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**YULIAN TARNOVYCH AS THE AUTHOR OF “NASH LEMKO”:
IDEAS, PROBLEMS, RECEPTION**

Abstract. The purpose of the research is to understand the multifaceted issues of the journalism by Yu. Tarnovych in the columns of the “Nash Lemko”. The methodology of the research is based

on an interdisciplinary approach. In the article there have been applied the following methods and approaches: systematic, comparative and critical analysis of the source base represented by large text arrays. The use of the content analysis method made it possible to interpret various newspaper information correctly. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in an attempt to analyse the interwar journalism of Yu. Tarnovych comprehensively. **The Conclusion.** Taking into account the journalistic work of Yu. Tarnovych on the pages of the “Nash Lemko”, we should note its diversity and multifaceted issues discussed. Their circle defined the very life of the Ruthenians, which was well known to the editor-in-chief from his own experience. It allowed Yu. Tarnovych to identify the causes of the Lemko community numerous problems and offer effective ways for overcoming them. What is important, he did it not from the position of an external observer, but in a constant respectful dialogue with his wise, albeit poorly educated reader. Owing to such a trusting tone, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Beskyds, overcoming the insularity formed over the years gradually, gained valuable experience in the social activism. This dialogue turned the “Nash Lemko” into an important platform of the Ruthenians’ public communication in their struggle with life’s challenges and constant confrontation with the arbitrariness of the Polish administration. The solidarity promoted by Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism proved to be extremely useful for the Lemkos on the eve of the numerous trials brought by World War II and later mass expulsion from their native lands. The conducted research proved that the journalism of Yu. Tarnovych is a significant component of his creative heritage. Its comprehensive study should bring us closer to the creation of an intellectual biography of this prominent Lemko figure.

Keywords: Yu. Tarnovych, “Nash Lemko”, journalism, socio-economic problems, cultural and educational topics.

ЮЛІАН ТАРНОВИЧ ЯК АВТОР “НАШОГО ЛЕМКА”: ІДЕЇ, ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА, РЕЦЕПЦІЯ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає в осмисленні багатоаспектної проблематики публіцистики Юліана Тарновича на шпальтах “Нашого лемка”. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. У статті використано такі методику та підходи, як систематичний, порівняльний і критичний аналіз джерельної бази, представленої великими текстовими масивами. Здійснити коректну інтерпретацію різножанрової газетної інформації уможливило застосування методики контент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу міжвоєнної публіцистики Ю. Тарновича. **Висновки.** Підсумовуючи публіцистику Ю. Тарновича на сторінках “Нашого лемка”, відзначимо її різножанровість і багатоаспектність обговорюваних питань. Їхнє коло визначало саме життя русинів, добре знане головному редактору з власного досвіду. Це давало йому змогу виявляти причини багатьох проблем лемківської громади і пропонувати дієві рецепти їхнього подолання. Що важливо, він це робив не зі становища зовнішнього обсерватора, а в постійному шанобливому діалозі зі своїм мудрим, хоча й малоосвіченим читачем. Завдяки такому довірливому тону мешканці українських Бескидів, поступово долаючи сформовану віками замкненість, набували цінний досвід соціального активізму. Все це перетворило “Нашого лемка” на важливий майданчик громадської комунікації русинів у їхній боротьбі із життєвими викликами та постійному протистоянні зі свавіллям польської адміністрації. Пропагований публіцистикою Ю. Тарновича солідаризм виявився надзвичайно корисним для лемків напередодні численних випробувань, що їх принесли Друга світова війна та пізніше масове вигнання з рідних земель. Проведене дослідження засвідчило, що публіцистика Ю. Тарновича є вагомою складовою його творчої спадщини. Її комплексне дослідження повинно наблизити нас до створення інтелектуальної біографії цього визначного лемківського діяча.

Ключові слова: Ю. Тарнович, “Наш лемко”, публіцистика, соціально-економічні проблеми, культурно-освітня тематика.

The Problem Statement. In the history of the Lemkos intellectual culture, Yulian Tarnovych occupies a special place as one of the most outstanding “wakers” of the Ukrainian population of the Beskyds in the 20th century. His name is associated with such successful

publishing and institutional projects as the newspapers the "Nash Lemko", "Lemkivshchyna", "Lemkivski Visti", "Ukrain'ske Slovo" and "Ukrain'skyi Robitnyk", as well as the Lemko Commission by the "Prosvita" Society. Their goal was modernization of all aspects of the Ruthenian community life, which was somewhat backward in its civilizational progress and national self-awareness. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, Yu. Tarnovych is mentioned quite often in Lemko Studies literature. At the same time, the researchers write a lot about the editorial and organizational achievements of the Ruthenian activist, leaving behind many other aspects of his public service. Among them, the multi-genre journalism of Yu. Tarnovych stands out as having a special influence on the contemporaries, in which often for the first time the challenges relevant to the Ruthenians were carefully diagnosed and effective ways of overcoming them were suggested. Drawing the attention of colleagues to this practically unresearched issue, we will try to summarize the journalistic work of a prominent figure on the pages of the periodical the "Nash Lemko" edited by him.

The Analysis of Recent Research. Despite the above-mentioned popularity of the figure of Yu. Tarnovych among the Lemko studies scholars, even today his creative heritage has been researched in an extremely fragmented way. Currently, there are only a few biographical essays of a descriptive nature in the Lemko literature and a number of references to his mostly editorial activities (Nakonechnyi, 2018; Telvak, Nakonechnyi, 2020; Telvak, Nakonechnyi, 2021). To date, only the Polish-Ukrainian discourse of interwar journalism by Yu. Tarnovych has received a special study (Nakonechnyi, 2019). This obviously does not correspond either to the scale of a creative personality of a prominent figure, or to the importance of his influence on the lives of his compatriots in the 20th century. Therefore, pointing out the obvious need to reconstruct the multifaceted creative heritage of Yu. Tarnovych, we consider it the priority to understand journalistic component on the example of the writer's articles in the first Ruthenian periodical of a pro-Ukrainian orientation. This aspect determines the relevance of our research.

The purpose of the research consists in understanding the multifaceted issues of journalism by Yu. Tarnovych in the columns of the "Nash Lemko".

The Results of the Research. In January of 1934 the "Nash Lemko" began to be published in Lviv. In the beginning, three Lemkos intellectuals worked on its publication: Petro Smerekanych was as the Chief Editor, and Mykhailo Dudra and Yulian Tarnovych were the editors. However, soon P. Smerekanych left for university studies in Western Europe. M. Dudra was in exile by the Polish administration for his active pro-Ukrainian activities outside the country, as he had American citizenship. Therefore, Yu. Tarnovych had a considerable burden of the editorial duties, which he performed faithfully until the periodical was closed due to the outbreak of World War II.

The biggest issue for the editor-in-chief was the scarcity of permanent contributors who, with the necessary understanding, could cover various aspects of the Ruthenian life. Under these conditions, Yu. Tarnovych had to fill the newspaper columns and form the ideology of the publication largely on his own. It is clear that he could not do it only under his own name, so he had to use numerous variants of the cryptonyms (Yu. T., T., (t), (yut), (-n-ch.), -vych, etc.) and various pseudonyms. A bit later Yu. Tarnovych revealed by himself the secret of the latter in his memoirs: "In order to at least approximately fill the more important gaps in the work, following the principles of a healthy Lemko's brain, the editor signed all the more crucial political and public articles in the "Nash Lemko" with his real surname; he signed the literary and educational ones with the family name of his mother from the Beskyd family,

the household ones – with the surname of his friend from his youth, who died in the war during the Liberation Struggle – Yuriy Zemlian, and everything with the surname of the old owner, who was distinguished by his narrative talent and extraordinary quickness of mind – Osyp Zubryd” (Beskyd, 1954, p. 12). Actually, using the above-mentioned hint, we searched for the editor-in-chief’s posts from a lot of other publications. At the same time, we should note that a considerable array of journalistic texts in the periodical was cited without indicating the authorship at all, which allows us to assume that they belong, at least partially, to Yu. Tarnovych. However, this crucial issue remains open for the Lemko scholars in the future, because it requires processing the archive of the figure, the bulk of which were deposited in the museum named after him in Toronto.

Yu. Tarnovych set himself the goal of modernizing all aspects of the lives of his compatriots as quickly as possible, and he focused on the economic dimension primarily that was the most tangible for the Lemkos. After analysing the causes of the economic issues of the Ukrainian population of the Beskyds, the editor of the “Nash Lemko” suggested a well-thought-out programme for the economic transformation of the mountain areas. First of all, according to his valid conviction, it was vital to change the mental stereotypes of the Ruthenians, who were immersed in their own mountain microcosm. It was about their centuries-old habit of complaining about allegedly fatal mountain farming conditions and associated inertia of economic thinking.

Yu. Tarnovych reacting to this issue, popularized the experience of other European peoples (the Bulgarians, the Italians, the Swiss, and the Belgians) on the pages of the periodical constantly, which had similar, and often more severe, farming conditions to the Lemkos, but they fed themselves fully and sold a lot for export (Tarnovych, 1938, p. 4). Providing examples of effective management of the rural work in other regions, the editor of the “Nash Lemko” called on his compatriots to be proactive and smart. He proclaimed the slogan from the columns of the magazine – “Don’t Cry, but Obtain!”, as he emphasized the need for an activist attitude to life constantly. First of all, this involved familiarization with the specifics of agricultural zoning in Lemkivshchyna for the cultivation of crops suitable for the type of soil and climatic conditions. “Our land, – Yu. Tarnovych emphasized repeatedly, “will not let us perish, but we must know how to use it” (Tarnovych, 1936d, p. 7).

The editor of the “Nash Lemko” saw quite rightly the paramount reason for the above-mentioned inertia of the Ruthenian economic thinking in their total ignorance. Taking everything into account, Yu. Tarnovych introduced the rubric the “Economic Page” in the edited periodical, in which, almost in every issue, contained mostly both specific economic instructions and pieces of advice on a broader worldview and organizational plan. The last ones of the mentioned posts are of a particular interest to us. In the plan the editor-in-chief, first of all, pointed out the urgent need to overcome mass illiteracy in Lemkivshchyna, which was almost the highest among other European regions. In order to do it Yu. Tarnovych called for establishing schools for children, later sending them to the craft schools, as well as teaching adults by the method of self-education from fellow villager to fellow villager. Hence, Yu. Tarnovych stated that a community of educated farmers will emerge in every village, who will study agricultural literature together, raising the profitability of their farms in solidarity. Therefore, they should create in their village a branch of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, which will provide the necessary literature free of charge and help with the purchase of the necessary equipment ((t), 1934, p. 5). As a result, the editor emphasized, “the village must create its own labour force, establish a kind of domestic trade in agricultural and farm products, [...] use the hard-earned penny for family purposes!” (Yu. T., 1934a, p. 5).

Another reason for the economic modernization of the Lemko village, according to Yu. Tarnovych, was the cultivation of solidarist values in the Ruthenian environment and the related establishment of cooperatives. The editor constantly put emphasis on the following "a terrible disease must be eradicated from the village: indifference and brokenness" (Tarnovych, 1936b, p. 2). He advised his countrymen "to start a mental economy" persistently; he explained that it was based not only on the skillful cultivation of products, but also on their logistically thought-out sales. It was about the fact that traditionally the Lemkos gave the fruits of their hard work virtually for nothing to various dealers, thereby barely returning the invested resources. Instead, the founding of cooperatives, the editor explained on the pages of the "Nash Lemko", will allow producers to reach the final consumer themselves, obtaining the maximum profit. "Joint work leads to better research," Yu. Tarnovych emphasized to his reader. – It provides new sources of income, creates income for those with little land, and even the landless, who throw themselves in all directions in order to earn something and clothe themselves. [...] Only cooperatively, together, we will be able to banish the specter of hunger and combat unemployment from our homes" ((-n-ch.), 1934, p. 7).

The mass deployment of the cooperative movement in the Ruthenian villages, the editor of the "Nash Lemko" is convinced, will make it possible to solve the age-old civilizational problem of the cultural conflict of the Ukrainian village with the foreign-speaking Polish-Jewish city. He insisted that the surplus funds from rational management of the economy and the well-thought-out sale of own goods are the most profitable to invest in the development of the Ukrainian trade network in towns that in ancient times had a Ruthenian face, but were later dominated by colonizers of other cultures. Proposing a programme of a gradual cultural and economic de-occupation of the Lemkos towns, Yu. Tarnovych wrote: "From this emerges the ultimate need to create new labour in towns, to move to towns, to take root. First of all, lay down our Ukrainian shops, bazaars, crypts and shops. Here, the Ukrainian peasant will sell and buy everything that the land gives birth to, that the owner feeds and cares for, and this is all that he has to buy for himself. The engine of a new life should become the call "Ukrainian Money – in Ukrainian Hands", then we will get these new stations" (-vych, 1934c, p. 2).

The mentioned measures, aimed at the economic strengthening of the Lemkos community, according to Yu. Tarnovych's idea, were supposed to solve another problem, which took on the proportions of a true epidemic, threatening even the physical existence of the Ruthenians in their native lands. It was about the one started in the middle of the 19th century the uncontrolled emigration of the Ukrainian Carpathians, as a result of which the depopulated Ruthenian territories were actively colonized by the Polish settlers, changing the ethnic landscape formed over the centuries. Such emigration significantly exhausted the Ruthenian community itself, because its most proactive and dynamic representatives left in search of a better fate, and mostly stayed permanently in their new host countries. By compensating for their long absence from home with constant remittances, the Lemkos emigrants largely encouraged a consumerist attitude to life among their fellow villagers, further exacerbating economic troubles in their native lands. From the columns of the "Nash Lemko", the editor used many examples to convince us to build a better life in the small Motherland, and not to look for it in foreign countries. "We have nothing to ban America, we are even richer than the Americans, but we are not touched by a new life," Yu. Tarnovych insisted. – The same work at home would bring much better success and pay for both the worker and the people. [...] Only by collective work, agreement, community of aspirations will we build lasting foundations.

Through consciousness and continuous eradication and neglect of other people's whispers, we will build America at our land – the promised land” ((-vych), 1935, p. 7).

Along with the solution of acute socio-economic problems, according to Yu. Tarnovych's conviction, there should be active cultural awareness work. Its core, the editor-in-chief of the “Nasho Lemko” pointed out, should be the permanent fight against illiteracy mentioned above – both among children and among adults. In the first case, it was about mass and compulsory education of children, which required the establishment of a primary school in every village (Tarnovych, 1936a, p. 10). At the same time, the Lemko activist paid special attention to justifying the need for mother-tongue education (Yu. T., 1938, p. 6). This emphasis was due to the persistent attempts of school administration of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to turn the Ruthenians away from Ukrainianism, imposing on them, if not Polish, at least an artificially constructed “Carpatho-Russian” identity. For this purpose, Ukrainian teachers were forcibly removed from Ruthenian schools, their place was occupied by anti-Ukrainian Polish teachers, primers in the Russian and the Lemkos dialect were introduced, etc. Consistently and ruthlessly Yu. Tarnovych criticized such school policy of the Polish authorities, exposing the magazine he edited to constant confiscations. Explaining to his reader the need for the Ukrainian-language primary school, he emphasized: “Today, every Lemko knows that he can use his dialect near his house, but the common Ukrainian literary language must prevail at school” (vych., 1934a, p. 3).

With regard to education of adult population of Lemko region, Yu. Tarnovych persistently popularized the distribution of the “Prosvita” Society centres in the villages in the pages of the edited periodical. He repeatedly emphasized in the “Nash Lemko”: “The Prosvita reading room is the centre of a cultural life in the community, the second shrine next to the church” (YuT., 1934, p. 1). It is under the auspices of this most respected Ukrainian educational institution and using its considerable organizational experience, Yu. Tarnovych insisted, that people's homes and libraries should be founded, cultural events should be held and self-education should be vigorously pursued. Winter months, which the editor of the periodical urges to be filled with self-education, are especially suitable for such enlightening work: “That's why, we turn to you, Lemko brothers, with a fervent appeal: in those long winter evenings, let's turn to the book, take it in our hands, let's drive the darkness out of our houses! You, Lemko youth, be the first to join the ranks of readers, fighters for a better fate [...]. Let's leave unnecessary quarrels, religious disputes, let's throw away intolerance, various parties, demoralizing parties and other philanderings and take the book in our hands! Let science be our greatest wealth, and guarantee of the people's destiny, a better tomorrow...” (Tarnovych, 1934, p. 2).

Calling the Ruthenians for self-education and popularizing activities of Ukrainian educational institutions, Yu. Tarnovych directly participated in this cultural work in the periodical he edited. Thus, shaping the reading culture of his compatriots, the editor introduced a permanent column “New Books” in the columns of the “Nash Lemko”. In it, Yu. Tarnovych briefly told about the most important work for the Lemkos in the field of agriculture, history and culture, raising children, health care, etc. Drawing the Ruthenians' attention to the need for a systematic reading, he wrote: “We call: pound the rock! Buy books, organize your own library. Read and teach others to read books. And the rock will crack: the fulfillment of this most important task will benefit us and bring new, bright days to our entire nation...” (YuT., 1934, p. 1).

Along with such appeals, the editor often acted as a talented popularizer of the history and culture of the Ruthenians on the pages of the periodical. Explaining to the reader of the "Nash Lemko" the importance of acquiring knowledge about native history, Yu. Tarnovych insisted: "Whoever wants to live, must know his past. A nation without the past is dead" (Yu. Beskyd, 1936, p. 6). His popular science essays "Historical Monuments in the Western Carpathians" and "Historical Dictionary of Lemkivshchyna" were of a considerable interest to the reader, which were published in the "Nash Lemko" for many issues, and later appeared in book format in the "Library of Lemkivshchyna" series. Along with historical essays, Yu. Tarnovych contained various local history materials in the columns of the periodical, showing the wealth of material culture and natural beauty of his native land. Also, the editor of the "Nash Lemko" popularized the world of Ruthenian spirituality, publishing in the periodical the songs, legends and carols he recorded in the villages. We would like to note that the activities of Yu. Tarnovych as a historian, local historian and folklorist are a completely unknown aspect of his intellectual biography, which deserves special study.

Along with the cultural and economic issues mentioned above, Yu. Tarnovych was very interested in the moral and ethical climate of the Lemko village. Its relevance was caused by a rapid destruction of the traditional Ruthenian world under the influence of powerful modernization changes brought about by World War I and the post-war settlement of the world. As an extremely threatening trend, the editor of the "Nash Lemko" wrote about the ever-deepening penetration of then-fashionable communist ideology, sectarian beliefs, the culture of free love, many harmful habits, etc., into the Lemko settlements. All these phenomena, Yu. Tarnovych was convinced, had a demoralizing effect on the Ruthenians, destroying their unity in the face of threat of nationalization and economic ruin. The editor of the "Nash Lemko", who came from an ancient Greek-Catholic priestly family, saw a way out of such an extremely dangerous situation for his compatriots in a return to traditional Ukrainian values. Reflecting on the mentioned problem and offering his recipe for public recovery, he wrote: One of the most formidable manifestations of our national life, which we see in our lands [...] is the lack of mutual consent, social development, carnality, unity, which our grandfathers and great-grandfathers were proud of not so long ago. With that unity, Lemkivshchyna stood firm and unshakable for hundreds of years, overcoming all the storms that fell upon it, and with that unity and solidarity, we built more than one national institution – not only at home, but also in distant emigration, in America. [...] So keep and defend St. Churches, reading rooms, People's Houses and all public institutions, on an equal footing with the native land, firmly and in solidarity, until the last strength!" (Tarnovych, 1936c, p. 2).

However, Yu. Tarnovych was by no means a conservative in his assessment of modernization challenges that faced society in the interwar twenty years. On the contrary, on the pages of the "Nash Lemko" he persistently popularized new social practices suggested by philanthropists of that time. Especially often, the editor turned to the then extremely fashionable feminist issue, interpreting it in the vein of the Mother cult, traditional for the Ukrainians. Pointing out the relevance of the appeal to women's issues, he noted: "We are aware of what a great task and what a difficult role our Ukrainian women in the Lemkos region play" (vych., 1934, p. 3). Evidence of the seriousness of Yu. Tarnovych's attitude to feminist issues was his establishment of a permanent thematic column "Women's Page" in the periodical he edited, which the editor filled together with his wife Anna.

Projecting feminist slogans of liberating women from the burden of family and economic responsibilities and giving her the opportunity to become an effective member of society

in the reality of the Lemkos village, Yu. Tarnovych was the first among the Ruthenian publicists to advocate the idea of organizing a network of kindergartens in the villages. This, he rightly points out, should significantly free up the time of the Lemko women, giving them opportunity to immerse themselves in public projects of interest to them. In view of this instruction, many posts on the pages of the “Nash Lemko” described the advantages of systematic preschool education and gave practical advice on its optimal organization. “Think about it, conscientious relatives, and try to have a kindergarten in your village this year,” Yu. Tarnovych insisted. – You will be greatly relieved, and your children will be greatly comforted and benefited” ((Iu), 1935, pp. 6–7).

Arguing the expediency of liberating the Rusyn women from family and household chores, the editor of the “Nash Lemko” urged them to become active members of their communities. Conceiving the new social roles that women can acquire under these conditions, Yu. Tarnovych drew attention to their natural abilities in raising the younger generation and communicative talents in establishing economic networks. In the first case, it was about women obtaining a teaching profession and further work in rural preschools and primary schools (Yu. T., 1934b, p. 5). In economic terms, the editor emphasized the need to involve the Lemko women in the development of cooperative movement centres in the countryside: “Our woman can play a big role, she can contribute to the development of cooperative life in a thousand ways” (-vych, 1934b, p. 2).

Yu. Tarnovych interpreted the plots analysed above also in an artistic way, printing small stories on the pages of the edited periodical. Their peculiarity was that they were all written in the Lemko dialect. Such an editorial technique can be explained by the author’s attempt to establish communication even with such a reader who did not have sufficient knowledge of the literary language and had no desire to immerse himself in a serious discussion of public problems. Therefore, on the pages of the “Nash Lemko” we see the stories of Yu. Tarnovych, in which the issues of combating bad habits (“Kropka”, “Drinkers”), maintaining a healthy lifestyle (“Stolitni liudy”), observing family values (“Such a Story”, “Nanashko”, “Karplykova Shchystia”), difficult existence of the Lemko emigrants (“To Hamerika”, “Christmas in Canada”, “Overseas. Commemoration of Brothers across the Ocean”) and the others.

The stylistic features of Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism in the columns of the “Nash Lemko” are also worthy of attention. It should be noted that the above-mentioned complex problems of the Ruthenian existence were covered by the editor as simply and concisely as possible, taking into account the averagely modest educational level of his reader. At the same time, what is important, he did not fall into false didacticism and a didactic tone. On the contrary, Yu. Tarnovych tried to build a trusting dialogue with his reader. A clear example of this can be the article “Where is our Salvation”. In it, the author, depicting threats to the existence of the Lemko world, is in no hurry to immediately give answers about ways to overcome them, but on the contrary encourages the reader: “Let’s think about them together” (Tarnovych, 1934, p. 2). It is expected that this dialogic style of journalism contributed to the growth of the Lemkos’ trust in their newspaper and stimulated an activist attitude to life.

The faithful dialogue of the “Nash Lemko” with its readers attracted a wide circle of the Ruthenians. This is evidenced by numerous letters of the periodical’s subscribers, published in the “Correspondence” and “Tribune of our Readers” sections. Addressing the editor with words of sincere gratitude, they certified the periodical as “the most expensive” and “theirs”, because it was a wise adviser in many life collisions and consolation in difficult times. This caused an increase in the circulation of the “Nash Lemko”, which allowed its publishers not to raise the

cost of subscriptions despite the considerable inflation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the confiscations that were constantly imposed on them by the censorship committee.

The Conclusion. Summing up the journalistic work of Yu. Tarnovych on the pages of the “Nash Lemko”, we note its diversity and multifaceted issues discussed: the very life of the Ruthenians, which is well known to the editor-in-chief from his own experience. The allowed him to identify the often hidden causes of many problems of the Lemkos community and to offer effective ways for overcoming them. What is important, he did it not from the position of an external observer, but in a constant respectful dialogue with his wise, albeit a poorly educated reader. Owing to such a trusting tone, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Beskyds, gradually overcoming the insularity formed over the years, gained a valuable experience in social activism. All this turned the “Nash Lemko” into an important platform of public communication of the Ruthenians in their struggle with life’s challenges and constant confrontation with arbitrariness of the Polish administration. The solidarity promoted by Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism turned out to be extremely popular for the Lemkos on the eve of numerous trials brought by World War II and later mass expulsion from their native lands.

In conclusion, we note that the conducted research proved that Yu. Tarnovych’s journalism is a significant component of his creative heritage. Its comprehensive study should bring us closer to the creation of an intellectual biography of this prominent Lemko figure.

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