat. The local authorities demanded their surrender and severely punished the population according to the laws of wartime (Demianiuk, & Bundak, 2021, p. 63). To protect their own interests during the change of different authorities, in Vinnytsia the Poles decided to defend their interests and established “General Polish Committee” (GPC), consisting of 9 people: 3 from the Democratic Central (Ludwig Klinger, a secretary, S. Stempowski (a chairman), Andrzej gr. Holoniewski, 3 from the citizens of Vinnytsia (Dlugoletski, Kurochyski, Nowytski) and 3 from the PPS (Witold Skazhynski, Kielczyk, Druceyko). Later, S. Stempowski highly appreciated the activities of this Committee, believing that this “strange self-governing institution worked with honour in the most difficult time, when Vinnytsia was an island in the turbulent sea around it for a considerable period of time” (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 90).

With the adoption of the law “On Personal and National Autonomy”, the Poles of Vinnytsia took advantage of it, establishing “The Polish Commune of Vinnytsia”, which continued the work of the Committee. The effectiveness of the institution's work consisted, in particular, in its clear organization. After the capture of Vinnytsia by the rebellious Bolshevik troops under the leadership of Sruł Endelshtein, all authorities were dissolved and chaos began due to orders that were increasingly inappropriate (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 94).

S. Stempowski considered Pavlo Skoropadsky's government through the prism of his attitude towards the peasants, believing that the government's activities aroused hatred among the peasants and in the circles of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The PDC had an understanding with the authorities. In October of 1918, the official representative of the Polish government in Ukraine, S. Wańkowych, outlined his tasks as guardianship of the Polish population (Tymchenko, 2024, p. 122). However, with the arrival of the rebel authorities in Vinnytsia, S. Stempowski was forced to flee, as his house was surrounded by rebels. Disguised as a peasant with a declaration on the future fate of the Poles in Ukraine, S. Stempowski arrived at a meeting in Kyiv. At the meeting with the Ukrainians the delegation was represented by Witold Skazhinski, the representatives of the radical wing of democracy – S. Stempowski, Walery Svederski, and representatives of the Ukrainians. A wider meeting was convened with the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian parties and peasant unions. The negotiations ended in nothing, as the Poles refused to write a statement according to which they would have renounced the Polish rights to Eastern Galicia, Chełm region and Podlasie in favour of Ukraine (Stempowski, 1973b, p. 123). After that, S. Stempowski left for Warsaw.

In 1919, a large number of the Poles from Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania gathered in Warsaw. Having no contact with local Poles or political circles, they united in various unions of Kresy Poles (Polacy Kresowscy – in Polish), defense unions, and restoration unions. They began publishing their own newspaper, “The Voice of Kresy”, edited by Edward Paszkowski. The Kyiv PVC in Rus arrived in Warsaw in its entirety (except for Stanisław Jezerski, who died). It consisted of 12 people, 3 from each of four political groups: from the Union of National Labour (conservatives), from the People's Democracy (ENDEKs), from



the non-party (crypto-ENDEKs), and from the Democratic Central (Stanisław Stempowski was appointed as a delegate, along with Jewhen Starczewski and Mieczysław Mickiewicz) (Stempowski, 1972, p. 66).

Participation in the meetings of the PVC or the Delegation (of the Sejm) caused S. Stempowski irritation and disagreement with the majority of the decisions made. Thus, he added his separate opinion to the Memorial to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ignacy Paderewski from the PVC. In it, S. Stempowski opposed the main provisions of the document, in particular the annexation of Right-Bank Ukraine to Poland, which was in fact “a call for a war of annexation in the region where the Poles make up only a small percentage, and which will cause the Ukrainian people to reject the Poles and Poland forever” (Stempowski, 1972, p. 69). He argued that the Ukrainian people were incapable of statehood. Later, S. Stempowski opposed the participation of the Central Committee representatives in the meetings of the PVC, believing that the PVC participation and silent opposition gave the Edeks advantages and triumphs through joint decisions (Stempowski, 1972, p. 73).

S. Petliura initiated the sending of a special UNR mission to Warsaw on December 31, 1918, headed by Viacheslav Prokopovych. The UNR mission was to clarify the conditions for reaching an agreement on joint actions against Bolshevik Russia and receiving assistance (S. Stempowski participated in meetings held in Jewhen Starczewski's house and conferences initiated by him with the Ukrainians from the embassy, in particular the ambassador Leonid Mykhailiv, the advisors Prokop Poniatenko and Borys Repetsky). S. Stempowski was interested in the Ukrainian issue and events in Ukraine everywhere. In September of 1919, Jewhen Starczewski managed to visit Podillia as a journalist together with the Polish trade mission led by Józef Lipkowski and several government officials from various ministries. During the trip, he noted a significant number of soldiers, the Ukrainian language in the streets of Kamianets, and the Ukrainian army, which lacked weapons, ammunition, and clothing (Stempowski, 1972, p. 84).

In Warsaw Henryk Józewski was one of S. Stempowski's closest friends, who arrived in Warsaw in January of 1919. From the first meeting until the end of his life, they walked together. Henryk Józewski considered his older comrade a father, owing to whom he got to know the intellectual world of Warsaw and met prominent and well-known people. Later Henryk Józewski recalled that “we were together at all moments of the formation of Poland and the liberation struggle for Ukraine” (Józewski, 1982a, p. 46).

Soon, through the mediation of a representative of the Democratic Central, S. Stempowski became the head of the press department in the Civil Administration of the Volyn and Podillia Front, whose chief commissar was former Minister Antoni Minkiewicz. During his tours in the Volyn Voivodeship, S. Stempowski noticed that the pro-ENDEK officers and civil administration held fast to nationalist concepts and were convinced that it was possible and necessary to resolve all national and religious issues by armed force (Stempowski, 1972, p. 85).

In January of 1920, Stanisław Stempowski visited Ukraine as an advisor to the Minister in the government of the Volyn Land and the Podillia Front. After an understanding between Józef Piłsudski and Symon Petliura for the better implementation of the Warsaw Pact, S. Stempowski was appointed Minister of Land Affairs in the government of the UNR, and from May 29, 1920, Minister of Health and Social Welfare in the government of Viacheslav Prokopovych (Zaretska, 2012, p. 846). Stanisław Stempowski went to Kamianets-Podilskyi together with Henryk Józewski, who was also appointed Minister of Internal Affairs in the

UNR government. The latter respected and warmly recollected about S. Stempowski, noting his great opportunities in the Ukrainian society, sincerity, people's trust in him and, in general, his amazing charm (Yuzevskiy, 1982b, p. 116).

Stanisław Stempowski belonged to a group that supported J. Piłsudski and his federalist ideas and advocated granting the Polish minority national and cultural autonomy within the UNR.

There is not much information on S. Stempowski's affiliation with Freemasonry. It is known that at the end of 1920, some personalities among the Ukrainian community formed the Ukrainian Masonic lodge "Unity" in Poland, which became part of the recently founded Grand Lodge "United Poles" (Polacy Zjednoczeni – in Polish). It is assumed that one of the leaders of the new lodge was Stanisław Stempowski, a member of the Central Ukrainian Committee, an institution that emerged after the liquidation of the Ukrainian government. Perhaps this lodge included other Poles from Ukraine, supporters of the Polish-Ukrainian understanding and federalism. It is also known that Stanisław Stempowski's son Jerzy considered the possibility of publishing his father's memoirs owing to the Grand Master of the US Lodge, who visited Poland and knew him well. Based on the Decree of the President of Poland of November 22, 1938 on the liquidation of Masonic lodges, they were "considered liquidated by virtue of the law itself". On October 26, 1939, the Grand Lodge of Poland announced its self-liquidation. At the same time, as Jerzy Stempowski recalls, on the orders of the Minister of the Internal Affairs Felicien Sławo-Składowski, the police carried out several "barbaric" searches in S. Stempowski's house" (Listy, 1991, p. 18). The fact that S. Stempowski belonged to Freemasonry was also recorded in the Gestapo report in Warsaw in the summer of 1940 (Borkowska, 1999, p. 42).

This period was also accompanied by personal tragedies. His 19-year-old son Pavlo died after an illness, his wife Maria went to live with their younger son Hubert, and Stanisław stayed in Warsaw. From that time on, they maintained only friendly relations (Miklas, 2020, p. 99). In 1924, under the patronage of his old friend Marian Dombrowski, S. Stempowski got a job as a librarian at the Ministry of Agriculture, began to participate in the activities of the Institute of Social Economy, established by his friend Ludmik Krzywicki, and later became one of its leaders (Stempowski, 1953, s. XVII). There he met the writer Maria Dąbrowska, with whom he spent the last 25 years of his life after the death of her husband Marian. An intellectual, freemason, expert on the Ukrainian issues, and unofficial advisor to the then Foreign Ministry, S. Stempowski introduced Maria Dąbrowska to an environment represented by Henryk Józewski, Stanisław Posner, and Ludwik Krzywicki, who had a powerful influence on the maturity of her worldview and philosophy of life. Stanisław Stempowski was her guide in the world of high literature and publications related to public affairs. In 1952, S. Stempowski died in Maria's arms (Dąbrowska, & Stempowski, 2021, p. 9).

Stanisław Stempowski's public activism, the originality of his thinking, consistency in upholding and implementing democratic ideas in life, his irreconcilable struggle with the Polish nationalist camp, and support for the Ukrainian statehood were noted by both his supporters and enemies.

**Conclusions.** In conclusion, we it should be noted that Stanisław Stempowski was a bright, gifted, integral personality with democratic views, who recognized and professed universal human values. Being the Polish landowner in the Ukrainian lands, he respected and honoured the Ukrainian people, recognizing them as the master of their land and supporting the desire to create their own state. His active participation in the public and political life of

Ukraine as one of the leaders of democratic forces was aimed both at defending the interests of the Polish population in Ukraine and building the Ukrainian state and establishing friendly Ukrainian-Polish interstate relations. As an active and consistent exponent of democratic ideas, Stanisław Stempowski was elected the leader of the Democratic Central Party of the Polish Democrats in Ukraine. His position on key issues of the Ukrainian statehood, the participation of democrats in the work of the Ukrainian Central Rada, his understanding of the aggressive nature of the Bolshevik government, and his consistent support for Ukraine's independence are noteworthy. Practical activity for the benefit of Ukraine was also manifested in the leadership of the Ministries of Agriculture and Health in the government of the UNR. Until the end of his days, Stanisław Stempowski retained warm feelings for the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian land, where he was born and lived a significant part of his life.

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