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**FEMALE FIGURES IN THE UKRAINIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1917 – 1921
IN EXILE: WORK FOR THE FUTURE OF UKRAINE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to reveal the information potential of the memoir heritage of the Ukrainian War of Independence 1917 – 1921 heroines for understanding their contribution to the Ukrainian cause abroad. Using the memories of these women, we can analyze their situation after the defeat of the Ukrainian–Soviet War, and determine exactly how they made their daily life in other countries. Also, the purpose of the article is to identify the success they achieved in the fields of their own professional activity, overcoming the difficulties of emigration. The research methodology is based on general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, generalization. To analyze the sources of personal origin, the method of critical discourse analysis has been used. The method of sociological science, specifically biographical, has been also used. The study is based on a feminist and gender*

approach. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the following: for the first time there has been analyzed insufficiently studied aspect of the period of the Ukrainian War of Independence 1917 – 1921, particularly the contribution of women activists to the continuation of the Ukrainian issue in other countries. There have been found patterns, similarities and differences in the experience of female figures of the national liberation process who emigrated to different countries and continents. Based on the memoir heritage, for the first time there have been revealed and systematized the personal challenges that these women faced overseas. We have analyzed the way they overcame those complexities, what they did useful for the case of the Ukrainian state, and how they were implemented to their own professional activities. **Conclusion.** The research is a promising area of studying aspects of the Ukrainian War of Independence 1917 – 1921. The collected facts about forced moving abroad from the memoirs of women participants in the national liberation process show their varied experiences, but also common features. The research shows that women continued their activities in favour of Ukraine after the rout in the Independence War, overcoming emigration complications and hoping for the revival of the state. The analysis of their contribution to this affair and highlighting their professional activities will enrich the study of the Ukrainian national liberation process 1917 – 1921.

Key words: Ukrainian War of Independence 1917 – 1921, Soviet-Ukrainian War, women's history, emigration, Ukrainian People's Republic, Second Hetmanate, Directory, Personal Records as Historical Sources

ЖІНКИ-УЧАСНИЦІ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ 1917 – 1921 рр. В ЕМІГРАЦІЇ: ПРАЦЯ ЗАРАДИ МАЙБУТНЬОГО УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. Мета статті – розкрити інформаційний потенціал мемуарної спадщини героїнь Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. для розуміння їхнього внеску в українську справу за кордоном. Використовуючи спогади цих жінок, ми можемо проаналізувати їхнє становище після поразки в українсько-радянській війні та визначити, як саме вони влаштували своє повсякденне життя в інших країнах. Також метою статті є виявлення успіхів, яких вони досягли у сферах власної професійної діяльності, долаючи труднощі еміграції. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на загальнонаукових методах аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення. Для аналізу джерел особового походження використано метод критичного дискурс-аналізу. Також використано метод соціологічної науки, зокрема біографічний. Дослідження ґрунтується на феміністичному та гендерному підходах. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що вперше проаналізовано недостатньо вивчений аспект періоду Українських визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр., зокрема внесок активної частини жіноцтва у продовження української справи в інших країнах. Виявлено закономірності, подібності та відмінності у досвіді жінок-діячок національно-визвольного процесу, які емігрували до різних країн і континентів. На основі мемуарної спадщини вперше виявлено та систематизовано особистісні виклики, з якими ці жінки зіткнулися на чужині. Проаналізовано, у якій спосіб вони долали ці складнощі, що корисного зробили для справи Української держави, та як саме вони реалізувалися у власній професійній діяльності. **Висновок.** Проведене дослідження є перспективним напрямом вивчення різних аспектів визвольних змагань 1917 – 1921 рр. в Україні. Зібрані факти про вимушений переїзд за кордон зі спогадів жінок-учасниць національно-визвольних процесів свідчать про їхній різний досвід, з водночас наявними спільними рисами. Дослідження показує, що жінки продовжували свою діяльність на користь України і після поразки Української революції, долаючи еміграційні труднощі та сподіваючись на відродження держави. Аналіз їхнього внеску в цю справу та висвітлення професійної діяльності збагатить вивчення українського національно-визвольного процесу першої третини ХХ ст.

Ключові слова: Українська революція 1917 – 1921 рр., радянсько-українська війна, жіноча історія, еміграція, Українська Народна Республіка, Гетьманат, Директорія, джерела особового походження.

Problem Statement. The Ukrainian War of Independence of 1917 – 1921 was a large-scale attempt to build an independent state. These years were filled with important political and

military events, attempts by various political forces to realize the state potential of Ukraine. The Bolshevik occupation, the repressions that began shortly after the Bolsheviks came to power, against former figures of the Central Rada (revolutionary parliament of Ukraine) – all of this forced the socio-political and military figures of Ukraine to continue the work of the Ukrainian state out of the country. Among the Ukrainian political emigrants of the 20s, there were a sufficient number of women public figures, a smaller number – female former soldiers and doctors who took direct part in military operations of the Soviet-Ukrainian War. Firstly, all of them had to adapt to new conditions, integrate into foreign society, and ensure their existence. Most of them did not leave the idea of Ukrainian statehood, and at the first opportunity, women gathered in organizations, societies, published own stories, gave interviews and wrote articles for Ukrainian-language newspapers and magazines. Hence, women became a full-fledged part of the Ukrainian Diaspora, doing everything possible to ensure that the Ukrainian issue did not go into oblivion. They represented abroad an alternative, Bolshevik-free Ukrainian idea. The most striking characteristic of women's activities is their focus on the future, since former figures of the national liberation struggle did not give up hope for the revival of the Ukrainian state. To illustrate the relevance of the research, it should be mentioned that there are not many researches about women in emigration – most ignore this aspect, focusing on the general characteristics of leaders, military and political activities of the top of the Central Rada, or the following state formation of this period – The Directorate or Second Hetmanate. This kind of research should complement the existing scientific research about the Ukrainian War of Independence of 1917 – 1921.

Review of Recent Research Papers. The nature of research on this topic covers mainly general issues of the resettle process of the 20s of the 20th century. Obviously, the research comes after Ukraine gained independence and lifted the taboo on the issue of Ukrainian national liberation struggle, which was banned during the Soviet era (Piskun, 2017).

The work of scholars of the period of Ukraine's independence often concerns the leaders of national liberation processes outside Ukraine, such as Serhiy Lytvyn's article "Simon Petliura and Ukrainian Emigration. Historiography of the Problem", or the study by Jean-Bernard Diupon-Melnychenko "Public Activities of the Interwar Ukrainian Emigration in France" (Lytvyn, 2000; Diupon-Melnychenko, 1995). The research by scholars such as Ihor Sribniak, Oleksandr Kolianchuk, Volodymyr Troshchynskyi, Valentyna Piskun focused on status issues of former Ukrainian warriors, figures from different spheres, or emigration process itself against the background of socio-political upheavals in Europe (Sribniak, 2000; Kolyanchuk, 2000; Troshchynskyi, 1994; Piskun, 2008). An example of recent narrow-focus research can be given (Paliienko, Sribniak, & Holovanov, 2023).

As for the study of women under similar conditions, the historiography of the period of independence is represented by a much smaller number of scientific studies. Among them is Valentyna Piskun's, who researched the domestic dimension of the lives of Ukrainian emigrant women in the publication "Family Life of Ukrainian Political Emigrants: Life, Relationships (the 20s – 30s of the Twentieth Century)" (Piskun, 2017). The researcher emphasizes that while covering the problems of Ukrainian diaspora, scholars mostly focus on political and military topics, ignoring the domestic or family aspect and women's contribution to the Ukrainian issue.

At the same time, modern historians focus on the fate of the wives of military and political figures, such as Taisiia Kivshar's study, in which there is analyzed the role of Olha Petliura in the activities of Ukrainian political emigration in Europe in the 20–40s of

the 20th century (Kivshar, 2017). As is obvious from this, in the absence of a comprehensive study on this issue, there are separate biographical research of the lives of prominent members of the national liberation movement, which raise the issue of their activities overseas. This is, for example, the study by Yulia Horbach (Horbach, 2017). Also, many similar researches concern Ukrainian educator Sofia Rusova. The migratory stage of her life is the main part of Oksana Dzhus's research, in which the author not only analyzes the results of the work this public figure, but also demonstrates the challenges faced by a female activist of the post-revolutionary period (Dzhus, 2002). A researcher Olha Bezhuk proves in her work that the experience of state-building in the homeland was not in vain. After the defeat of the Independence War 1917 – 1921, it helped women organize abroad and continue their contribution to the Ukrainian issue (Bezhuk, 2006).

Some studies raise the issue of women's integration into the society of individual countries, such as Canada. This is Khrystyna Sholota's research "Self-Organization of Ukrainian Women in Canada during the First and Second Waves of Emigration (1892 – 1914, 1922 – 1939)", which provides a general description of the post-revolutionary stage of migration process to North America (Sholota, 2017).

A historian Marta Bohachevska-Khomiak touches upon the activities of women in exile. One of these works is "White on White: Women in Public Life in Ukraine 1884 – 1939", in which the author analyzes the problem of women's self-organization (Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995). Some aspects of the issues of our research are studied by Olena Vahina in her research "Activities of Ukrainian Primary and Secondary Schools in Emigration in European Countries: 1915 – 1945" (Vahina, 2010). The activities of women in Western Ukrainian lands after the defeat of the Ukrainian army are analyzed in studies on the women's organization "Union of Ukrainian Women" with a centre in Rivne and its branches in the territory of Volyn Voivodeship (Davydiuk, & Martynchuk, 2024). Recent research raises the issue of the Sovietization of women's organizations and their participation in this process after the Soviet occupation of Western Ukrainian territories (Starodubets, & Sushyk, 2021).

Mentions of the migratory period of female participants in the national liberation movement at the beginning of the 20th century can be found in the works of historians Valentyna Borysenko, Oksana Onishchenko, Roman Koval (Borysenko, 2004; Onishchenko, 2016; Koval, 2020).

Thus, today there are no comprehensive studies on this historical problem. This is also due to the fact that, according to Oksana Kis, the methodological discussions of Western historians in the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s, dedicated to the women's issue, were not studied by Ukrainian historical science. Therefore, what was lost in this issue is only being made up for (Kis, 2012). We have only some references to the migratory period of the life of participants in the national liberation processes of 1917 – 1921, which are contained in general works by scholars on women in the history of Ukraine. Similar facts can be found in works and articles of a biographical nature dedicated to individual figures of the national liberation struggle 1917 – 1921. The common feature of the studies is that the authors prove that women did not stop their activities in favor of Ukraine, overcoming personal hardship of integration in a foreign environment.

The purpose of the research is to analyze an under-researched aspect of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in 1917 – 1921, precisely the activities of women participants in the national liberation process after emigration from other countries. This research will explain us how these women realized themselves in their professions under the new

conditions, how they adapted to the new environment, and what contribution they made to the development of the Ukrainian issue despite the challenges.

Results of the Research.

The Situation of female activists in the Ukrainian War of Independence 1917 – 1921 after the defeat – forced emigration.

Our research is based on memoirs of women who participated in the national liberation struggle and were forced to emigrate after 1921. These are memoirs of participants in the events of the national liberation processes who found themselves in other countries after the suppression of the national liberation processes of 1917 – 1921. It is, first of all, the personal stories of such Ukrainian writers, journalists, public activists as Halyna Zhurba, Kateryna Antonovych, Sofia Rusova, Nadiia Surovtsova, Maria Livytska (Zhurba, 1990; Antonovych, 1973; Surovtsova, 1996; Livytska, 1972). The story of Olena Ott-Skoropadska, the daughter of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, a participant in the national liberation struggle, can be found in her own entry (Skoropadsky, 1995).

As for military women, there are much fewer sources with facts about them. This is due to the difficulties of writing about them because of their risky activities, and the fate of these figures was tragic much more often since many of them were killed by the Bolsheviks (Shvydchenko, 2019). One of such rare personalities is Kharytyna Pekarchuk, a khorunzha (in the Ukrainian armed forces of the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, it corresponded to the rank of lieutenant) of the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic (Pekarchuk, 1969). There is note of Tetiana Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, a teacher and intelligence officer in the troops of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Her memoirs are especially valuable in the sense that they relate to the activist's adaptation in Argentina, a country to which the Ukrainians emigrated less frequently (Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, 1977; Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, 1984).

Consequently, this period in the lives of women who participated in the national liberation struggle of 1917 – 1921 is mentioned in notes written by themselves, which were published abroad as articles in the Ukrainian-language magazines. It was only possible to publish such publication out of Soviet Ukraine. In the Soviet Union, this was impossible because of censorship. Women's memoirs contain much more reflection, evaluation of their own reactions to historical events. Considerable attention women paid to the others (Kis, 2014).

The end of World War I, the events of 1917 – 1921, were a great upheaval for Ukraine. The attempt to establish itself as an independent state failed, despite the military and diplomatic efforts of various Ukrainian political forces (Reient, 1994, p. 30). Political emigrants left the representation of the Ukrainian People's Republic and West Ukrainian People's Republic in the countries to which they emigrated. The status of the emigrants and household problems were the most general problems they faced (Karaulov, & Babenko, 2021). We can see many points in common in these lives stories: despair at the need to leave the work in which they had invested so much effort, and at the same time hope for a return. We see both of these emotions in the autobiography of Halyna Zhurba, a writer and activist. In her work entitled "From the Ukrainian House to the Muzaget", she narrated her impressions of Kyiv in 1920, which "did not resemble the brilliant, magnificent city that I found in 1912... the despoiled and terrorized Kyiv made a depressing and miserable impression". The atmosphere at Halyna's workplace – publishing house "Vsevydat" became increasingly tense, and the Red Terror began. Halyna Zhurba came under suspicion and was forced to leave Kyiv. "The time has come when a person is most afraid of a person, distrusts, and avoids them", Halyna wrote. Leaving Kyiv, the writer depicted her state of confusion, not knowing what stuff to take with

her, as she hopes to return soon. “And yet... in a month, maybe we will return. Maybe in two” – she wrote. This entry in her notes becomes even more dramatic because she is leaving Kyiv forever. Therefore, in her life story, we can trace a hard transition from the elation of 1917 to the difficult events of 1920, when, under the pressure of the Bolshevik invasion, the woman was forced to leave her homeland (Zhurba, 1990).

For delving into this phenomenon, we should turn to Tamara Petriv’s memoirs. The wife of the General of the West Ukrainian People’s Republic’s Army, was in the evacuation train of the Supreme Commander (Symon Petliura) in 1920. She described a general feeling of hopelessness and longing for her relatives who remained in Ukraine (Petriv, 1960).

Ukrainian teacher Kateryna Antonovych devoted two whole chapters of autobiography to her experiences on the eve of moving abroad. Kateryna went to visit her husband in Prague, who had been forced to leave Ukraine earlier. Her notes contain useful information about the complexities of leaving with her children, obtaining a passport to leave Soviet Ukraine in 1923, and her fears about crossing the border (Antonovych, 1973, pp. 219–222).

We find detailed recollections of the evacuation day in the work “My Memories” by Sofia Rusova, a prominent Ukrainian educator who worked in the Ukrainian Central Rada. With the Bolsheviks’ advance, Sofia marked that they personally treated her well, but she still decided to leave, given the prevailing atmosphere of suspicion, distrust, and the beginning of arbitrary arrests and executions. Sofia Rusova did not hesitate, she made a firm decision, especially after the outrageous fact that instead of science, professors were supposed to “manage vegetable gardens to help Moscow’s ‘comrades’”. The famine of 1922 – 1923 was approaching the territory of Ukraine, and Sofia Rusova moved out at a particularly dark time for her homeland (Rusova, 1937, pp. 254–280).

We see a slightly different character of the process of moving abroad in the case of Nadiia Surovtsova. She left country after the Directorate of Ukraine came to power in 1918 and joined the diplomatic mission to the Paris Peace Conference. Surovtsova lived through all of the subsequent events, including the Bolshevik occupation, while was in Europe. With plans to study in Vienna, Nadiia certainly did not intend to leave Ukraine forever, and she left in elation, unaware of the events that would follow. There are her vivid remarks about this: “It was unclear what would remain behind us in Kyiv, and even less clear what awaited us in Paris. One thing we can say now, forty years later, is that none of us expected to leave our homeland for so long, and some of us even for good. Everything was measured in months, and no one had any idea about years. We did not dream about decades in our worst dreams” (Surovtsova, 1996, p. 91).

In the memoirs of Mariia Livytska, a writer and wife of the exiled president of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, Andriy Livytsky, we see experiences on the eve of the revolution’s rout, similar to those we have already read about in the stories of previous figures. There is excitement, dejection, and the need to make hard decisions. Traveling west to Poland on an evacuation train, Maria is full of hope, and marked: “We are not leaving Ukraine for long, Ukraine will be an independent state, and we will definitely return”. Maria would not return to the territory of Ukraine, but she would not stop working for the Ukrainian statehood (Livytska, 1972, pp. 342–343).

The memories of the relatives of the participant in the national liberation struggle, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky arouse interest as well. Two of the hetman’s daughters, Olena Ott-Skoropadska and Yelyzaveta Kuzhym-Skoropadska, characterized their lives under the new conditions. According to Olena, the collapse of the Hetmanate was a real catastrophe

for the sisters, and although some family members came to terms with the new reality, others continued to live in the past (Skoropadskyi, 1995, p. 417).

These memories have one common characteristic: unhappiness, natural fear of the unknown, homesickness, desire to stay at home, hope for return. The second point is the hope of returning. Each of them makes a note of the temporality of events and the need to continue the struggle. We also observe distinctive remarks—some figures are full of a sense of a better future, while others are more realistic or even cautious about the future, such as Sofia Rusova or Skoropadsky's daughters. It should be noted that these publications are about women public and political figures who tried to save Ukraine by participating in governmental activities, education, and journalism in favor of the homeland.

As already noted, memoirs of emigrated women soldiers, members of underground movements, or nurses are much rarer, as their activities were more dangerous, and they wrote their notes on the condition of successful departure. This was more complicatedly for them to realize due to direct participation in hostilities. One of the female soldiers, Kharytyna Pekarchuk. The peculiarity of the women's memories is that the process of emigration often took place in their case without the opportunity to be aware of what was happening or to pack their belongings. In Kharytyna's example, we can see that she left the war zone directly from the fighting, under pressure from the Bolsheviks, and went to Poland with the military force. "We were not captured, but interned", the author noticed. Her morale is shattered at this point: "We celebrated our first Easter outside our native land there. It was very sad. Our situation was hopeless, our mood was heavy and depressed. We had long since forgotten about the possibilities, and now we had also lost our freedom of movement and the opportunity to be active. And at that time, Ukraine was being bloodied..." (Pekarchuk, 1969).

A similar sentiment can be seen in the memoirs of Tetiana Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, a scout and a soldier. "Every day, victims fell under the Bolshevik hammer and sickle", she wrote. However, like the public figures mentioned above, Tetiana hopes for a quick return and cannot accept the need to leave her native land – "however, we consoled ourselves with the thought that this separation would not be long, that another revolution would come again and we would return". (Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, 1977, p. 127). The soldier and medic Khrystyna Sushko left no memories, but there are her comrades' memories on the evacuation day to Poland, Khrystyna did not stop rescuing Ukrainian soldiers, and all – her thoughts were occupied with "moral pressure of great responsibility for the sick, helpless people abandoned to her" (Sribniak, 2018).

The situation before the exit of another activist, Teresa Almazova, the wife of the Ukrainian People's Republic general who worked as a nurse, was directly related to the Separate Mounted Mountain Rifle Division of Colonel Oleksa Almazov, which was interned in Poland. As a German, Teresa did not position herself as a Ukrainian activist, but she did her best to be useful to the Ukrainian liberation movement, which she repeatedly emphasized (Koval, 2020).

Thus, although memoirs are more common among public and political figures, and the majority of women soldiers and doctors did not leave their own records, we can learn about their activities from the works of their concerned contemporaries. The historian Ruslan Pyrih points out the reasons for this: intense political, state, and military activity, the speed of events, and lack of time prevented them from recording what was happening around them (Pyrih, 2011). Therefore, among the commonalities in the situation of women who served the Ukrainian cause on the eve of the forced emigration is a sense of desperation at having

to leave their native land, as well as the leitmotif of hoping to return home in the near future. Among the distinctive features, we observe that women who fought at the fronts against the Bolsheviks of came out of Ukraine without any moral or household preparation as part of the retreating armed force. The majority emigrated forcibly due to the threat to their lives or disagreement with Bolshevik policy. This led to further foreign complexity of a psychological nature, as adaptation was much more challenging for these women than it would have been under more favourable conditions.

Overcoming emigration difficulties.

One of the tragedies that befell women was that they lived mainly with the “memories”, which, although they accumulated in works and articles, increased their despondency. Of course, it was impossible to take up the Ukrainian cause right away – the majority of women who emigrated had to deal with documents, housing, family, children, work, and status. All of this varied from country to country. Tracing the fate of female revolutionaries, we can observe that the majority of them initially went to the nearest European countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria, and Romania. Many were interned in Poland, not only former soldiers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, but also women, who were often the wives of interned troopers. Often, those women did not stay in these countries and ended up in more distant countries such as the United States, Canada, and Argentina. It was especially common during World War II. It should also be noted that the migratory period of this female figures covers the 1920s and 1930s, when postwar Europe suffered from economic crisis and inflation. Apparently, this socio-economic situation in European countries affected both the material and moral situation of emigrant women. This is confirmed in Halyna Zhurba’s story: first, this person settled in Warsaw, and then, in her late years, she found herself in the United States, suffering from the events of World War II. From her record, we understand that the writer did not live a rich life, focusing all efforts on her writing. In the United States, “in a modest apartment above the “Bazaar” book and souvenir shop, the old writer lived out her days” (Zhurba, 1990).

Another figure, Kateryna Antonovych, devoted several pages to domestic problems at the initial stage of emigration, self-identification among the new Czech culture, and her impressions of Prague. Kateryna narrated about a problematic search of an apartment for herself and her children. Her focus was on the canteen organized by the Ukrainian Women’s Union. The author elaborated on the cultural life of the Czech Republic, where the newly arrived Ukrainian emigrants organically merged. Kateryna Antonovych’s fate was somewhat similar to Halyna Zhurba’s: in 1949, she left for North America, but specifically Canada. Kateryna Antonovych mentions labour-intensive conditions for newcomers, and the conduct of scientific and educational work for little or no pay (Antonovych, 1973, pp. 224–240).

Tamara Petriv’s fate also led her to the Czech Republic, where she received an education as an engineer-economist, although she also lived poorly, supporting herself with small earnings. The Petriv family later moved to Carpathian Ukraine – an autonomous region within the Second Czechoslovak Republic, where her husband worked as a teacher at a gymnasium. Under German occupation, she worked in a tailor shop (Lipovetsky, 1969, pp. 18–20).

Sofia Rusova mentioned many emigrant problems, from domestic problems to homesickness, which sometimes even resulted in suicide (Rusova, 1937, p. 271). She also described the prevailing atmosphere of despair and demoralization, despite attempts to regulate scientific and cultural life in favor of Ukraine. From her notes, we conclude that the problematic domestic issues of emigrant life made her work in favor of Ukraine less

productive (Rusova, 1937, p. 272).

Similar sentiments can be observed in Nadiia Surovtsova's autobiography, in which she repeatedly complained about her lack of money and hard financial situation. She wrote that "it was not a sweet life in those foreign countries". Without even considering the option of emigration, soon Nadiia met Ukrainian emigrants in Switzerland who made a depressing impression on her: "That was the first time I saw emigrants... living in a foreign country all the time. And the impression was unusually heavy. Not because the once-rich woman was poor, no. Only because they were people without roots. Everything that was close and dear to them remained on the other side. And the benefits, beauty, everything good around them was not theirs, not for them, and strange" (Surovtsova, 1996, p. 96). While in Austria, Surovtsova took on various jobs. Neither teaching nor renting a building solved her constant financial problems, and eventually she started working in a private workshop producing dolls for export. "The majority of the population was poor, and there was nothing to say about the Ukrainians", Nadiia made a note about the 1920s in Austria. The inconsistent earnings and inflation of the postwar period left little time for lecturing and popularizing the Ukrainian issue (Surovtsova, 1996, pp. 112–114).

No less interesting are the records of Tetiana Mykhailivska-Tsymbal: at first, while living in Romania, she wrote about her constant longing for her native Podillia. When she moved to Argentina, Tetiana reported about need to have seasonal jobs, complexity in learning Spanish, and living in severe poverty (Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, 1984, pp. 10–23).

Fate of Ukrainian female soldier Kharytyna Pekarchuk's was not easy, as she remembers about these years after emigration: "I soon had to leave my own corner and move to a home for the elderly.... and my health weakened even more". In her memoirs, she complained about her rather difficult financial situation, and the only thing that sustains her is the memories of the glorious past she had experienced (Pekarchuk, 1969). The emigrant everyday life of Khrystyna Sushko, a former military officer, is also replete with complications, including treatment after her injuries and the need for constant earnings (Sribniak, 2018).

Hence, almost all of these people are forced to either change their profession or take on part-time jobs outside of their main job. In general, we see the prevalence of restlessness and confusion among women emigrants, who suffered from their own threats and from observing the problems of their colleagues and compatriots.

Emigrant women's activities and achievements: faith in the future of Ukraine.

Despite the complex conditions of emigration, women tried to continue to act in favor of Ukraine, to be involved in the cultural and educational sphere, and to organize themselves into women's unions, trying to make their activities more productive. We have many examples of women's successful achievements both in their own careers and for the benefit of Ukraine. For example, Halyna Zhurba's writing talent only intensified under complex conditions. She wrote many works out of home, leaving behind a large body of Ukrainian literature created outside of Ukraine which was occupied by the Bolsheviks. The activist constantly thought about her homeland, dedicated her works to it: in publication "The Distant World" she depicted the image of pre-revolutionary Ukraine, which fought for its own place in the international arena. In her works and stories, the writer returned to her native land again and again (Zhurba, 1990). Halyna Zhurba joined the organizational activities of the diaspora, in particular the creation of the Ukrainian Writers' Association in Exile "Slovo" in 1954. Halyna had a connection with the creation of the organization and was active member, but also raised funds for the first publication. Already in the first collection of the Ukrainian Writers'

Association, Halyna published her memoirs about literary Kyiv during the revolutionary period (Tarnavsky, 1974).

Tamara Petriv's biography is equally productive. After emigration and solving domestic problems, the Petriv family tried to join in the attempts to maintain the representation of the Ukrainian government abroad. In the city of Augsburg, where the Ukrainian People's Republic government was located, Tamara Petriv became the secretary of the Ukrainian National-State Union, where she devoted all her experience and knowledge to the issue of preserving Ukrainian statehood. Similar to Halyna Zhurba, Tamara Petriv had the opportunity to prove herself at the organizational level. She joined many Ukrainian organizations, including a board member of the Union of Ukrainian Women, the Czech association "Glagol", Plastpriyat, and was the head of the "Chervona Kalyna" Youth Group (Lypovetsky, 1969, pp. 18–20). In 1950 moved to the United States, where she continued to work for the Ukrainian National-State Union (Lipovetsky, 1969).

Kateryna Antonovych's activities were even more intense: she also got involved in the organizational processes. In Prague, she was a member of the Ukrainian Women's Union, actively helped create the Museum of the Liberation Struggle, and was a chairman of the Committee of the Ukrainian Children's Shelter in the Podebrady. With her assistance, a studio of plastic art was created. In her life story Kateryna recalled that their exhibitions attracted interest not only in Ukrainian but also in Czech cultural society. Her activities in Canada after World War II were equally productive: in Winnipeg, she organized a school of drawing and painting in 1952 (Antonovych, 19773, pp. 224–240). As we can see, the activities of Petriv and Zhurba were directed either towards the literary or political field, while in the case of Kateryna Antonovych, they were focused on the pedagogical and artistic direction.

Sofia Rusova, after emigrating, actively helped the starving people of Ukraine in 1931 – 1933. She, similar to the activists mentioned above, joined organizational activities, in particular, becoming the founder of the National Council of Ukrainian Women in Prague. Taking advantage of all opportunities, she began the practice of constantly informing the European community about the situation in Ukraine (Rusova, 1937, p. 279). After the final defeat of Ukraine, most countries of the world were concerned about the victory of the Bolsheviks. At the same time, the short-term appearance on the map of Europe of an independent state of Ukraine did not give an opportunity to establish itself (Kvit, 2017). Thus, the task of the diaspora was to familiarize the world community with the Ukrainian issue. In this context, Rusova became the founder of the National Council of Ukrainian Women in Prague. Another well-known achievement of Rusova is her participation in the International Women's Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in France. There Sofia Rusova delivered a speech in which she testified to the condition of the Ukrainian women under the Soviet occupation (Rusova, 1937, p. 279).

Thus, Sofia Rusova marked that she had little interest in women's issues because human rights were violated in the Soviet Union in general. Sofia Rusova fulfilled the request of Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian People's Army Petliura, who passed on the following words to her: "We need Rusova to travel all over Europe and tell them about the situation in Ukraine". In addition, Sofia Rusova raised money and took care of women and children who had emigrated from Soviet Ukraine (Rusova, 1937, p. 279).

Sofia Rusova spoke about Ukraine in all her speeches, introducing world organizations and the public to Ukrainian culture itself, which, in her words, foreigners often imagined as "some unknown ocean islands", or a part of Russia. This is illustrated by Sofia Rusova's

activities in Poděbrady, where she created an ethnographic exhibition of Ukrainian embroideries, photographs, and landscapes for the public to see. In addition, Sofia Rusova continued her efforts to realize an idea related to her professional activities – the creation of a higher pedagogical school for the Ukrainians (Rusova, 1937, p. 272).

Nadiia Surovtsova was able to achieve her personal career ambitions in Europe. In 1920, she graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna and defended her doctoral dissertation. She became the first woman from Ukraine to receive a doctorate in philosophy, and for some time she worked as a lecturer at the Vienna Agricultural Academy. Nadiya, similar to all above-mentioned figures, focused on international women's organizations. We should point out her participation in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Society of Progressive Journalists of Europe (Surovtsova, 1996, pp. 90–138). Here we trace the common elements of activity with Sofia Rusova. At the same time, Nadiia Surovtsova was not fully aware of the danger posed by the communist occupation. A possible reason for this difference is that Nadiia Surovtsova knew about the post-Soviet Ukraine mainly from "stories, books, newspapers, but saw nothing herself", unlike Sofia Rusova, who saw and felt all aspects of the Bolshevik occupation with her own eyes (Surovtsova, 1996, p. 157).

Participation in women's organizations is almost an obligatory page in the biography of revolutionary figures overseas. Also, we observe this in the case of Maria Livytska, who headed the Union of Ukrainian Emigrant Women in Warsaw in 1920 (Prosalova, 2012, p. 288).

As for the activities of Pavlo Skoropadskyi's daughters, they not just participated in the Hetmanate movement in exile. In particular, Olena Ott-Skoropadska, after the death of Pavlo Skoropadskyi, became a leader of this movement and recorded family history in her writings. By doing so, she contributed to sort out the phenomenon of the Hetmanate in Ukrainian history (Skoropadska, 2013). As we can see, this figure focused more on the aspect of the revolutionary period that was related to her father's activities.

The soldier Kharytyna Pekarchuk, like Antonovych and Rusova, ended up in the Czech Republic, and almost immediately began to study at the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Poděbrady. Kharytyna also took part in the work of women's organizations, including the Association of Ukrainian Women in Germany (Pekarchuk, 1969).

Tetiana Mykhailivska-Tsymbal had a particularly eventful fate, although even in the face of threats she worked in the educational sphere. In Romania she taught Ukrainian children the Ukrainian language despite the Romanian government's ban on telling children that they were not the Romanians. In Argentina, as soon as she had free time, after a hard adaptation to the new continent, she initiated the founding of the Ukrainian organization "Young Community" in Berisso, and later "Prosvita" (Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, 1984, p. 22). She remembered about staging plays based on Ukrainian works. "The youthful energy, the desire to work, and the ideology brought so recently from our homeland all added to the desire and strength to work", Tetiana recalled participating in these performances. Later, owing to Tetiana's efforts, a Ukrainian school was founded in Buenos Aires (Mykhailivska-Tsymbal, 1984, p. 46). She was also involved in the activities of the Union of Ukrainian Women. Thus, Tetyana's activities were focused on the pedagogical field and the representation of Ukraine in the political field as such. Here we can draw parallels with the activities of the aforementioned Sofia Rusova. In general, the activities of Tetiana Mykhailivska-Tsymbal are a unique example of attempts to serve the native state even so far across the ocean in South America, where the Ukrainian community was not yet well organized at the time of

her arrival.

In exile, Khrystyna Sushko, a doctor and a soldier, did not quit her professions. She conducted her own medical practice in Nice and kept in touch with other Ukrainian emigrants. During the World War II, she worked as a doctor in the camps for displaced people where the Ukrainians were held (Sribniak, 2018). Namely, unlike the female soldier Kharytyna Pekarchuk, Sushko managed to continue her professional activities and even re-engage in military struggle (Sribnyak, 2018).

Thus, the desire for self-organization, professional fulfillment, and the understanding of the need not to abandon the Ukrainian cause are the main motivations of women staying abroad, outside homeland. In the above, we can trace many common features in the work of women for the benefit of Ukraine – participation in international, literary, women’s organizations; attempts to continue their professional activities and combine them with the benefit of the Ukrainian cause. At the same time, we also see the difference: the public and political figures are more hopeful than the military women. Some focused on their usual professional activities, the others delved into completely new areas for themselves. It should be added that such activities also gave their material manifestations in the form of the emergence of Ukrainian schools, museums and new Ukrainian women’s organizations.

Although women put the Ukrainian issue first, they also sought their own self-realization, tried not to forget their own national identity, and helped other victims of the Soviet Union.

Conclusion. The phenomenon of Ukrainian political emigration after the rout of the Ukrainian War of Independence 1917 – 1921 is an insufficiently studied aspect of Ukrainian history. The issue of the Ukrainian women, who participated in migratory process is a less studied topic.

Some attempts have been made since independence, but there have been no comprehensive works about this process can be gleaned directly from the memoirs of female public and political figures, soldiers, and doctors. At the time of the suppression Ukrainian struggle, each of them found themselves under both similar and different conditions. They had to leave their homeland under pressure from the Bolsheviks and faced obstacles in making this decision. The main motivation for such a decision is mortal danger or a conscious choice to have nothing to do with the Soviet occupation. We have determined that on the eve of departure, each of the research subjects was overwhelmed by the same feelings: homesickness and the hope of returning home at the earliest possible moment. At the same time, we also see a difference: the public and political figures are more hopeful than the military women.

The daily lives and fates of women have much in common: hardships in adaptation and integration in a foreign country, financial burdens, and the need to work outside their specialty. Women faced obstacles in organizing even a minimal Ukrainian issue, overcoming bureaucratic and organizational problems in another country. This was compounded by the challenging interwar period in Europe, including inflation and the need to leave the country again due to the advance of Nazi Germany. As a result, many women found themselves in new conditions again and had to adapt again, mostly in North or South America. Despite this, there are many examples of their personal professional success and fruitful work for the benefit of Ukraine. Numerous Ukrainian schools in the most remote corners of the world, the preservation of Ukrainian identity and values outside the Bolshevik occupation, memories of the events of the Ukrainian War of Independence untainted by Soviet propaganda, and women’s unions – all of this was fully realized by women who relied on their own strength.

A promising direction for further scientific research is the study of female emigration

peculiarities after the defeat of the Ukrainian War of Independence 1917–1921. The problem of women's everyday life in new foreign conditions needs detailed consideration.

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