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**RECONSTRUCTION OR DECLINE: THE POSTWAR STATE  
OF UKRAINIAN EDUCATION IN GALICIA AS COVERED  
IN THE NEWSPAPER “DILO” (1918 – 1923)**

**Abstract.** The purpose of the study is to identify the peculiarities of the reception by the authors and editorial staff of the newspaper “Dilo” of the reconstruction and transformation issues in Galicia in the first years after the end of the Great War. The chronological framework of the study is determined by the end of World War I in November 1918 and the official recognition by the Council of Ambassadors of the Polish sovereignty over Eastern Galicia in March 1923. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, objectivity, as well as methods of criticism of historical sources, content analysis of media materials. **Scientific novelty.** For the first time in historical science, the coverage of the problems of reconstruction and transformation of education in Galicia 1918 – 1923 in Ukrainian newspaper “Dilo” was analyzed. **Conclusions.** Thus, the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, despite censorship and persecution by the Polish occupation authorities, was one of the most

informative press sources about the daily life of Ukrainian society in Galicia. The issue of education of the Ukrainians was one of the key issues on the newspaper's pages: about 50 publications (articles and short reports) focused on the issues of primary, secondary, vocational and higher education. The leading refrain of publications in the newspaper "Dilo" regarding Ukrainian schooling was the topic of oppression by the Polish authorities, which manifested itself in the closure of the Ukrainian primary and secondary schools, the ban on the use of the Ukrainian language at schools as the language of instruction and administration, the conversion of the Ukrainian schools into the Polish ones, and opposition to the opening of new Ukrainian educational institutions. Reports about successful educational projects of the Ukrainians (for example, about the elementary school in Berezhany, the Commercial School in Lviv, the private Ukrainian gymnasium in Yavoriv) were episodic and gave way to negative descriptions of the oppression of the Ukrainian schooling by the Polish authorities. The newspaper's editorial staff consistently advocated for the national character of the Ukrainian schools and reconstruction of the Ukrainian educational system that existed in Galicia before World War I. At the same time, it noted the deterioration of educational achievements and prospects for the Ukrainians due to Poland's incorporation and assimilation policies. In the newspaper chief focus is on the issue of the Ukrainian University creation in Lviv, the activities of the Petro Mohyla Scientific Lecture Society. We consider the analysis of the articles published in the newspaper "Dilo" on the activities of the Ukrainian educational public organizations that resumed their activities after World War I to be a promising direction of research.

**Key words:** Newspaper "Dilo", Post-War Reconstruction, Ukrainian education, schooling, educational policy, Polish Republic, Western Ukrainian People's Republic.

## ВІДБУДОВА ЧИ ЗАНЕПАД: ПІСЛЯВОЄННИЙ СТАН УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ОСВІТИ НА ГАЛИЧИНІ У ВИСВІТЛЕННІ ГАЗЕТИ "ДІЛО" (1918 – 1923)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – з'ясувати особливості реценції авторами та редакцією газети "Діло" проблем відбудови і трансформації освіти на Галичині у перші роки після закінчення Великої війни. Хронологічні рамки дослідження визначаються завершенням Першої світової війни у листопаді 1918 року і офіційним визнанням Радою Амбасадорів суверенітету Польщі над Східною Галичиною у березні 1923 року. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, а також на методи критики історичних джерел, контент-аналізу пресових матеріалів. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше в історичній науці проаналізовано висвітлення українською газетою "Діло" проблем реконструкції та трансформації освіти на Галичині 1918 – 1923 років. **Висновки.** З'ясовано, що українська щоденна газета "Діло", попри цензуру і переслідування з боку польських окупаційних властей, була одним із найбільш інформативних пресових джерел про щоденне життя українського суспільства Галичини. Питання освіти українців було одним із ключових на шпальтах газети, поступаючи лише матеріалам про геополітичну ситуацію та політику польських властей на окупованих українських землях. Близько 50 публікацій (статей і коротких повідомлень) було присвячено питанням початкового, середнього, професійного і вищого шкільництва. Провідним рефреном публікацій у газеті "Діло" щодо українського шкільництва була тема утисків польської влади, які проявлялися у закритті українських початкових і середніх шкіл, забороні використання української мови у школі як мови навчання і адміністрації, перетворенні українських шкіл на польські. Повідомлення про успішні освітні проекти українців (наприклад, про початкову школу в Бережанах, Торгівельну школу у Львові, приватну українську гімназію в Яворові) були епізодичними і поступалися місцем негативним характеристикам утисків польською владою українського шкільництва. Редакція газети послідовно виступала за національний характер української школи, засуджувала умови, через які українські діти змушені були навчатися у польських освітніх закладах. Значну увагу в газеті присвячено питанню створення українського університету у Львові, діяльності Товариства наукових викладів ім. Петра Могили. Перспективним напрямом досліджень вважаємо аналіз матеріалів газети "Діло", присвячених діяльності українських освітніх громадських організацій, які відновили діяльність після Першої світової війни.

**Ключові слова:** газета "Діло", повоєнна відбудова, українська освіта, шкільництво, освітня політика, Польська Республіка, Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка.

**Problem Statement.** The researchers consider the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, published in 1880 – 1939, one of the most informative press sources about a daily life of Ukrainian society in Galicia. After World War I, the newspaper was under extremely difficult conditions due to the Polish occupation of the region. Censorship, confiscation of issues circulations, a ban on publishing, and arrests of editors became an integral part of the newspaper's circulations in 1918 – 1923.

At that time, several important factors influenced the coverage of various aspects of the reconstruction and development of education in the territory of Galicia by the Ukrainian periodicals. Firstly, after the end of World War I, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (hereinafter – the ZUNR) was formed in the territory of Eastern Galicia, the majority of whose population was Ukrainian. From the first days of its existence, the young Ukrainian state found itself at war with Poland, which claimed the territory of all of Galicia, the largest province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. By mid-July 1919, the Polish troops, receiving material support from the Entente, had managed to invade the entire territory of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. Thus, the Polish occupation authority was established in Eastern Galicia, whose representatives sought to integrate the Ukrainian lands into the Polish Republic as soon as possible at the political and international legal level. Secondly, after 1921, Poland's national policy was determined by the idea of incorporation and assimilation of national minorities, primarily the Ukrainians and the Belarusians. Incorporation goals were implemented primarily through the sphere of education, which was manifested in various restrictions on schooling for national minorities. Thirdly, under the conditions of the uncertain international legal status of Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian political forces and public organizations tried to preserve Ukrainian educational institutions, defend the Ukrainian language of instruction, and provide Ukrainian children and youth with opportunities to obtain not only primary, but also secondary, vocational, and higher education. These historical processes often determined the content and main emphases of materials in the Ukrainian press in Eastern Galicia in 1918 – 1923.

The newspaper “Dilo” ceased publication after the invasion of Lviv by the Polish troops at the end of November 1918 due to a ban by the Polish authorities. The publication of the newspaper was resumed in 1920, but under the name “Hromadska Dumka” (a publisher Roman Perfetsky, an editor-in-chief Stepan Charnetsky). For a short time (October-November 1920) the newspaper was called “Ukrainian Dumka” (a publisher Oleksandr Yevhen Kostyk, an editor-in-chief S. Charnetsky), from January 1921 – “Ukrainian Vistnyk” (an editor Mykhailo Strutynsky). In 1922 the newspaper changed its name three times: from February to August – “Hromadsky Vistnyk” (an editor Oleksa Kuzma), from September to November – “Dilo” (the editors Fed' Fedortsiv and Volodymyr Tselevych), from November to December – “Svoboda” (an editor O. Kuzma). From January 1923, the newspaper was called “Hromadsky Vistnyk” again, and only from April 3 of the same year was it returned to its original name – “Dilo”, under which it was published until September 1939, when it was banned by the Russian Soviet occupation authorities (Kurylyshyn, 2022, pp. 5–6). Such frequent changes in name, editors, and publishers were due to persecution by the Polish occupation authorities and the constant struggle of the Ukrainian public for freedom of speech and the right to inform the population of the region about current events.

**Review of Recent Research and Publications.** The state of education in Eastern Galicia after World War I was studied by Klemens Trzebiatowski, Stanislaw Mauersberg, Bohdan Stuparyk, Halyna Zanic, Mykola Halai, Tetiana Zavhorodnia, Lesia Aleksiyevets,

Halyna Bilavych, Mykola Haliv, and the others. Among recent studies, we should single out the monograph by Oksana Ruda, in which the national educational policy of the Polish governments towards the population of Galicia is elucidated during the interwar period (Ruda, 2019). The articles by Mykola Haliv, Vasyl Ilnytskyi, and Ivan Matkovskiy outline the social situation of the Ukrainian and Polish teachers and their views on World War I and post-war reconstruction (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2019; Haliv, Ilnytskyi, & Matkowski, 2025; Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2025). Vitaliy Telvak analyzed the views of a historian Myron Korduba on education as a factor in the restoration of the Ukrainian national life after World War I (Telvak, 2024). The newspaper “Dilo” as a source for the history of Ukrainian schooling and Ukrainian public organizations is analyzed in the studies by Vitaliy Vyzdryk, Kostiantyn Kurylyshyn, Mykola Haliv (Vyzdryk, & Kurylyshyn, 2020; Vyzdryk, & Kurylyshyn, 2022; Kurylyshyn, & Haliv, 2024). Materials for biobibliography in the newspaper “Dilo” were analyzed by K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2022). Some methodological aspects of source material analysis are elucidated in the studies by Mykola Haliv and Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Haliv, & Ilnytskyi, 2021; Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2022).

**The purpose** of the study is to identify the peculiarities of the reception by the authors and editorial staff of the newspaper “Dilo” of the reconstruction and transformation issues in Galicia in the first years after the end of the Great War. The chronological framework of the study is determined by the end of World War I in November 1918 and the official recognition by the Council of Ambassadors of the Polish sovereignty over Eastern Galicia in March 1923.

**Research Results.** The issue of education was one of the key issues in the columns of the newspaper “Dilo”, the second only to materials on the geopolitical situation and the policy of the Polish authorities in the occupied Ukrainian lands. Analyzing and characterizing publications on the state of education on the pages of the newspaper under study, we will highlight the materials on primary, secondary, vocational and higher education.

The leading refrain of publications in the newspaper “Dilo” regarding primary (public) schooling was the topic of oppression by the Polish authorities, which manifested itself in the closure of the Ukrainian schools, the ban on the use of the Ukrainian language at schools as the language of instruction and administration, and the conversion of Ukrainian schools into Polish ones. The headlines “Ukrainian School is Dying” and “Challenging Cynicism” became common to characterize the attitude of the Polish authorities towards the Ukrainian schooling. To convincingly substantiate the thesis about the closure of the Ukrainian schools, the editorial board of “Dilo” operated with statistical information. Thus, in the article “Ukrainian School is Dying” in October 1922, it was noted that in the 1911/1912 academic year there were 2,612 Ukrainian schools in Galicia, and in the 1920/1921 academic year there were 1,930, i.e. 682 fewer educational institutions. During the period under analysis, the Ukrainian schools missed 235 schools in Lviv Voivodeship, 141 schools in Stanislaviv Voivodeship, and 279 schools in Ternopil Voivodeship. Instead, the number of Polish schools increased: 163 Polish schools were founded in Lviv Voivodeship, 122 – in Stanislaviv Voivodeship, and 54 – in Ternopil Voivodeship. Indicators of the decrease in Ukrainian primary school enrollment were also reported in counties. For example, in Brody county 31 Ukrainian schools ceased operations, Turka – 31, Lisko – 30, Stary Sambir – 35, Ternopil – 29, Zalizhchyky – 23, Zbarazh – 21, Zboriv – 22, Zolochiv – 20, Bibrka – 20, Sianok – 28, Borshchiv – 13, Berezhany – 13, Buchach – 19, Chortkiv – 10, Husiatyn – 19, Pidhaitsi – 11, Radekhiv – 15, Skalat – 14, Dolyna – 18, Kalush – 11, Rohatyn – 19, Skole – 12, Stanislaviv – 10, Tovmach – 12, Dobromyl – 12, Yaroslav – 14, Sambir – 12, Sokal – 16, Zhovkva – 12.

At the same time, the number of Polish schools increased significantly, in particular in Stary Sambir district from 9 to 51. According to the author of the article, the consequence of such steps was the loss of the “Ukrainian nature” of some districts, because the number of primary educational institutions with the Ukrainian language of instruction decreased to a critical level. Thus, in Chortkiv, Terebovlia, Brody counties, there are 13 Ukrainian schools left, and in Staryi Sambir county – only 6. Placing some of the blame for this state of affairs on the Ukrainians, the newspaper's editorial board called: “In this case the Ukrainian people must show the greatest possible activity and not dare to allow the right to their own school to be taken away from them. Fighting by all means against the Polish school for Ukrainian children, establishing their own schools with the greatest sacrifice – this is a call that must embrace the entire region” (Ukrainska shkola hyne, 1922a, p. 2).

In addition, the newspaper's editorial staff, using Polish statistical sources, claimed that during the two years of the Polish occupation, approximately a quarter of the Ukrainian schools that had operated before the war disappeared. At the same time, it was emphasized that the situation was much worse, since one should take into account not only the number of schools, but also the number of classes at schools. In total, at the end of 1921, 9,856 classes at primary schools operated in Eastern Galicia, of which 7,211 were at Polish schools and 2,645 – at Ukrainian schools (Ukrainska dytyna bez shkoly i nauky, 1922, p. 1; Krovava budivlia, 1923, p. 7). Having noted such injustice, the newspaper's editorial office emphasized that the Polish schools were mostly multi-class, while the Ukrainian educational centres were one- or two-class, and only rarely schools with more classes occurred. Under such conditions, Ukrainian children lost the opportunity to continue their education at secondary or vocational schools. “And this curse has been weighing on our people ever since the Polish authorities took over the helm of schooling in Ukrainian Galicia”, the article in the newspaper “Dilo” emotionally and sharply stated (Ukrainska dytyna bez shkoly i nauky, 1922, p. 1). Then, information was cited from the study by Mykhailo Halushchynsky, according to which 150,000 Ukrainian children were forced to receive primary education at Polish schools. Approximately the same number of Ukrainian children did not attend school at all in 1920/21 (Ukrainska dytyna bez shkoly i nauky, 1922, p. 2). In February 1923, the newspaper noted that approximately 320,000 Ukrainian children were unable to receive education in the Ukrainian language at their native schools (Krovava budivlia, 1923, p. 7). The newspaper's editors, F. Fedortsiv and V. Tselevych, sharply criticized the policy of the Polish authorities aimed at sending the Ukrainian teachers to teach in the central and western provinces of Poland, i.e. in ethnic Polish lands (Ukrainska shkola hyne, 1922b, p. 3).

The editorial board of the newspaper “Dilo” critically described the changes in the syllabus content of primary education. According to the editorial board, education at primary schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction should have a “thoroughly Ukrainian national character”. The Ukrainian Language, History, Geography, and Nature of Ukraine should constitute the central content of education and upbringing. The teaching staff should consist of the Ukrainians. However, the district school inspectors demanded that the Polish Language and the History of Poland be the main subjects at the Ukrainian schools. The inspectors, with the support of the school authorities, actively changed the teaching staff at the Ukrainian schools, dismissing the Ukrainian teachers and appointing the Poles. Therefore, the article called on the Ukrainian parents to oppose this and have their say. The problem of Ukrainian children going to the Polish schools was raised again (their number this time was 200 thousand), and therefore the editorial board called on the public through the press



and official protests to the authorities to advocate for the establishment of the Ukrainian schools, as well as to collect facts about the abuses of the Polish administration in the field of education. It expressed confidence that each community can achieve the establishment of its own private Ukrainian school (*Yaka nauka v ukrainskykh shkolakh*, 1922, p. 2).

The authors and editorial staff of the newspaper “Dilo” focused on revealing specific facts related to the pressure of the Polish authorities on the Ukrainian school. In particular, during the period of 1920 several publications revealed the situation that developed around the Markiyan Shashkevych four-grade school in Lviv, which was the only Ukrainian educational institution financed by the city budget. The school, as it is known, was intended for boys, but due to the fact that the Ukrainian language was not taught at Polish girls' schools, separate departments for girls were opened at the Markiyan Shashkevych school. However, on December 1, 1919 the Lviv District School Board, which consisted of the Poles, decided to replace five teachers Ukrainians with teachers the Poles. This step caused a protest among parents. At the end of February 1920, they held a meeting and adopted a resolution in which they expressed disagreement with the actions of the District School Board, demanding the inclusion of a Ukrainian representative “with an influential voice” regarding the Ukrainian schools and the appointment of a separate school inspector, a Ukrainian by nationality, for the Ukrainian educational institutions. The parents' demands also concerned the division of the school into two autonomous units (for boys and girls) and the transfer of the educational institution to adapted premises (*Narada ukrainskykh lvivskykh rodychiv*, 1920, p. 5). The protest was also supported by the general Ukrainian population of Lviv, whose representatives repeatedly addressed these issues to various official factors (*Nedolia ukrainskoi shkoly*, 1920, p. 2). The authorities not only did not react at the Ukrainian requests, but also sent Josyf Tanchakovsky, the principal of the Markiyan Shashkevych School, to the Polish educational institution (*Miska Rada Shkil.*, 1920, p. 3).

The newspaper's editorial office did not miss the difficult situation regarding the Ukrainian primary schools in the town of Stryi. Immediately after the occupation of the town by the Polish troops, all Ukrainian schools were closed, and Ukrainian children were forced to go to the Polish schools or, if possible, study at home. In June 1920, the local group of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, with the support of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, appealed to the Regional School Council in Lviv with a request to allow the opening of Ukrainian schools in Stryi. It was emphasized that Ukrainian children's attending Polish schools was undesirable from a pedagogical point of view and unacceptable from a national point of view. The Ukrainians supported their request with an interesting appendix – an order of the Ukrainian political authorities of the Stryi district of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic of January 18, 1919, according to which six Ukrainian and five Polish folk and special (lower and upper primary) schools had the right to operate in the town of Stryi in order to ensure equal access to education for children of both nationalities (*V spravi Ridnoi Shkoly*, 1920, p. 4). Thus, the Ukrainian public activists tried to point out to the Polish administration that the Ukrainian authorities had taken a more democratic approach to meeting the educational needs of national communities in Stryi.

In May 1922, the newspaper under study published the article about the closure of an educational centre in Levandivka, a suburb of Lviv. The story was that local residents, despite financial hardship, were able to organize courses for their children and hire four Ukrainian teachers. However, the Polish authorities banned the courses. The Ukrainian

public made numerous attempts to establish an independent school or at least a branch of the B. Hrinchenko Lviv primary school, and teachers even officially declared their loyalty to the Polish state. However, the authorities did not grant permission for the training and even sent gendarmes who expelled teachers and children, who were then forced to conduct lessons out-of-doors. Emphasizing the injustice of such steps, the unknown author of the article also cited the opinions of individual Polish citizens who reacted to the authorities' actions negatively (Zakryttia shkoly na Levandivtsi, 1922, p. 4). In September 1922, the newspaper "Dilo" reported on the ban on opening the Ukrainian private schools in the town of Sokal. The Polish authorities motivated their actions by the fact that the Polish schools in this town supposedly fully meet the educational needs of local population (Zaborona vidkryttia ukrainskykh shkil, 1922, pp. 3–4).

The newspaper "Dilo" published reports on the opening of the Ukrainian schools quite rarely. One of the few exceptions was the article about the Ukrainian private school in the town of Berezhany, which the local group of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society managed to establish in September 1922 after two years of efforts. Since the school building was transferred to the state police department, the educational process had to be organized in the premises of the "Berezhansky Boyan" society. It was reported about the education of children in two classes, the activities of the principal (Fr. Ivan Korduba) and school teachers (Olha Babiak and Olha Borodaikiv). Traditionally, there was a call to the Ukrainian public to support the school with financial donations (Dopysy z kraiu, 1922, p. 4).

The authors and editorial staff of the newspaper "Dilo" focused on vocational education as well. One of the first Ukrainian vocational educational institutions restored after the Great War was the Trade School of the "Prosvita" society. Already in 1919, 125 people studied there. According to press reports, the school needed a significant financial support, since the expenses amounted to 65 thousand Polish marks, and the students paid only 23 thousand (Do nashykh povitovykh kooperatyv, 1920, p. 4). According to the newspaper "Dilo", in 1921/1922 academic year, 267 people were educated at the educational institution, of whom 194 were men and 73 were women. The school trained specialists for the trade sector under two syllabuses: a two-year and one-year syllabus. However, 46 people left the school during the academic year, mostly for financial reasons. The teaching staff of the trade school consisted of a school principal and 16 teachers, of whom 13 worked part-time. It is important that the newspaper article listed the names of the school principal (a famous historian, educator, and cooperative activist Denys Korenets) and all the teachers, among whom were high school professors, lawyers, judges, and bank employees. It turns out that the principal of the "Narodna Torhivlia" cooperative, Yevstahiy Nahirny, also worked at the school, teaching Commodity Studies. Sylvestra Frenkel led a non-credit English course. In total, 125 people finished the school in the mentioned above academic year (39 – two-year studying curriculum, 86 – one-year studying curriculum), 32 women among them. All of them were given the opportunity to find employment at trade, industrial, and financial enterprises and institutions (Torhovelnna Shkola, 1922, p. 6).

Another professional educational institution of the "Prosvita" Society, the activity of which was highlighted by the "Dilo" newspaper, was the economic and horticultural school in the village of Myluvanny near the town of Stanislaviv. This institution ceased its activities during the war and renewed its activities by members of the "Prosvita" Society only in 1922. The winter five-month course started on December 26. In addition to economic sciences, students were taught such subjects as Botany, Accounting, History and Geography of Ukraine,

and Ukrainian Literature at the economic and horticultural school (Zymovyi hospodarskyi kurs u Myluvaniu, 1922, p. 4).

Only one article in the newspaper under study focused on the issue of professional training of the Ukrainian teachers. This is despite the fact that since 1920 several Ukrainian private teacher training seminaries had been restored or started their activities, including the seminary of the Sisters of St. Basil in Drohobych (Haliv, 2020, p. 54). At the beginning of early September 1922, in the article “Challenging Cynicism”, the editors of the “Dilo” newspaper F. Fedortsiv and V. Tselevych elucidated the state of affairs at the Ukrainian private Seminary courses in Lviv and Przemyśl. The Polish authorities granted permission to conduct such courses, but at the same time limited the number of female students in one course to 40 people and did not agree to the opening of equal departments. At the Seminary courses in Przemyśl, this led to the forced expulsion of 46 female students who had passed the entrance exams and had the full right to study. At the same time, the authorities allowed the Przemyśl Polish Teachers' Seminary to establish three departments (40 students each) for the first year. The authors emphasized that over the past three years, two Ukrainian teachers' seminaries in Lviv and Przemyśl managed to train about 3,000 teachers, to whom the Polish Board of Trustees of the Lviv School District did not provide positions at schools in the region. The authors of the article saw this as the Polish “plan for the spiritual and educational impoverishment of the Ukrainian people”, and therefore called on the Ukrainian public to donate to support the Ukrainian private schools. “A living nation will not allow itself to be killed!” – the newspaper publication pathetically emphasized (Vyzyvaiuchy tsynizm, 1922a, pp. 1–2).

In 1918 – 1923, the editorial board of the newspaper monitored the facts and informed readers about the development of the Ukrainian secondary (state and private) education. First of all, it reported on the work of the oldest Ukrainian secondary school in Lviv – the Academic Gymnasium and its branch. One of the publications reported that the state Academic Gymnasium and its branch were located in the People's House, since the school premises were occupied by the Polish soldiers. However, due to the lack of classrooms in the People's House, it was necessary to transfer the training of Gymnasium students to evening hours, as a result of which it was not possible to conduct classes in optional subjects: Singing, Gymnastics, French. In 1920/21, parents of Gymnasium students appealed to the local school authorities and the relevant ministry twice with a demand to release the Gymnasium building from the military presence and carry out the necessary repair work in its premises immediately (Z pekuchykh sprav, 1921, p. 3; Vpysy do akademichnoi himnazii, 1920, p. 5).

The activities of the Ukrainian private Gymnasium in Yavoriv, which belonged to the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, received positive reviews. At the beginning of January 1923, the newspaper under study described a full eight-grade Gymnasium, to the financing of which the Ukrainian public directed significant resources, since student fees were not enough for its maintenance. More than 200 students were educated at this secondary school, and the teaching staff, led by the principal Bohdan Stavnychy, consisted of 11 teachers. The Yavoriv private Gymnasium had its own two-story building. The high-quality level of education at this school was even recognized by the Polish authorities, who granted it the “right to publicize” (i.e. the right to independently conduct transfer and final exams independently) for Grades 1–6 in the 1922/23 academic year (Yavorivskyi vistnyk, 1923, p. 7). The short messages contained information about state gymnasiums with the Ukrainian language of instruction in Ternopil and Stanislaviv (Dyrektsiia derzhavnoi himnazii, 1920, p. 5; V derzhavnii himnazii,



1920, p. 4). However, such publications about the success of the Ukrainian secondary education were rare.

Usually, the newspaper “Dilo” covered the issues related to the obstacles that the Polish administration created for the development of the Ukrainian secondary schools. The authors and editorial staff of the newspaper focused on the affairs of gymnasiums in Horodenka, Rohatyn, Dobromyl, Stryi, and Dolyna. Thus, in 1919, the Polish authorities confiscated the building of the Ukrainian private Gymnasium in Horodenka for the needs of the army, after which classes were held in the premises of the student dormitory. However, this building was also handed over to the Polish gendarmerie in May 1920, as a result of which students and teachers held classes in the yard out-of-doors. Official appeals to the authorities were unsuccessful, even though other buildings were offered to accommodate the troops. A similar situation occurred in Rohatyn, where the Ukrainian gymnasium was evicted from its own building (Yak ne dovbneiu to palytseiu, 1920, p. 4). A detailed description of all the interrogations related to the Horodenka Ukrainian Gymnasium was published in the newspaper article, which outlined the history of the Gymnasium since 1909 and the multiple destruction of its property by the Polish and Romanian troops during World War I. The appeal of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society to the Polish Ministry of Military Affairs and the Ministry of Public Education yielded no results. As a result of denunciations against teachers and Gymnasium students to the gendarmerie, the county eldership, and the National School Council, the Ukrainian Gymnasium in Horodenka was transformed into “gymnasium courses”, which were soon also banned on the pretext that the teachers did not have the appropriate qualifications. The authors of the article emphasized the injustice of such accusations, since the same teachers worked at the gymnasium as during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and therefore saw the authorities' steps as a manifestation of the Polish chauvinism (Martyrolohiia pryvatnoi himnazii v Horodentsi, 1921, p. 3). Another reason for the ban on the activity of the Gymnasium in Horodenka was the alleged “hostile attitude of the youth towards the Polish nationality” (Horodensku himnaziiu rozviazano, 1921, p. 3). In June 1922, the Ukrainian public of Horodenka district appealed to the newspaper “Dilo” with an appeal to defend the reopening of the Ukrainian Private Gymnasium, despite the fact that the Polish residents of the town protested against it and tried to establish their own secondary school and enroll the Ukrainian children (V spravi ukrainskoi himnazii v Horodentsi, 1922, p. 2).

In the early summer of 1922, the Polish authorities banned the activities of the Ukrainian Private Gymnasium courses in Dobromyl, which was immediately reported by the newspaper “Dilo” (Zamknennia ukrainskykh himnaziinykh kursiv, 1922, p. 5). In September of the same year, the Ukrainians attempted to renew the Gymnasium's activity, but the Polish police dispersed the students and teachers with bayonets (Vyzyvaiuchy tsynizm, 1922b, p. 1). In November 1922, by order of the Polish authorities, the Markiyan Shashkevych Ukrainian Private Gymnasium in the town of Dolyna was closed. At the same time, the gendarmerie arrested four Gymnasium professors (Pokhid proty ukrainskoi shkoly, 1922, p. 7; Prychyny zakryttia, 1922, p. 4). In two Polish gymnasiums in the town of Stryi, school inspector Payonk eliminated the subject “Ukrainian Language”, citing the lack of teachers (V stryiskykh himnaziakh, 1921, p. 3). The contributors to the newspaper “Dilo” also criticized those Ukrainian teachers of the Polish Gymnasium in Stryi who took a loyal position towards Poland, among them the famous Ukrainian writer, literary critic and teacher Denys Lukiyanovych (Zi stryiskoi himnazii, 1921, p. 4).

The reform of education content in real gymnasiums, initiated in 1921, also caused some reflections among the contributors to the "Dilo" newspaper. In June 1922, the newspaper published an appeal of parents of gymnasium students who studied at the Lviv Real Gymnasium with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. In the appeal there was mentioned dissatisfaction with the changes made to the curriculum of real gymnasiums, which consisted, firstly, in removing the subject "Latin" from the first grades and transferring its study to the fourth and subsequent grades, with a sharp increase in the number of hours to the detriment of other subjects; secondly, the German language was kept as compulsory, but French and English were deprived of such importance, which were deemed optional; thirdly, the hours of the abolished the Greek language (which were received quite positively) were not transferred to the study of necessary subjects for high school students, primarily modern languages. Parents of high school students complained that officials of the Lviv School District Board of Trustees promised them to make changes to the new curriculum, calling it experimental, but failed to do so. On the other hand, the parents' appeal cited the example of the private Ukrainian high school in Stanislaviv, where teachers managed to defend their own curriculum, which included: 1) the study of the Ukrainian and German languages from Grade 1; 2) beginning of the study of Latin from Grade 2; 3) beginning of study of French from Grade 3; 4) "real subjects" were also introduced in all primary grades. In addition, the appeal demanded that the Lviv Real Gymnasium be provided with teachers who can teach "real subjects", rather than sending teachers from classical gymnasiums (*V spravi ukrainskoi realnoi himnazii u Lvovi*, 1922, p. 4).

No less painful for the authors and editorial staff of the newspaper "Dilo" were the issues of higher education. World War I prevented the implementation of the decision of the Austrian authorities to establish Ukrainian University in Lviv. Therefore, the only classical University in Eastern Galicia remained the University of Franz I, in which Ukrainian Professors tried to defend the rights of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction and document circulation. In February 1918, the Ukrainian Professors and Associate Professors of the University welcomed the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty, the terms of which, among other things, provided for the accession of Chełm land and Podlasie land to the UNR. The statement of the scholars was a counterbalance to the protest statement of their Polish colleagues and, based on facts, argued that "the historical rights of the Poles to Chełm are much younger than the Ukrainians" (*Zaiava ukrainskykh profesoriv i dotsentiv*, 1918, p. 1). In the summer of the same year, the newspaper "Dilo" reported that the University had problems with the habilitation procedure for the Ukrainians. They were explained by "wartime circumstances", although there were no restrictions to the Poles (*Ukraintsi i lvivskyi universytet*, 1918, pp. 1–2).

The next report in the newspaper "Dilo", which concerned the University, was related to the transfer of the Galician Regional Diet building for the needs of an institution of higher education. The celebrations took place on May 3, 1920, with the participation of representatives of the Polish authorities at various levels, the administration and Polish student youth (*Lvivskyi universytet v soimovim budynku*, 1920, p. 4). The Ukrainians were denied access to the University because, among the conditions for enrollment, it was necessary to submit documents proving the Polish citizenship and service in the Polish army. The Ukrainians did not possess such documents, because, based on international law, they did not have any Polish citizenship and were not obliged to serve in the Polish army. The same restrictions began to be applied at the Higher Technical School in Lviv (*Lvivskyi universytet dalshe*

zamknenyi, 1920, p. 3; Lvivska tekhnika zamknena, 1920, p. 3; Kurylyshyn, 2022, p. 60). In an attempt to resolve the problem, the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee sent a delegation to the Polish Minister of Education. The process of negotiations between the Ukrainian delegation, consisting of Stepan Fedak, Kyrylo Studinsky, and Vasyl Shchurat, and Minister Maciej Rataj, was covered in a separate article in the newspaper "Dilo" (at that time – the "Hromadska Dumka"). It was noted that the Ukrainian delegation demanded the admission of Ukrainian students and professors to the University, but the Minister refused, since this issue, according to him, was related to the problem of international affiliation of Eastern Galicia and obligation of military service for Ukrainian youth. To this, a lawyer S. Fedak objected that women were not allowed to study at the University, although they were not obliged to serve in the Polish army. Therefore, the Minister of Education M. Rataj saw the solution to the problem in the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Stanislaviv or the opening of Ukrainian Private University courses in Lviv. The Ukrainian delegation spoke against the idea of establishing the University in provincial Stanislaviv (*Ukrainska delehatsiia v polskoho ministra prosvity*, 1920, p. 2).

On September 25, 1920, the newspaper's editorial office learned that the Polish government intended to submit to the Sejm for consideration a draft law on the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Kolomyia or Stanislaviv consisting of two faculties: Theology and Law (*Ukrainskyi universytet v Stanislavovi?*, 1920, p. 4). The decision in favour of Stanislaviv was made at a joint meeting of the educational and constitutional commissions of the Sejm in the presence of the Minister of Education in March 1921. This time, it was also about two faculties, but this time – Theological and Natural Sciences (not Law). 10 million Polish marks were allocated for the implementation of the project. Describing such a proposal, the editorial staff of the newspaper "Dilo" (at that time – the "Ukraysky Visnyk" newspaper) made the following observations: 1) there is the Theological Seminary in Stanislaviv, and establishment of Law Courses there will not turn this institution into University; 2) the Ukrainian University can be only located in Lviv as the central city of Ukrainian Galicia; 3) the establishment of University is not certain, since the Poles postpone this issue until the formation of voivodeships in Eastern Galicia; 4) to give Stanislaviv the status of a full-fledged University town, the Polish government planned to establish the Polish Forestry Academy there, thus increasing the number of Polish higher education institutions, while 4 million Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia would have to be content with a small educational institution called a "University" (*"Ruski" universytet u Stanislavovi*, 1921, p. 1). In the next issue, the newspaper's editorial board called the project to establish the Ukrainian University in Stanislaviv a "painful joke", in part because the allocation of 10 million Polish marks is barely enough for the annual maintenance of two four-grade elementary schools. The provincial town, even after its transformation into the centre of the voivodeship, has no appropriate libraries. It was then noted: the Ukrainians always fought for their University in Lviv and consider the division of the Utraquist Lviv University into two higher education institutions: Polish and Ukrainian, a fair decision. The editorial board interpreted such a step as a matter of satisfying cultural, not political, interests of the Ukrainians. At the same time, it was hinted that even the Germans, having occupied central Poland during World War I, founded University and Polytechnic in Warsaw for the Poles (*Boliuchyi zhart*, 1921, p. 1).

Given the unresolved issue of the Ukrainian University by the Polish authorities, the Ukrainian public developed other forms of higher education for young people. The Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Scientific Issues Society in Lviv remained a component of higher education

for the Ukrainians, which resumed its activities in March 1917. Lectures and seminars were conducted by famous Ukrainian scholars in the hall of the M. Lysenko Institute. However, with the arrival of the Polish authorities, the Society suspended its activities. According to the newspaper "Dilo", in October 1919 the Society submitted a request to the Governorate in Lviv for permission to conduct systematic scientific courses, but was refused, based on incorrect documentation. The ban was protested at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but officials were in no hurry to respond (Vazhni dokumenty, 1920, pp. 2–3; Zbory, 1920, p. 4).

The next attempt to start a systematic course of higher education came at the beginning of 1921. At the end of February, the newspaper "Dilo" published information that a systematic course of higher education would begin on March 1, 1921, in the building of the "Ukrainian Conversation" Society (Z Tovarystva, 1921, p. 3). However, the Lviv Police Directorate banned the courses, stating that such systematic presentations belong to University, not scientific or popular science courses. It was recommended to change the Society's charter and approve it in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education. The letter banning the courses was published in the newspaper "Dilo" (Zaborona systematychnykh kursiv, 1921, p. 2). Therefore, the editorial board of the newspaper published an open letter of the Main Council of the Petro Mohyla Society of Ukrainian Scientific Lectures to the General Delegate of the Polish Government for Galicia, Kazimierz Galecki, which emphasized the right of the Society, in accordance with its charter, to conduct systematic scientific and popular science presentations, and also exposed excessive, even absurd restrictions on the part of the Polish police (Rakovskiy, & Strutynskiy, 1921, pp. 1–2). However, these steps did not yield results, so the newspaper's editorial board stated "the horror of the Poles concerning education of the Ukrainians" (Zhakh pered osvitoiu, 1921, p. 5). In October 1922, the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Scientific Society announced the beginning of another series of lectures (Inavhuratsiia vykladiv, 1922, p. 1). However, the Polish police dispersed everyone who had gathered to listen to scientific lectures in the building of the M. Lysenko Music Institute (Politsiia proty, 1922, p. 4; Zaborona inavhuratsii naukovykh vykladiv, 1922, p. 2).

It should be noted that the Ukrainian Secret University in Lviv began operating in July 1921, as a reaction to the liquidation of the Ukrainian departments at the state Lviv University and the admission of only those applicants who had Polish citizenship and served in the Polish army. Despite the restrictions, the Ukrainians nevertheless entered the then Polish University. Criticism of these students was quite harsh. For example, in one of the secret leaflets their names were published and they were called "dead for the Ukrainian people", as reported by the newspaper "Dilo" (Spys "pomershnykh" na taiemnykh klepsydy, 1922, p. 5).

Of course, the activities of Secret Ukrainian University were not covered in the newspaper under study so as not to expose students and teachers to police persecution. Only once did the editorial board of the "Dilo" newspaper openly talk about the activities of the Ukrainian University, telling about the holding of a special meeting (questionnaire) on University affairs in Lviv on February 12, 1923, during which representatives of the Ukrainian political parties, scientific, educational and financial institutions, and some prominent public figures stated that "the development of Ukrainian private higher education institutions in Lviv has advanced... so far that it became necessary to enter from the first stage of secret action onto the path of open action..." (Ukrainskyi Universytet u Lvovi, 1923, p. 1). However, as it is known, the Secret Ukrainian University never became an official educational institution and ceased to operate in 1925.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the Ukrainian daily newspaper “Dilo”, despite censorship and persecution by the Polish occupation authorities, was one of the most informative press sources about the daily life of Ukrainian society in Galicia. The issue of education of the Ukrainians was one of the key issues on the newspaper's pages: about 50 publications (articles and short reports) focused on the issues of primary, secondary, vocational and higher education. The leading refrain of publications in the newspaper “Dilo” regarding Ukrainian schooling was the topic of oppression by the Polish authorities, which manifested itself in the closure of the Ukrainian primary and secondary schools, the ban on the use of the Ukrainian language at schools as the language of instruction and administration, the conversion of the Ukrainian schools into the Polish ones, and opposition to the opening of new Ukrainian educational institutions. Reports about successful educational projects of the Ukrainians (for example, about the elementary school in Berezhany, the Commercial School in Lviv, the private Ukrainian gymnasium in Yavoriv) were episodic and gave way to negative descriptions of the oppression of the Ukrainian schooling by the Polish authorities. The newspaper's editorial staff consistently advocated for the national character of the Ukrainian schools and reconstruction of the Ukrainian educational system that existed in Galicia before World War I. At the same time, it noted the deterioration of educational achievements and prospects for the Ukrainians due to Poland's incorporation and assimilation policies. In the newspaper chief focus is on the issue of the Ukrainian University creation in Lviv, the activities of the Petro Mohyla Scientific Lecture Society. We consider the analysis of the articles published in the newspaper “Dilo” on the activities of the Ukrainian educational public organizations that resumed their activities after World War I to be a promising direction of research.

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