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# UKRAINE IS MODERN. SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

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## ANNOTATION

The collective monograph is devoted to the study of trends in the development of modern Ukrainian society. The research uses an interdisciplinary approach, which allows analyzing various aspects of the development of social processes in Ukraine and obtaining socially significant scientific results.

The subject of **Yurii Boyko's** scientific interests are various manifestations of life activities of the population of Forest-Steppe Ukraine in the 19th century. - demographic, social, economic, cultural. In the proposed research, the author's attention is focused on the structure of the social organism, the dynamics of changes, regional features of the social organization of the population, for the first time in domestic historiography, the issues of social topology, the construction of the social landscapes of the Right-Bank and Left-Bank components of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine, the place of Ukrainian provinces in the social space of the European part of the Russian Empire are specifically considered 1850s - 1860s.

**Svitlana Bogatchuk** pays attention to the study of the life path of the founder of Ukrainian ethnographic science, the Ukrainian Pavlo Chubynskyi. It should be noted that in 1869-1872, under his leadership, ethnographic expeditions were conducted on the territory of Dnieper Ukraine, based on the materials of which seven volumes of the "Proceedings of the Ethnographic and Statistical Expedition" were published, which became a significant phenomenon in the cultural life of the Ukrainian people, convincingly showing the world their originality Ukrainian national spiritual culture.

In 1872, the South-Western Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society was opened in Kyiv, in the formation of which Pavlo Chubynsky played a decisive role. The main task of the society was to collect, process and distribute geographical, ethnographic and statistical information.

**Kostyantyn Levchuk's** research is aimed at studying the process of activity of non-governmental organizations of commodity producers of Ukraine in the context of reforming economic relations. Trade union organizations, as the most representative

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**1. Society of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine by statistical data (Kyiv, Podillia, Volyn, Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv provinces in the 1840s – early 1860s)**

In the middle of the 19th century, it was difficult to find another country in Europe where the social structure of the population would look as cumbersome and confusing as in the Russian Empire. In 1858, 3 noble, 6 clerical, 8 urban, 46 peasant, and 5 foreign groups were legally approved, totaling 68 large and small social groups. In addition to them, there were so-called "raznochintsy" (social marginal who permanently lived in the cities, but did not belong to the urban class), indefinite leaved and retired "lower ranks" (soldiers) with wives and children, foreigners and some other transitional groups. The reasons for this, according to the heads of the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, were as follows:

1. The names of the official classification did not form defined legal concepts, as a result of which social groups sometimes broke up into several parts that were not at all similar to each other in terms of property rights, primarily land. These are *odnodvortsy*, *odnodvortsy* of Western provinces, colonists, armored boyars, Cossacks, military commoners, etc.

2. The official classification allowed the assignment of the same persons to different states, the temporary or complete suspension of fundamentally important differences between states.

3. In many cases, especially in relation to personal nobles, personal and honorary citizens, family unity was violated, as representatives of one family could be divided into several social categories [1, pp. 264, 265].

The sources we use can be divided into two groups – legal and statistical.

The first includes laws and other legislative acts defining the rights and obligations of social groups and states, collected in the "Compendium of the Laws of the Russian Empire", a multi-volume edition of 1857 – 1868, as well as in the second collection of the "Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire" in 1830 –1885 in 129 volumes [2, 3].

The statistical sources are primarily "Statistical description of the Kyiv province" by D. P. Zhuravskiy [4], "Military statistical survey" of the Kyiv, Podillia, Volyn, Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv provinces [5-10], provincial reference and information publications of the late 50s – early 60s of the 19th century [11-17], "Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire for 1858" [1], "Statistical Chronicle of the Russian Empire" [18], etc.

Unfortunately, we cannot fully use the materials of the 9th national revision in its sociological component to build a statistical model, since in the presentation of P. I. Köppen, they apply almost exclusively to the male part of the population and this "almost" often leads to significant discrepancies between the total number of male residents and the total number of people by social group [19, pp. 33–34, 106–108, 176–177, 179–180, 182–183, 186–187, 192, 197–198, 209, 211–212, 239, 252–253].

The compilers of the "Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire for 1858" in the sociological section provided information previously organized by headings as close as possible to the structure of large social groups: nobility, clergy, urban dwellers, rural dwellers and some others [1, pp. 267–275]. In the "Statistical Chronicle of the Russian Empire" we observe the same classification. The consolidation of descriptive headings in statistical collections deprives us of direct information about such important for the social history of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine population groups as citizens from the Polish nobility, *odnodvortsy*, Cossacks of Poltava and Chernihiv provinces of the late 50s – early 60s of the 19th century. In part, these data can be supplemented with the materials of the provincial statistical committees, which were published in separate editions under different names.

When studying one or another period of history, we try to compare the obtained results with earlier (later) data, hoping to notice trends or even regularities in the changes that took place. By a happy coincidence, the materials of the 5th nationwide revision of 1795 – 1796 for the Right-Bank Ukraine carefully processed by M. G. Krykun [20, pp. 580–588]. As for the Left-Bank and Slobozhanshchyna, the situation here is less clear. On the one hand, we have such high-level descriptive and statistical sources as A. F. Shafonskyi's "Description of the Chernihiv Governorate",

and excellently published by the Archaeological Commission of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, "Descriptions" of the Kyiv and Kharkiv Governorates, the provinces of Little Russia (Malorossia) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries [21-24]. On the other hand, the statistical component, which was considered the main one by the compilers of "Descriptions", remains largely underestimated by many generations of historians.

Turning to the achievements of our colleagues in the field of sociology of the 19th century, we are forced to note that the only successful attempt at global generalizations within the Russian Empire belongs to the foreign historian B. M. Mironov [25].

Another prominent researcher, the Frenchman D. Beauvais, approached the analysis of the era from a different angle, depicting an epic canvas by the suffering and wanderings of the Polish nobility in Right-Bank Ukraine against the background of the worsening of Polish-Russian-Ukrainian relations from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 20th centuries [26-28].

"Polonian" motifs are also present in the scientific works of our compatriots [29-31]. This is not surprising, since socio-historical studies of the Right-Bank Ukraine of the late 18th – first half of the 19th centuries necessarily turn into socio-ethnic ones [32-34]. In addition to the nobility, social groups of peasants are studied [35, pp. 211–285; 36], military commoners [37. 38], Cossacks [39-41], a burghers [42, 43], merchants [44], etc. The list of achievements in this direction could be continued, but the final conclusion will remain unchanged – a targeted comparative analysis of the social structure of the population of Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine in the middle of the 19th century is missing in both descriptive and statistical forms. With our research, we hope to fill this lacuna at least partially, based mainly on the groups of sources outlined above – legal and statistical.

### **1.1 Social composition of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine population (1845 - 1863)**

In the composition of the population, according to the difference in status rights, four main "kinds" of people were legally distinguished: 1) nobility; 2) clergy; 3) urban dwellers; 4) rural dwellers [45, art. 2]. Let us consider their place in the social structure

of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine inhabitants from the mid-40s to the beginning of the 60s of the 19th century.

### 1.1.1 Nobles

Among the provinces of the Ukrainian Forest Steppe, the Volyn looks the most "noble" one (tables 1–6; fig. 1). In 1845 – 1846, only hereditary nobles made up 2.9% of the population, according to the results of the 9th national audit of 1851, 3.4% [19, p. 176], according to the 1858 census, 3.5%, and in 1863, 2.2%. In the Kyiv region, the share of the hereditary nobility was insignificant, but gradually increased from 0.5 to 1.0%, while in the neighboring Podillia, between 1846 and 1863, the number of upper-class nobles decreased slightly – from 1.6% to 1.2%. Comparing these data with 1795, one can be sure that the share of the nobility, or "local gentry" as it was called, in the region as a whole has significantly increased: in the Kyiv region three times, in Podillya by one and a half to two times, in Volyn from three to four times. In the Left Bank part of the Forest Steppe, as in the Kyiv region, the hereditary nobility did not exceed 1% of the total number of inhabitants.

Structural changes in the environment of the service nobility of the Right-Bank of the Dnieper-river look different (fig. 2). According to the census of 1795 – 1796, the nobility of the "rented and indentured" made up 7.4% of the population in the Kyiv region, 8.1% in Podillia, and 6.0% in Volyn. 50 – 60 years later, the statistical picture was different: 0.4 – 0.7% in the Kyiv province, 0.2 – 0.5% in Podillia, and 0.3 – 2.2% in Volyn. In the Left-Bank Ukraine, personal nobility was distributed among the provinces in the same proportions as hereditary nobility.

In general, taking into account the nobility of the 2nd category (2.6% of the population of the Kyiv and 5.1% of the Volyn provinces in 1845 – 1847 and 2.0% of the inhabitants of Kyiv region in 1859), there is a gradual reduction in the number of nobility in the Right-Bank Forest Steppe first of all because of the declassification of



Table 1

**Social categories and groups of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1845 – 1847).****The Right-Bank of the Dnieper**

[5, table 2; 6, tables 5–6; 7, p. 69, tables 3–4]

Categories and population groups / provinces	Kyiv		Podillia		Volyn	
	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%
<b>Nobles:</b>	<b>65121</b>	<b>3,75</b>	<b>25465</b>	<b>1,70</b>	<b>119187</b>	<b>8,00</b>
- hereditary	7883	0,45	23246	1,55	40283	2,70
- personal	11644	0,67	2219	0,15	3680	0,25
- 2nd class	45594	2,62	0	0	75224	5,05
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>12859</b>	<b>0,74</b>	<b>17551</b>	<b>1,17</b>	<b>12324</b>	<b>0,83</b>
<b>Urban dwellers:</b>	<b>226931</b>	<b>13,05</b>	<b>203951</b>	<b>13,62</b>	<b>215027</b>	<b>14,43</b>
Honorable citizens	226	0,01	10	0,00	17	0,00
Citizens from the Polish nobility, raznochintsy	4488	0,26	8339	0,56	4128	0,28
	2345	0,13	2473	0,17	105	0,01
Merchants	9370	0,54	2877	0,18	3781	0,25
Burghers, artisans	210502	12,11	190252	12,27	204259	13,70
<b>Rural dwellers:</b>	<b>1405160</b>	<b>80,82</b>	<b>1246213</b>	<b>83,24</b>	<b>1129471</b>	<b>75,77</b>
<b>Free peasants:</b>	<b>305203</b>	<b>17,55</b>	<b>322627</b>	<b>21,55</b>	<b>242170</b>	<b>16,25</b>
state	161257	9,27	55121	3,68	150262	10,08
different denominations	15446	0,89	159656	10,67	144759	9,72
odnodvortsy	68341	3,93	21099	1,41	50814	3,41
Cossacks	359	0,02	0	0,00	0	0,00
Jews-peasants	839	0,05	0	0,00	753	0,05
military commoners and cantonists	54932	3,16	18436	1,23	0	0,00
<b>Depended peasants</b>	<b>1099957</b>	<b>63,26</b>	<b>923586</b>	<b>61,69</b>	<b>887301</b>	<b>59,53</b>
Foreigners	1702	0,10	2165	0,14	0,00	0,00
Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families	26920	1,55	1756	0,12	14592	0,98
Others	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
<b>Total</b>	<b>1738693</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1497101</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1490601</b>	<b>100</b>

the old Polish minor and not land-owners nobility [31, pp. 38–41]. In the statistical display, it looked like this (fig. 3): in the Kyiv region, instead of 7.7% of the population in 1795, became 3.8% in 1846 and 1.5% in 1863; in Podillia, against 8.9% according to the 5th national revision, 1.4% and 1.7%, respectively. Against this background, the Volyn center of the nobility shows the opposite trend, namely, an increase in the specific weight of the nobility to 8% in the mid-1840s (instead of 6.5% in 1795), followed by a "fall" to 4.7 – 4.4% in 1858 – 1863 years. Even after

Table 2

### Social categories and groups of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1845 – 1847).

#### The Left-Bank of the Dnieper

[8, pp. 35–36; 10, table 3; 9, pp. 69–70].

Categories and population groups / provinces	Poltava		Chernihiv		Kharkiv	
	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%
<b>Nobles:</b>	<b>24436</b>	<b>1,49</b>	<b>22599</b>	<b>1,62</b>	<b>13206</b>	<b>0,80</b>
- hereditary	14969	0,91	10485	0,75	6504	0,39
- personal	9467	0,58	12114	0,87	6702	0,40
- 2nd class	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>14477</b>	<b>0,88</b>	<b>14448</b>	<b>1,04</b>	<b>10578</b>	<b>0,64</b>
<b>Urban dwellers:</b>	<b>55426</b>	<b>3,38</b>	<b>112606</b>	<b>8,07</b>	<b>36265</b>	<b>2,19</b>
Honorable citizens	26	0,00	148	0,01	45	0,00
Raznochintsy	4359	0,27	1372	0,10	1722	0,10
Merchants	3148	0,19	4860	0,35	3141	0,19
Burghers, artisans	47215	2,88	106226	7,61	27251	1,64
<b>Rural dwellers:</b>	<b>1521025</b>	<b>92,77</b>	<b>1235688</b>	<b>88,58</b>	<b>1583734</b>	<b>95,53</b>
<b>Free peasants:</b>	<b>839319</b>	<b>51,19</b>	<b>628466</b>	<b>45,05</b>	<b>1099630</b>	<b>66,33</b>
state	97800	6,01	204596	13,74	633155	43,22
different denominations	33320	2,04	2015	0,15	89899	5,42
odnodvortsy	13099	0,80	0	0,00	35320	2,13
Cossacks	695055	42,39	419668	30,08	0	0,00
Jews-peasants	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

Continuation of table 2

<i>military commoners and cantonists</i>	0	0,0	2187	0,16	204007	12,31
<b>Depended peasants</b>	<b>681706</b>	<b>41,58</b>	<b>607222</b>	<b>43,53</b>	<b>484104</b>	<b>29,20</b>
Foreigners	372	0,02	0	0,00	0	0,00
Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families	22910	1,40	7958	0,57	8546	0,52
Others	992	0,06	1685	0,12	5544	0,33
<b>Total</b>	<b>1638648</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1394984</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1657873</b>	<b>100</b>

that, the share of nobles in Volyn remained the highest among the provinces of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe, while on the Left-Bank it ranged from 0.8% in the Kharkiv province to 1.8% in the Poltava one, which, however, was significantly more than 0.1 – 0.3% in Slobozhanshchyna and Little Russia in the last quarter of the 18th century [46, p. 283; 21, pp. 187–188; 47, p. 70; 48, pp. 31–33].

Table 3

### Social categories and groups of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1857 – 1859).

#### The Right-Bank of the Dnieper

[53, pp. 52, 100; 1, pp. 267–275, 292–293; 14, pp. 28–33; 13, pp. 111–112].

Categories and population groups / provinces	Kyiv – 1859		Podillia – 1857		Volyn – 1858	
	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%
<b>Nobles:</b>	<b>56644</b>	<b>2,89</b>	<b>24207</b>	<b>1,38</b>	<b>72141</b>	<b>4,72</b>
- hereditary	13277	0,68	19805	1,13	52663	3,45
- personal	6860	0,35	4402	0,25	10578	0,69
- 2nd class	38507	1,96	0	0,00	0	0,00
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>18426</b>	<b>0,94</b>	<b>16884</b>	<b>0,96</b>	<b>18086</b>	<b>1,18</b>
<b>Urban dwellers:</b>	<b>300532</b>	<b>15,33</b>	<b>266004</b>	<b>15,16</b>	<b>209415</b>	<b>13,70</b>
<i>Honorable citizens</i>	604	0,03	26	0,00	4789	0,31
<i>Citizens from the Polish nobility</i>	5236	0,27	40965	2,33	0	0,00

Continuation of table 3

<i>Merchants</i>	10317	0,53	15413	0,88	10589	0,69
<i>Burghers, artisans</i>	284375	14,51	209600	11,94	194737	12,74
<b>Rural dwellers:</b>	<b>1480706</b>	<b>75,53</b>	<b>1371050</b>	<b>78,12</b>	<b>1167782</b>	<b>76,41</b>
<b><i>Free peasants:</i></b>	<b>326869</b>	<b>16,67</b>	<b>312983</b>	<b>17,83</b>	<b>471459</b>	<b>30,85</b>
<i>state</i>	<b>196965</b>	<b>10,05</b>	<b>119174</b>	<b>6,79</b>	<b>345862</b>	<b>25,32</b>
<i>different denominations</i>	23967	1,22	8326	0,48	125615	8,22
<i>odnodvortsy</i>	65240	3,33	127869	7,29	0	0,00
<i>Cossacks</i>	360	0,02	0	0,00	0	0,00
<i>Jews-peasants</i>	0	0,00	11702	0,67	0	0,00
<i>military commoners and cantonists</i>	40337	2,06	58839	3,35	0	0,00
<b><i>Depended peasants</i></b>	<b>1153837</b>	<b>58,86</b>	<b>1027334</b>	<b>58,53</b>	<b>696323</b>	<b>45,56</b>
Foreigners	2257	0,12	2930	0,17	1809	0,12
Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families	68644	3,50	53132	3,03	56700	3,71
Others	33262	1,70	20945	1,19	2380	0,16
<b>Total</b>	<b>1960471</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1755152</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1528313</b>	<b>100</b>

### 1.1.2 Clergy

In the last quarter of the 18th century the Orthodox clergy in the Right-Bank Ukraine accounted for 1.3 – 1.5%, and in the Left Bank 0.9% of the population (fig. 2). In later times, its specific weight fluctuated around 1.0% (tables 1–6), which corresponded to the proportion inherent in most provinces of the European part of the Russian Empire with a predominance of the Orthodox population [1, pp. 298, 316].

Table 4

**Social categories and groups of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1858).  
The Left-Bank of the Dnieper**

Categories and population groups / provinces	Poltava		Chernihiv		Kharkiv	
	amount	%	amount	amount	%	amount
<b>Nobles:</b>	<b>22890</b>	<b>1,26</b>	<b>21992</b>	<b>1,49</b>	<b>15856</b>	<b>1,00</b>
- hereditary	10273	0,56	10431	0,71	9841	0,62
- personal	12617	0,69	11561	0,79	6015	0,38
- 2nd class	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>16731</b>	<b>0,92</b>	<b>13816</b>	<b>0,94</b>	<b>11327</b>	<b>0,72</b>
<b>Urban dwellers:</b>	<b>68769</b>	<b>3,78</b>	<b>146254</b>	<b>9,94</b>	<b>49449</b>	<b>3,12</b>
Honorable citizens	72	0,00	710	0,05	287	0,02
Raznochintsy	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
Merchants	8392	0,46	7491	0,51	6167	0,39
Burghers, artisans	60305	3,32	138053	9,38	42995	2,72
<b>Rural dwellers:</b>	<b>1640709</b>	<b>90,19</b>	<b>1233604</b>	<b>83,81</b>	<b>1422803</b>	<b>89,90</b>
<b>Free peasants:</b>	<b>959098</b>	<b>52,72</b>	<b>660529</b>	<b>44,88</b>	<b>911037</b>	<b>57,57</b>
state	154033	8,47	652126	45,13	636919	41,31
different denominations	47282	2,68	8403	0,57	81483	5,15
odnodvortsy	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
Cossacks	757783	41,66	447033	30,37	0	0,00
Jews-peasants	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
military commoners and cantonists	0	0,00	0	0,00	192648	12,17

Continuation of table 4

<i>Depended peasants</i>	<b>681611</b>	<b>37,47</b>	<b>573075</b>	<b>38,94</b>	<b>511766</b>	<b>32,34</b>
Foreigners	745	0,04	386	0,03	826	0,05
Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families	55002	3,02	49187	3,34	63844	4,03
Others	14264	0,78	6717	0,46	18466	1,17
<b>Total</b>	<b>1819110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1471866</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1582571</b>	<b>100</b>

The specific weight of priests of other denominations in the middle of the 19th century did not exceed 0.02% in the Kyiv and Podillia provinces, 0.5% in Volyn, was at the level of thousandths of a percent in the provinces of the Ukrainian Left-Bank (calculated by the author according to: [19, p. 209]).

### 1.1.3 Urban Dwellers

By the name of "urban dwellers", we understood all city dwellers, not peasants, owners of real estate in the city, persons enrolled in guilds, those who

Table 5

#### Social categories and groups of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1863).

##### The Right-Bank of the Dnieper

[1 pp. 272–273; 14, pp. 30–31; 18, pp. 40–55]

Categories and population groups / provinces	Kyiv		Podillia		Volyn	
	amount	%	amount	amount	%	amount
<b>Nobles:</b>	<b>29989</b>	<b>1,49</b>	<b>31136</b>	<b>1,67</b>	<b>71179</b>	<b>4,44</b>
- hereditary	19812	0,98	22784	1,22	35951	2,24
- personal	10177	0,51	8352	0,45	35228	2,20
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>20786</b>	<b>1,03</b>	<b>19743</b>	<b>1,06</b>	<b>14817</b>	<b>0,92</b>

Continuation of table 5

<b>Urban dwellers:</b>	<b>356554</b>	<b>17,72</b>	<b>288291</b>	<b>15,43</b>	<b>294392</b>	<b>18,37</b>
<i>Honorable citizens</i>	2255	0,11	204	0,01	133	0,01
<i>Citizens from the Polish nobility</i>	35026	1,74	10400	0,56	67270	4,20
<i>Merchants</i>	25019	1,24	14973	0,80	10437	0,65
<i>Burghers, artisans</i>	294254	14,62	262714	14,06	216552	13,51
<b>Rural dwellers:</b>	<b>1505985</b>	<b>74,85</b>	<b>1450309</b>	<b>77,60</b>	<b>1138062</b>	<b>71,01</b>
<b><i>Free peasants:</i></b>	<b>306189</b>	<b>15,22</b>	<b>235117</b>	<b>12,58</b>	<b>238854</b>	<b>14,90</b>
<i>state</i>	<b>245741</b>	<b>13,38</b>	<b>157558</b>	<b>8,43</b>	<b>238854</b>	<b>14,90</b>
<i>Cossacks</i>	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
<i>former military commoners and cantonists</i>	60448	3,00	77559	4,15	0	0,00
<b><i>Former depended peasants</i></b>	<b>1199796</b>	<b>61,47</b>	<b>1215192</b>	<b>65,02</b>	<b>899208</b>	<b>56,11</b>
Foreigners	3279	0,16	2600	0,14	2794	0,17
Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families	72393	3,60	45247	2,42	41388	2,28
Others (military active duty)	23109	1,15	31534	1,69	40073	2,50
<b>Total</b>	<b>2012095</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1868857</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1602715</b>	<b>100</b>

served the city at their own will, or enrolled "on salary" and therefore obliged to city by service or taxes. In the narrow sense, urban dwellers were considered to be persons equated to the "middle class of people". In this understanding, the status of urban dwellers under the general name "citizens" included: 1) guild merchants, local and from other cities, honorary citizens and citizens in the cities of the Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Podillia, Volyn, Kyiv, Kovno, Vitebsk, and Mogilev provinces, transferred to this rank from the Polish nobility; 2) burghers and officials; 3) artisans

Table 6

**Social categories and groups of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1863).****The Left-Bank of the Dnieper**

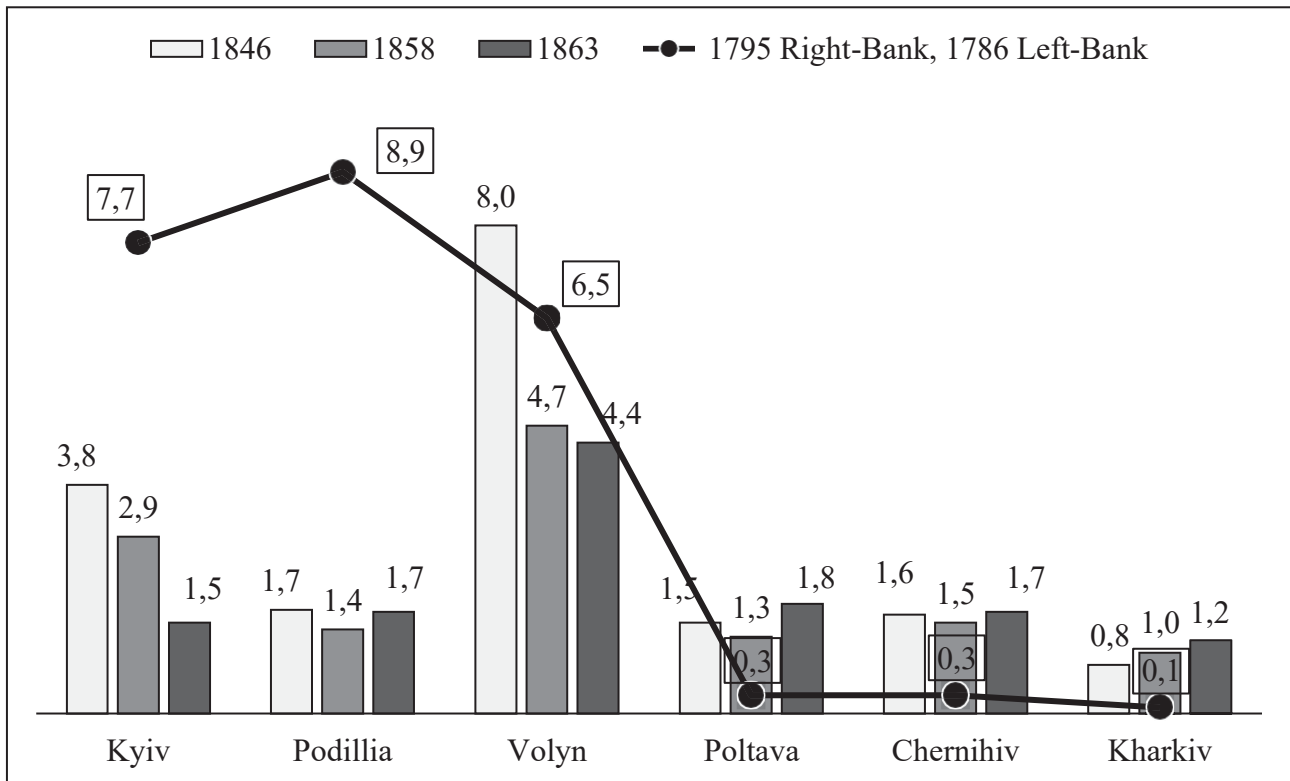
[15, pp. 26–35; 17, p. 136; 18, pp. 40–55]

Categories and population groups / provinces	Poltava		Chernihiv		Kharkiv	
	amount	%	amount	amount	%	amount
<b>Nobles:</b>	<b>33139</b>	<b>1,73</b>	<b>24904</b>	<b>1,67</b>	<b>17126</b>	<b>1,08</b>
- hereditary	13793	0,72	12124	0,82	9870	0,62
- personal	19346	1,01	12780	0,86	7256	0,46
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>16989</b>	<b>0,89</b>	<b>14415</b>	<b>0,97</b>	<b>12302</b>	<b>0,77</b>
<b>Urban dwellers:</b>	<b>106181</b>	<b>5,56</b>	<b>172398</b>	<b>11,59</b>	<b>76680</b>	<b>4,82</b>
<i>Honorable citizens</i>	148	0,01	698	0,05	594	0,04
<i>Citizens from the Polish nobility</i>	10132	0,53	3174	0,21	20355	1,28
<i>Merchants</i>	10449	0,55	9227	0,62	6302	0,40
<i>Burghers, artisans</i>	85452	4,47	159299	10,71	49429	3,11
<b>Rural dwellers:</b>	<b>1688488</b>	<b>88,34</b>	<b>1226624</b>	<b>82,47</b>	<b>1425927</b>	<b>89,63</b>
<b>Free peasants:</b>	<b>970947</b>	<b>50,80</b>	<b>664944</b>	<b>44,71</b>	<b>978152</b>	<b>61,48</b>
<i>state</i>	<b>119569</b>	<b>6,29</b>	<b>664944</b>	<b>44,71</b>	<b>763889</b>	<b>48,02</b>
<i>Cossacks</i>	851378	44,54	0	0,00	0	0,00
<i>former military commoners and cantonists</i>	0	0,00	0	0,00	214236	13,47
<b>Former depended peasants</b>	<b>687798</b>	<b>35,98</b>	<b>561680</b>	<b>37,76</b>	<b>447802</b>	<b>28,15</b>
Foreigners	729	0,04	369	0,02	1053	0,07
Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families	53562	2,80	43929	2,95	49092	3,09
Others (military active duty)	11958	0,63	4783	0,32	9675	0,61
<b>Total</b>	<b>1911442</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1487372</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1590926</b>	<b>100</b>

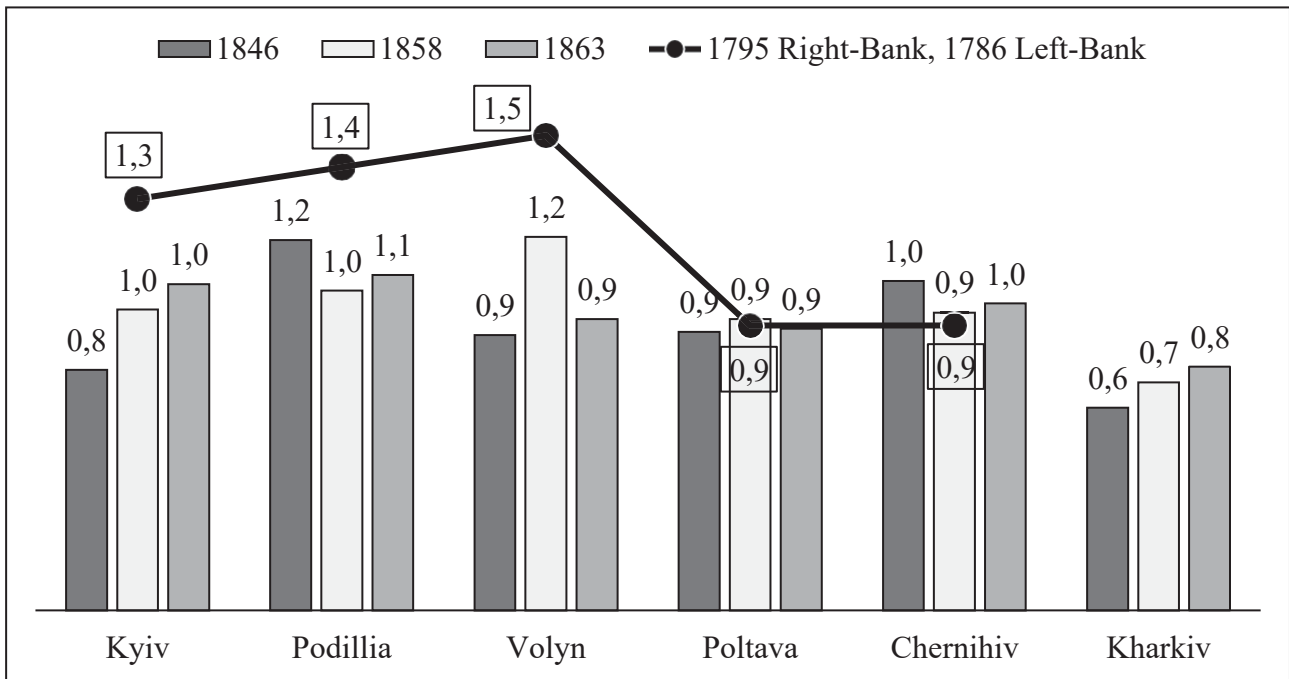


or shop workers; 4) free people assigned to some cities of the Western provinces; 5) working people. All other people who lived in cities and even had real estate in them, primarily peasants, were not considered to the category of the "urban dwellers" [45, art. 423 – 426]. Let's consider these groups in order.

*Honorary citizens.* The number of honorary citizens in provinces at different times ranged from a few to several hundred and even thousands of people (tables 1–6). For example, in the Kyiv province there were 226 of them in 1845, 604 in 1858,

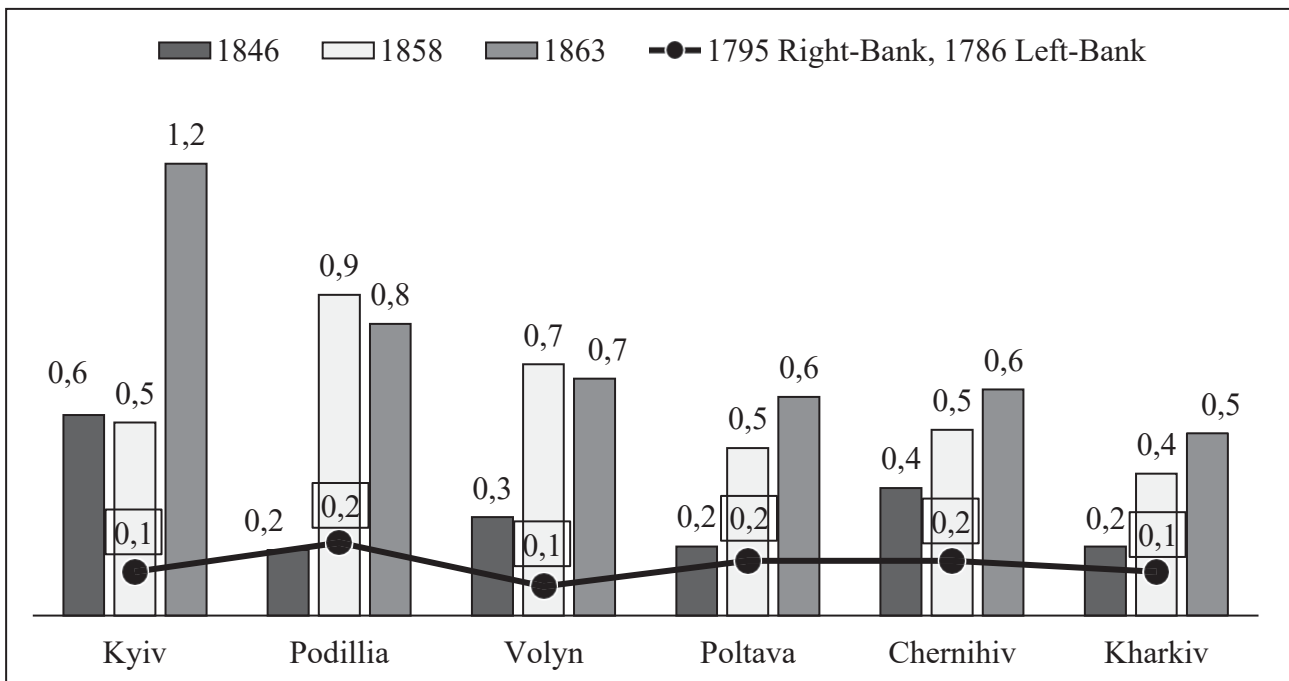


**Figure 1. Nobility (%)**

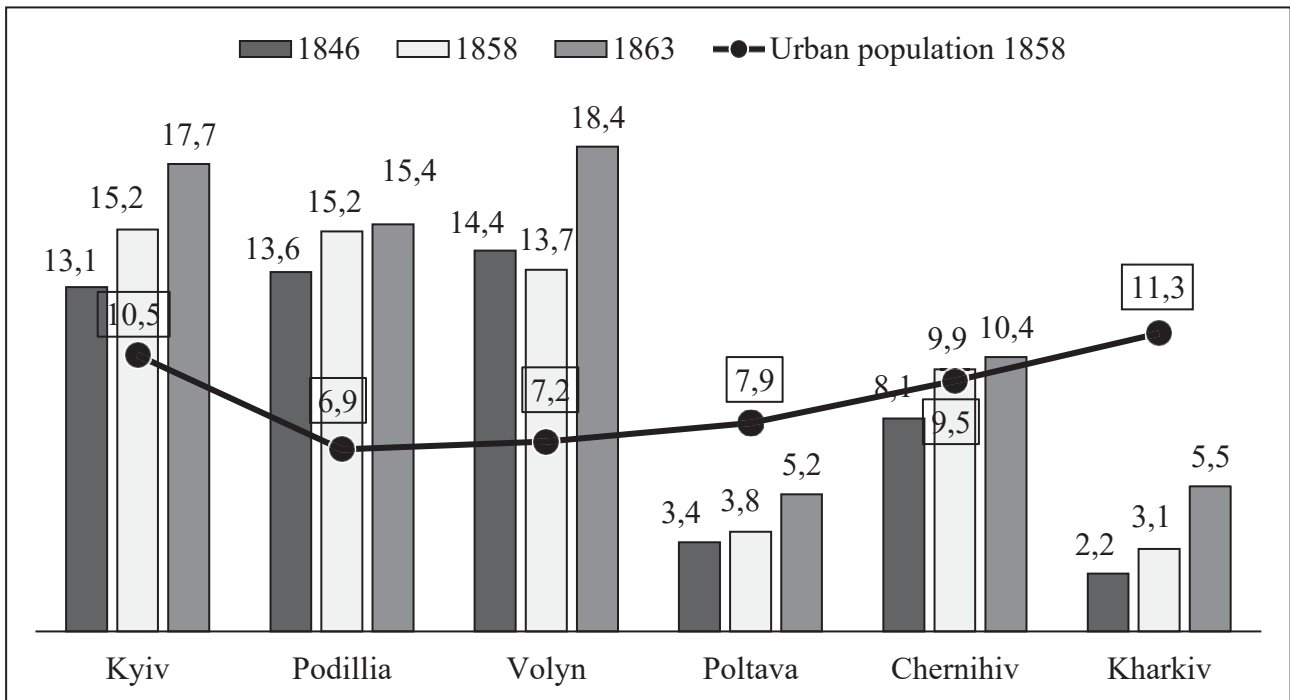


**Figure 2. Clergy (%)**

2 255 in 1863; in the Chernihiv province 148 in 1846, 710 in 1858, 698 in 1863, in the Kharkiv province 45 in 1846, 287 in 1858, 594 in 1863. There is an obvious tendency towards an increase in the number of honorary citizens where there was a



**Figure 3. Merchants (%)**



**Figure 4. Urban dwellers and urban population (%)**

revival of the economy, first of all commercial activity, and cultural life. For comparison, let us give another example: 17 honorary citizens in 1846, 4 789 in 1858, 133 in 1863. These are the statistics by the Volyn, as evidence of the opposition of the local Polish nobility, led by the noble assemblies, and the tsarist

administration, which is by no means, reflected objective trends in the development of social and cultural processes in the province.

*Citizens.* In most cases, these are representatives of the former minor Polish nobility, declassed after the uprising of 1830. The statistics of this social group are quite vague (tables 1–6): in 1842 – 1847, they were approximately 0.3% of the population in the Kyiv and Volyn provinces, 0.6 – 0.8% of Podillia; in 1853, 0.2 – 0.3% of the Kyiv province residents and Volyn, 0.7% of Podillia [19, p. 239]. According to data from 1857 to 1859, there were already 2.3% of "citizens of Western provinces" in Podillia, the same 0.3% in Kyiv, and this group is not shown at all in Volyn. In the future, official statistics dissolved citizens from the Polish nobility among the so-called "raznochintsy", who in 1863 numbered 1.7% in the Kyiv province, 0.6%

in Podillia, and 4.2% in Volyn (67 270 people). This problem has never been relevant for the Left-Bank Ukraine.

*Merchants.* According to statistical data of the last quarter of the 18th century the social group of merchants was almost the only one among all others that was equally represented on both banks of the Dnieper (0.1 – 0.2%) – from Volyn to Kharkiv inclusive (fig. 3). By the middle of the 1840s, the situation had not changed much, except the Kyiv and Chernihiv provinces, where there were noticeably more merchants: at the turn of the 1850s and 1860s in the Kyiv they were already 1.2%, in Podillia 0.8 – 0.9%, in Volyn 0.7%, in the provinces of the Left-Bank 0.4 – 0.6% of the population (tables 1–6).

*Burghers.* The specific weight of burghers in the Right-Bank and Left-Bank regions differed significantly already at the end of the 18th century: in Little Russia and Slobozhanshchyna they were approximately 2 – 2.5 times less than in the former Polish lands of the Right-Bank (fig. 4; tables 1–6). In the 1840s – the beginning of the 1860s the number of burghers in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces continued to grow, reaching 13 – 15% of the population. On the Left Bank, the share of the burghers also gradually increased, especially in the Chernihiv, reaching 9.5% of the province's population (an increase of almost 3.5 times since the end of the 18th century). In this regard, the Poltava and Kharkiv provinces were significantly behind, where in 1863 the burghers accounted for only 3.5 – 4.5% of population.

It is quite interesting to compare the specific weight of the "urban dwellers" with the share of the city population in the provinces of Forest-Steppe Ukraine according to the census data of 1858 (fig. 4). In the Right Bank, there were 5 – 8% more of the former than of the latter, and from a third to a half of the "urban dwellers" did not live in cities, but in "shtetls" (Yiddish name of a little town or "mistechko" in ukr.) or suburbs. In the Chernihiv province, the proportions of "urban dwellers" and city population were almost the same (with a difference of about 0.5%), but in the Poltava and Kharkiv provinces, half of the city inhabitants did not belong to the "urban dwellers" social category. Below we will consider this issue in more detail, but after getting acquainted with the distribution of the population by social groups of the "rural dwellers".

### 1.1.4 Rural dwellers

*State peasants.* In 1845 – 1847 on the Right Bank there were: 10.1% in Volyn, 9.3% in the Kyiv province, 3.7% in Podillia; 3.2% of military commoners (a kind of state peasants) in the Kyiv province and 1.2% in Podillia; sentenced to freedom and appointed to choose a lifestyle 4.4% in Podillia province; others of various denominations 10.6% in Podillya, 6.5% in Volyn, 0.6% in the Kyiv provinces; military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families 1.6% in the Kyiv province, 1.0% in Volyn, 0.12% in Podillya (table 1) [5, table 2; , 6, tables 5–6; 7, p. 69, tables 3–4]. In the provinces of the Left-Bank Forest Steppe Ukraine, the structure of the free peasants on state lands at that time looked somewhat different: state peasants were 43.2% in the provinces of Kharkiv, 13.7% Chernihiv, 6.0% Poltava; 12.3% of the military commoners in the Kharkiv province; of various denominations 5.4% in the Kharkiv, 2.0% in the Poltava, 0.02% in the Chernihiv provinces; military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families, 1.4% in the Poltava, 0.5% in the Chernihiv and the Kharkiv provinces (table 2) [8, pp. 35–36; 9, table 3; 10, pp. 69–70].

According to the data of the Treasury Chamber by 1851 in the Kyiv province state peasants comprised 12.9% of the population, in the Volyn province 23.8%, and 7.6% in the Podillia province. In 1854, there were 3.6% of military commoners in the Kyiv and 5.2% in Podillia provinces. On July 1851, on the Left-Bank in the Poltava province 8.9% of state peasants (without Cossacks), in the Chernihiv province 14.9% of peasants (without Cossacks), in the Kharkiv province 46.6% of rural dwellers and 14.6% of the military commoners were subject to accounting by the Treasury Chamber [19, pp. 14–17, 33–34, 69–70, 106–110, 148–149, 152–153].

According to the 1858 census, there were 25.3% of state peasants in the Volyn (mainly at the expense of confiscated lordly and "ordinatsky" peasants), 10.5% in the Kyiv, 6.8% in the Podillia provinces; 2.1% of military commoners in the Kyiv province, 3.4% in Podillia; the share of retired and permanent military personnel ranged from 3% in Podillia to 3.7% in Volyn (table 3). In the Forest-Steppe on the other side of the Dnieper, state peasants were concentrated in the provinces of Poltava (50.2%, including Cossacks 41.7%), Chernihiv (45.1%, of which Cossacks were

30.4%) and Kharkiv (41.3%); there were 3 – 3.3% of military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families in the Poltava and Chernihiv, 4% in the Kharkiv provinces (table 4).

In 1863, according to the data of the provincial statistical committees, there were no significant changes in the distribution of state peasants in the provinces of Forest-Steppe Ukraine, except for Volyn, where the number of peasants in this category was almost halved, and the Kyiv province, where by the end of that year, almost all former serfs turned into "peasants of the Department of State Estates". To this we can add the transformation of military commoners of the Kyiv, Podillia, and Kharkiv provinces into specific peasants (tables 5; 6).

*Odnodvortsy*. They included the category of free people who had their own plot of land and managed it themselves. According to a separate census of 1854, the *odnodvortsy* of the Western provinces accounted for 7.4% population of the provinces of Podillia, 4.1% Kyiv, and 3.2% Volyn, but in quantitative terms they were 35 656 fewer than according to the special census of 1842 [19, p. 239]. Provincial statistics from 1857 to 1859 show that the share of the *odnodvortsy* did not change in Podillya and slightly decreased in the Kyiv province, there are no data for Volyn (table 3). In the statistical compilations of the early 1860s, this population category was no longer distinguished as a separate column, and at the end of the decade the social group of the *odnodvortsy* disappeared, as did the problem of "citizens from the former Polish nobility" in the Western provinces [49, pp. 214 – 216].

*Little Russian Cossacks*. At the end of the 1780s, the specific weight of Cossacks in the Kyiv governorate was 37.8% of the population, in Chernihiv – 47.2%, in the Kharkiv governorship – 32.2% (former Cossacks of the Slobidskyi regiments, transformed into "military commoners who have the privilege for the production and sale of alcohol") [46, p. 283; 21, pp. 187 – 188; 47, p. 70].

In the mid-1840s, there were 359 Cossacks on the entire Right-Bank, and only in the Kyiv district of the Kyiv province, while there were 695 055 Cossacks (42.4% of the population) in the Poltava and 419 668 (30.1%) in the Chernihiv provinces (tables 1; 2). The same number of Little Russian Cossacks was established during the 9th

national audit of 1851 [19, pp.108 – 109, 152]. At the end of the 1850s, there were 757 783 (41.7%) Cossacks in the Poltava province, and 447 033 (30.4%) in the Chernihiv province (table 4). We have not come across more recent statistical data on this group of free rural dwellers.

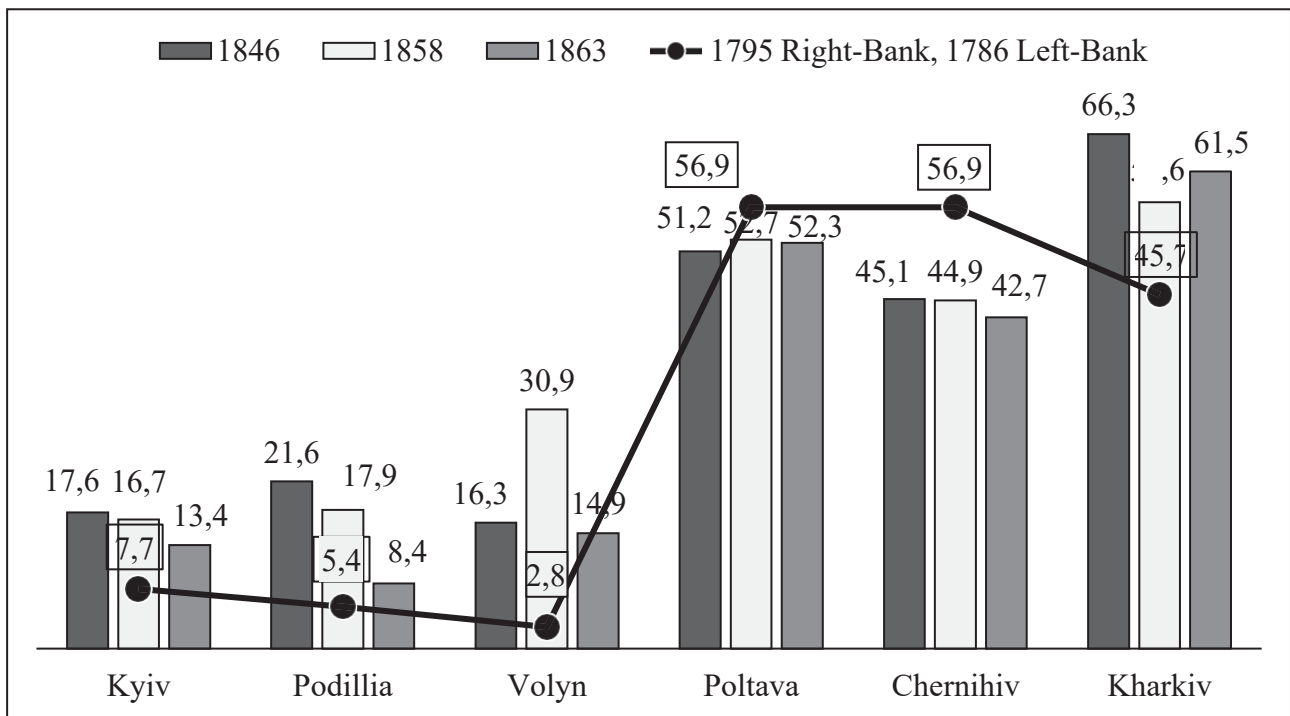
Summarizing the given information, we note that in 1795 state peasants and free villagers made up 7.7% of all residents in the Kyiv province, 5.4% in Podillia, and 2.8% in Volyn (fig. 5). In the Kyiv and the Podillia provinces, their maximum number fell in the mid-1840s as a result of massive confiscations of privately-owned peasants of the Polish nobility because the defeat of the 1830 – 1831 uprising, after which a gradual reduction was observed, followed by an increase in such peasants (almost threefold in Podillia). In the Volyn province during the late 1840s and late 1850s, the share of state peasants and free villagers first almost doubled, and then suddenly decreased by the same amount in the early 1860s. These fluctuations were also an echo of the declassification of the small Polish nobility of the Right-Bank, and the decrease in the number of free rural residents, both simple peasants and *odnodvortsy*, could be explained by organized migration to less populated provinces, if the Volyn province was mentioned as a donor in the process of resettlement of southern Ukrainian immigrants at least once [50, pp. 269–305]. More likely, attributions of "dead souls" to local statistical reports in order to maintain the noble status of small Polish landowners, which were revealed in the early 1860s with the defeat of the Polish uprising 1863.

There were always significantly more free peasants on the Left-Bank than in Right-Bank Ukraine. Thus, in the last quarter of the 18th century, in Poltava and Chernihiv region, together with the Cossacks, they constituted 56.9% of the population, in Slobidska Ukraine 45.7%. In subsequent decades, the specific weight of this category decreased somewhat and fluctuated between 51 – 52% in the Poltava and 43 – 45% in the Chernihiv provinces. In the Kharkiv province, the number of state peasants under various subordination increased on 20% by the mid-1840s, primarily due to the development of the Ukrainian military settlement of the cavalry with its 200 000 population. Further gradual reduction in the number of this large social group brought

the Kharkiv to the level of the Poltava province in the initial period of reforms in the second half of the 19th century (fig. 5).

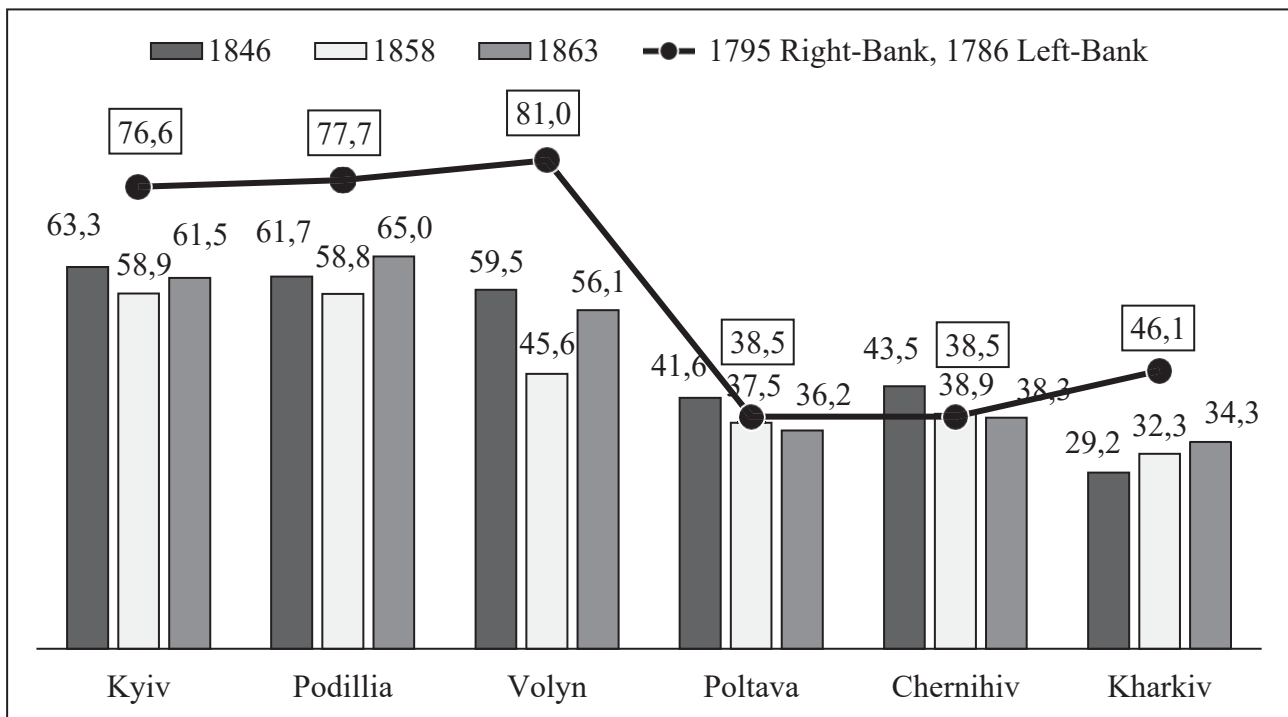
*Dependent peasants (serfs, yard people).* At the end of the 18th century, the share of serfs in the Right-Bank and Left-Bank regions of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine differed significantly, as the specific weight of dependent peasants in the Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces almost doubled the percentage of serfs in the Poltava, Chernihiv and Kharkiv region (fig. 6). In the future, the number of serfs gradually decreased in the Right-Bank and the Kharkiv province and almost did not change proportionally in the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces.

P. I. Köppen compared the data on the number of male serfs for the 8th (1835) and 9th (1851) revisions and found a steady tendency to reduce the number of this social group. Most of all in the Russian Empire, this applied to Volyn, where serf peasants decreased by 14.7%, or 89 406 male persons, and this reduction cannot be explained only by the transfer of confiscated serfs to the category of state peasants,



**Figure 5. State peasants and other free rural dwellers (%)**





**Figure 6. Dependent peasants (%)**

who during this time increased by only 11 666 people. In the Kyiv province, the share of serfs decreased (-) by 5.4% (6 965), but state peasants increased by (+) 10 690; in Podillia by 1.1% (-9 833, +3 881 state peasants); in the Poltava province by 1.1% (-11 272, +22 262 state peasants); in the Chernihiv province by 3.2% (-8 546, +21 124 state peasants); in the Kharkiv province by 1.4% (-8 546, +20 944 state peasants). As we can see, there is no direct connection between the fluctuations in the number of serfs and state peasants (specified by us according to: [19, pp. 190–193, 199–200]).

Comparing the data of 1846 and 1858 from the Right-Bank, we observe that in the Volyn province the share of serfs among the population decreases by 13.9% (-190 978 people of both sexes) while the number of state peasants increases by 195 600, and this already allows us to directly relate quantitative changes in the social groups of the rural Volynian inhabitants with the confiscation of peasants from the Polish nobility and granting them the status of state peasants, and at the same time to evaluate the quantitative side of these confiscations. In the Kyiv province, the specific weight of serfs became smaller by 4.4% with an absolute increase in the number of the group by 53 880 people, in Podillia it also decreased by 2.9% with an increase in the number of serf peasants by 103 748 people (fig. 6; tables 1; 3).

Interesting evolutions in the structure of the peasantry took place on the Left-Bank. Thus, in the Poltava province, serfs decreased by 4.1%, but their absolute number increased by 95 people, which from the point of statistics means "remained unchanged." In the Chernihiv province, the number of serfs decreased by 4.6% (-34 147 people), while the number of free villagers increased (+32 063). In the Kharkiv province, on the contrary, there was an increase in the share of dependent peasants by 3.1% (+27 662 persons) against the background of a reduction in the category of free rural dwellers (-188 593) (fig. 6; tables 2; 4).

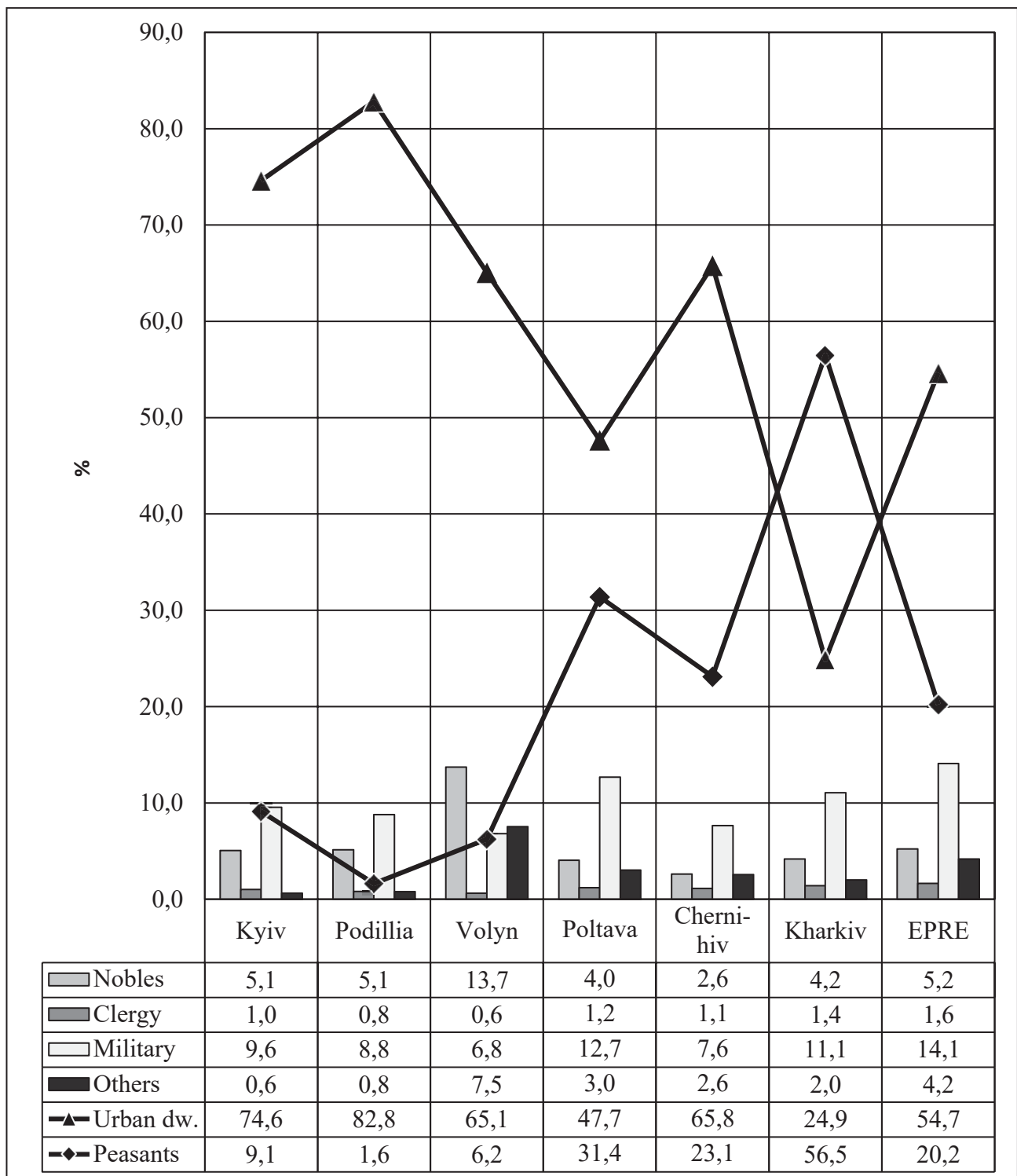
It can be concluded that in the period between the mid-1830s and 1840s, the processes of physical reduction of the social group of dependent peasants in Volyn and Podillia prevailed. In other Ukrainian provinces of the Forest Steppe, a certain part of the serfs passed to the status of free villagers. In the period between the mid-1840s and the end of the 1850s, the situation became more complicated. On the Right-Bank, passions continued to rage around the Polish nobility in its Volyn cell, numerous confiscations changed the status of many thousands of serfs to state peasants. In the Kyiv and the Podillia provinces, the reduction in the specific weight of serfs was relative, associated with rapid population growth, especially in the second half of the 1850s, and changes in the ratio of the main social strata. Something similar happened in the Poltava province, where the reduction in the share of serfs was associated with stagnant processes in the demography of the social group, or the change in the social status of a part of serfs to free peasants, as can be observed in the Chernihiv province. Against this background, the structural changes in the Kharkiv region's peasantry look anachronistic, and the mechanism of social transformation involved here is not entirely clear to us.

## **1.2. Social structure of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine cities population**

Turning to the question of the social structure of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine cities population according to the materials of the 10th national census (1858), we will first try to determine the features of such types of settlements as city, town (mistechko), relying on the relevant legislative acts of the Russian Empire. It turns out that the

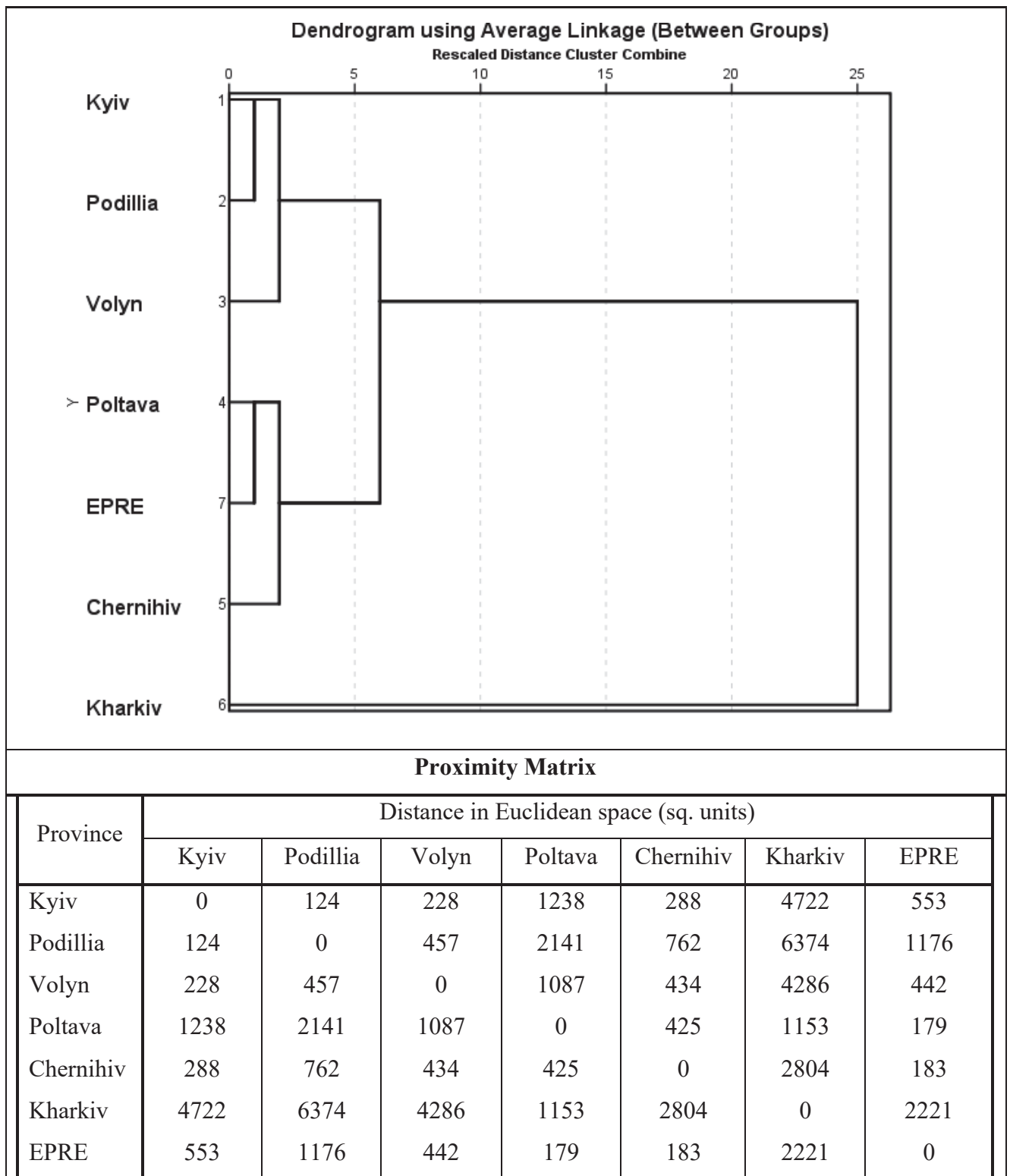
legislator never gave a clear definition of "city" as a special type of settlement, bringing to the fore the presence of certain administrative management bodies: "Each province consists of districts and cities. <...> . The cities are provincial, districtal and out-of-listed <...>" [51, art. 5, 7]. Elsewhere, the composition of the police department is determined in "non-statutory" cities, and in posts ("posad") and towns that were on the city status. Based on the context, it can be understood that the differences between rural and urban settlements were seen in the occupations of their inhabitants mainly in agriculture or trade and crafts [52, art. 361–366]. If a city lost its administrative functions, it became an "out-of-listed", "town" or "post". Small towns, as a separate type of settlement that arose within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on crown and privately owned lands, usually acted as minor craft and trade centers for the surrounding villages. Most often, the owners arbitrarily declared this or that settlement a town, introducing trades and fairs in it, relying on the privilege granted to them by the Polish crown, preserved, by the way, by the Russian crown, and trying to attract to them people of free classes – the nobility, merchants, artisans and especially Jews for permanent residence [1, p. 80–84]. At the end of the 1850s, each of the Right-Bank provinces had 12 cities (the provincial city was usually the center of the respective district), 142 towns in the Volyn, 117 in the Podillia, and 100 in the Kyiv province. In addition, there were 5 ancient out-of-listed cities in the Podillia province. In the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces there were 15 districtal cities, 2 and 4 out-of-listed cities, 93 and 53 towns, only in the Chernihiv province 44 posts. In the Kharkiv province there were 11 districts with the corresponding number of cities-centers of administrations, 6 out-of-listed cities and not a single town or post. We will also remind you that according to the census data of 1858, the specific weight of the urban population was determined by the provinces of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe as follows: 11.3% (179 096 people) Kharkiv, 10.5% (203 612) Kyiv, 9.5% (136 965) Chernihiv, 7.9% (143 917) Poltava, 7.2% (11 0245) Volyn and, finally, 6.9% (120 822) Podillia (fig. 4) [1, p.182–183]. One gets the impression that the Kharkiv province was the most "urbanized" in the Forest-Steppe Ukraine at that time, but in real statistical terms the situation looks different.

In the cities of the Podillia province (fig. 7; tables 2; 3), 82.8% of residents legally belonged to the status of urban dwellers, 8.8% were military, 5.1% were nobles, 1.6% peasants. In the Kyiv province, among the urban population, 74.6% were urban dwellers, 9.6% military, 5.1% nobles, and 9.1% were peasants. In the Volyn region, the ratio of representatives of different social classes among townspeople was somewhat different: 65.1% of urban dwellers, 13.7% of nobles, 7.5% of *raznochintsy*, 6.8% of military personnel, 6.2% of peasants. The townspeople of the Left-Bank Ukraine social structure looked different: in the Chernihiv province – 65.8% urban dwellers, 23.1% peasants, 7.6% military, 2.6% nobles; in the Poltava province – 47.7% urban dwellers, 31.4% peasants, 12.7% military, 4.0% nobles; in the Kharkiv province – 56.5% peasants, 24.9% city dwellers, 14.1% military, 4.2% *raznochintsy*, 5.2% nobles. It is obvious that in the place of the most "urbanized" in the late 50s – early 60s of the 19th century Podillia and not the Kharkiv province could be claim.



EPRE –European part of the Russian Empire, 1858

**Figure 7. Social structure of the urban population (1856 – 1858)**



EPRE –European part of the Russian Empire, 1858

**Figure 8. Classification of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces according to the main parameters of the social structure of the urban population (1858)**

The above observations are supported by the results of the cluster analysis (fig. 8) according to the data in the table in fig. 7. The features of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine cities population social structure coincide with the division of the system into two main subsystems – the Right-Bank and the Left-Bank. On the Right-Bank, the closest neighbors were the Kyiv and the Podillia provinces, with some distance from Volyn. On the Left-Bank, the core of the subsystem was an averaged statistical model of the Russian Empire European part cities social structure, to which the urban communities of the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces gravitated. The Kharkiv variety of the urban population social structure was outside the studied system, which indicates its artificial nature. The noted features of the social composition of the cities inhabitants in both regions of Forest-Steppe Ukraine are the result of fundamental differences in the structure of the main mass of the population - rural dwellers, who were more mobile in terms of space on the Left-Bank due to the predominance of state peasants and Cossacks and limited in this possibility lordly peasants who prevailed throughout the Right-Bank. In addition, the social role of the Right-Bank burghers since the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was confidently played by numerous supporters of Judaism, of whom there were significantly fewer in Poltava and Chernihiv region (Little Russia), while the Kharkiv province was outside the zone of Jews settlement.

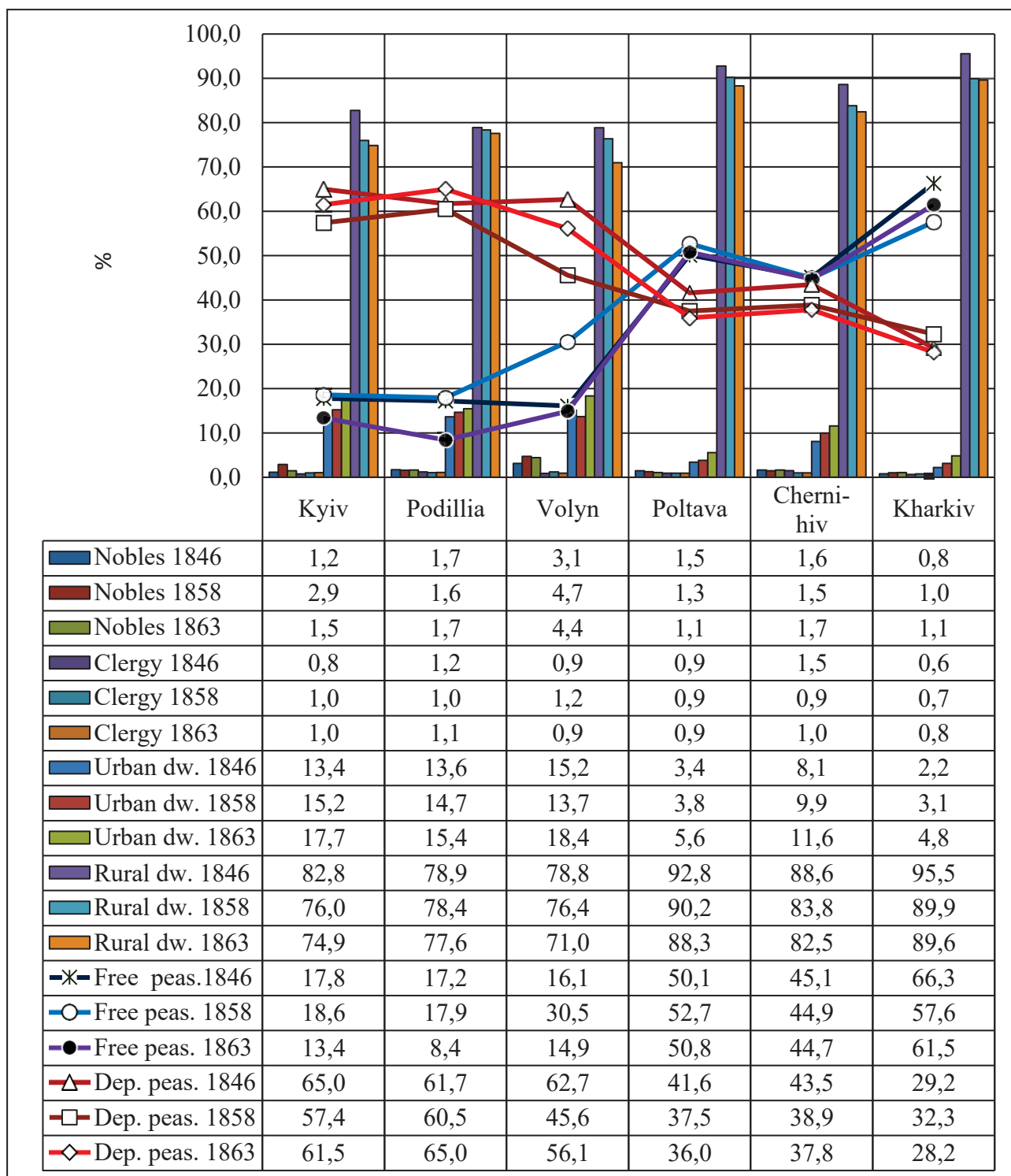
### **1.3 Social topology of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine**

A comprehensive statistical representation of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe population's social organization in its most essential features from the mid-1840s to the beginning of the 1860s is presented in fig. 9. The data of the table posted here were used to conduct a multidimensional hierarchical cluster analysis of the system elements according to three chronological sections, marked as 1846, 1858, 1863 (fig. 10). The obtained quantitative results regarding the similarity (difference) of social structures of 18 temporal manifestations of six objects-provinces, expressed through the square of the Euclidean distance (tables 7; 8), formed a topological characteristic of the studied social space. As an expert component, the average statistical model of the social

structure of the population of 48 provinces of the European part of the Russian Empire (EPRE) according to the census of 1858 was also included in the sample.

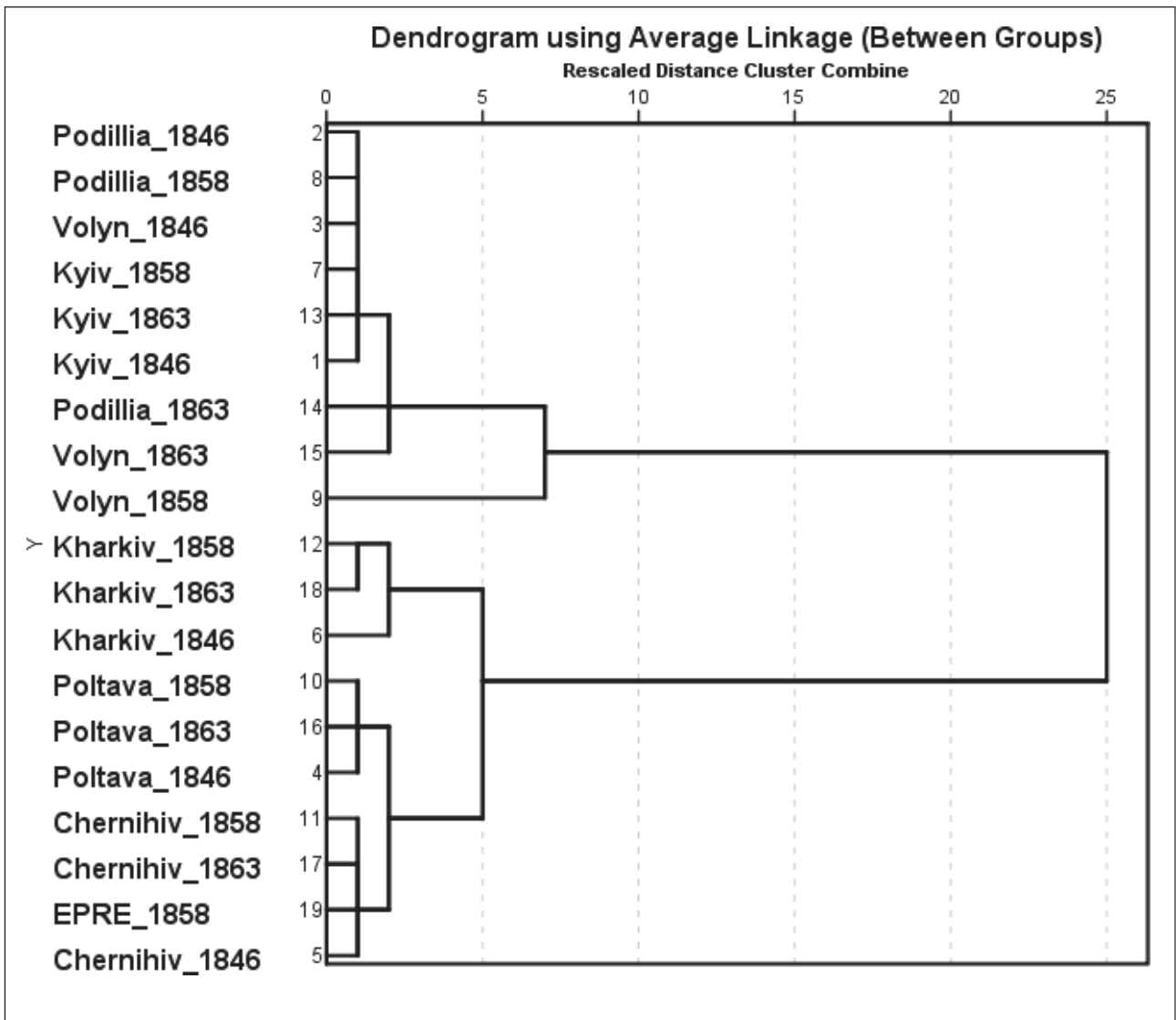
*The Right-Bank Forest-Steppe Ukraine.* The social space of the Ukrainian Right-Bank was formed by three blocks of social structures (the Kyiv, the Podillia, and the Volyn provinces), each of which consisted of three chronological sections – 1846, 1858, 1863. The block of the Kyiv province had a total distance between internal elements (chronological slices) of 276, Podillia of 207 square units (sq. units) in Euclidean space, which testifies to the gradual character of social changes, the heredity of the process. With the chronological variants of the Volyn province in 1846 and 1863, they formed a single space-time cluster within the region, and the local features of its components did not go beyond existing regional standards, as indicated by the relatively small distances between objects (fig. 10; table 7).





Urban dw. – urban dwellers, Rural dw. – rural dwellers, Free peas. – free peasants, Dep. dw. – depended dwellers

**Figure 9. Social structure of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine population (1846 - 1863)**



EPRE – the European part of the Russian Empire

**Figure 10. Classification of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces to the social structure of the population (1846 – 1863) (to fig. 9)**

A separate cluster was formed by the social structure of the Volyn province in 1858, artificially formed in the process of a tough casuistic confrontation between the local Polish nobility and imperial administration. The strangeness of this structure was caused primarily by the ratio of free villagers and dependent peasants (30.9% versus 45.6%), which was unusual for the Right-Bank, which made it more similar to the model of the EPRE 1858, than to other socio-topological objects of the local origin (fig. 9; 10; table 7). Sharp fluctuations in the social environment of the Volyn inhabitants in the period 1846 – 1863, with a maximum deviation from the usual norms

in the late 1850s, could not but affect the level of homogeneity of the topological block of the Volyn province, which led to a significant overall distance between the three Volynian chronological layers (1 056 sq. units). The total distance between all socio-topological objects of the Right-Bank ranged from 738 ("Podillia 1858") to 1 683 ("Podillia 1863") sq. units. In the latter case, more than half of the accumulated distance was due to its disagreement with the object "Volyn 1858", the total distance of which in Euclidean space from other Right-Bank objects was 4 184 sq. units (table 7).

The expert sample of "EPRE 1858", with the exception of the exceptional case of the chronological cut "Volyn 1858", had no analogues on the Right-Bank, as evidenced by its total distance from local socio-topological objects of 11 445 sq. units (table 7).

*Left-Bank Forest-Steppe Ukraine.* The topological field of the Ukrainian Left-Bank resident's social life in the 1840s and early 1860s is reminiscent of the Right-Bank in its main features: the same main population categories, three similar regions-provinces, divided by us for chronological slices (1846, 1858, and 1863) in purpose of social development searching and some others. The same time one can see fundamental differences: the diametrically opposed ratio of the most massive categories of free and dependent peasants in the population structure of Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine (fig. 9), greater relative isolation of the provincial blocks-clusters on the Left-Bank, taking into account the main trends of their social evolution (fig. 10). The Left-Bank blocs-provinces, taken separately, look more homogeneous in socio-topological terms than the Right-Bank's ones (table 7). The total distance between the chronological sections of the Poltava cluster was 95, the Chernihiv 136, and the Kharkiv 221 sq. units in Euclidean space. The key to the internal social stability of the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces, much higher than the Kyiv province or Podillia, was undoubtedly the Cossack component of the population, tied to corporate land ownership. However, the local variants of the same type of social structure within the cluster macrogroup were not identical, which is indicated not only by the greater specific weight of urban dwellers in the Chernihiv province, but also by the total distance between clusters of 1 216 sq. units. In the topological manifestation, the blocks of the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces turned out to be individually closer to the "EPRE 1858" model

than to each other, while the latter, from a formal point of view, cannot be distinguished from the structural-chronological sections of "Chernihiv 1858" and "Chernihiv 1863" (fig. 9; 10; table 7).

The peculiarities of the Kharkiv cluster were largely determined by the presence of a large military settlement here, to which from 12 to 13.5% of the province inhabitants were assigned (tables 2; 4; 6), which significantly increased the contingent of "free rural dwellers" against the share of the lord's peasants. In 1846, they were 66.3% to 29.2%, and only with the beginning of the military settlements liquidation in the late 1850s – early 1860s the social structure of the Kharkiv province began to change in the direction of similarity to the Poltava sample (fig. 9). The topological distance between the Poltava and the Kharkiv blocks was 1 922 sq. units, between the Kharkiv and the Chernihiv ones 4 658 sq. units (table 7). The general trend for the entire Left-Bank was the gradual approximation of the social structures of the Chernihiv, the Poltava, and the Kharkiv provinces to the averaged model of the European part of the Russian Empire social structure in 1858.

The level of topological similarity (dissimilarity) of the social formations, expressed through their distance in Euclidean space within "their" regions, was approximately the same – 12 655 sq. units on the Right-Bank and 16 497 sq. units on the Left-Bank (table 7).

*Table 7*

**Regional social topology of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces in Euclidean space (to fig. 10)**

RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE										
Province / chronological section / Euclidean distance	Kyiv 1846	Kyiv 1858	Kyiv 1863	Podillia 1846	Podillia 1858	Podillia 1863	Volyn 1846	Volyn 1858	Volyn 1863	EPRE 1858
Kyiv 1846	0	110	113	26	41	119	31	601	260	1375
Kyiv 1858	110	(276)	53	33	18	166	42	296	53	1056
Kyiv 1863	113	53	0	48	43	50	34	587	55	1569

Continuation of table 7

Podillia 1846	26	33	48	0	3	93	7	461	129	1254
Podillia 1858	41	18	43	3	(207)	111	11	406	105	1184
Podillia 1863	119	166	50	93	111	0	68	895	181	1983
Volyn 1846	31	42	34	7	11	68	0	521	118	1384
Volyn 1858	601	296	587	461	406	895	521	(1056)	417	283
Volyn 1863	260	53	55	129	105	181	118	417	0	1357
<b>Total distance</b>	<b>1301</b>	<b>771</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>1683</b>	<b>832</b>	<b>4184</b>	<b>1318</b>	<b>11445</b>
	<b>3055</b>			<b>3266</b>			<b>6334</b>			
	<b>12655</b>									
<b>LEFT- BANK UKRAINE</b>										
Province / chronological section / Euclidean distance	Poltava 1846	Poltava 1858	Poltava 1863	Chernihiv 1846	Chernihiv 1858	Chernihiv 1863	Kharkiv 1846	Kharkiv 1858	Kharkiv 1863	EPRE 1858
Poltava 1846	0	26	56	81	170	230	392	135	298	205
Poltava 1858	26	(95)	13	117	142	185	285	50	165	173
Poltava 1863	56	13	0	96	84	111	351	68	178	108
Chernihiv 1846	81	117	96	0	47	83	742	309	519	72
Chernihiv 1858	170	142	84	47	(136)	6	753	288	452	14
Chernihiv 1863	230	185	111	83	6	0	800	322	471	23
Kharkiv 1846	392	285	351	742	753	800	0	119	66	836
Kharkiv 1858	135	50	68	309	288	322	119	(221)	36	328
Kharkiv 1863	298	165	178	519	452	471	66	36	0	184
<b>Total distance</b>	<b>1388</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>957</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1943</b>	<b>2209</b>	<b>3509</b>	<b>1328</b>	<b>2186</b>	<b>1943</b>
	<b>3328</b>			<b>6146</b>			<b>7023</b>			
	<b>16497</b>									

(276) – total distance between the elements of the topological block

Table 8

**Interregional social topology of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces in Euclidean space (to fig. 10)**

RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE ↔ LEFT- BANK UKRAINE										
Province / chronological section / Euclidean distance	Kyiv 1846	Kyiv 1858	Kyiv 1863	Podillia 1846	Podillia 1858	Podillia 1863	Volyn 1846	Volyn 1858	Volyn 1863	EPRE 1858
Poltava 1846	1863	1735	2352	1855	1800	2753	2012	814	2235	1375
Poltava 1858	2124	1896	2553	2071	2001	3015	2238	844	2369	1056
Poltava 1863	2023	1742	2380	1943	1865	2851	2101	707	2166	1569
Chernihiv 1846	1265	1102	1606	1229	1172	1978	1352	395	1490	1254
Chernihiv 1858	1425	1122	1641	1320	1244	2078	1446	320	1437	1184
Chernihiv 1863	1469	1123	1639	1345	1262	2098	1467	303	1410	1983
Kharkiv 1846	3924	3628	4515	3875	3775	5133	4095	2040	4246	1384
Kharkiv 1858	2804	2489	3241	2721	2633	3786	2911	1197	2987	283
Kharkiv 1863	3385	2991	3809	3277	3169	4431	3478	1508	3493	1357
<b>Total distance</b>	<b>20283</b>	<b>7828</b>	<b>23737</b>	<b>19637</b>	<b>18922</b>	<b>28123</b>	<b>21099</b>	<b>8130</b>	<b>21833</b>	<b>11445</b>
	<b>51848</b>			<b>66682</b>			<b>51112</b>			
	<b>169642</b>									

In turn, the interregional social topology of bloc-provinces reflects important features of their structure, which, as shown above, consisted in a certain quantitative (nobles, urban dwellers) and proportional (free rural dwellers and dependent peasants) ratio of the main elements (fig. 9). The objects "Kyiv 1858" and "Volyn 1858" turned

out to be the least distant from the Left-Bank (7 828 and 8 130 sq. units, while the distance between them is 296 sq. units). The total distance between the socio-spatial organisms of the Right-Bank and Left-Bank parts of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine in the mid-1840s – early 1860s was equal to 169 642 sq. units in Euclidean space (tables 7; 8). The corresponding historical distance had to be overcome on the way to the formation of the newest Ukrainian society and political nation in the next half century, by the time when there would be a real possibility of establishing the independence of Ukraine in 1917 – 1920.

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