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IVAN FRANKO'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISSEMINATION OF RADICAL IDEAS IN POKUTTIA

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Ivan Franko's contribution to the dissemination of radical ideas in Pokuttia is analyzed in the article. It is characterized his active cooperation with local leaders in the 1880–1890's. Attention is paid to public meeting movement, which was active mason and was the main component of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party in Galicia after 1890. The author claims that Franko particularly set his hopes on public meetings, truly thinking that the decisions passed there expressed will and needs of the Ukrainian people. At these meetings, he became acquainted with speakers, generally peasants, established friendship relations, and through their speeches promoted radical ideas in the region.

Keywords: *Ivan Franko, Pokuttia, radicals, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party, “Pokuttia trinity”, public meeting.*

The radicals represented the third group of the Galician public and political movement along with the national and Moscovophilia movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following Mykhailo Drahomanov's ideas they tried to get rid of the conservative views of the older generation, studied achievements of European culture and science, and wanted to devote themselves to work for the common people. The radicals were the first to set up mass political organization to protect national interests. At first in the history of Ukraine political party of modern type – the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party was created by them in Galicia in 1890 (leaders I. Franko and M. Pavlyk).

The outlined problem was deeply worked out by Ivan Bilinkevych¹, Vasyl Kostashchuk², Fedir Pohrebennyk³, Petro Arsenych⁴, Mykola Huivaniuk⁵, Vasyl Kharyton⁶, Teofil Vynohradnyk⁷, Osyp Kravcheniuk⁸, observing Ivan Franko's cooperation with the representatives of the “Pokuttia Trinity”, active participants of the radical movement in the region, Kameniar's participation in public meetings in Pokuttia.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the contribution of Ivan Franko in the dissemination of radical ideas in Pokuttia during the 1880–1890's. Achieving the goal involves solving the following tasks: to highlight his cooperation with leaders of the region in the 1880–1890's; to pay attention to

¹ Іван Білінкевич, *Іван Франко на Станіславщині: Біографічно-краєзнавчі нариси*. (Коломия: Вік, 2006).

² Василь Костащук, *Володар дум селянських*. 2-ге вид., доповн. (Ужгород: Карпати, 1968).

³ Федір Погребенник, *Василь Стефаник і родина Кирила Гаморака*. (Снятин: Прут Принт, 2000); Федір Погребенник, *Лесь Мартович: життя і творчість*. (Київ: Дніпро, 1971).

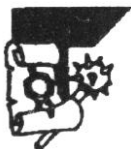
⁴ Петро Арсенич, *Прикарпаття в житті Каменяра*. (Івано-Франківськ: Лілея-НВ, 1995).

⁵ Микола Гуйванюк, “Іван Франко та січовий рух у Галичині й Буковині на початку ХХ ст.”, *Питання історії України. Збірник наукових статей*, no. 9 (2006): 94–98; Микола Гуйванюк, Олег Павлишин, “Кирило Трильовський – організатор і натхненник січового руху в Галичині й Буковині на початку ХХ ст.”, *Питання історії України. Збірник наукових статей*, no. 11 (2008): 39–44.

⁶ Василь Харитон, *З історії суспільно-політичного руху в Галичині і на Покутті наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст.* (Снятин: Прут Принт, 2007).

⁷ Теофіл Виноградник, *Франко в житті Стефаника. Статті, спомини, нариси*. (Івано-Франківськ: Тіповіт, 2006).

⁸ Осип Кравченко, “Коломия й радикальний рух”, у *Коломия й Коломийщина. Збірник споминів і статей про недавнє минуле*. (Філадельфія: Видання Комітету Коломийян, 1988), 431–441.



public meeting movement in which Kameniar actively participated being the main leader of the RURP in Galicia after 1890.

The key role in the dissemination of radical ideas was played by I. Franko, who with M. Pavlyk and O. Teryletsky published magazines "The Public Friend", "The Bell", "The Hammer". Ivan Franko dreamed of establishing a progressive political party. He wrote about this in a letter to M. Drahomanov in October 1881: "... above all the formation of a strong organization of the rural and urban working people, bringing together, streamlining and clarifying all the oppositional and revolutionary ideas that roam everywhere in people's heads"⁹.

Ivan Franko was aware of Western European Social Democratic parties programs and activities, but because these parties did not solve the peasant question, the peasants were considered as a conservative force, incapable of revolutionary action, he could not follow the Social Democrats. He was made to found a party aimed to solve the peasant question, because they constituted the majority in this region.

The radical movement was widespread in Pokuttia, in an agrarian area. Therefore, Ukrainian radicals paid special attention to the peasant masses, regarding them the basis of the democratic movement.

For the first time I. Franko visited Pokuttia, town Kolomyia in early March 1880. A few days later, in village Yabluniv of the Kolomyia district I. Franko was detained by gendarme corps, he was put in a police cell in Kolomyia Town Hall. On March 5, I. Franko was taken to the prison of the district court, where he stayed until June 26. Here the writer wrote "Hymn" ("Eternal revolutionary"), "In court", "Blow, wind, over the prison", "The truth is damaged everywhere", "To the comrades from prison" and other poems included to the collection "The ballads of the proletarians". Ivan Franko was accused of capturing with socialist's ideas, of involvement in attempt upon life of the head in village Moskalivka near the town Kosiv, but due to the absence of any evidence he was found innocent. However, on June 6, district court sentenced the writer to three days' arrest for violating the passport regime, and he was imprisoned in district jail until June 10, and from the 10th till 11th June he was captured in the town hall. The writer was released only on June 13, 1880. However, on June 15 he left village Naguievychi and returned to Kolomyia, where he spent "a terrible week at the hotel", waiting for a passport from town Drohobych and permission to go to village Nyzhnii Bereziv¹⁰.

On the seventh of October 1883 I. Franko for several hours visited M. Pavlyk in Kolomyia. On August 7, 1884, along with guests from Kyiv – writer Alexander Konysky and student of Kyiv University Fedir Mykolaychuk the writer arrived to town. Then in Kolomyia I. Franko had a meeting with the students calling to publish literary and scientific journal¹¹.

Kolomyia Gymnasia became the epicenter of radical ideas booming in the mid – 1880s. The secret community collected literature on socialist works of I. Franko, M. Drahomanov, Ukrainian and Polish authors, the study of which was not provided in the curriculum. High school students celebrated the Shevchenko's days, deepened their knowledge on the history of their motherland. The active participants of the community were Vasyl Stefanyk and Les Martovych – representatives of the "Pokuttia trinity", who followed new ideas proclaimed by Ivan Franko¹². Vasyl Stefanyk regarded Ivan Franko as the speaker of people's interests in literature and life, the distributor of radical ideas in his region. In his memoirs "Kameniar" ("The Masonry") (1936), V. Stefanyk wrote: "Always, returning to my home from Krakow, I visited Ivan Franko in Lviv... I was very glad to enter the first floor of the poet's study and library. He was as usual in an embroidered shirt, went out to the library... and called me as a guest for breakfast and dinner"¹³. And in "Autobiography" (1926), he admitted that with Ivan Franko he "... the whole life had the most amicable relations and who, perhaps was the only

⁹ Іван Франко, *Твори в 20-ти томах*. Київ, 1950–1955. Т. XX, 147.

¹⁰ Петро Арсенич, *Прикарпаття в житті Каменяра*, 27–28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹² Василь Равлюк, "Спогади про Василя Стефаника", *Ямгорів. Літературно-краєзнавчий і мистецький альманах*, no. 13–14 (2005): 109–110.

¹³ Василь Стефаник. *Повне зібрання творів: В трьох томах*. Т. 2: Автобіографічні твори, поезії в прозі, публіцистика, незакінчені твори і переклади. (Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1952), 32.

one of the Ukrainian great writers, loved most”¹⁴. Vasyl Stefanyk was a sincere supporter of public meetings of the radical movement leaders with the peasantry. Therefore, the writer acutely criticized the decision of the party to cancel the peasant public meeting, that was scheduled at the end of summer in 1894. He wrote to I. Franko: “We can’t return, so call the meeting and try to find lodging for the night. There will be more of us the day before the meeting to keep order and oppose the railroad workers”¹⁵.

Radical ideas were heard at the public meetings, which were often held in Pokuttia, and where Ivan Franko was an active participant. Kameniar particularly set his hopes on public meetings, it is confirmed with his speech at the national assembly in Lviv on November 12, 1893: “The radical party is a party of peasants, and makes a cry – “not the peasants for the intelligentsia, but the intelligentsia for the peasants”, and works on it. Science should not be a dull cow for those who have gained it, but having gained it, everyone is obligated to share that science with the people, to transfer their knowledge to the people. Public meetings, now widely held, are a kind of peasant gymnasias. There (at the meetings) the public opinion is grinded, at the meetings the people form their program, they solve the most important questions. Decisions of the meetings are truly an expression of all people’s will and needs. With the help of public meetings, people’s consciousness develops and this is the only way of organizing it”¹⁶.

The parties considered not only the issue of improving the social well-being of the peasants, but also speeches on the organization of readers, promoting soberness, calling for the creation of loan funds and peasant farming, raised issues on teaching the Ukrainian language at Lviv University and Ukrainian gymnasias, the problems of Ukrainian women.

Most often, the meetings were called in Kolomyia, where the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party was supported greatly. The so-called “Kolomyia community” led by S. Danylovyh contributed to the creation of the first Ukrainian political party¹⁷. For some time there was published a radical two-weekly periodicals “Narod” – “The People” (1890–1895), edited by Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk. Defending the ideas and program of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party and promoting their views, the editorial board was actively involved in discussion with certain Galician, primarily, nationalist, journalists and publicists. “The People” was an example of a good magazine, accessible to the general public and interesting for the intelligentsia. And national language, in which the materials were published in magazine, largely promoted this periodical¹⁸.

The first public radical meeting was held in Kolomyia on February 2, 1891 in the hall of the Hotel “Galicia” (on the second floor of the present Ltd “Gastronom Kolomyanka”)¹⁹. I. Franko was present at this meeting, who later wrote interesting memories of this event²⁰. In July, 1893 in the present park of K. Trylovsky an organizational meeting of the radical political community “People’s Will” was held there. M. Pavlyk, I. Garasymovych, S. Danylovyh and I. Franko were present there. Kameniar headed the presidium of the meeting and delivered a long speech about his and M. Pavlyk’s almost 20-year activity in organizing and enlightening the peasantry. In the speech of I. Franko, for the first time, there were calls for the transition from the unpopular socialist ideas in Galicia to “mediocre road”²¹.

¹⁴ Василь Стефаник. *Повне зібрання творів: В трьох томах*. Т. 2: Автобіографічні твори, поезії в прозі, публіцистика, незакінчені твори і переклади. (Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1952), 17.

¹⁵ Василь Косташук, *Володар дум селянських*, 51; Василь Стефаник. *Повне зібрання творів: В трьох томах*. Т. 2: Листи. (Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1954), 36.

¹⁶ Іван Білинкевич, *Іван Франко на Станіславщині*, 142.

¹⁷ Ігор Гурак. “РУРП (УРП) та українське студентство (1890–1914 рр.)”, *Галичина. Всеукраїнський науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис*, no. 12–13 (2006–2007): 95.

¹⁸ Мирослав Романюк і Марія Галушко. *Українські часописи Львова: іст.-бібліогр. дослідж.: У 3 т.* (Львів: Світ. 2001). Т. 1: 1848–1900, 513–517.

¹⁹ Іван Монолатій, *Цісарська Коломия. 1772–1918*. (Івано-Франківськ: Лілея-НВ, 2010), 128.

²⁰ Іван Франко, “Віче коломийське” *Народ*, 15 лютого, 1891, 57–59.

²¹ “Перші збори “Народної Волі” *Хлібороб*, 1 серпня, 1893, 100–101; Іван Монолатій, *Цісарська Коломия. 1772–1918*, 129.



In the same year, in 1893, I. Franko came to Kolomyia again to the congressional meeting of the radical party, which took place on October 20. The meeting was attended by delegates from all surrounding counties. The political situation in the province and the draft electoral reform were discussed, and it was decided to call public meetings in Sniatin, Kosiv and Kolomyia, provided that in Kolomyia, until mid-November, the cholera wasn't eliminated, a meeting would be called in several villages of Kolomyia region²².

In Ivan Bilinkevich's opinion, the congestion of literary, scientific, editorial and journalistic activities did not allow Ivan Franko to pay due attention to the affairs of the society "People's Will", and in May 1894 he refused to head the community²³. The Presidium of "People's Will" at a meeting on May 15, 1894, did not accept Frank's refusal and asked him to withdraw it²⁴. Somehow or other, Ivan Franko didn't report on the activity of the Presidium at a meeting on June 19, 1894, but deputy chairman Severyn Danylovych did. S. Danylovych was elected to be the chairman of the community. I. Franko remained a regular member of the Presidium²⁵.

The meeting in Kolomyia, dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the public-political activity of Mykhailo Drahomanov, whose authority in Galicia was extremely large, was held solemnly. This meeting ended with a jubilee evening, it was expected that Ivan Franko would come up with a new program of radical actions. However, here Kameniar, in the opinion of the researcher I. Monolatii, for the first time gave the possibility to understand that he refused socialist ideas²⁶. On May 19, 1896, at another radical meeting in Kolomyia, I. Franko was not elected as a chairman of the Presidium, but only registered as a correspondent of Lviv newspaper "Dilo". It was held in the town hall. The peasants gathered from Kolomyia and neighboring counties, in contrast the intelligentsia and the clergy weren't there. In fact this was the last active meeting movement in Kolomyia²⁷.

The ideas of the radical movement figures sounded in Sniatyn, where on February 27, 1892, public meeting was held and attended by Ivan Franko²⁸. Two thousand peasants and town residents of the region took place in the meeting²⁹. At the meeting within an extended program (16 questions) and that lasted for 5 hours, Mykhailo Pavlyk, Ivan Sanduliak and other speakers had talks for several times. They raised issues concerned the peasantry of Pokuttia. First speakers were the peasants, who in their speeches pointed out the concrete facts of abuse by the administration and raised the most urgent issues. In addition to universal suffrage, they demanded to stop the confiscation of progressive publications, to improve the existing system of education, to reduce the prices on salt, to abolish free of charge works, to use of Ukrainian language at work of the rural authorities, etc. The meeting was watched by commissar of Sniatyn Starostat and 12 gendarmes³⁰.

Ivan Franko sharply criticized those speakers who tried to prove that Ukrainians had not grown up to use their right to vote in general, and therefore insisted on that the question of general voting being removed from the agenda. The writer pointed to the absurdity of such a situation and called on those present to resolutely express their claim to obtain the right to vote. Speaking on education, Ivan Franko made a thorough analysis of schooling in Galicia. Using statistical data, he showed that not all Ukrainian villages had schools and the teachers being low-paid were dependent on everyone, starting with a commandant and ending an innkeeper³¹. Taking into account the importance

²² Іван Білінкевич, *Іван Франко на Станіславщині*, 149.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Хлібороб: Популярний орган радикальної партії*, no. 8–9, 1894.

²⁵ Ibid., no. 10.

²⁶ Іван Монолатій, *Цісарська Коломия. 1772–1918*, 129.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Повітове народне віче до Снятина до господи на "Вигоді" ..." *Хлібороб*, 15 лютого, 1892, 25–26.

²⁹ "Народне віче в Снятині" *Хлібороб*, 1 марта, 1892, 33.

³⁰ "Політика красава і загранична. Віче народне в Снятині" *Народ*, 6 марта, 1892, 65–72; "Народне віче в Снятині", 33–35; "Про віче в Снятині" *Батьківщина*, 28 лютого (11 марта), 1892, 46–47.

³¹ "Політика красава і загранична. Віче народне в Снятині", 68; Онуфрій Гулейчук, "Повітове народне віче в Снятині" *Хлібороб*, 15 марта, 1892, 46; Іван Білінкевич, *Іван Франко на Станіславщині*, 143–144.

of the issues raised in this report, it was fully published in periodical “Narod” entitled “Our Public Schools and Their Needs”³².

In Sniatyn meeting, Ivan Franko heard a story of a self-taught peasant, a carpenter and a carver, and at the same time a popular poet and active public figure of the radical party, Ivan Sanduliak, from village Karlova, that the executor took the last sheepskin coat from one poor family because they could not pay taxes. It so excited Ivan Franko that he wrote the story “The History of Sheepskin Coat”, the first time he published it in magazine “Hliborob” and called it ironically “Modern Fairy Tale”³³. Ivan Franko mentioned active figure of radical movement in the poem “Rusyn’s Vandrivka with Poverty”, written in 1892: along with other radicals, Ivan Sanduliak tried to liberate the people from trouble. When Rusyn and Trouble arrived at Kolomyia, the last asked Rusyn to omit in their journey “the damnd town”, because there it “would be eaten by the radicals”³⁴. Later, for a long time, I. Franko and I. Sanduliak corresponded, repeatedly met at public meetings, they kept sincere and warm relations.

On this occasion, Ivan Franko became more closely acquainted with an interesting speaker, a member of the radical party, peasant Grygorii Zapareniuk, from village Vovchkiivtsi, Sniatyn district (now Sniatyn region). Grigory Zaparenyuk spoke about changing the electoral legislation in the first paragraph of the program at public meeting, “stating that to cope with our poor first political rights should be expanded...”. “– For many landowners, this is not so important, they can live abroad, where they have more rights, but why do we have to be the first to defend our land, but to the last as for the rights?” – he asked³⁵.

After the meeting, G. Zapareniuk invited I. Franko, M. Pavlyk, K. Trilovsky and other guests to his place. This was retold by the hero in V. Stefanyk’s novel “Grandfather Gryts”³⁶. In his memoirs Vasyl Ravliuk, the head of Sniatyn and Zabolotiv branches of Prosvita, mentioned the friendly relationship between G. Zapareniuk and I. Franko: “I met this interesting man (Grygorii Zapareniuk. – A. K.) in Stanislaviv in 1894 and I got the answer that he went on foot to Lviv to find out how people live, and in Lviv he went to Franko, where he had his speeches heard, had been taught the corresponding movements, had been taught, as he said, rhetorical things. In response to my question, whether there were more such people at Franko’s place, G. Zapareniuk said that he had met one of Zbarazh and Zhydachiv districts. Now, I realized how Franko, through so called “the Zaparaniuks”, put the seal of his spirit on the people’s lives”³⁷.

At Sniatyn meeting I. Franko liked the speech of another peasant from village Vovchkiivtsi Vasyl Cherniavsky, who spoke three times, criticizing priest Pidlashetsky, saying that “the whole his life the priest was Polish, but just for a week he became Ukrainian”, and some public teachers, who instead of enlightenment spread the darkness³⁸.

At the end of the 1890s, Ivan Franko broke up with the radicals, finding himself in the Nationalist Democrats camp and promoting national-democratic ideas in the organization of Ukrainian political life in Galicia. However, he favorably treated sich movement controlled by the representatives of radical movement and supported it during all subsequent time of his activities³⁹. Confirmation of this was his stay in early 1912 in town Kolomyia, where he read the poem “Mojsej” in the hall of a bank. Here “... all Kolomyia Ukraine gathered... the hall was overcrowded”⁴⁰. There were also the sich representatives in the hall⁴¹.

³² “Наші народні школи і їх потреби”, *Народ: Громадсько-політичний журнал*, по. 7–8, (1897); Іван Франко, *Педагогічні статті і висловлювання*. (Київ, 1960), 191–196.

³³ *Покуття. Історико-етнографічний нарис*. (Львів : Манускрипт-Львів, 2010), 116; Іван Франко, “Історія кожуха”, у *Франко І. Твори в 50 томах*. (Київ: Наукова думка, 1978), т. 18, 319–323.

³⁴ Іван Франко, “”, у *Франко І. Твори в 50 томах*. (Київ: Наукова думка, 1976), т. 1, 126.

³⁵ “Політика краєва і загранична. Віче народне в Снятині”, 69; “Про віче в Снятині”, 46.

³⁶ Василь Стефаник. “*Моє слово*”. (Київ: Веселка, 2000), 208.

³⁷ Василь Равлюк. *Спогади про “Покутську трійцю”*. (Снятин: Прут Принт, 2006), 15.

³⁸ “Політика краєва і загранична. Віче народне в Снятині”, 68.

³⁹ Микола Гуйванюк, “Іван Франко та січовий рух у Галичині й Буковині на початку ХХ ст.”, 95.

⁴⁰ Петро Арсенич, *Прикарпаття в житті Каменяра*, 7.

⁴¹ Микола Гуйванюк, “Іван Франко та січовий рух у Галичині й Буковині на початку ХХ ст.”, 96.



Thus, Ivan Franko was one of the first to the dissemination of radical ideas in Pokuttia. Kolomyia Gymnasia became a peculiar center of their creation in the region. Speakers of the radical movement paid special attention to the peasants, seeing in them the basis of democratic movement. Therefore, there was the largest amount of meetings in support of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party in the 1890s. Ivan Franko particularly set his hopes on public meetings, truly thinking that the decisions passed there expressed will and needs of the Ukrainian people. At these meetings, he became acquainted with speakers, generally peasants, established friendship relations, and through their speeches promoted radical ideas in the region.

ВКЛАД ІВАНА ФРАНКА У ПОШИРЕННЯ РАДИКАЛЬНИХ ІДЕЙ НА ПОКУТТІ

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У статті проаналізовано вклад Івана Франка у розповсюдженні радикальних ідей на території Покуття. Висвітлено його співпрацю з активними діячами краю у 1880–1890-х рр. Вказується, що епіцентром творення радикальних ідей у середині 1880-х рр. стали стіни Коломийської гімназії. У таємному гуртку комплектувалася література соціалістичними творами І. Франка, М. Драгоманова, українських та польських авторів, вивчення яких не було передбачено навчальною програмою. Активними учасниками гуртка були представники “Покутської трійці” Василь Стефаник і Лесь Мартович, які пішли на беззастережну службу новим ідеям, проголошеним І. Франком. Каменярем для Василя Стефаника став виразником інтересів народних мас у літературі і житті, розповсюджувачем радикальних ідей у краї.

Звернено увагу на вічевий рух, у якому брав активну участь український письменник і який був головною складовою діяльності Русько-української радикальної партії в Галичині після 1890 р. Автор стверджує, що І. Франко особливо покладав великі надії на віча, вважаючи що рішення, які там приймалися, є справді виразом волі і потреб усього українського народу. У статті висвітлено його участь у роботі віч і нарад у м. Коломия в лютому 1891 р., липні і жовтні 1893 р., травні і червні 1894 р., травні 1896 р. та в м. Снятин у лютому 1892 р. На цих зібраннях він знайомився з промовцями-селянами Іваном Сандуляком, Григорієм Запаринюком, Василем Чернявським, з якими налагодив приязні відносини, пропагуючи через них радикальні ідеї у краї.

Наприкінці 1890-х рр. Іван Франко розриває відносини з радикалами, опинившись в таборі народовців і пропагуючи національно-демократичні ідеї в організації українського політичного життя Галичини. Проте прихильно поставився до січового руху контрольованого представниками радикальної течії і підтримував його протягом всього подальшого часу своєї активної діяльності.

Ключові слова: Іван Франко, Покуття, радикали, Русько-українська радикальна партія, “Покутська трійця”, віче.

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