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**THE ROLE OF THE URBAN POPULATION
OF THE RIGHT-BANK OF UKRAINE
IN THE TRADE OF GRAIN
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY**

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**РОЛЬ МІСЬКОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ
ПРАВОБЕРЕЖЖЯ УКРАЇНИ
У ТОРГІВЛІ ЗЕРНОМ
В ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ**

У статті подано коротку характеристику міст і містечок Правобережної України та населення, що в них проживало. Також показано також роль міського населення у виробництві зерна та торгівлі ним.

The growing and sale of grain was an important part of the profit for the population of the Right-bank Ukraine during many centuries. The sale of the cereals was favourable both for the founders and for the state. The amount of grain which was sold depended on many natural, economic and political factors. The growing of a grain trade in the cities in Kyivskyi, Podil's'kyi and Volyns'kyi provinces, and also their role in the sale of the grain in the half of the 19th century represent the main object of this article.

The question of the growing and sale of the grain was very actual in the works of the researchers of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Among them we can mention the works of S. Gulishambarov, A. Umyssa, M. Dovnar-Zapolskyi, A. Kornilov and others¹. Nevertheless it is necessary to note, that this authors basically covered all the Russian tendencies not giving special attention to regional features. A number of interesting articles and statistical researches were published in the "Magazine of the Ministry of Internal Affairs".

We can find a number of very interesting researches on this problem in the works of the authors of the 1920's – 30's. During this period historians studied subjects which in our days have remained without attention. With M. Slabchenko's solid work appeared a number of articles by I. Kravchenko, N. Bukatevich, M. Sambikin, some information can be find in works of S. Voznesensky, F. Yastrebov, S. Pyontkovskyi and others².

In 1930 a great number of monographs and articles with thorough researches of social and economic history of Russian empire of the first half of the 19th century appeared. Gurzhyi's monographs and articles are especially valuable in this case. Some aspects of this problem we can find in works of V. Polyakov, I. Slabeev, V. Zadorozhnyi, S. Okun' etc³.

In independent Ukraine approaches to understanding of history have been reconsidered. We have opportunity to consider a social and economic history from new sights and with the use of

other techniques and methods. New researches more and more address to a regional history. Nowadays many works appeared. Among them about the history of landowners facilities of Right-bank Ukraine of O. Gordunovskiy, about the trade of Ukraine in the 19th century of T. Goncharuk, monography of G. Kazmirchuk and T. Solovyeva about social and economic development of Right-bank, A. Zinchenko's about church landowners and many others⁴.

Right-bank provinces which have been attached to Russian empire at the end of the 18th century were characterised by small amount of cities. The population of the majority of them seldom reached 10 thousand of inhabitants. So the profits of these cities were low. The difference between some towns and villages was only in "the wooden church, a dilapidated Catholic church, some small shops, and the exhibition area which was over with a herb"⁵.

In 1845 there were 45 cities on the Right-bank. Among them: 3 principal towns of province, 33 towns of district and only 9 others⁶. Many of the district centres as Gaysyn, Vasyl'kiv, Radomyshl', Ovruch, Nova Ushytsya or Tarashcha were small towns with insignificant industry and trade. They were renamed into cities because they had own power structures⁷. The main work of city inhabitants in such towns was agriculture and small trade once a week or even twice a month. The state and landowner's peasants represented the significant part of inhabitant of these settlement.

So, in 1805 in Radomyshl'skyi district with 211 951 dessiatin* all arable lands (826,5) were in towns of district. "City arable lands were given on cultivation to bourgeois in exchange for tenth sheaf". The tenth parts of cereals was given to the city storehouse⁸.

The mills gave another important profit in such towns. The owners of mills bought a grain and sold a flour at local fair and markets. In such cities as Chyhyryn, Radomyshl', Tarashcha, Zvenyhorodka the profit of mills was on the second place after wine-farming⁹.

But there were big cities, which have been became industrial and commercial centers, such as: Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Rivne, Uman', Kamianets-Podil'skyi ets. There were many rural inhabitants in these cities¹⁰.

There were 93 small town in Kyiv province, 98 – in Podil's'k, 134 – in Volyn' in the 1830s. But their amount was constantly growing. So, A. Kamenskyi in his article mention, that there were 99 small town in Kyiv province in the 1840s and 117 – in Podil's'k province¹¹. There were many documents with the request of landowners to rename their villages in the small towns and to open there fairs or even markets. These documents were in office of the Kyiv military governor, the Podil's'k and Volyn' general-governor.

What were the reasons of this phenomenon? First of all, at the fairs and markets landowners and their peasants had the opportunity to sale bread and their own goods, not leaving in other places. Taking into account the means of transportation and a condition of the ways, such trips sometimes occupied two and more days. Secondly, in small towns, Jews could settle**. Jews and free people paid 1 – 4 roubles in silver for the houses, 6 – 10 roubles for employment of shop and other payments whereas peasants did not pay for houses, and only fulfilled "corvee"¹².

Basically the landowners owned small towns of the Right-bank. So, in 1845 in Podil's'k and Kyiv province from 216 small towns only 20 were state and 8 belong to military departments. The same state of affairs was in the Volyn' province¹³.

Contemporaries who passed through small towns, marked their poverty and small industry. In the middle of the 19th century there was no even one factory or plant in the second part of Podil's'k and in the third part in the Kyiv province. And in others basically was only distillery or a sugar plant. There were no fairs or the markets more than in 30 small towns of the Right-bank¹⁴. Therefore in the cities and small towns bourgeois was also engaged in agriculture, as the peasants who lived there. In next table we can see the amount of grain, which has been raised in the cities of right-bank provinces and its part from all crop.

* Dessiatina = approx. 2 3/4 acres.

** Right-bank provinces belonged to so-called "region of the Jewish settled way of life" where Jews had a right to settle, but only in cities and small towns.

Tab. 1.

Sowing and corn crop in the cities of the Right-bank (in quarters*)
and its particle from all crop in the 1840s¹⁵

Province	1842			1844			1846		
	Sowing	Crop	In %	Sowing	Crop	In %	Sowing	Crop	In %
Kyiv	9442	46247	0,88	7221	29954	0,55	6893	27519	0,38
Podil's'k	11474	42885	0,63	9546	29535	0,58	8091	20754	0,59
Volyn'	1955	10666	0,17	–	–	–	–	–	–

From this table we can make the conclusion, that cultivation of grain in the cities became constantly low. So, delivery of the grain from a countryside played an important role.

The fairs and the markets also played a significant role in sale of the grain. The peasants with landowners as merchants sold their goods. But the landowners tried to sell their cereals directly abroad or to Odesa. Some of them were engaged in the delivery of food for the army or were engaged in distillation, which gave more profit, than selling of grain.

Small landowners and peasants basically sold bread at local fairs and markets. A plenty of it, especially in the fruitful year, was impossible to sell at the home market. The Podil's'k governor in 1837 complained: "It is impossible to sell big quantity of the cereals at the home market because all population which includes landowners, peasants and bourgeois's are engaged in the cultivation of grain. Only regular army, bureaucracy and Jews do not take part in this matters. At the home market the price of the bread is sold, is not expensive. It is mainly cheap"¹⁶.

That's why merchants and industrialists were the main buyers. They grew grain and sent it in small parties to Ust'yug, Odesa and the cities of other provinces where was an insufficiency in it. Many industrialists made the foodstuffs for army and the Black Sea fleet under contracts. Bourgeois's also were engaged in grain purchase, especially in the districts which were near the sea-ports.

The difference between prices of bread in different districts was rather big. But in Podil's'k and the majority districts of Kyiv province the prices were always lower than in Volyn' province and much lower than in other neighbour provinces of Russian empire. That's why the merchants of the Volyn' province bought bread in the Podillia and resold it in their province. Often the Belarus' provinces were in the need of the large amount of cereals. Some industrialists of Kyiv had their own water means and delivered grain in Mozyr, Pinsk and Orsha. The delivery of food of a flour or cereals there cost from 45 up to 75 kopecks and depended on demand for transportation, and oats – 2,50–4,20 roubles¹⁷.

Bread and cattle were the main goods almost at all fairs and markets (except for fairs in provincial cities and in Berdychiv). In the report about the trade at local fairs and the tenders to governor Vasilchikov district officials informed him about the large demand on the bread and cattle. So, in 1836 in the Nemyriv fair were sold goods on 164400 roubles and on 151000 rubles was sold bread in the grain and in the flour¹⁸.

The industrialists often took the credit for the purchase of big parties. Thus inhabitants of provincial and district cities where were corresponding establishments had the advantages. So, at the beginning of 1840s the inhabitants of Zolotopillya of Chyhyryn district complained that significant remoteness from district city does not give them an opportunity to take the credit quickly and agreements are broken off whereas "many merchants and bourgeoises have a trade different goods, which mainly are the local products to Odesa, Mykolaiv, and other cities". The authors of the letter found a decision of this problem, which was in the appointment of the special broker who would serve the nearest cities of Zolotopilya and Novomyrhorod. Officially the trading circulation in these cities was 800 thousand roubles¹⁹.

Kyiv with its Kontrakt fair played an important part in the trade of grain, which mainly was sold in

* Quarter = approx. 30,75 litre.

wholesale. In this place the contracts on the delivery of the foodstuffs for armie and for sale abroad were concluded. In 1811 the military governor general Miloradovich in the report to the minister Barclay-de-Tolly, told that the tenders purchase of provisions are at the end of December and the beginning of January “when many noblemen gather in Kyiv for the contracts”²⁰. Very often Kyiv province made the provisions for army from the other regions of Russian empire, first of all for army regiments which were located in Belarus’ provinces. The provisions floated by the Dnipro to Mozyr, Pinsk and less often to Vitebsk through small town Orsha²¹.

Ustylug in Volyn’ province had a significant role in the sale of the grain abroad. There was a river port and grain was floated by Buh to Prussian port Dantsyh (modern Gdansk).

Mohyliv (modern Mohyliv-Podil’s’kyi) was one of the biggest towns of Podillia at that time. There was “a rich merchant class which had a big trade with Odesa and Kyshyniv”²². The reason of the big trade in this city was the most convenient quay on the Dnister from which a plenty of wheat floated to Odesa. Floatable delivery after clarification of Dnistro had a large development in 1840s when Dnister became free from the rapids near the Yampil²³.

Balta was the nearest district city to Odesa. There many Chumatskyi roads from Kyiv province, Podillia and Volyn’ crossed. The wellbeing of many inhabitants of this city depended on the trade of the grain. The governor of Balta speaking about activity of bourgeois’s of his city informed, that “rich inhabitants of Balta are engaged in purchase of grain bread, especially wheat and sale it to Odesa. Less rich – in small amounts”²⁴. The wheat was a main product in Balta’s fair, especially wheat under the name “arnautka”*. It had a large demand in Odesa. And it was growing only on the territory of Novorosiya and the south of Podil’s’k province. The wheat was a main product at the trade in the thirteen small towns of Balta’s district. In 1836 the trading circulations in only 7 of these small towns were more than 295 thousand roubles²⁵.

So, the urban population in the Right-bank provinces was less engaged in agriculture. In the middle of the 19th century the part of grain growing on the city’s grounds was very small. But at the same time the more bourgeoises and other inhabitants of the cities and small towns were engaged in purchase and sale of the grain and other – in its delivery. It’s were the inhabitants of the settlements, which were situated near the important waterways of the country – Dnipro, Dnistro, Buh, Prypyat’ and other.

The delivery of grain to Odesa or abroad was the most profitable for inhabitants of cities. The delivery to Prussian ports Dantsig and Mamel required much time and means, therefore only rich merchants made it. The more simple transportation was the transportation to Halychyna were at that time the need of was nearly 250 thousand of “korts”**²⁶. Especially many of the cereals were taken to Halychyna during poor harvests years, as it was, for example, in 1817, 1835 or 1847. Mope often inhabitants of small towns of Baltskyi district carried bread to Odesa.

The participation of city dwellers in the trade of grain in first half of the 19th century was active. They had an opportunity to react for needs in bread in different places and to deliver there goods in and for the best prices.

Certainly such activity in trade of grain was compelled, because the majority of inhabitants had not wide opportunity in the choice of the employment. At that time there was a small number of cities with well developed industry and trade.

* It received the name from Greeks-albanians, who appeared in the Novorosiya at the and of 18th century and whose name was “arnauts”, though inhabitants of the territory raised this kind of the grain earlier.

** Korets = approx. 123 litre.

¹ Аксаков И. Исследование о торговле на украинских ярмарках. – СПб., 1858; Гульдман В. Подольская губерния. Опыт географическо-статистического описания. – Каменец-Подольский, 1889; Гулишамбаров Ст. Итоги торговли и промышленности России в царствование императора Николая I 1852–55 года. – СПб., 1896; Довнар-Запольский М. Обзор новейшей русской истории. – К., 1912. – Т. I.; Итоги экономического исследования России по данным земской статистики. – М., 1892. – Т. I.; Егунов А.Н. О Ценах на хлеб в России и их значение в отечественной промышленности. – М., 1855; Корнилов А. Курс Истории России XIX века. – М., 1912. – Ч. I–II.; Опыт исследования об имуществе и доходах наших монастырей. – СПб., 1876; Полевой Н. Столетие России с 1745–1845. – СПб., 1846. – Ч. II.; Рудченко И. Записка о земледелии в Юго-Западном крае. Обзор законодательства и фактического положения. – К., 1882; Семеновский М.И. Записка о финансах, политике и торговле Российского государства в 1810 году. – М., 1864; Умисса А.И. Современное положение земледелия на юге России // Сборник Херсонского земства. – 1874. – № 7.

² Букатевиц Н. Чумацтво в I пол. XIX сторіччя. // Матеріали до вивчення виробничих об'єднань. – К., 1931. – Вип. II Чумаки.; Вознесенський С. Экономическое развитие и классовая борьба в России XIX и XX веков. – Пг., 1921. – Ч. I.; Кашина В. Крепостные крестьяне-земледельцы накануне реформ // Известия АН СССР. – 1935. – № 9. – Ч. II.; Клименко П.В. Промисловість і торгівля в Подільській губернії. – К., 1927. – Вирізка. – С. – 1033–1057; Кравченко Иван. Ямпільський маєток наприкінці XVIII та в I чверті XIX століття – [Б. м. і р.]. – Вирізка. – С. – 56–95; Пионтковский С. Очерки истории России в XIX – XX веке. – Х., 1930; Самбикин М.М. Недороды на Украине их районы, частота и размещение. – Харьков-Киев, 1931; Слабченко М. Матеріяли до економічно-соціальної історії України XIX століття. – Одеса, 1921. – Т. I.; Ястребов Ф. Разложение феодально-крепостнического строя и возникновение капитализма на Украине в I половине XIX века. – К., 1936; Його ж. Україна в першій половині XIX століття. – К., 1939.

³ Гуржій І.О. Розвиток товарного виробництва і торгівлі на Україні (з кінця XVIII ст. до 1861р.). – К., 1962; Його ж. Розклад феодально-кріпосницької системи в сільському господарстві України I половини XIX ст. – К., 1954; Истомина Э.Г. Водные пути и их роль в экономическом развитии европейской России во II половине XVIII – начале XX века. – М., 1983; Задорожний В.Є. З історії торговельних зв'язків Галичини з Східною Україною і Росією у першій половині XIX ст. // УІЖ. – 1978. – № 12. – С. 82–88; Кузнєцов І.В. Лебедев В.И. История СССР XVIII – середина XIX веков. – М., 1958.; Кузнєцов І.В., Захарова Л.Ф. Практикум по истории XIX века. – М., 1964; Слабеев І.С. З історії перевісного нагромадження капіталу на Україні. (Чумацький промисел і його роль у соціально-економічному розвитку України XVIII – I половини XIX століть). – К., 1964; Окунь С.Б. История СССР. – Л., 1974. – Ч. II; Поляков В.А. Таможенная пошлина царского правительства и ее влияние на развитие отечественной промышленности в период разложения феодальной системы. – Л., 1976.

⁴ Гончарук Т.Г. Торгівля України I половини XIX століття: історія вивчення. – Одеса, 1998.; Гордуновський О.М. Поміщицькі господарства Правобережної України в умовах розвитку товарно-грошових відносин в I половині XIX століття. – Донецьк, 2000.; Його ж. Розвиток промислового виробництва в поміщицьких господарств Правобережної України I половини XIX століття // УІЖ. – 2000 – № 1; Зінченко А.Л. Церковне землевладіння в політиці царизму на Правобережній Україні наприкінці XVIII – першій половині XIX століття. – К., 1994; Казьмирчук Г.Д., Соловійова Т.М. Соціально-економічний розвиток Правобережної України в I чверті XIX століття. – К., 1998; Крижанівський О.П. Церква у соціально-економічному розвитку Правобережної України XVIII – I половини XIXст. – К., 1991.

⁵ Каменский А.В. Очерк местечек в губерниях Киевской и Подольской. // Журнал МВД. – 1844. – Кн. 12. – С. 482.

⁶ The Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAK). – F. 442. – Inv. 1. – File. 2511. – L. 14, 19–20, 24; Ibid. – File. 1521. – L. 11, 21, 28.

⁷ See: Путевые заметки о Западной и Юго-западной России. // Журнал МВД. – 1845. – Кн. 5–6.

⁸ CSHAK. – F. 442. – Inv. 1. – File. 5970. – L. 5 зв.; Ibid. – F. 533. – Inv. 1. – File. 890. – L. 13.

⁹ Ibid. – F. 533. – Inv. 1. – File. 890. – L. 10–12.

- ¹⁰ Гуржій І.О. Розвиток... – С. 136.
- ¹¹ Каменский А.В. *Op. cit.* – С. 472–473.
- ¹² *Ibid.* – С. 475.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* – С. 473.
- ¹⁴ Список местечек Киевской и Подольской губернии. // Журнал МВД. – 1846. – Кн. 2. – С. 497–519.
- ¹⁵ СНАК. – F. 442. – Inv. 1. – File. 4324. – L. 89 зв., 160; *Ibid.* – File. 5224. – L. 66–72; *Ibid.* – File. 5226. – L. 46; *Ibid.* – File. 6475. – L. 91; *Ibid.* – File. 5968. – L. 66 зв.–67.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* – File. 2256. – L. 137 зв.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* – Inv. 83. – File. 221. – L. 2–3.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* – File. 2053. – L. 29–35; *Ibid.* – File. 8144. – L. 23–51.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.* – File. 3646. – L. 1–3.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.* – F. 533. – Inv. 1. – File. 1467. – L. 1–3.
- ²¹ *Ibid.* – Inv. 83. – File. 221. – L. 2–3.
- ²² Путевые заметки о Западной и Юго-западной России. // Журнал МВД. – 1845. – Кн. 5. – С. 103.
- ²³ СНАК. – F.442. – Inv. 1. – File. 2520. – L. 58–58 зв.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.* – File. 8144. – L. 13 зв.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* – File. 2053. – L. 29–35; *Ibid.* – File. 8144. – L. 280–287.
- ²⁶ Задорожний В.Є. *Op. cit.* – С. 85.