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BORYS HRINCHENKO AND DMYTRO DOROSHENKO: HISTORY OF COOPERATION OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to reveal the main directions of cooperation between B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko in the scientific, socio-political, journalistic, publishing spheres in the modernization of a public life and the formation of a nationally conscious elite at the beginning of the XXth century. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, a systematic approach, objectivity, anthropologism. General historical methods of analysis and synthesis and special historical methods (historical genetic, historical typological) have been used. The research methodology is supplemented by the concepts of “intellectual biography” and “network science model”. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time a wide range of sources summarize the social, professional, private interactions of the representatives of two generations of the national movement – B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko, and determine their role in the Ukrainian issue. The Conclusions. The relations between B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko demonstrate a difficult*

transition from the populist Ukrainophilism to the political Ukrainophilism. During the revolution of 1905 – 1907, in the political activity of D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko, the tactical priorities were the struggle for the autonomy of Ukraine within the Russian Empire, federalism and parliamentarism. In Kyiv during 1905 – 1909, B. Hrinchenko involved D. Doroshenko into the development of the Ukrainian independent press, educational and public work. He significantly influenced D. Doroshenko's views in various fields of the Ukrainian studies, scientific interests, civic position. The fruitful activity and cooperation of B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nation from a huge ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people, a social organism capable of an independent cultural and political life, which would become the driving force of the liberation struggle during 1917 – 1920.

Key words: B. Hrinchenko, D. Doroshenko, the Ukrainian intellectual elite.

БОРИС ГРІНЧЕНКО ТА ДМИТРО ДОРОШЕНКО: ІСТОРІЯ СПІВПРАЦІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛІВ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити основні напрями співробітництва Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка у науковій, громадсько-політичній, журналістській, видавничій сферах в умовах модернізації суспільного життя та формування національно свідомої еліти на початку ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, об'єктивності, антропологізму. Використано загальноісторичні методи аналізу і синтезу та спеціально-історичні методи (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний). Методологія дослідження доповнена концептами “інтелектуальна біографія” та “мережева модель науки”. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на широкому колі джерел узагальнено суспільні, професійні, приватні взаємовпливи представників двох поколінь національного руху – Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка, визначено їх роль для української справи. **Висновки.** Відносини Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка демонструють складний перехід від народницького українофільства до українства політичного. У політичній діяльності Д. Дорошенка та Б. Грінченка в період революції 1905 – 1907 рр. тактичними пріоритетами були боротьба за автономію України в складі Російської імперії, федералізм та парламентаризм. У Києві 1905 – 1909 рр. Б. Грінченко залучив Д. Дорошенка до розбудови української самостійної преси, громадської, народнопросвітницької та громадської роботи. Він суттєво впливав на погляди Д. Дорошенка в різних сферах українознавства, наукові зацікавлення, громадянську позицію. Плідна діяльність і співпраця Б. Грінченка та Д. Дорошенка сприяли формуванню з величезної етнічної маси українського народу української нації, суспільного організму, здатного до самостійного культурного і політичного життя, який стане рушійною силою визвольних змагань 1917 – 1920-х рр.

Ключові слова: Б. Грінченко, Д. Дорошенко, українська інтелектуальна еліта.

The Problem Statement. During the recent decades, there has been a rethinking of the subject field of an intellectual history – from the study of the history of ideas to the study of an intellectual activity and processes in the socio-cultural context. The anthropological dimension of an intellectual history is the “history of intellectuals”, which focuses on thinkers themselves and their interpersonal connections. This gave the rise to a new genre of historical knowledge – an intellectual biography. Different models of an intellectual biography have also been tested by the Ukrainian historiography (Andreyev, 2019; Gonchar, 2018; Sayenko & Shestakova, 2018). Innovative is the network model of the Ukrainian researcher I. Kolesnyk, which involves studying not only the biography of the intellectual, but the cultural space in which he is (professional, scientific, household, etc.) (Kolesnyk, 2013, p. 466).

For a long time, the Ukrainian cultural consciousness formed the idea of the intellectual as the bearer of the national idea, whose opposition to power took the form of a cultural, moral or linguistic opposition. B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko were such intellectuals, the extraordinary representatives of two generations of the Ukrainian national movement. Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko (1863 – 1910) – an outstanding Ukrainian writer, pedagogue,

literary critic, lexicographer, historian, publicist, publisher, a public and political figure. Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko (1882 – 1951) – a scholar, historian, representative of the state direction in the Ukrainian historiography, a publicist, public and statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of P. Skoropadskyyi. B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko worked closely together during the rise of the Ukrainian national movement (1905 – 1909), but their cooperation has not yet been the subject of a separate study.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. During the years of independence we observe a constant interest in the figure, creative and scientific work of B. Hrinchenko, whose historical role in the Ukrainian national movement is interpreted as “the awakener of the nation” (according to M. Hrokh). Enlightenment, civic populism and Prosvitas’ activities, a prominent representative of which B. Hrinchenko was, ensured a high level of a national consciousness, the revival of the historical memory and the will to fight for the Ukrainian statehood (Kovaliv, pp. 29–30).

Nowadays, we can state the formation of an interdisciplinary direction of the scientific researches – Hrinchenko studies. In particular, it is represented by the monographic studies of A. Zhyvotenko-Piankiv, N. Zubkova, N. Kobyzhcha, A. Nezhyvyi, A. Pohribnyi, A. Hoptiar, V. Yaremenko, etc., which contain the biographical essays. However, in most studies the preference is given to the study of literary, cultural, educational, pedagogical activities of B. Hrinchenko and his contribution to certain spheres of the Ukrainian studies, the researchers are interested in his socio-political activities and the evolution of political views.

The scale of B. Hrinchenko’s personality and his influence on various spheres of the Ukrainian society during the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries demonstrate several studies of his relations with other representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite – M. Drahomanov, M. Hrushevskyyi, I. Franko, E. Chykalenko and the others. A complex character, demanding of oneself and the others, inclination to authoritarian methods in work, intransigence and pertinacity in any issues of the Ukrainian matter formed a certain reputation of B. Hrinchenko and left an imprint on the relations with these outstanding Ukrainians.

B. Hrinchenko and his family maintained the closest personal and professional ties with S. Yefremov, but he was always surrounded by many talented, hard-working, devoted to the Ukrainian issue young people, for whom he became a service model. Such role was played by B. Hrinchenko in the formation of still young (at that time) historian – Dmytro Doroshenko (Andryeyev, 2006; Rudenko, 2015).

The source base of the study is the complex of the historical and historiographical sources. First of all, these are ego-sources that reflect the reception of the image of B. Hrinchenko by D. Doroshenko. These are memoirs – “My Memories of the Ancient Past” (Doroshenko, 1949) and “My Memories of Borys Hrinchenko (on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of B. D. Hrinchenko’s Death – April 23, 1910)” (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 309, d. 1, c. 1 313), as well as a biographical essay about B. Hrinchenko on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his creative activity (Doroshenko, 1906a), necrology (Zhuchenko, 1913), the public speeches on the anniversary of B. Hrinchenko’s death – “Borys Hrinchenko: Life and Work (Report on the anniversary of memory). Katerynoslav, 1911” (Manuscript Institute of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky, f. 318, d. 1, c. 26) and the others ([St. Siropolko], 1925). For the reconstruction of professional, social and interpersonal relations between the two figures of the national movement their

correspondence during 1899 – 1910 plays an important role (MI NLUV, f. III, d. 1). Some unpublished materials are contained in the personal funds of B. Hrinchenko (MI NLUV, f. 170, d. 1; f. I, d. 1) and D. Doroshenko (MI NLUV, f. 318, d. 1).

The life of the Ukrainian community in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the XXth century is elucidated in O. Lototsky's memoirs in detail, the social and political life in Kyiv during the revolution of 1905 – 1907 – in the memoirs of E. Chykalenko and S. Yefremov.

The purpose of the study is to reveal the main directions of cooperation between B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko in the scientific, socio-political, journalistic, publishing spheres in the modernization of a public life and the formation of a nationally conscious elite at the beginning of the XXth century.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The beginning of Dmytro Doroshenko's acquaintance in absentia, a student of the Vilna Gymnasium, with the well-known Ukrainian national figure B. Hrinchenko dates back to the mid-1890-ies. At that time the main topic of their correspondence was D. Doroshenko's desire to buy books for a public education and popular books for the masses, published by B. Hrinchenko in Chernihiv (Ivan Cherevatenko Publishing House). They met for the first time in Chernihiv in 1898. They came also across in the summer of 1903 on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument to I. Kotlyarevskyi in Poltava (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 39).

In the summer of 1904 in Kyiv, B. Hrinchenko's family hosted D. Doroshenko, a student of St. Petersburg University, when he was returning from Lviv, from the Ukrainian summer university courses with Nastya Hrinchenko (a daughter of Borys Dmytrovych) (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 52). Later on, the relations between D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko became friendly, they worked closely in the Ukrainian Kyiv press and in the field of socio-political and scientific work. They saw each other for the last time in the summer of 1909 in the village of Budaivtsi (near the village of Boyarka, near Kyiv), one of the favourite places of Kyiv intelligentsia. They did not stop corresponding until the death of B. Hrinchenko. D. Doroshenko was the executor of the clergy of Borys Dmytrovych.

D. Doroshenko belonged to a famous Cossack family, from which two hetmans came – Mykhailo Doroshenko (1625 – 1628) and Petro Doroshenko (1665 – 1676). From Hetman Mazepa the Doroshenkos received a hamlet in Hlukhiv county in Chernihiv region, it became their ancestral home. The Doroshenkos family, against the background of many Russified Cossack families, stood out with a clear national consciousness. In the family the biggest "Ukrainophile" was D. Doroshenko's uncle, Petro Yakovych. He was personally acquainted with B. Hrinchenko during the work in Chernihiv provincial zemstvo. P. Doroshenko collected a large library and a collection of historical documents (Andryeyev, 2006, pp. 127–128).

Such family charismatic clans (nobility officers) as a specific form of social organization, under conditions of statelessness and an institutional illegitimacy of a cultural life in Ukraine, played a significant role in preserving the native language, faith, customs and rites, traditional forms of the family and a public life, a national identity (Kolesnyk, 2013, pp. 386–387).

Dmytro's childhood years were spent in the hamlet, and later he spent every vacation there (Doroshenko, 1949, pp. 3–4). One of D. Doroshenko's pseudonyms was "A farmer from Hlukhiv". From his childhood he knew the history of his family, understood that his ancestors created the history of Ukraine and was proud of it (Andryeyev, 2006, pp. 127–128).

The direct influence of B. Hrinchenko, his asceticism in the field of collecting and publishing folklore and ethnography of Chernihiv region, can be traced in the formation of

D. Doroshenko's interests. The personal archive of the scientist contains the notes on the history and ethnography of Hlukhiv region (near the grandfather's hamlet), dated back to the end of the XIXth century (MI NLUV, f. 318, c. 59).

B. Hrinchenko himself, who also grew up in the hamlet (Vilkhovyi Yar hamlet, Kharkiv county, Kharkiv province) in a Cossack but Russified family, showed great interest in the details of "Doroshenko's farm life".

B. Hrinchenko was interested in history, he wrote on historical themes, he taught Ukrainian history in popular books in a popular way. He actively used historical parallels and arguments in journalism and political pamphlets. B. Hrinchenko worked on a wide range of historical sources and literature. Numerous historical materials are stored in B. Hrinchenko's personal archive.

B. Hrinchenko addressed D. Doroshenko as a professional historian for consultation and review, selection of historical, literary and illustrative materials for his works on the history of the Cossack times in Ukraine, which can be traced in their correspondence from 1906 to 1909 (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 976; c. 40 747, p. 1; c. 40 745; c. 40 754; c. 40 756, pp. 11–11 v.).

In the spotlight of B. Hrinchenko there were the figures of the two hetmans of Ukraine – Ivan Vyhovskiy (adhered to the pro-Polish orientation) and Petro Doroshenko (signed the alliance with Turkey), who, in his opinion, were the most consistent in trying to preserve the Ukrainian state in the XVIIth century. B. Hrinchenko devoted his separate thorough work to I. Vyhovskiy – "Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, his Life and Deeds" (Kyiv, 1909). The researchers consider this work to belong to the populist national period in the study of the problem (Kazmyrchuk & Kazmyrchuk, 2019, pp. 62–64, 66).

B. Hrinchenko collected a rich historical and folklore material, researched how the image of Hetman P. Doroshenko was reflected in the folk art. The conclusions were tested in speeches and discussions at the meetings of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv in 1907 (since 1908 D. Doroshenko – the secretary of the Society) and in several publications.

B. Hrinchenko wrote a five-act play "Petro Doroshenko". He tried to comprehend the historical role of the hetman in the art form. The work was not completed, One of the reasons for it was the lack of materials. D. Doroshenko did not help in this matter either. On this occasion, he wrote the following sentence in the letter (May 1, 1906): "... apparently, our hetman is waiting for his novelist" (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 36 976, p. 1 v.).

Instead, D. Doroshenko himself did not stop researching his prominent ancestor's life and activity and later he wrote a thorough monograph – "Hetman Petro Doroshenko. Review of his Life and Political Activities" (Нью-Йорк, 1985). It should also be noted that in the future in his scientific activity the author in evaluative judgments about the Hetmans: I. Vyhovskiy and P. Doroshenko, in general, adheres to the Ukrainian-centric views, characteristic of the works on historical themes of B. Hrinchenko.

As it has been already mentioned, in his youth D. Doroshenko distributed a popular literature, published by B. Hrinchenko, among the peasants of Hlukhiv county actively, and D. Doroshenko became interested in this matter for many years. It became for him a real school of a national propaganda. Personally, he began to write books for the people during his studies at St. Petersburg University. O. Lototskiy invited him to work in the "Charitable Society for the Publication of Useful and Cheap Books" (Doroshenko, 1949, pp. 49–50).

Among other things, D. Doroshenko compiled an index of a recommendatory nature – the register of the Ukrainian publications of 1894–1904, where under each bibliographic position the excerpts from reviews of this literature were submitted. (Дорошенко, 1904). Among the recommended 189 works there were several dozens editions made by B. Hrinchenko in Chernihiv.

A direct cooperation of D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko in the field of publishing books for the people unfolded during the years of work in Kyiv “Prosvita”, headed by Borys Dmytrovych (Zubkova, 2008, pp. 146–147). Dmytro Ivanovych was the secretary of “Prosvita”, and he also worked actively in its library and other commissions. S. Yefremov, V. Durdukivskiyi, O. Voloshyn, M. Levytskyi, V. Strashkevych and student youth united around B. Hrinchenko and “Prosvita”. D. Doroshenko continued his work in “Prosvita” until he moved to Katerynoslav in 1909, and from there he elucidated in detail the work of Katerynoslavskaya Prosvita and its regional branches in the letters to B. Hrinchenko, first to Kyiv and then to Italy (MI NLUV, f. III, cc. 36 947–36 953).

Totally, during 1906 – 1908, D. Doroshenko wrote and published five books for the people with the assistance of the “Charitable Society”, “Prosvita”, and “The Ukrainian Teacher” publishing house. Most problems were caused by the publication of the brochure “Story about Ireland” by Kyiv “Prosvita” (Київ, 1907 р.). The government’s claims to this publication were one of the reasons for its closure (although D. Doroshenko made publications on the history of Ireland many times during 1906 – 1907). The theme of the struggle against a national oppression was the red thread in the publication, which was a direct analogy with Ukraine. However, in the letter dated on February 2, 1907, the experienced B. Hrinchenko warned of a severe self-censorship: “Both the second and the third proofreading should be read so that I can see if it is completely safe or if it still needs to be censored. Otherwise there may be a confiscation and even a lawsuit” (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 40 778, pp. 41–41 v.).

B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko had much in common in ideological approaches and themes of literary preferences. Thus, in the publication “Newer Ukrainian Writers” (1900) D. Doroshenko identified the Ukrainian literature as one of the “foundations of a national and cultural development” (MI NLUV, f. 318, c. 23, p. 62).

Apparently, under the influence of B. Hrinchenko’s research on the extraordinary figure of the Ukrainian national movement “P. A. Kulish. Biographical Essay” (Chernihiv, 1899), as a student D. Doroshenko wrote the article “P. Kulish as a Poet” (1902) (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 5). Later, it was B. Hrinchenko, who suggested that D. Doroshenko should write the article for “The New Community” about P. Kulish and T. Shevchenko (the letter dated from May 1, 1906) (MI NLUV, f. I, c. 36 976, p. 1). But in 1906 D. Doroshenko published a popular book about P. Kulish, and a scientific article was published only the following year, because of the closure of the “The New Community” it was published in the magazine “Ukraine”.

The revolution of 1905 – 1907 abolished a formal oppression of the Ukrainian word. D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko, who had a significant experience in journalism, feeling the need for a widespread use of the printed word for the Ukrainian issue, began to cooperate in the periodicals actively.

The cooperation with B. Hrinchenko in Kyiv editions “Hromadska Dumka”, “Nova Hromada”, and “Rada” became a real school of journalism and language for D. Doroshenko. The young Ukrainian press did not yet have professionally trained journalists, the newspaper language was not “worked out”, and at the same time readers made very high demands to the language. “Thus, we just had to work out, create – very carefully – a new newspaper language based on the language of folk and literary. The task was very difficult and responsible” (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 87).

The most productive was the work of the historian in the magazine “The New Community” (“Nova Hromada”), which was founded by B. Hrinchenko. During the autumn of 1905 and

the spring of 1906, D. Doroshenko corresponded with Borys Dmytrovych constantly about his participation in the publishing projects (Rudenko, 2015, p. 168).

Thus, in the letter dated back from 11.11.1905 D. Doroshenko wrote to Borys Dmytrovych that he could entrust him with any work (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 978, p. 1). Among other things, D. Doroshenko translated for B. Hrinchenko the works of Western European socialists: J. Jores, G. Herve and the others, not only for the publication of the source, but also for the use in the journalistic and political work. Although, D. Doroshenko already had experience in preparing brochures for printing of K. Kautsky and F. Engels (Doroshenko, 1949, p. 60), he was not confident in his abilities and in the letter dated back from November 25, 1905 he asked B. Hrinchenko to consult with Larysa Petrivna [Lesya Ukrainka] (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 977, p. 1).

In Kyiv D. Doroshenko had close professional, public and personal contacts with B. Hrinchenko and his family members. In the Hrinchenkos' house a large group of people gathered, mostly young people, almost all of whom were associated with the "Vik" publishing house (S. Yefremov, V. Durdukivskyi, V. Strashkevych, and V. Domanytskyi). However, D. Doroshenko himself did not consider himself among B. Hrinchenko's closest associates and friends.

At the end of the spring of 1906, D. Doroshenko was invited to St. Petersburg to the post of the editorial board secretary of the magazine "The Ukrainian Bulletin", – a body of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Community in the First State Duma. This weekly magazine was to serve as the Ukrainian platform for the whole Russia, and therefore was published in Russian. A certain reference point was the German-language edition in the Austro-Hungarian Empire "Ukrainische Rundschau" (the editor – V. Kushnir), about whom D. Doroshenko wrote in the letter to B. Hrinchenko dated back from 13.05.1906 (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 975, p. 1 v.).

The fact is that in the summer of 1905 D. Doroshenko had to take his sick father abroad for treatment. During this trip, Dmytro Ivanovych met a number of famous Ukrainian figures in Austria and Germany. In Vienna, D. Doroshenko made friends with Volodymyr Kushnir. There was a lively correspondence between them on the publication and distribution of the Ukrainian magazine "Ukrainische Rundschau" in the Russian Empire (Rudenko, 2015, p. 170). D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko were also actively published in it. This magazine became a real mouthpiece of the Ukrainians in the German-speaking area, it continued the best traditions of M. Drahomanov and R. Sembratovych (Doroshenko, 1906c).

B. Hrinchenko gave unconditional support to these twomagazines, which became the leaders of the Ukrainian ideas in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, he kept in a close contact with members of the editorial board of "Ukrainian Bulletin" (especially with D. Doroshenko and O. Lototskyi) and he corresponded with V. Kushnir during 1906 – 1908 (MI NLUV, f. III, cc. 38 140–38 145). Mutual advertising, a financial support and promotion took place among the members of the Ukrainian publications in Kyiv, St. Petersburg and Vienna with the assistance of their editors.

In the main introductory article of the "Ukrainian Bulletin" (from the editors) it was declared the broadest possible political platform – "democracy and autonomy – our banner" ([Ot redaktsii], 1906, p. 7). In the editorial office of the magazine, D. Doroshenko met with peasant parliamentarians and discussed various issues, sent them the editions of the "Ukrainian Bulletin" and "Vilna Ukraina" ("Free Ukraine"). He considered it an important component of counter-propaganda taking into account the active pressure on deputies by the Black Hundreds. As for the Ukrainization of the school, he recommended them

B. Hrinchenko's pamphlet "What School Do We Need" and "On the Path of Ignorance", he considered it necessary for the national democratic movement to send them free of charge Kyiv publications that would develop their national consciousness and outlook (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36973, pp. 1–2). He sent a list of 30 peasant deputies from Ukrainian provinces to B. Hrinchenko and asked to send the Ukrainian periodicals to the Duma address (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 974, pp. 1–1 v.).

Soon the Duma was dissolved, and the "Ukrainian Bulletin" ceased to be published. D. Doroshenko returned to Ukraine. In the autumn of 1906 he continued his education, now at the University of Kyiv at the Faculty of History and Philology (Melnychuk, 2000). He takes an active part in all social and cultural affairs of the Ukrainian new national life. Thus, under the leadership of D. Doroshenko, a resolution on the establishment of four departments at the university (the Ukrainian language, literature, history and law) was adopted at the student mass meeting (he made a report – a brief overview of the development of the Ukrainian studies and he clarified its needs) and inviting teachers from Lviv and Ukrainian professors from various universities (Doroshenko, 1949, pp. 89–90; Melnychuk, 2000, p. 68). D. Doroshenko published his essay in the "New Community" (Doroshenko, 1906b).

The public was widely informed about the event, and B. Hrinchenko gave unconditional support to the matter ([Hrinchenko], 1906). But the university and the authorities did not agree with this and the decision of the council was not implemented.

It is necessary to dwell on the political views of B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko during the revolution of 1905 – 1907, when the ideological and organizational institutionalization of the Ukrainian politics took place on the territory of the Russian Empire. The researchers assess differently the political views of Borys Dmytrovych, which evolved, because the strategic and tactical goals were formulated in the specific context of socio-political life and the real possibilities of their implementation.

B. Hrinchenko together with S. Yefremov, F. Matushevskyyi and M. Levytskyi at the end of 1904 was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP). Its main postulates were a national revival, democratic development and preservation of a private property. However, The postulates implied the transfer of fixed assets, including land, to a public ownership. This characterizes the ideology of the URP as socialist, but in the Western European interpretation ("a nonviolent socialism"). However, internationalism was unacceptable for B. Hrinchenko. The URP rhetoric evolved from the independent slogans to the autonomous ones. B. Hrinchenko believed that at this stage the short-term political programme was the autonomy of Ukraine with a representative body – the Sejm (Bon & Perepelchenko, 2009, pp. 252–253).

D. Doroshenko was a member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, and since 1905 the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which gradually evolved from bourgeois-nationalist to socialist, and the demand for independence was replaced by autonomy. This made D. Doroshenko withdraw from the party work at the end of 1905. In addition, he believed that the interests of the Ukrainian issue should not depend on the narrow party situation.

D. Doroshenko was not a member of the URP, but to some extent he was involved into its activities, he carried out some instructions of B. Hrinchenko and participated in political rallies. During this period B. Hrinchenko had a great ideological influence on Dmytro Ivanovych. In a letter dated back to November 25, 1905, D. Doroshenko informed him that the Ukrainian movement was spreading in Hlukhiv county, that the language was well

understood, and the URP brochures “How People Get Rights” and the “The Swiss Union” were read (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 977, p. 1).

At the end of 1905, the URP merged with the moderate Ukrainian Democratic Party (its leaders were Ye. Chykalenko, O. Lototskyi, etc.) into the Ukrainian Democratic Radical Party (UDRP). It was in fact a party of intellectuals, representatives of the Ukrainian humanitarian elite, and B. Hrinchenko became one of its brightest figures (Ivanytska, 2010). Due to disagreements with other party leaders of a programme and organizational nature, B. Hrinchenko gradually moved away from politics. He focused on publishing, scientific and socio-cultural activities and works. B. Hrinchenko cooperated closely with D. Doroshenko. Thus, the political views of both B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary times can be defined as populist democratic. The National Democrats had two main tasks: gaining a national freedom and social liberation of the working masses. But these two tasks, in contrast to the Social Democrats, were not seen in the opposition, but as a process, in which the national issues were to be given the priority. (Hyrych, 2014, pp. 21, 344).

D. Doroshenko considered himself and his generation to be the successors of B. Hrinchenko and his generation. In the letter dated back from April 22, 1910, during the last weeks of Borys's Dmytroviych life, he wrote: “The work of those figures of ours, who during the sad 80–90-ies carried the entire burden of national work on their shoulders, was not in vain: now there is someone to support the Ukrainian issue” (MI NLUV, f. III, c. 36 946, p. 1 v.). After his death he was honoured with the title “one of the best and most deserving sons of the Ukrainian land”, whom any nation could be proud of (MI NLUV, f. 318, d. 1, c. 26, p. 2).

Thus, D. Doroshenko acknowledged his spiritual and ideological connection with the populist national movement. The gradual evolution of D. Doroshenko's political views took place in the direction of conservatism; he was deprived of the socialist illusions and took a consistent state position during the years of the liberation struggle (1917 – 1920). During emigration, in exile, D. Doroshenko became one of the ideologues of the Ukrainian conservatism together with V. Lypynskyi. Despite some difference in political views, D. Doroshenko praised B. Hrinchenko as a politician and a national leader and believed that if not for his untimely death, he could occupy a post in the Ukrainian government. D. Doroshenko as a historian inscribed the name of Borys Hrinchenko in the general history of Ukraine, emphasizing his role in the Ukrainian national movement (Doroshenko, 1992, p. 317).

D. Doroshenko, like most contemporaries, noted individualism and the tendency to autocracy as B. Hrinchenko's traits. But, together with a great energy and strength of will, these were the signs of a real fighter, and under conditions of the Ukrainian life at that time, it was more in favour of the Ukrainian issue.

The Conclusions. Thus, there have been determined a deep immanent connection and continuity in the activities of the representatives of two generations of the Ukrainian national movement – B. Hrinchenko and D. Doroshenko. At the beginning of the XXth century, especially, during the revolution of 1905 – 1907, they fruitfully cooperated in the field of the Ukrainian independent press formation (“Hromadska Dumka”, “Nova Hromada”, “Rada”, etc.), public and educational work (writing and publishing books for the people, the activities of the Kyiv “Prosvita”, etc.). In this way, they actually contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nation from a huge ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people, a social organism capable of an independent cultural and political life, which would become the driving force of the liberation struggle during 1917 – 1920.

We do not observe any fundamental difference in the political views and practical political activities of D. Doroshenko and B. Hrinchenko during 1905 – 1907; the tactical priority was the struggle for the autonomy of Ukraine within the Russian Empire, federalism and parliamentarism. For some period of time, D. Doroshenko was under the influence of populist democratic ideology and a personal authority of Borys Dmytrovych. It can be stated that these two personalities demonstrate a difficult transition from the populist Ukrainophilism to the political Ukrainianness, which is characteristic of the beginning of the modern era. (Hyrych, 2014, pp. 413–414).

B. Hrinchenko influenced D. Doroshenko's views in various fields of the Ukrainian studies (folklore, literary studies, linguistics, etc.) significantly, he contributed to the formation of the scientific interests, civic position and devotion to the Ukrainian national issue.

Further prospects for the study of the outlined issues are, in our opinion, in writing an intellectual biography of Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko and representation of his intellectual heritage on the international arena. At present, the task is to establish the network connections with a wide range of representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite, including the relationship between the Hrinchenko and the Doroshenko couples, the study of the circumstances and features of an epistolary communication, and etc.

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