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Igor FARENIY

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Professor of Department of Archaeology and Special Spheres of Historical Science of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, 81 Shevchenko Street, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18000 (fareniy_igor@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0000-0001-5176-6055

Researcher ID: B-8782-2019

Ігор ФАРЕНІЙ

доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри археології і спеціальних історичних дисциплін Черкаського національного університету імені Богдана Хмельницького, б-р Шевченка 81, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18000 (fareniy_igor@ukr.net)

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**THE UKRAINIAN COOPERATOR MYKOLA LEVYTSKY
AND THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT
(the end of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the activities of a renowned Ukrainian cooperator Mykola Levytsky in the international arena. The methodology of the research is based on a general scientific synthetic method and a special historical chronological method. Due to the specified research methods it was possible to single out and systematize the data on the international activities of Mykola Levytsky and to elucidate the issue of a cooperative activist's work in the international arena. The scientific novelty of the research consists in summarizing and highlighting the international contacts of the Ukrainian cooperator Mykola Levytsky with the representatives of other countries and his activities outside Ukraine. The Conclusion.* 1. Mykola Levytsky had a great authority among the international public. The paramount reason for this authority was a large scale of his cooperative work, as well as M. Levytsky's cooperative views, which envisaged broad international cooperation in the field of cooperative movement. 2. In general, the cooperator's relations with foreign countries were informative in nature. M. Levytsky was renowned in the international arena, his experience was studied and respected, and the international public was ready to take advantage of his potential in the field of organizing cooperative societies. Information concerning Mykola Levytsky's activities covered Eastern and Western Europe and North America. Economic and organizational work in the field of cooperation was directly carried out by him in Eastern Europe. He took part in international cooperative congresses in the countries of Western Europe regularly. 3. Mykola Levytsky strove for the establishment of the Ukrainian cooperation as an independent subject of the international cooperative movement. He substantiated the drastic need for the Ukrainian cooperation national centres establishment actively, which could be independent of the imperial cooperative structures of Russia, and Mykola Levytsky took practical measures to establish them.

Key words: cooperation, cooperative movement, international relations, workshops father, Mykola Levytsky.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КООПЕРАТОР МИКОЛА ЛЕВИТСЬКИЙ ТА МІЖНАРОДНИЙ КООПЕРАТИВНИЙ РУХ (кінець XIX – перша третина XX ст.)

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати діяльність всесвітньовідомого українського кооператора Миколи Левитського на міжнародній арені. **Методологія дослідження теми** спирається на загальнонауковий синтетичний та спеціальний історичний проблемно-хронологічний метод. Вказані методи дослідження уможливили виокремлення та систематизацію даних щодо міжнародної діяльності Миколи Левитського, а також розкриття проблеми роботи кооперативного діяча на міжнародній арені. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в узагальненні і висвітленні міжнародних контактів українського кооператора Миколи Левитського із представниками інших країн та його діяльності за межами України. **Висновки.** 1. Микола Левитський мав великий авторитет серед міжнародної громадськості. Причиною цього був великий масштаб його кооперативної роботи, а також кооперативні погляди, які передбачали широке міжнародне співробітництво у сфері кооперативного руху. 2. Зв'язки кооператора із закордоном мали загалом інформаційний характер. Левитського добре знали на міжнародній арені, вивчали і шанували його досвід, були готові скористатися його потенціалом у сфері організації кооперативних товариств. Інформація про діяльність Миколи Левитського охоплювала Східну і Західну Європу та Північну Америку. Господарсько-організаційна робота у сфері кооперації безпосередньо здійснювалася ним у Східній Європі. У країнах Західної Європи він регулярно брав участь у міжнародних кооперативних конгресах. 3. Микола Левитський прагнув до утвердження української кооперації як самостійного суб'єкта міжнародного кооперативного руху. Він активно обґрунтовував необхідність створення національних центрів української кооперації, незалежних від імперських кооперативних структур Росії, та вживав практичних заходів із їх заснування.

Ключові слова: кооперація, кооперативний рух, міжнародні зв'язки, артільний батько, Микола Левитський.

The Problem Statement and Analysis of Publications. The issue of the Ukrainian cooperation participation in the international life was brought up in historical research papers periodically. There are modern scientific works that focus on the issue of the Ukrainian cooperative organizations establishment in the international arena (Visyn, 2010, pp. 221–230; Danylenko, 2010, pp. 229–242; Kramar, 2009, pp. 59–69; Zhurba, 2001, pp. 61–74), a wide range of cooperation of the consumer cooperation system of the UkrSSR with foreign partners (Aliman, & Onipko, 2011; Onipko, 1987, pp. 106–113; Onipko, 2009a, pp. 52–57; Onipko, 2009b, pp. 172–179; Onipko, 2013) and activities at foreign markets of agricultural cooperation (Raku, 2008, pp. 262–265; Romanyuk I. M., & Romanyuk B. I., 2010, pp. 228–230). However, our point of view is that the issue of international activity of the Ukrainian cooperative movement cannot be considered fully covered. At the same time, we draw attention to a well-known figure of Mykola Levytsky, who was called a workshop father, in the international arena a hundred years ago. The research was done on his attitude towards the role of various states of the world in the historical fate of Ukraine (Danylenko, 2020, pp. 84–90). At the same time, despite a rather extensive historiography of his activities (Faresov, 1899; Bozhko, 1909; Pozharskyi, 1918; Mykola Vasylovych Levyts'kyi, 1918, pp. 1–3; Savich, 1918, pp. 1–2; Vysochanskyj, 1925; Bachynskyj, 1927, pp. 23–53; Pavlykovskyi, 1928; Kokorina, 1961, pp. 300–327; Marochko, 1995; Panteleimonenko, 1999, pp. 130–136; Aliman, 2003, p. 7; Vovchenko, 2007; Kostyk, 2008, pp. 125–128; Chorna, 2013, pp. 394–398; Rekrut, & Stepchenko, 2014, pp. 376–386; Rekrut, 2019, pp. 50–56; Helei, 2016, pp. 62–64; Piatnytskova, 2017, pp. 29–39; Piatnytskova, 2019, pp. 98–107), the issue of a famous cooperator's contacts with the representatives of other countries and work abroad was not

considered specifically. Hence, we are **aimed** at analyzing the activities of the Ukrainian cooperator Mykola Levytsky in the international arena.

The Results of the Research. A typical phenomenon of the period of the Ukrainian cooperation emergence and formation, which fell in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century, was wide international contacts of cooperative activists. The cooperative movement sought its place in cross-border ways of economic cooperation boldly under the conditions of global changes in the world order that took place during the above mentioned period (Zemzyulina, & Tsybmal, 2020; Bondarenko, 2020). Hence, it is no coincidence that all prominent Ukrainian cooperators cooperated with foreign partners, including Mykola Ballin, Viktor Kozlov, Mykola Ziber, Serhiy Borodayevsky. Mykola Levytsky was no exception. As a result of intensive organizational work on the manufacture cooperatives establishment, he became famous at the end of the 19th century quickly, as news travelled fast across the territory of the Romanov Empire, and easily crossed its borders. The scope of the Ukrainian cooperator's activity was truly impressive. There were up to a hundred cooperative societies founded by him every year. Over a decade of public work, from the mid-1890s to 1905, M. Levytsky established more than 500 craft and workers' cooperatives and more than 200 agricultural cooperative societies (Institute of Manuscripts V. I. Vernadskiy National Library of Ukraine (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU), f. 290, No 2423, pp. 3, 4). In such a large-scale activity, there was manifested the aspiration to bold predictions, projection and struggle for a socially just future of the humanity based on the cooperative management, characteristic of his era (Smolii & Yas, 2019; Kornovenko & Pasichna, 2021).

Mykola Levytsky ranked himself to be the Ukrainian cooperator. Hence, his public work in the Romanov Empire, and later in the Soviet state, which were located outside of Ukraine, should be also considered as an international activity. In addition to the Ukrainian lands, M. Levytsky worked in Chisinau, Rostov, Samara and Saratov (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 14, 30), Nyzhniy Novhorod, Kovrov, Tambov, Moscow and St. Petersburg (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, pp. 3, 5, 6, 10). Every year, he covered up to 30,000 versts in cooperative affairs "... my apartment is in Yelysavethrad ... and I live mostly in a train carriage", – M. Levytsky said in this regard (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 547, p. 11).

M. Levytsky's cooperative work consisted both in organization of cooperative societies, as well as educational and explanatory events, propaganda events, speeches, interviews in the press, and representation of cooperation interests to the state authorities. He was a welcome guest in various circles of educated public. He was regularly invited to have talks and deliver speeches on cooperative issues. It is known that university and high school students from Warsaw, Moscow and St. Petersburg were the listeners of Mykola Levytsky's speeches (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 14–15, 18–19, 26).

The government institutions involved Mykola Levytsky in the development of cooperative legislation. In 1899, at the invitation of the Minister of Finance, he participated in elaboration of the law on manufacture cooperatives (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 862, p. 1). In 1902, the Act "Regulations on Labour Cooperatives" was adopted – the first legislative act in the Empire, which affirmed the right to existence of a manufacture cooperative (Gessen, 1902).

Mykola Levytsky also participated in the elaboration of a model statute for labour workshops (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, p. 1; Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 2164, p. 24). M. Levytsky, representing the interests of a manufacture cooperative, met with the Minister of Internal Affairs V. K. Pleve, the Minister of Finance

V. I. Kokovtsov and his deputy V. I. Tymyriazev (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 290, No 4623, p. 46). There were also meetings with the Minister of Agriculture and State Property A. S. Yermolov, as well as the Minister of Finance S. Yu. Witte (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 290, No 2423, p. 4).

M. Levytsky also gained a certain trust from the Russian monarch. At the beginning of 1903, Emperor Nicholas II, based on the report of the Minister of Finance, ordered to give him 5 thousand rubliv in order to carry on the work concerning labour cooperatives establishment (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, p. 10).

The struggle for recognition of the Ukrainian cooperation as a full-fledged participant in the international cooperation was a crucial area of Mykola Levytsky's activity. In order to achieve the above-mentioned goal, M. Levytsky justified the drastic need to create national cooperative centres that would not depend on the imperial cooperative system. On behalf of the cooperative society of Ukraine, for a long time, M. Levytsky asked the Ministers of Finance and Internal Affairs in St. Petersburg for a permission to establish all-Ukrainian cooperative centres – the “Southern Cooperative Bank” and “Dnipro Union of Consumer Societies” (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 882, pp. 1–6).

The enormous volume of M. Levytsky's organizational work could not fail to cause a public outcry and increased attention to his person. The local and imperial press, as well as European magazines, wrote about the workshops established by him (Bachynskyj, 1927, pp. 47–50; Kostyk, 2008, pp. 126–127). The workshop agreement, elaborated by Mykola Levytsky on the establishment of manufacture cooperatives, gained general knowledge and considerable attention. The agreement was translated into a number of European languages: English, German, Serbian, French and Ukrainian in Galicia of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. M. Levytsky's activities earned recognition not only in the circles of enthusiasts interested in cooperation, but also in academic science. During the years of 1895 – 1900, in Germany, at the University of Leipzig, a prominent scholar-economist, Professor Karl Bücher analyzed the activities of peasant manufacture cooperatives, which were established by M. Levytsky, in lecture courses on Economic Theory, and included questions about them in examination cards (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 5–6).

M. Levytsky received letters of support for his work from various countries around the world. Those who supported him in his activities were from Spain and Germany (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, pp. 3, 5, 6, 10, 10.), Sweden (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 2, 8). There were also appeals for help concerning cooperatives organization in Sweden and Norway (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1103, p. 22), France, Germany, England, as well as in Slavic countries (Ya. D., 1923, p. 14). Thus, in 1903, the workers from the city of Glasgow, England, appealed to M. Levytsky, they expected to receive help in organizing a cooperative for the production of tobacco (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, pp. 3, 5v., 6, 10, 10v.). In 1912, the Ukrainian workers in Canada – “carpenters, painters, shoemakers, tailors” – appealed to M. Levytsky as the “father of workers” with a request to help in cooperatives establishment. At the same time, the international recognition of his merits was emphasized. “Your glorious work for a better life of the workers”, – wrote the Ukrainians of Canada, – “is known all over the world, and the entire powerful working class glorifies you all over the world” (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1684, p. 1).

M. Levytsky evaluated his activities on the international arena the following way: “... my work and communication and propaganda spread throughout Europe, America (North and South), as

well as Asia. There was almost no such country ... from which I wouldn't have received letters and questions ...". The publicity in the international information space was so strong that once the Ukrainians, who went abroad in order to earn money, recognized M. Levytsky by a portrait they had seen in America (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 548, pp. 2, 8).

The vivid evidence of widespread recognition of Mykola Levytsky's cooperative work was an invitation for Mykola Levytsky to take part in the international cooperative forums. In 1896, he participated in the International Cooperative Congress in Paris (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 2099–2100, cards 2–3). In 1898, "at the invitation of ... Serbian comrades" he took part in the Serbian Cooperative Congress (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 61, p. 4). M. Levytsky was also a participant in the international cooperative forums in Italy in 1907, Switzerland and Austria in 1909, and Belgium, Germany and England in 1910 (Ya. D., 1923, p. 14), Sweden in 1927 (Onipko, 2013, p. 148). M. Levytsky was also supposed to attend the International Cooperative Congress in Budapest, in 1904. However, due to the lack of funds for the trip, he sent only a congratulatory telegramme to the Congress (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 290, No 4623, p. 48).

The international public was interested in the circumstances of M. Levytsky's life and work sincerely. In particular, the Austrian, French and other foreign press representatives were concerned about a difficult state of health of the cooperator (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1189, p. 11).

Owing to the international recognition under the difficult conditions of the Civil War, Mykola Levytsky managed to avoid death. At the beginning of February of 1919, he was brought before a military field court by the administration of the Volunteer Army of General A. Denikin, and he was threatened with the death sentence. However, the Bilohvardiytsi were afraid of the international resonance, and were forced to release a renowned cooperator (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 550, p. 9–10).

One of the reasons for Mykola Levytsky's international authority was his views on the national issue and the world progress of the humanity. He was noted for his frankness about his nationality and the self-determination of the Ukrainian people. Such position, although it was not an exotic phenomenon in Ukraine (Kalishchuk, 2019), however, it was a rather brave act under the conditions of noticeable conformist attitudes among the intelligentsia of that time (Avtushenko, & Buhlai, 2021). At the same time, M. Levytsky was an active supporter of cooperation and friendship among peoples. He was convinced that the main condition for the national development is the widest possible mastery of the achievements of civilization, striving for the best world examples of culture and values. In 1909, in his speech at the Ukrainian Enlightenment and Economic Congress in Lviv, M. Levytsky heralded the following: "... let the national culture live and grow, built on the basis of common human universal ideas..." (Bryk & Kocyuba, 1910, p. 7). That is why, M. Levytsky advocated respect for other peoples "... for me, a convinced Ukrainian and a passionate, with all the strength of my soul, desire is to see my people, my Ukraine free, politically independent from anyone and sovereign, ... nevertheless, for me, all people are brothers primarily", – said Mykola Levytsky (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 121, p. 4). At the same time, he believed that the movement towards consolidation and cooperation was characteristic of nations. M. Levytsky said that the defining feature of his contemporary era was the aspiration of "cultured peoples and all mankind... towards unity" (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 122, pp. 1–2). And the most important area of cooperation between nations can only be the cooperation, since "Cooperation", – M. Levytsky pointed out, – "has already become ... the standard by

which the degree of cultural development and progress of the people in general is measured and shown..." (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 38, p. 1). He believed that participation in the cooperative work "is the duty of every person, who wishes happiness for the humanity in general, and in particular for the nation to which he belongs" (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 141, p. 1). Hence, according to M. Levytsky, the cooperative issue was naturally connected with wide international contacts, with the aspiration to cover the widest area with his activities, an effort to gain and share the experience of cooperative work. At the same time, M. Levytsky went to the world community with the best hopes and intentions, which led to a positive attitude in return.

The public celebrated the jubilee dates of Mykola Levytsky's activities during his life. Thus, in 1918, the 40th anniversary of M. Levytsky's cooperative work was solemnly celebrated (Yuvylei M. V. Levyts'koho, 1918, pp. 22–25). The 45th anniversary of activity in the field of the cooperative movement was not forgotten either (Ya. D., 1923, pp. 13–14). In 1928, celebrations were held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the cooperative work of Mykola Levytsky in the premises of the higher educational and scientific institution of the Ukrainian cooperation – Kyiv Cooperative Institute (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1103). In 1929, the 70th anniversary of his birth was celebrated (Semydesyatylitnij yuvilej, 1929, p. 35). The jubilee dates of M. Levytsky's life and public work attracted attention of significant figures of the cooperative movement, renowned representatives of the world public, which proved the international recognition of his activities. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of cooperative work, congratulations were sent to Mykola Levytsky by the Central Union of German Consumer Societies (Khronika, 1918, p. 144). In the 1920s, the world-famous Norwegian Slavic scholar Olaf Brock, congratulating M. Levytsky on one of his anniversaries, wrote the following: "I see You as one of the greatest supporters and leading people of progress" (Institute of Manuscripts VNLU, f. 327, No 1886, p. 1). On the occasion of Mykola Levytsky's 70th birthday, a famous pianist Liubka Kolessa sent her congratulations from Lviv (Semydesyatylitnij yuvilej, 1929, p. 35).

The Conclusion. Mykola Levytsky had a great authority among the international cooperative community, was a renowned and respected person abroad. The paramount reason for this was a large scale of his activities in the field of cooperation, due to M. Levytsky's views on cooperative work, which involved extensive international cooperation. In general, the cooperator's relations with foreign countries were informative in nature. M. Levytsky was renowned in the international arena, his experience was studied and respected, and the international public was ready to take advantage of his potential in the field of organizing cooperative societies. The area of awareness of Mykola Levytsky's activities covered at least Eastern and Western Europe and North America. The economic and organizational work in the field of cooperation was directly carried out by him in Eastern Europe and in the countries of Western Europe, he took part in international cooperative congresses regularly.

Mykola Levytsky played an important role in the establishment of the Ukrainian cooperation as an independent subject of the international cooperative movement. He substantiated the drastic need for the Ukrainian cooperation national centres establishment actively, which could be independent of the imperial cooperative structures of Russia, and took practical measures to establish them.

M. Levytsky cannot be considered as a figure of the international cooperative movement, i.e. he was not the organizer and head of its financial and economic structures or ideological and theoretical centres. However, M. Levytsky's influence on the development of cooperation

was quite noticeable in the world. He was a prominent and recognized practitioner of cooperative activity abroad, was respected by the world cooperative community, and was an example to follow.

The Prospects for the Further Research. In general, Mykola Levytsky's cooperative work is not researched by scholars sufficiently. This aspect can be especially applied to the activities of cooperative work during the period of the 1920s – 1930s, which is a promising subject for further research.

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