

**CHAPTER III. COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, TOPOLOGY,
AND LANDSCAPE OF THE FOREST-STEPPE UKRAINE SOCIETY
(1840S – EARLY 1860S)**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-533-4-3>

1. Sources, research history

It is difficult to find another country in Europe where the population's social structure was as cumbersome and confusing as in the Russian Empire in the mid-19th century. In 1858, the presence of 3 noble, 6 clerical, 8 urban, 46 peasant, and 5 foreign legal formations gave 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 leaves and retired “lower ranks” (soldiers) with wives and children, foreigners, and some other transitional groups. According to the heads of the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, these reasons were as follows:

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

2. The official classification allowed for the assignment of individuals to different states and the temporary or complete suspension of significant differences between states.

3. Family unity was violated in many cases, mainly when it came to personal nobles, personal and honorary citizens, where family members could be split into multiple social categories (*Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii*, 1863, pp. 264, 265).

The sources we use can be divided into 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 (Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1857; Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1885).

The statistical sources are primarily “Statistical description of the Kyiv province” by D. P. Zhuravskiy (Statisticheskoye opisaniye Kiyevskoy gubernii, 1852), “Military statistical review” of Kyiv, Podillia, Volyn, Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv provinces (Voyenno-statisticheskoye obozreniye Rossiyskoy imperii. Kiyevskaya guberniya, 1848; Ibid. Podolskaya guberniya, 1849.; Ibid. Volynskaya guberniya, 1850 a; Ibid. Podolskaya guberniya, 1849; Ibid. Chernigovskaya guberniya, 1851; Ibid. Kharkovskaya guberniya, 1850), provincial reference and information publications of the late 50s – early 60s of the 19th century (Chernyshev, 1857; Chernyshev, 1858; Pamyatnaya knizhka Podolskoy gubernii na 1859 god, 1859; Sbornik statisticheskikh svedeniy o Kiyevskoy gubernii za 1859 god, 1861; Pamyatnaya knizhka Chernigovskoy gubernii, 1862; Golikhovskiy, 1864; Bodiatskiy, 1865), “Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire for 1858” (Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863), “Statistical Timeline of the Russian Empire” (Statisticheskiy vremennik Rossiyskoy imperii, 1866), etc.

Unfortunately, we cannot fully utilize the materials of the 9th national revision in its sociological component to construct a statistical model. As indicated 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 number of male residents and the total number of people by the social group (Köppen, 1857, 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 (Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863, pp. 267–275). In the “Statistical Timeline of the Russian Empire”, we find the same classification. The consolidation of descriptive headings in statistical collections deprives us of direct information about such important for social history of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine population groups as citizens from the Polish nobility, *odnodvortsy*, Cossacks of Poltava and Chernihiv provinces in the late 50s – early 60s of

the 19th century. Part of these data can be supplemented with the materials published by provincial statistical committees in separate editions under different names.

To observe trends or regularities in the changes that took place during a period of history, one should try to compare the obtained results with earlier or later data. By coincidence, the materials of the 5th nationwide revision of 1795 – 1796 for Right-Bank Ukraine were carefully processed by M. G. Krykun (Krykun, 2012, pp. 580–588). The situation in Left-Bank and Slobozhanshchyna is not as clear. On the one hand, we have such high-level descriptive and statistical sources as A. F. Shafonskyi's "Description of the Chernihiv Governorate", excellently published by the Archaeological Commission of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, "Descriptions" of Kyiv and Kharkiv Governorates, the provinces of Little Russia (Malorossia) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Shafonskiy, 1851; *Opysy Kyivskoho namisnytstva 70 – 80-kh rokiv XVIII st.: Opysovo-statystychni dzherela*, 1989; *Opysy Kharkivskoho namisnytstva kintsia XVIII st.: Opysovo-statystychni dzherela*, 1991; *Opysy Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy kintsia XVIII – pochatku XIX st.: Opysovo-statystychni dzherela*, 1997). On the other hand, the statistical component, considered the main one by the compilers of "Descriptions", remains largely underestimated by many generations of historians.

Turning to the achievements of colleagues in the field of sociology of the 19th century, the author is forced to note that the only successful attempt at global generalizations within the Russian Empire belongs to B. M. Mironov (2000). Another prominent researcher, the Frenchman D. Beauvais, approached the analysis of the era from a different angle, depicting an epic canvas of 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 (Beauvois, 1996.; His, 1998; His, 2007).

Polonian motifs are also present in the scientific works of our compatriots (Barmak, 2014; Pavliuk, 2010; Polishchuk, 2006). This is unsurprising since socio-historical studies of Right-Bank Ukraine of the late 18th – first half of the 19th centuries necessarily turn into socio-ethnic ones (Kuzema, 2004; Filiniuk, 2016; Bohutska, 2017). Social groups of peasants,

as well as the nobility (Myakotin, 1924, pp. 211–285; Kolievatov, 2011), military settlers (Tsubenko, 2006; Yachmenikhin, 2006), Cossacks (Panashenko, 2004; Kukharuk, 2007; Oliianchuk, 2014), townspeople (Bondarenko, 2020; Kurylenko, 2009), merchants (Donik, 2008), etc., are also examined. 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. Our research aims to fill this gap at least partially, with a focus on the legal and statistical groups of data mentioned above.

2. Social composition of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine population (1845 – 1863)

According to the difference in status rights, four main groups of people were legally distinguished in the population composition: 1) nobility; 2) clergy; 3) urban dwellers; and 4) rural dwellers (Svod zakonov o sostoyaniyakh. Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1857, art. 2). Let's examine their position within the social structure of the inhabitants of Forest-Steppe Ukraine during the mid-40s to the beginning of the 60s of the 19th century.

Nobles

Among the provinces of Ukrainian Forest Steppe, Volyn appears to be the most “noble” (tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.6; fig. III.2.1). In 1845 – 1846, hereditary nobles made up 2.9% of the population, according to the results of the 9th national audit of 1851, with 3.4% (Köppen, 1857, p. 176), according to the 1858 census – 3.5%, and in 1863 – 2.2%. In Kyiv province, 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 subregion as a whole has significantly increased: in Kyiv province three times, in Podillia 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 Kyiv province, the hereditary nobility did not exceed 1% of the total number of inhabitants.

Structural changes in the environment of the personal nobility of Right-Bank of the Dnipro-river look different. According to the 1795–1796 census, the nobility “on rent and in service” made up 7.4% of the population in Kyiv province, 8.1% in Podillia, and 6.0% in Volyn. Later, 50–60 years, the statistical picture differed: 0.4 – 0.7% in Kyiv province, 0.2 – 0.5% in Podillia, and 0.3 – 2.2% in Volyn. In 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 Kyiv and 5.1% of the Volyn provinces in 1845 – 1847 and 2.0% of the inhabitants of Kyiv province in 1859), there is a gradual reduction in the number of nobilities in Right-Bank Forest-Steppe first of all because of the declassification of the old Polish minor and not land-owners nobility (Polishchuk, 2006, pp. 38–41). In the statistical display, it looked like this: in Kyiv province, instead of 7.7% of the population in 1795, – 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 that, the share of nobles in Volyn remained the highest among the provinces of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe, while on Left-Bank it ranged from 0.8% in Kharkiv province to 1.8% in Poltava, which, however, was significantly more than 0.1 or 0.3% in Slobozhanshchyna and Little Russia in the last quarter of the 18th century (Topohrafichnyi opys Kharkivskoho namisnytstva 1785 r., 1991, p. 283; Shafonskiy, 1851, pp. 187–188; Topohrafichnyi opys Kharkivskoho namisnytstva 1785 r., 1991, p. 70; Ilyyashevich, 1885, pp. 31–33).

Clergy

In the last quarter of the 18th century, the Orthodox clergy in Right-Bank Ukraine accounted for 1.3 – 1.5% and in Left-Bank 0.9% of the population. In later times, its specific weight fluctuated around 1.0% (tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.6; fig. III.2.2), which corresponded to the proportion

inherent in most provinces of the European part of the Russian Empire with a predominance of the Orthodox population (Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863, pp. 298, 316). The specific weight of priests of other denominations in the middle of the 19th century did not exceed 0.02% in 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: (Köppen, 1857, p. 209)).

Urban dwellers

By the name of “urban dwellers” were understood all townspeople, not peasants, owners of real estate in the town, persons enrolled in guilds, those who served the town at their own will, or enrolled “on salary” and therefore obliged to the town 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 towns, honorary citizens, and citizens in the towns of 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 or shop workers; 4) free people assigned to some towns 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” (Svod zakonov o sostoyaniyakh. Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1857, 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 (tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.6). For example, in Kyiv province there were 226 of them in 1845, 604 in 1858, 2,255 in 1863; in Chernihiv province 148 in 1846, 710 in 1858, 698 in 1863, in 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 revival of the economy, commercial activity, and cultural life. For comparison, let us give another example: 17 honorary citizens in 1846, 4,789 in 1858, and 133 in 1863. These are the statistics by Volyn, as evidence of the opposition of the local Polish nobility, led by the noble assemblies, and the tsarist administration,

which 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 (tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.6): in 1842 – 1847, they were approximately 0.3% of the population in Kyiv and Volyn provinces, 0.6 – 0.8% of Podillia; in 1853, 0.2 – 0.3% of Kyiv province residents and Volyn, 0.7% of Podillia (Köppen, 1857, 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,” whom 1863 numbered 1.7% in Kyiv province, 0.6% in Podillia, and 4.2% in Volyn (67,270 people). This problem has never been relevant for 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 Dnipro (0.1 – 0.2%) – from Volyn to Kharkiv inclusive (fig. III.2.3). By the middle of the 1840s, the situation had not changed much, except Kyiv and Chernihiv provinces, where there were noticeably more merchants: at the turn of the 1850s and 1860s in Kyiv they were already 1.2%, in Podillia 0.8 – 0.9%, in Volyn 0.7%, in provinces of Left-Bank 0.4 – 0.6% of the population (tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.6).

Burghers. The specific weight of burghers in the Right-Bank and the Left-Bank subregions 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 Right-Bank (fig. III.2.4; tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.6). In the 1840s – the beginning of the 1860s the number of burghers in 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 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, Poltava and Kharkiv provinces were significantly behind, where in 1863 the burghers accounted for only 3.5% – 4.5% of the population.

Rural dwellers

State peasants. In 1845 – 1847 on Right-Bank, there were different kinds of this category of rural dwellers:

- 10.1% state peasants in Volyn, 9.3% in Kyiv province, 3.7% in Podillia;
- 3.2% of military settlers (a kind of state peasants) in Kyiv province, and 1.2% in Podillia;
- "Set to freedom and obligated to choose a lifestyle" – 4.4% in Podillia province;
- Others of various denominations: 10.6% in Podillia, 6.5% in Volyn, 0.6% in Kyiv provinces;
- Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families 1.6% in Kyiv province, 1.0% in Volyn, 0.12% in Podillia (tbl. 1 – 2; fig. 5) (*Voyenno-statisticheskoye obozreniye. Kiyevskaya guberniya, 1848, tbl. 2; Ibid. Podolskaya guberniya, 1849, tbl. 5–6; Ibid. Volynskaya guberniya, 1850 a, p. 69, tbl. 3–4.*)

In the provinces of Left-Bank Forest-Steppe Ukraine of that time, the structure of the free peasants on state lands at that time looked somewhat different:

- State peasants were 43.2% in Kharkiv, 13.7% in Chernihiv, and 6.0% in Poltava provinces;
- 12.3% of the military peasants in Kharkiv province;
- State peasants of various denominations 5.4% in Kharkiv, 2.0% in Poltava, 0.02% in Chernihiv provinces;
- Military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families, 1.4% in Poltava, 0.5% in Chernihiv and Kharkiv provinces (*Voyenno-statisticheskoye obozreniye. Poltavskaya guberniya, 1848, pp. 35–36; Ibid. Chernigovskaya guberniya, 1851, tbl. 3; Ibid. Kharkovskaya guberniya, 1850, pp. 69–70.*)

The Treasury Chamber data shows that by 1851, the number of state peasants in Kyiv, Volyn, and Podillia provinces was 12.9%, 13.8%, and 7.6%, respectively. In 1854, 3.6% of military peasants were in Kyiv and 5.2% in Podillia provinces. On July 1851, there were accounted by the Treasury Chamber in Poltava province 8.9% of state peasants (without Cossacks), in Chernihiv province 14.9% (without Cossacks), in Kharkiv province 46.6% of rural dwellers and 14.6% of the military peasants (Köppen, 1857, pp. 14–17, 33–34, 69–70, 106–110, 148–149, 152–153).

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According to the 1858 revision, 25.3% of state peasants in Volyn (mainly at the expense of confiscated lordly and “ordinatsky” peasants), 10.5% in Kyiv, and 6.8% in Podillia provinces. Regarding military peasants, 2.1% were in Kyiv province and 3.4% in Podillia. The share of retired and permanent military personnel ranged from 3% in Podillia to 3.7% in Volyn. In the Forest-Steppe on the other side of the Dnipro, 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 3.0 – 3.3% of military retirees and those on indefinite leave with their families in Poltava and Chernihiv, and 4.0% in Kharkiv provinces.

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 Kyiv province, where by the end of that year, almost all former serfs turned into “peasants of the Department of State Properties”. To this, we can add the transformation of military dwellers of Kyiv, Podillia, and Kharkiv provinces into peasants of the imperial family.

Odnodvortsy. The category included those who had their 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 Podillia, 4.1% of Kyiv, and 3.2% of Volyn provinces, but in quantitative terms, they were 35,656 fewer than according to the special census of 1842 (Köppen, 1857, p. 239). Provincial statistics from 1857 to 1859 show that the share of *odnodvortsy* did not change in Podillia but slightly decreased in Kyiv provinces. However, there is no data for Volyn. In the statistical compilations of the early 1860s, this population category was no longer distinguished, and at the end of the decade, the named social group disappeared, like the problem of “citizens from the former Polish nobility” in the Western provinces (Trojanovskiy, 2017, pp. 214–216).

Malorossian Cossacks. At the end of the 1780s, the specific weight of Cossacks in the Viceroyalties of Kyiv was 37.8% of the population, of Chernihiv – 47.2%, of Kharkiv – 32.2% (former Cossacks of the Slobidskyi regiments, were transformed into “military dwellers who have the privilege for the production and sale of alcohol”) (Skorochenyi

osoblyvyi opys Kyivskoho namisnytstva 1787 r., 1989, p. 283; Shafonskiy, 1851, pp. 187 – 188; Topografichnyi opys Kharkivskoho namisnytstva 1785 r., 1991, p. 70).

In the mid-1840s, there were 359 Cossacks on Right-Bank, and only in the Kyiv district of Kyiv province, while there were 695,055 Cossacks (42.4% of the population) in Poltava and 419,668 (30.1%) in Chernihiv provinces (tbl. 2, 4, 6). The same number of Little Russian Cossacks was established during the 9th Revision of 1851 (Köppen, 1857, pp. 108 – 109, 152). At the end of the 1850s, there were 757,783 (41.7%) Cossacks in Poltava province, and 447,033 (30.4%) in Chernihiv province. We have no more recent statistical data on this group of free rural dwellers.

Summarizing the information, we note that in 1795 state peasants and free villagers made up 7.7% of all residents in Kyiv province, 5.4% in Podillia, and 2.8% in Volyn (fig. III.2.5). In Kyiv and 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 Volyn province during the late 1840s and late 1850s, the share of state peasants and free villagers almost doubled and suddenly decreased by the same amount in the early 1860s. These fluctuations were also an echo of the declassation of the small Polish nobility of Right-Bank, and the decrease in the number of free rural residents, both simple peasants and *odnodvortsy*. In another case, it could be explained by organized migration to less populated provinces, if Volyn province was mentioned as a donor of southern Ukrainian immigrants at least once (Kabuzan, 1976, pp. 269–305).

There were always significantly more free peasants in Left-Bank than in Right-Bank Ukraine. Thus, in the last quarter of the 18th century, Poltava and Chernihiv provinces, together with the Cossacks, it constituted 56.9% of the population, and Slobidska Ukraine 45.7%. In subsequent decades, the specific weight of this category decreased somewhat and fluctuated between 51% – 52% in Poltava and 43% – 45% in Chernihiv provinces. In Kharkiv province, the number of state peasants under various subordinations increased by 20% by the mid-1840s, primarily due to the development of the Ukrainian Military Settlement of the Cavalry with its 200,000 population. The further gradual reduction in the number of this

large social group brought Kharkiv to the level of Poltava province in the initial period of reforms in the second half of the 19th century.

Dependent peasants (serfs, yard people). At the end of the 18th century, the share of serfs in Right-Bank and Left-Bank subregions of Forest-Steppe Ukraine differed significantly, as the specific weight of dependent peasants in Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces almost doubled the percentage of serfs in Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv provinces (fig. III.2.6). In the future, the number of serfs gradually decreased in Right-Bank of Dnipro and Kharkiv province and almost did not change proportionally in Poltava and 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, who during this time increased by only 11,666 people. In 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, and +3,881 state peasants); in Poltava province by 1.1% (-11,272, and +22,262 state peasants); in Chernihiv province by 3.2% (-8,546, and +21,124 state peasants); in Kharkiv province by 1.4% (-8,546, and +20,944 state peasants). As we can see, there is no direct connection between the fluctuations in the number of serfs and state peasants (calculated by the author according to: (Köppen, 1857, pp. 190–193, 199–200)).

Comparing the data of 1846 and 1858 from Right-Bank, we observe that in Volyn province, the share of serfs among the population decreased by 13.9% (-190,978 people of both sexes) while the number of state peasants increased by 195,600, and this already allows us to directly relate quantitative changes in the social groups of the rural Volynians with the confiscation of Polish nobility's peasants and granting them the status of state peasants, and at the same time to evaluate the quantitative side of these confiscations. In 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. III.2.6; tbl. III.2.1 – III.2.3).

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Interesting evolutions in the structure of the peasantry took place on Left-Bank. Thus, in 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 Chernihiv province, the number of serfs decreased by 4.6% (-34,147 people), while the number of free villagers increased (+32,063). In 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. III.2.6; tbl. III.2.2, III.2.4).

It can be concluded that between the mid-1830s and 1840s, the physical reduction of the social group of dependent peasants in Volyn and Podillia prevailed. In other Ukrainian provinces of the Forest-Steppe region, some 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 Right-Bank, passions continued to rage around the Polish nobility in its Volyn cell; numerous confiscations changed the status of thousands of serfs to state peasants. In Kyiv and 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 took place in 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 Chernihiv province. Against this background, the structural changes in Kharkiv province's peasantry look anachronistic, and the mechanism of such a transformation is unclear to the author.

**Table III.2.1. Social categories and groups
of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1845 – 1847). Right-Bank subregion**

Categories and population groups/ provinces	Kyiv		Podillia		Volyn	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Nobles:	65121	3.75	25465	1.70	119187	8.00
- 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
Clergy	12859	0.74	17551	1.17	12324	0.83

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Urban dwellers:	226931	13.05	203951	13.62	215027	14.43
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
merchants	2345	0.13	2473	0.17	105	0.01
burghers, artisans	9370	0.54	2877	0.18	3781	0.25
	210502	12.11	190252	12.27	204259	13.70
Rural dwellers:	1405160	80.82	1246213	83.24	1129471	75.77
Free peasants:	305203	17.55	322627	21.55	242170	16.25
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
Depended peasants	1099957	63.26	923586	61.69	887301	59.53
Foreigners	1702	0.10	2165	0.14	0.00	0.00
Military retirees and their families	26920	1.55	1756	0.12	14592	0.98
Others	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

Sources: (Voyenno-statisticheskoye obozreniye. Kiyevskaya guberniya, 1848, tbl. 2; Ibid. Podolskaya guberniya, 1849, tbl. 5–6; Ibid. Volynskaya guberniya, 1850 a, pp. 69. tbl. 3–4).

**Table III.2.2. Social categories and groups
of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1845 – 1847). Left-Bank subregion**

Categories and population groups/provinces	Poltava		Chernihiv		Kharkiv	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Nobles:	24436	1.49	22599	1.62	13206	0.80
- 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
Clergy	14477	0.88	14448	1.04	10578	0.64
Urban dwellers:	55426	3.38	112606	8.07	36265	2.19
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
Rural dwellers:	1521025	92.77	1235688	88.58	1583734	95.53
Free peasants:	839319	51.19	628466	45.05	1099630	66.33
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

MONOGRAPH

cossacks	695055	42.39	419668	30.08	0	0.00
Jews-peasants	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
military settlers and cantonists	0	0.0	2187	0.16	204007	12.31
Depended peasants	681706	41.58	607222	43.53	484104	29.20
Foreigners	372	0.02	0	0.00	0	0.00
Military retirees and their families	22910	1.40	7958	0.57	8546	0.52
Others	992	0.06	1685	0.12	5544	0.33

Sources: *(Voyenno-statisticheskoye obozreniye. Poltavskaya guberniya, 1848, pp. 35–36; Ibid. Kharkovskaya guberniya, 1850, tbl. 3; Ibid. Chernigovskaya guberniya, 1851, pp. 69–70).*

**Table III.2.3. Social categories and groups
of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1857 – 1859). Right-Bank subregion**

Categories and population groups/provinces	Kyiv – 1859		Podillia – 1857		Volyn – 1858	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Nobles:	56644	2.89	24207	1.38	72141	4.72
- 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
Clergy	18426	0.94	16884	0.96	18086	1.18
Urban dwellers:	300532	15.33	266004	15.16	209415	13.70
honorable citizens	604	0.03	26	0.00	4789	0.31
citizens from the Polish nobility	5236	0.27	40965	2.33	0	0.00
merchants	10317	0.53	15413	0.88	10589	0.69
burghers, artisans	284375	14.51	209600	11.94	194737	12.74
Rural dwellers:	1480706	75.53	1371050	78.12	1167782	76.41
Free peasants:	326869	16.67	312983	17.83	471459	30.85
state	196965	10.05	119174	6.79	345862	25.32
different denominations	23967	1.22	8326	0.48	125615	8.22
odnodvortsy	65240	3.33	127869	7.29	0	0.00
cossacks	360	0.02	0	0.00	0	0.00
Jews-peasants	0	0.00	11702	0.67	0	0.00
military settlers and cantonists	40337	2.06	58839	3.35	0	0.00
Depended peasants	1153837	58.86	1027334	58.53	696323	45.56
Foreigners	2257	0.12	2930	0.17	1809	0.12
Military retirees and their families	68644	3.50	53132	3.03	56700	3.71
Others	33262	1.70	20945	1.19	2380	0.16

Sources: *(Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii za 1856 god, 1858, pp. 52, 100; Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863, pp. 267–275, 292–293; Sbornik statisticheskikh svedeniy o Kiyevskoy gubernii za 1859 god, 1861, pp. 28–33; Pamyatnaya knizhka Podolskoy gubernii na 1859 god, 1859, pp. 111–112).*

CHAPTER III

**Table III.2.4. Social categories and groups
of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1858). Left-Bank subregion**

Categories and population groups/provinces	Poltava		Chernihiv		Kharkiv	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Nobles:	22890	1.26	21992	1.49	15856	1.00
- 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
Clergy	16731	0.92	13816	0.94	11327	0.72
Urban dwellers:	68769	3.78	146254	9.94	49449	3.12
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
Rural dwellers:	1640709	90.19	1233604	83.81	1422803	89.90
Free peasants:	959098	52.72	660529	44.88	911037	57.57
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 settlers and cantonists	0	0.00	0	0.00	192648	12.17
Depended peasants	681611	37.47	573075	38.94	511766	32.34
Foreigners	745	0.04	386	0.03	826	0.05
Military retirees and their families	55002	3.02	49187	3.34	63844	4.03
Others	14264	0.78	6717	0.46	18466	1.17

Sources: (Materialy dlya geografii i statistiki Rossii. Chernigovskaya guberniya, 1865, pp. 17–18; Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863, pp. 267–275, 292–293; Golikhovskiy, 1864, p. 118).

**Table III.2.5. Social categories and groups
of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1863). Right-Bank subregion**

Categories and population groups/provinces	Kyiv		Podillia		Volyn	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Nobles:	29989	1.49	31136	1.67	71179	4.44
- hereditary	19812	0.98	22784	1.22	35951	2.24
- personal	10177	0.51	8352	0.45	35228	2.20
Clergy	20786	1.03	19743	1.06	14817	0.92
Urban dwellers:	356554	17.72	288291	15.43	294392	18.37
honorable citizens	2255	0.11	204	0.01	133	0.01

MONOGRAPH

citizens from the Polish nobility	35026	1.74	10400	0.56	67270	4.20
merchants	25019	1.24	14973	0.80	10437	0.65
burghers, artisans	294254	14.62	262714	14.06	216552	13.51
Rural dwellers:	1505985	74.85	1450309	77.60	1138062	71.01
Free peasants:	306189	15.22	235117	12.58	238854	14.90
state	245741	13.38	157558	8.43	238854	14.90
Cossacks	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
former military settlers and cantonists	60448	3.00	77559	4.15	0	0.00
Former depended peasants	1199796	61.47	1215192	65.02	899208	56.11
Foreigners	3279	0.16	2600	0.14	2794	0.17
Military retirees and their families	72393	3.60	45247	2.42	41388	2.28
Others (military active)	23109	1.15	31534	1.69	40073	2.50

Sources: (Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863, pp. 272–273; Bodiansky, 1865, pp. 30–31; Statisticheskiy vremennik Rossiyskoy imperii, 1866, pp. 40–55).

**Table III.2.6. Social categories and groups
of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1863). Left-Bank subregion**

Categories and population groups/provinces	Poltava		Chernihiv		Kharkiv	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Nobles:	33139	1.73	24904	1.67	17126	1.08
- hereditary	13793	0.72	12124	0.82	9870	0.62
- personal	19346	1.01	12780	0.86	7256	0.46
Clergy	16989	0.89	14415	0.97	12302	0.77
Urban dwellers:	106181	5.56	172398	11.59	76680	4.82
honorable citizens	148	0.01	698	0.05	594	0.04
Citizens from the Polish nobility	10132	0.53	3174	0.21	20355	1.28
merchants	10449	0.55	9227	0.62	6302	0.40
burghers, artisans	85452	4.47	159299	10.71	49429	3.11
Rural dwellers:	1688488	88.34	1226624	82.47	1425927	89.63
Free peasants:	970947	50.80	664944	44.71	978152	61.48
state	119569	6.29	664944	44.71	763889	48.02
cossacks	851378	44.54	0	0.00	0	0.00
former military and cantonists	0	0.00	0	0.00	214236	13.47
Former depended peasants	687798	35.98	561680	37.76	447802	28.15
Foreigners	729	0.04	369	0.02	1053	0.07
Military retirees and their families	53562	2.80	43929	2.95	49092	3.09
Others (military active)	11958	0.63	4783	0.32	9675	0.61

Sources: (Pamyatnaya knizhka Chernigovskoy gubernii, 1862, pp. 26–35; Bodianskiy, 1865, p. 136; Statisticheskiy vremennik Rossiyskoy imperii, 1866, pp. 40–55).

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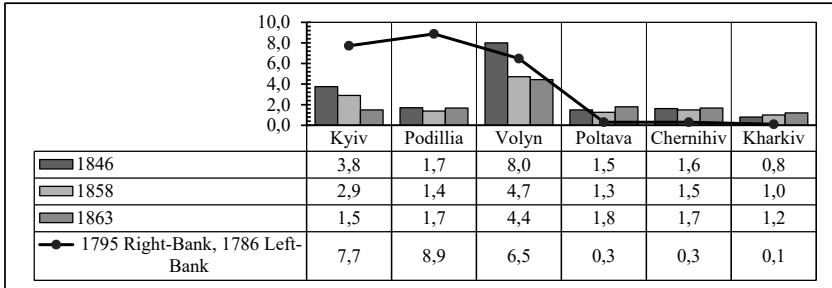


Figure III.2.1. Nobility (%)

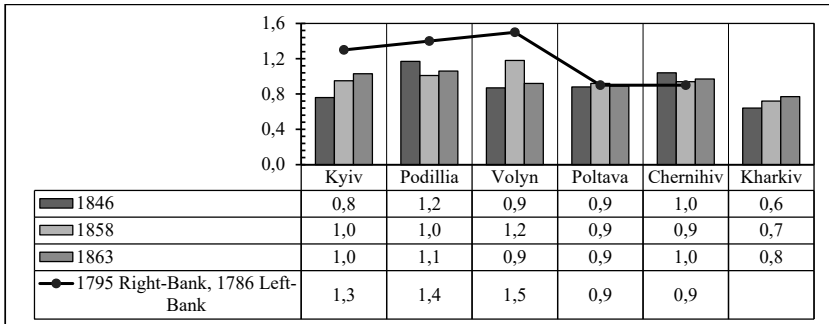


Figure III.2.2. Clergy (%)

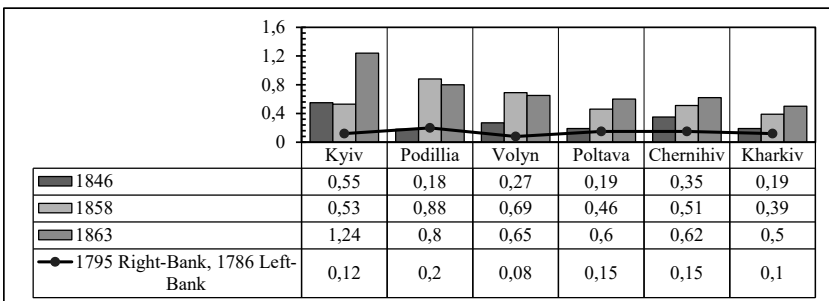


Figure III.2.3. Merchants (%)

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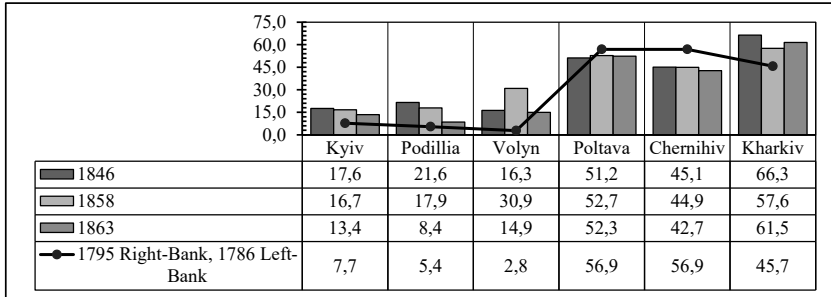


Figure III.2.4. Urban dwellers and urban population (%)

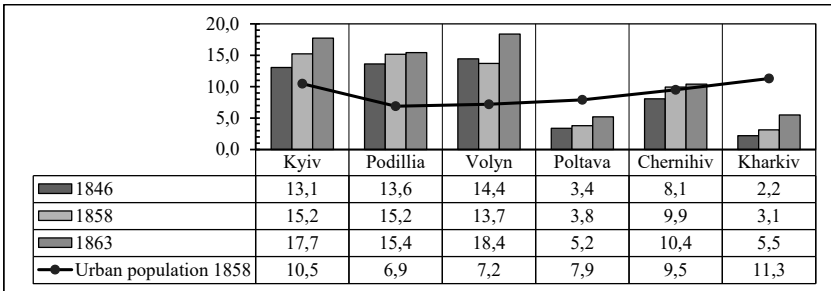


Figure III.2.5. State peasants and other free rural dwellers (%)

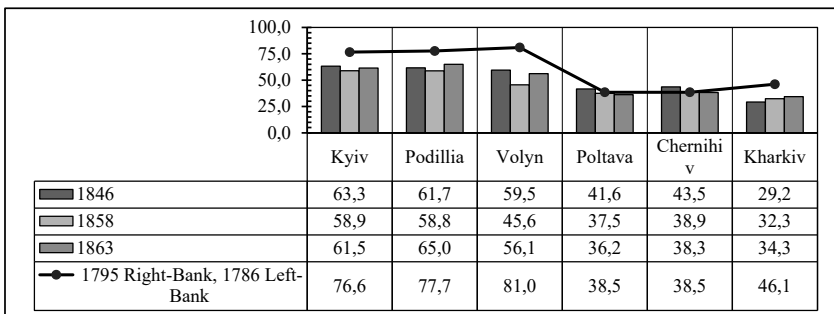


Figure III.2.6. Dependent peasants (%)

3. The social structure of the townspeople

Turning to the question of the social structure of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine townspeople according to the materials of the 10th revision (1858), we will first try to determine the features of such types of settlements as a town, *mistechko*, *posad* relying on the relevant legislative acts of the Russian Empire. It turns out that the Russian legislator never gave a clear definition of “town” as a special type of settlement, bringing to the fore the presence of certain administrative management bodies: “Each province consists of districts and towns. <...> . The towns are provincial, district and unincorporated <...>” (*Obshcheye gubernskoye uchrezhdeniye. Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1857, art. 5, 7*). Elsewhere, the composition of the police department is determined in “unincorporated” towns and *posad* or *mistechko* (*Ibid., art. 2517, 4109*). 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 with the condition of the state officials’ presence (*Svod uchrezhdeniy i ustavov torgovykh. Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1857, art. 361–366*). When the administrative functions of a town were lost, it became unincorporated. *Mistechko* or *posad*, a separate type of settlement, usually acted as minor craft and trade centers for the surrounding villages. It was rather a large village than a small town.

Most often, the owners arbitrarily declared this or that settlement as “*mistechko*”, 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 (*Statisticheskiye tablitsy Rossiyskoy imperii, 1863, pp. 80–84*). At the end of the 1850s, each Right-Bank province had 12 towns (the provincial town was usually the center of the respective district), 142 *mistechkos* in Volyn, 117 in Podillia, and 100 in Kyiv provinces. In addition, there were 5 ancient unincorporated towns in Podillia province. In Poltava and Chernihiv provinces, there were 15 districts towns in each, 2 and 4 unincorporated, 93 and 53 *mistechkos*, and only in Chernihiv province 44 *posads*. In Kharkiv province, there were 11 districts with the corresponding number of town-centers of administration, 6 unincorporated, and not a single *mistechko* or

posad. The author also reminds, that according to the revision of 1858, the specific weight of the urban population was determined by the provinces of 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. III.2.4) (Statisticheskie tablitsyi, 1863, pp. 182–183). One gets the impression that Kharkiv province was the most “urbanized” in Forest-Steppe Ukraine then, but in real statistical terms, the situation looks different.

In the towns of Podillia province (fig. III.3.1; tbl. III.2.2, III.2.3), 82.8% of residents legally belonged to the status of urban dwellers, 8.8% were military, 5.1% were nobles, and 1.6% were peasants. In Kyiv province, among the urban population, 74.6% were urban dwellers, 9.6% military, 5.1% – nobles, and 9.1% – peasants. In Volyn, the ratio of representatives of different social classes among townspeople was somewhat different: 65.1% – urban dwellers, 13.7% – nobles, 7.5% – raznochintsy, 6.8% – military personnel, and 6.2% – peasants. The towns’ social structure of Left-Bank Ukraine looked different: in Chernihiv province – 65.8% urban dwellers, 23.1% peasants, 7.6% military, 2.6% nobles; in Poltava province – 47.7% urban dwellers, 31.4% peasants, 12.7% military, 4.0% nobles; in Kharkiv province – 56.5% peasants, 24.9% urban dwellers, 14.1% military, 4.2% raznochintsy, 5.2% nobles. It is obvious that sociologically, in the place of the most “urbanized” territory in the late 50s – early 60s of the 19th century, Podillia and not Kharkiv province could be claimed formally.

The above observations are supported by the cluster analysis results (fig. III.3.2) according to the data in the table in fig. III.3.1. The features of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine towns’ population social structure coincide with the division of the system into two main subsystems – Right-Bank and Left-Bank. On Right-Bank, the closest neighbors were Kyiv and Podillia provinces, located more distant from Volyn. On Left-Bank, the core of the subsystem was an averaged statistical model of the Russian Empire’s European part towns’ social structure, to which the urban communities of Poltava and Chernihiv provinces gravitated. The Kharkiv variety of the urban population’s social structure was outside the studied system, which indicates its artificial nature. The noted features of the social composition of the town’s inhabitants in both subregions of Forest-Steppe Ukraine were the result of fundamental differences in the structure of the main mass

of the population – rural dwellers, who were more mobile on Left-Bank due to the predominance of state peasants and Cossacks and limited in this possibility lordly peasants, prevailed throughout Right-Bank. In addition, the social role of 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 provinces (Malorossia), while Kharkiv province was outside the zone of Jews settled at all.

4. The Forest-Steppe Ukraine's social topology

A comprehensive statistical representation of the social organization of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe population from the mid-1840s to the beginning of the 1860s is presented in fig. III.4.1. A multidimensional hierarchical cluster analysis was performed on the system elements according to three chronological sections: 1846, 1858, and 1863 (fig. III.4.2). 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 (tbl. III.4.1, III.4.2), 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.

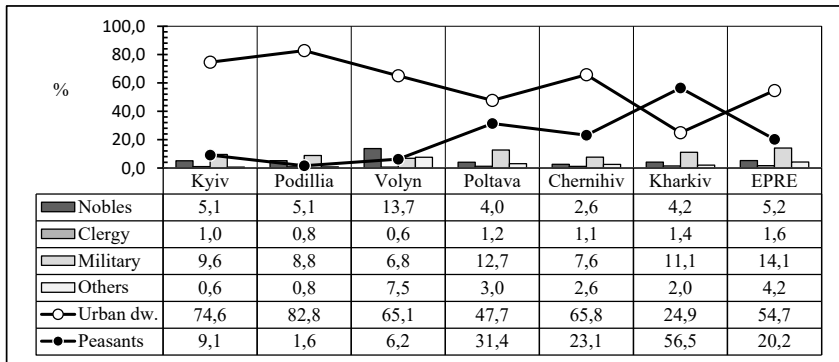
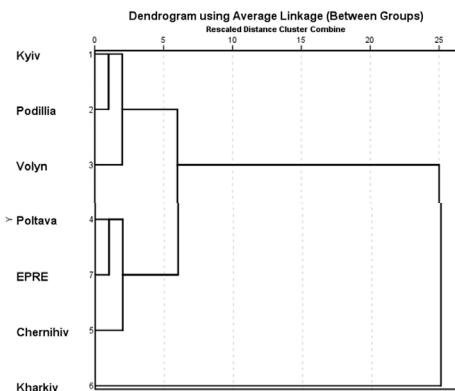


Figure III.3.1. Social structure of the urban population (1856 – 1858)

MONOGRAPH



Proximity matrix

Matrix file input

Province	Kyiv	Podillia	Volyn	Poltava	Chernihiv	Kharkiv	EPRE
Kyiv	0	124	228	1238	288	4722	553
Podillia	124	0	457	2141	762	6374	1176
Volyn	228	457	0	1087	434	4286	442
Poltava	1238	2141	1087	0	425	1153	179
Chernihiv	288	762	434	425	0	2804	183
Kharkiv	4722	6374	4286	1153	2804	0	2221
EPRE	553	1176	442	179	183	2221	0

EPRE – European part of the Russian Empire (1858).

**Figure III.3.2. Classification of provinces
by the social structure of the urban population (1858)**

Right-Bank of Forest-Steppe Ukraine. The social space of the Ukrainian Right-Bank was formed by three blocks of social structures (Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces), each of which consisted of three chronological sections – 1846, 1858, and 1863. The block of 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 and the heredity of the process. The Volyn province’s chronological variants of 1846 and 1863 formed a single space-time cluster within the subregion, and the local features of its components did not go beyond existing subregional standards, as indicated by the relatively small distances between objects (fig. III.4.2; tbl. III.4.1).

A separate cluster was formed by the social structure of Volyn province in 1858, artificially produced by a tough confrontation between the local Polish nobility and the 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 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. III.4.1, III.4.2; tbl. III.4.1). Sharp fluctuations in the social environment of the Volynians 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 Volyn province, which led to the appearance of a significant overall distance between the three Volynian chronological layers (1,056 sq. units). The total distance between all socio-topological objects of 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 distinction with the object “Volyn 1858”, and the total distance of the last in Euclidean space from other Right-Bank objects was 4,184 sq. units (III.4.1). The expert sample of “EPRE 1858”, except the case of the chronological cut “Volyn 1858”, had no analogs on Right-Bank, as evidenced by its total distance from local socio-topological objects of 11,445 sq. units (tbl. III.4.1).

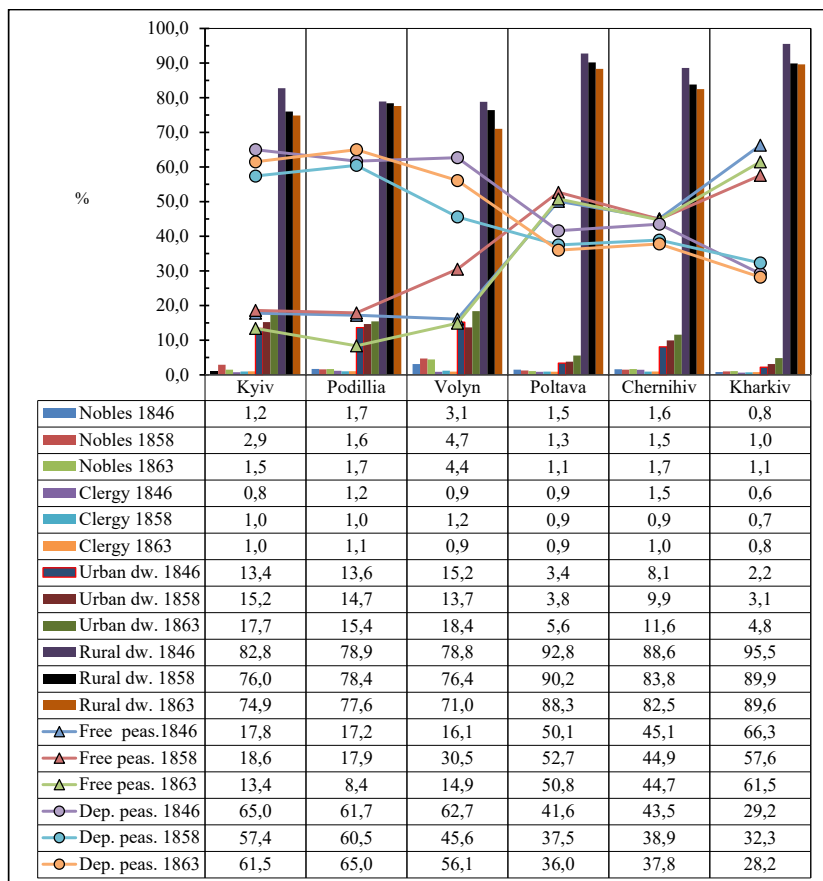
Left-Bank of Forest-Steppe Ukraine. The topological field of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe Left-Bank resident’s social life in the 1840s and early 1860s was reminiscent of Right-Bank in its main features: the same main population categories, three similar provinces, with similar kind of statistics divided for the same chronological slices (1846, 1858, and 1863) in the purpose of social dynamics searching and some others. At the same time, one can see fundamental differences: the opposed ratio of the most massive categories of free and dependent peasants in the population structure of Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine (fig. III.4.1), the more isolation of the cluster blocks on Left-Bank, was reflecting the main local trends of social evolution (fig. III.4.2). Separately, Left-Bank’s blocs-provinces appear to be more homogeneous than Right-Bank’s (tbl. III.4.1). The total distance between the chronological sections of the Poltava cluster was 95, the Chernihiv 136, and the Kharkiv 221 sq. units. The Cossack component of the population and their corporate land ownership played a crucial role

in the internal social stability of Poltava and Chernihiv provinces, which were much more stable than Kyiv or Podillia. However, the local variants of the same type of social structure within the cluster macrogroup were not identical, indicated not only by the greater specific weight of urban dwellers in Chernihiv province but also by the total distance between clusters (1,216 sq. units). In the topological manifestation, the blocks of Poltava and Chernihiv provinces turned out to be individually closer to the “EPRE 1858” model than to each other, while from a formal point of view, they were not distinguished from the chronological sections of “Chernihiv 1858” and “Chernihiv 1863” (fig. III.4.1, III.4.2; tbl. III.4.1). 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 (tbl. III.2.2, III.2.4, III.2.6), 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 did the social structure of Kharkiv province begin to change in the direction of similarity to the Poltava sample (III.4.1). The topological distance between Poltava and Kharkiv blocks was 1,922 sq. units, between Kharkiv and Chernihiv ones 4,658 sq. units (tbl. III.4.1). The general trend for the entire Left-Bank was the gradual approximation of the social structures of Little Russian Chernihiv, Poltava, and Kharkiv provinces to the averaged model of the European part of Russian Empire’s social structure in 1858. The level of topological similarity (dissimilarity) of the social formations, expressed through their distance in Euclidean space within “their” subregions, was approximately the same – 12,655 sq. units on Right-Bank and 16,497 sq. units on Left-Bank (tbl. III.4.1).

In turn, the inter-subregional social topology of blocs-provinces reflects important features of their structure, which, as shown above, consisted of a certain quantitative (nobles, urban dwellers) and proportional (free rural dwellers, and dependent peasants) ratio of the main elements (fig. III.4.1). The objects “Kyiv 1858” and “Volyn 1858” turned out to be the least distant from Left-Bank (7,828 and 8,130 sq. units, while the distance between them was 296 sq. units). The total distance between the socio-spatial organisms of 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

CHAPTER III

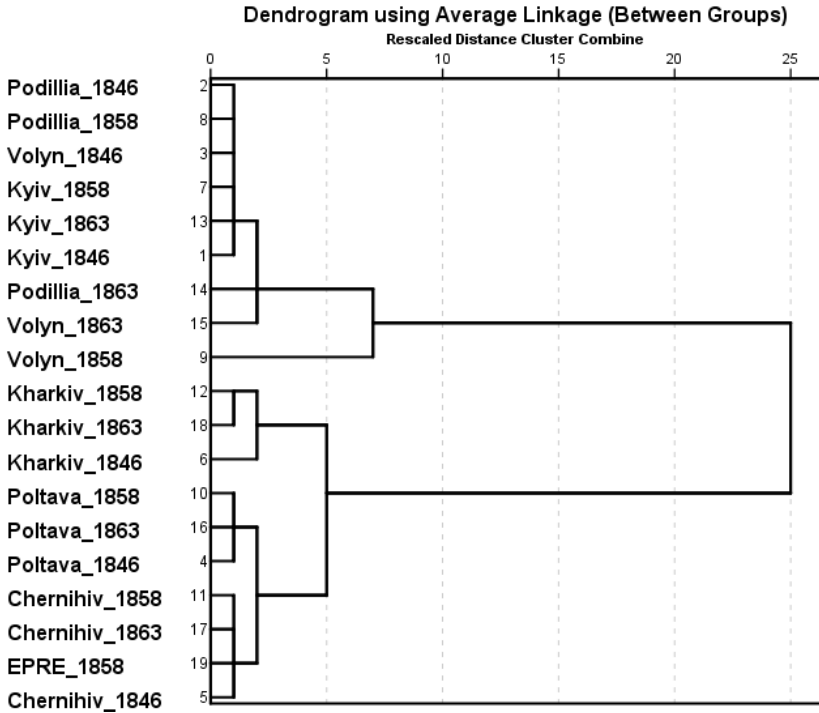
(tbl. III.4.1, III.4.2). The corresponding historical distance had to be overcome on the way to the formation of the newest Ukrainian society and political nation in the next half century, by the time when there would be a real possibility of establishing of the Ukraine statement.



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

**Figure III.4.1. Social structure
of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine population (1846 – 1863)**

MONOGRAPH



EPRE – the European part of the Russian empire.

Figure III.4.2. Classification of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces to the social structure of the population (1846 – 1863) (to fig. III.4.1)

Table III.4.1. Social topology of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces in Euclidean space (to fig. III.4.2)

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

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Kyiv 1863	113	53	0	48	43	50	34	587	55	1569
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	105	417	283
Volyn 1863	260	53	55	129	105	181	118	417	0	1357
Total distance	1301	771	983	800	738	1683	832	4184	1318	11445
	3055			3266			6334			
	12655									

LEFT- BANK UKRAINE

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
Total distance	1388	983	957	1994	1943	2209	3509	1328	2186	1943
	3328			6146			7023			
	16497									

276 – the total distance between the elements of the topological block.

Table III.4.2. Inter-subregional social topology of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine provinces in Euclidean space (to fig. III.4.2)

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
Poltava1846	1863	1735	2352	1855	1800	2753	2012	814	2235	1375
Poltava 1858	2124	1896	2553	2071	2001	3015	2238	844	2369	1056

MONOGRAPH

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
<i>Total distance</i>	20283	7828	23737	19637	18922	28123	21099	8130	21833	11445
	51848			66682			51112			
	169642									

5. The social landscape of Right-Bank Ukraine (1845 – 1847)

The sources' condition enables us to analyze two extreme manifestations of the system in greater depth, namely, Right-Bank 1845 – 1847 and Left-Bank 1861 – 1862, using statistical materials divided by districts.

Statistical data on the results of cluster classification of the social organization of the inhabitants of 36 districts of Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces are given in tbl. III.5.1. Seven district cluster groups were identified, forming two macrogroups (A and B) of a higher level (fig. III.5.1).

Macrogroup A

Cluster group 1 united 7 districts: Zvenihorodskiyi, Cherkaskiyi, Vasytkivskiyi, Taraschanskyi (Kyiv province); Litynskyi, Olhopolskyi, Yampil'skyi (Podillia province). Due to those assigned to the 2nd rank, the largest specific weight of nobles was observed in Vasytkivskiyi (4.8%) and Taraschanskyi (2.8%) districts, with an average group value of 1.9%. The share of the clergy was almost the same everywhere and close to the average group value. The percentage of urban residents in Taraschanskyi district was the lowest (7.5%) and the highest in Litynskyi (12.6%). The proportion of rural residents ranged from 82.1% in Vasytkivskiyi to 87.9% in Taraschanskyi district. State peasants in the districts of the group ranged from 14.6% in Vasytkivskiyi to 20.4% in Zvenyhorodskiyi. Among them, *odnodvortsy* was noted the most in Taraschanskyi (8.9%) and Vasytkivskiyi (4.1%) districts. Military settlers made up 2.1% of the population in Zvenyhorodskiyi district in Kyiv province and 1% of the

population each in Litynskyi, Olhopolskyi, and Yampilskyi districts in Podillia, where they lived scattered in almost all parts of the province (Voyenno-statisticheskoye obozreniye. Podolskaya guberniya, 1849, tbl. 6). Dependent and yardy peasants were more or less evenly distributed by the group, with the average value of the indicator at 68% (tbl. III.5.1; fig. III.5.2).

Cluster group 2. It united 8 districts: Radomyshlskyi (Kyiv province); Vinnytskyi, Bratslavskyi, Mohylivpodilskyi (Podillia province); Dubenskyi, Ostrozhskyi, Zhytomyrskyi, Kremenetskyi (Volyn province). The largest number of nobles, almost exclusively of the 2nd rank, was in Radomyshlskyi district (5.5%), while in others hereditary nobles prevailed (4.1% of the population of Vinnytskyi, 2.1% of Dubenskyi, 1.8% each of Ostrozhskyi and Bratslavskyi districts). The group is notable for its high percentage of urban dwellers, which averages 16.2% (including 18.9% in Kremenetskyi, 18.1% in Zhytomyrskyi, 16.5% in Dubenskyi, and 15.7% in Vinnytskyi districts). Among them, the largest number of citizens from the Polish nobility was noted in Vinnytskyi (0.9%), and Zhytomyrskyi (0.7%) districts, which also recorded the highest share of merchants (1.0% and 0.7%, respectively). Indicator of the rural dwellers slightly fluctuated around the group average of 77.9%, and of peasant serfs from 61.4% – 62.8% in Vinnytskyi and Dubenskyi districts to 70.6% in Kremenetskyi (at the group average of 65.7%). The weight of state peasants varied widely, from 7.4% in Kremenetskyi district to 16.8% in Vinnytskyi. A significant number of state peasants with different names were living in Zhytomyrskyi (7.1%), Bratslavskyi (7.2%), and Vinnytskyi (9.2%) districts, as well as yardies in Radomyshlskyi (1.6%) and Bratslavskyi (1.7%) (tbl. III.5.1; fig. III.5.2).

Cluster group 3. It includes 7 districts: Kanivskyi and Lypovetskyi (Kyiv province); Proskurivskyi (Podillia province); Zaslavskyi, Novohradvolynskyi, and Volodymyrvolynskyi (Volyn province). Skvyrskyi (4.9%) and Lypovetskyi (4.3%) districts had the most nobles, but more were of the second rank. Hereditary nobles predominated in the districts Zaslavskyi, Proskurivskyi, Novohradvolynskyi, and Volodymyrvolynskyi. The percentage of clergy in Skvyrskyi (0.6%) and Kanivskyi (0.5%) districts was lower than the group average of 0.8%. Urban dwellers accounted for 14.7% in Novohradvolynskyi district, 13.1% in Proskurivskyi, and

12.3 – 12.5% in Zaslavskiyi and Novohradvolynskiyi. Kanivskiyi (10.4%) and Lypovetskyi (8.1%) districts had a lower percentage than the group average (11.7%). The specific weight of rural residents in the districts ranged from 82.6% to 85.6% (average 83.8%), and the share of state peasants among them was 8.3% – the lowest in the subregion (3.7% in Kanivskiyi district, 7.2% in Lypovetskyi, in others from 8.9% to 10.0%) with a corresponding increase in the percentage of peasant serfs on average for the group to 75.5% (tbl. III.5.1; fig. III.5.2).

Cluster group 4 consists of two districts: Berdychivskiyi (Kyiv province) and Starokonstantynivskiyi (Volyn province). The weight of nobles in Starokonstantynivskiyi district was 5.5%, with the majority of them being hereditary, while in Berdychivskiyi, almost all of the second rank, weighted 3.6%. The group was unique in that it had the highest percentage of urban dwellers in Right-Bank, with 22.2% in Starokonstantynivskiyi and 29.5% in Berdychivskiyi district, where the largest number of merchants (3.7%) was also recorded. Villagers comprised 67.9% of the group's total population, including state peasants at 12.7% and serf peasants at 54.1% (the lowest percentage in the macrogroup). In Berdychivskiyi district, 8.1% of rural dwellers were yardies (tbl. III.5.1; fig. III.5.2).

Macrogroup B

Cluster group 5 consisted of districts Kovelskyi, Ovrutskiyi (Volyn province), and Letychivskiyi (Podillia province). As for nobles, statistical data exclusively identifies them as hereditary (3.9% in Ovrutskiyi district, 1.5% – 1.9% in the other two). The average percentage of urban dwellers was 12.2%, with minor deviations. Peasants accounted for 82% to 86% of the population. The average group indicator of the specific weight of state peasants was 37.8% (from 33.5% in Kovelskyi district to 42.8% in Letychivskiyi, where 1.6% of the population belonged to the social group of yardies, while in Ovrutskiyi 15% of residents were the “various named” peasants. The number of peasants and farm workers in these three districts was significantly lower than in macrogroup's A districts, with 43.2% in Letychivskiyi, 45.2% in Ovrutskiyi, and 48.8% in Kovelskyi (group average 45.7%) as shown in fig. III.5.2.

Cluster group 6. Umanskyi, Haisynskiyi, Chyhyrnskyi (Kyiv province); Kamianetspodilskiyi, Novoushytskyi, Baltskiyi (Podillia province); Rivnenskyi and Lutskiyi (Volyn province) are the 8 districts that make up

it. Rivnenskyi (2.9%) and Lutskiyi (3.9%) districts were notable for their share of hereditary nobility, despite a relatively low group average of 1.7%. The urban dwellers' weight was the prominent factor in Kamianetspodilskyi (14.4%), Novoushytskyi (14.6%), and Lutskiyi (15.3%) districts. The average number of rural dwellers was 81.5% population, with 26.11% of them belonging to the state peasants (from 21.5% in Baltskiyi district to 29.9% in Chyhyrskyi), and 28.1% of dwellers being military peasants in Umanskyi district. The remaining 55.4% of the population was classified as peasant serfs (with a range of 51% in Baltskiyi to 62% in Haisynskyi districts) (tbl. III.5.1; fig. III.5.2).

Cluster group 7 has sole representation from the Kyiv district. It had the highest share of the nobility in the subregion – 8.5% (2.6% hereditary, 3.8% personal, 2.1% of the second rank), 17.6% of the residents belonged to the city dwellers (including 1.8% of citizens from the former Polish nobility), 66.1% of the population were peasants (28.1% state and 38.0% lordly – similar to group 4). The rate of retired military personnel and those on indefinite leave with their families was also the highest in the subregion (3.7%) (tbl. III.5.1; fig. III.5.2).

Differences were observed in the classification process due to the ratio of free rural dwellers and dependent peasants and the specific weight of urban dwellers in each district of the subregion. The share of free peasants on Right-Bank was always smaller than that of serfs, but not always in the same proportions. In the most basic sense, the ratio for 24 districts of macrogroup A was around 0.2 to 1, whereas it was almost 0.7:1 for 12 districts of macrogroup B (fig. III.5.2).

The planimetric scan of the results of the sociological classification of the districts on the map of the subregion allows us to create an idea of the features of the spatial organization of the social landscape of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine's Right Bank in the middle and second half of the 1840s (fig. III.5.3). Districts of macrogroup A with the maximum specific weight of dependent peasants formed the core of the subregional system, and territories with a leading tendency to establish parity in the ratio of the two main social groups of the peasantry (macrogroup B) formed its periphery. Kyivskyi, Berdychivskyi, and Starokonstantynivskyi districts, located along the conventional dividing line between the north and south of the subregion, were centers of implementation of the trade, financial, craft, and some other functions of the local social organism.

MONOGRAPH

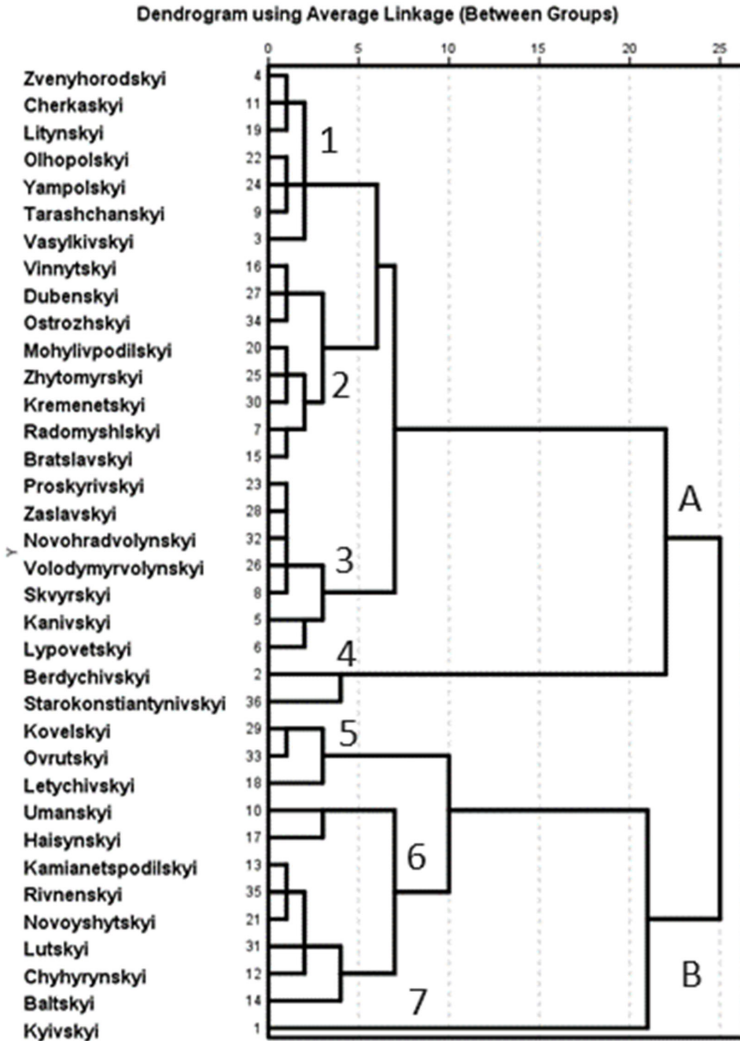


Figure III.5.1. The structure of cluster groups of districts on the Right-Bank subregion according to the characteristics of their social composition (1845 – 1847)

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Table III.5.1. Cluster groups of districts of Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces according to the characteristics of the social composition of their population (1845–1847)

Cluster groups/ districts	%							
	Nobles	Clergy	Urban dwellers	Merchants	Rural dwellers	Free peasants	Depended peasants	Military retirees
Macrogroup A	2.5	0.9	14.1	0.4	81.1	12.6	68.5	1.1
<i>Group 1</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>10.4</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>85.4</i>	<i>17.4</i>	<i>68.0</i>	<i>1.4</i>
Zvenyhorodskyyi	1.3	0.7	9.6	0.2	86.4	20.4	66.0	1.9
Cherkaskyyi	1.0	0.9	10.6	0.3	86.0	20.1	65.9	1.5
Litynskyi	0.9	1.2	12.6	0.1	84.1	18.1	66.0	1.0
Olhopolskyi	0.7	1.1	11.3	0.1	85.2	15.6	69.6	1.5
Yampolskyi	1.9	1.1	9.9	0.1	86.4	17.3	69.1	0.7
Vasylkivskyi	4.8	0.4	11.0	0.4	82.1	14.6	67.5	1.6
Taraschanskyi	2.8	0.6	7.5	0.2	87.9	15.9	72.0	1.3
<i>Group 2</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>16.4</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>78.2</i>	<i>12.2</i>	<i>66.2</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Vynnytskyi	4.1	1.1	15.7	1.1	78.2	16.8	61.4	0.7
Dubenskyi	2.3	1.0	16.5	0.2	77.8	15.0	62.8	1.2
Ostrozhskyi	1.9	1.1	14.0	0.3	80.5	15.6	64.9	1.6
Radomyshlskyi	5.5	0.3	15.4	0.3	77.7	11.2	67.6	1.2
Bratslavskyi	1.9	1.1	14.9	0.3	75.6	10.3	65.3	0.6
Mohylivpodilskyi	0.4	1.3	17.7	0.5	80.3	11.0	69.3	0.3
Zhytomyrskyi	1.4	1.3	18.1	0.7	77.4	10.0	67.4	1.7
Kremenetskyi	1.3	1.0	18.9	0.3	78.0	7.4	70.6	0.8
<i>Group 3</i>	<i>2.7</i>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>11.7</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>83.8</i>	<i>8.3</i>	<i>75.5</i>	<i>0.9</i>
Proskurivskyi	2.3	0.9	13.1	0.1	83.4	9.4	74.0	0.2
Zaslavskyi	3.3	1.0	12.3	0.3	82.4	9.5	72.9	1.0
Novohradvolynskyi	1.4	0.8	14.7	0.3	82.4	9.4	73.0	0.3
Volodymyrvolynskyi	0.8	0.9	12.5	0.1	84.7	8.9	75.8	0.8
Skvyrskyi	4.9	0.6	10.8	0.1	82.6	10.0	72.6	1.1
Kanivskyi	1.7	0.5	10.4	0.2	85.6	3.7	81.9	1.6
Lypovetskyi	4.3	0.9	8.1	0.1	85.4	7.2	78.2	1.2
<i>Group 4</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>25.9</i>	<i>1.5</i>	<i>67.9</i>	<i>12.4</i>	<i>55.5</i>	<i>0.9</i>
Berdychivskyi	3.6	0.5	29.5	2.7	65.6	12.0	53.6	0.8
Starokonstantynivskyi	5.5	0.8	22.2	0.2	70.1	12.7	57.4	1.0
Macrogroup B	2.4	1.2	12.8	0.2	80.8	29.2	51.5	1.4
<i>Group 5</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>12.2</i>	<i>0.1</i>	<i>83.6</i>	<i>37.8</i>	<i>45.7</i>	<i>1.1</i>
Kovelskyi	1.9	1.3	12.8	0.1	82.3	33.5	48.8	1.6
Ovrutskyi	3.9	0.7	11.8	0.1	82.4	37.2	45.2	1.0
Letchivskyi	1.5	0.8	12.0	0.1	86.0	42.8	43.2	0.6
<i>Group 6</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>12.5</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>81.5</i>	<i>26.1</i>	<i>55.4</i>	<i>1.2</i>

MONOGRAPH

Umanskyi	1.2	1.0	7.9	0.2	88.8	32.6	56.2	1.1
Haisynskyi	0.5	1.2	9.6	0.1	88.1	25.6	62.5	0.5
Kamianetspodilskyi	1.2	1.5	14.4	0.3	79.6	24.2	55.4	1.7
Rivnenskyi	2.9	0.9	13.3	0.2	80.7	25.3	55.4	1.6
Novoushytskyi	0.8	1.0	14.6	0.1	81.4	24.2	57.2	1.5
Lutskyi	3.9	1.1	15.3	0.2	77.3	25.7	51.6	1.2
Chyhyrnskyi	1.8	1.1	12.1	0.3	83.5	29.9	53.6	1.5
Baltskyi	1.1	1.8	12.4	0.3	72.9	21.5	51.4	0.8
<i>Group 7</i>	<i>8.4</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>17.6</i>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>66.1</i>	<i>28.1</i>	<i>38.0</i>	<i>3.7</i>
Kyivskyi	8.4	1.4	17.6	0.8	66.1	28.1	38.0	3.7

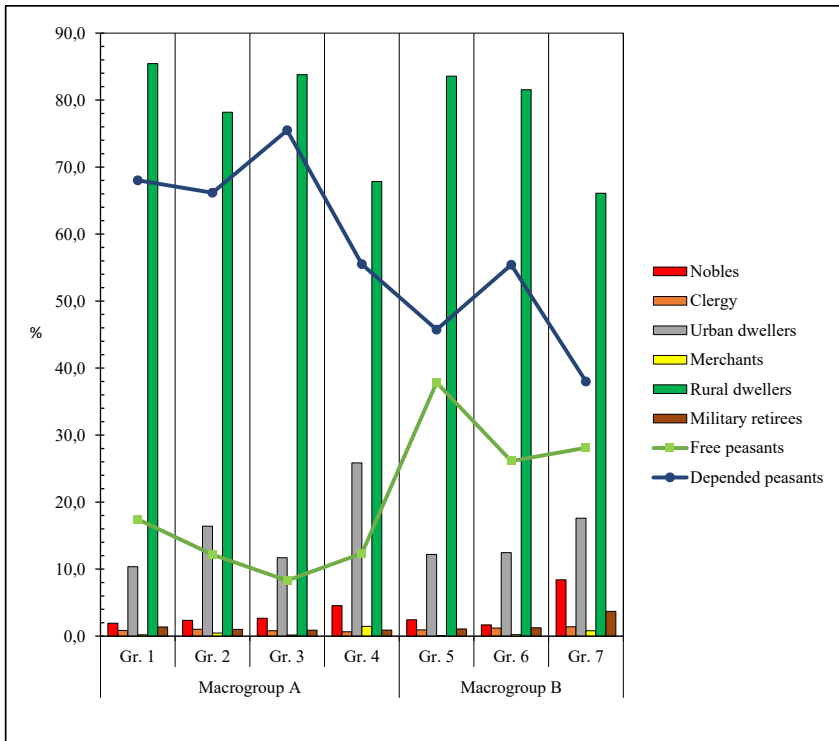


Figure III.5.2. The social composition of cluster groups of districts in the Right-Bank subregion of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1845 – 1847)

4.2% in Poltavskiyi, and 4.0% in Kharkivskiyi districts). The share of the clergy in the population was close to 0.9%, as in most districts of the Forest-Steppe region. This group had an average of 6.7% of urban dwellers per district (from 2.5% in Khorolskiyi to 15.7% in Kremenchukskiyi). According to the average index of rural inhabitants of 85.8%, state peasants made up 52.0% (from 44.7% in Hlukhivskiyi to 56.4% – 56.7% in Lokhvitskiyi and Myrhorodskiyi districts) and temporarily obligated (former serfs) 33.7% (minimum 25.7% – 26.8% in Kremenchukskiyi, Chernihivskiyi, and Kharkivskiyi districts and maximum 42.1% in Sosnytskiyi) (tbl. III.6.1).

Cluster group 9 included 10 agrarian districts of the subregion: Zinkivskiyi, Kobeliaskiyi, Lubenskiyi (Poltava province); Osterskiyi, Borznianskiyi (Chernihiv province); Starobilskiyi, Valkivskiyi, Kupianskiyi, Akhtyrskiyi, Zmiivskiyi (Kharkiv province). The average group-specific weight of nobles was 1.3% (from 0.3% in Starobilsky to 2.2% in Zinkivskiyi districts), urban dwellers 3.4%, while the share of peasants was 90.2% – the highest average group indicator for of the entire Forest-Steppe Ukraine of the early 1860s. The peculiarity of the group was also determined by the ratio of state and former dependent peasants in the proportion of 66.0% to 24% (in the Osterskiyi district, even 76.0% to 14.0%). It should also be noted that the percentage of retired and indefinite leave military personnel with their families was relatively high for the subregion (3.2%), which, in particular, was 4.3% in Osterskiyi district and 4.6% in Zmiivskiyi (tbl. III.6.1).

Macrogroup D

Cluster group 10. It included 10 districts: Konstantynohradskiyi, Prylutskiyi, Pyriatynskiyi (Poltava province); Nizhynskiyi, Horodianskiyi, Surazhskiyi, Mhlynskiyi (Chernihiv province); Lebedynskiyi, Sumskiyi, Vovchanskiyi (Kharkiv province). In terms of the share of the nobility, this group does not differ from the previous one. However, the average indicator for the share of urban dwellers was higher (7.5%). The rural population makes up 88.7%, but the ratio of state peasants (35.9%) and those who left serfdom (52.6%) was fundamentally different, similar to districts of macrogroup B of Right-Bank subregion (tbl. III.6.1; fig. III.5.2, III.6.2).

Macrogroup E

Cluster group II. It consists of two neighboring districts of Chernihiv province – Novozybkivskiyi and Starodubskiyi. The share of the nobility of 0.9%, in general, was characteristic of Left-Bank districts; the indicators of the town dwellers were the highest in the subregion: 22.9% in Novozybkivskiyi and 30.5% in Starodubskiyi districts. Accordingly, fewer peasants were 64.3% in Starodubskiyi and 72.1% in Novozybkivskiyi district. In Starodubskiyi district, state peasants accounted for 19.6% of the population against 44.8% of the former serfs, in Novozybkivskiyi, respectively, as 23.3% to 48.8% (tbl. III.6.1; fig. III.6.2).

Structural analysis shows that the ratio of state-owned and (former) privately owned peasants was the main distinguishing factor in Left-Bank Forest Steppe of the early 1860s and Right-Bank in 1845 – 1847. A mapgram of the social landscape of Left-Bank in the early 1860s (fig. III.6.3) demonstrates that, despite the general background of districts with a predominance of state peasants, districts with a majority of peasants of serf origin were found in single or small groups. The bearers of the fundamental difference between the social structures of Right-Bank and Left-Bank subregions of the Ukrainian Forest Steppe were 24 districts of Right-Bank's macrogroup A, where the average ratio of state and lord peasants was 0.2:1, and 29 districts of macrogroup C on Left-Bank with a ratio of state peasants to former serfs of 1.8:1. The remaining 12 districts of Kyiv, Podillia, Volyn, and 12 districts of Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv provinces show an average ratio of the specific weight of state-owned and privately owned peasants as 0.7:1. Bearing in mind the significant homogeneity of socio-topological blocks-provinces in both subregions (fig. III.4.2; tbl. III.4.1, III.4.2), we consider it possible to extrapolate the main features of the social landscapes on Right-Bank and Left-Bank to more late or early chronological sections of the period of study, taking into account partial deviations from the prototype of 1845 – 1847 the “Volyn 1858” section.

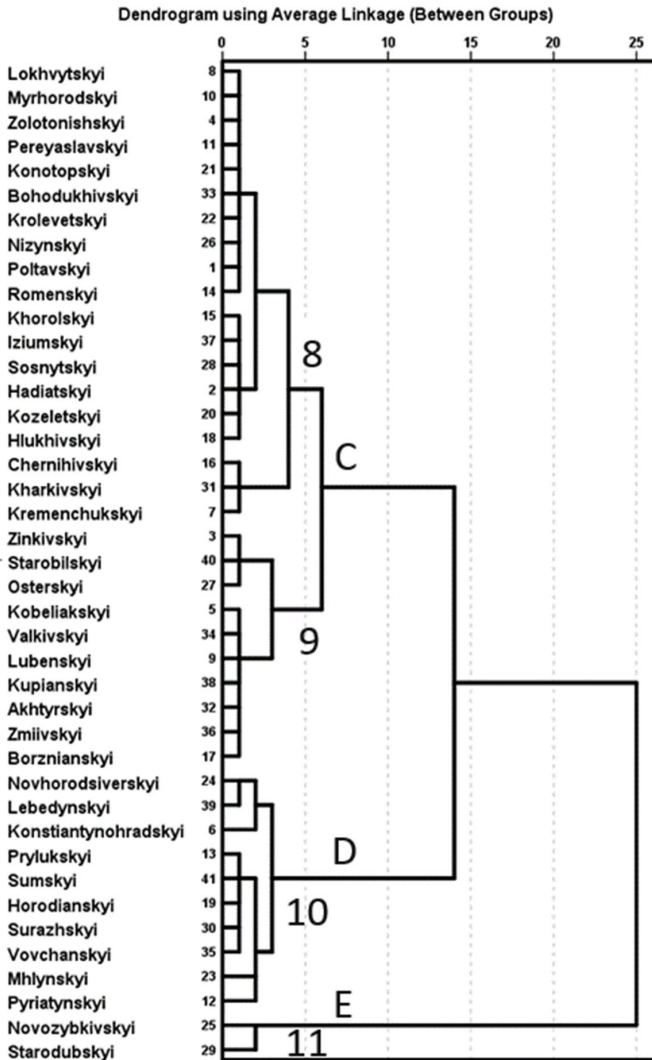


Figure III.6.1. The structure of cluster groups of districts on the Left-Bank subregion according to the characteristics of their social composition (1861 – 1862)

CHAPTER III

Table III.6.1. Cluster groups of districts of Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv provinces according to the characteristics of the social composition of their population (1861 – 1862)

Cluster groups/districts	Nobles	Clergy	Urban dwellers	Merchants	Rural dwellers	Free peasants	Depended peasants	Military retirees
Macrogroup C	1.6	0.9	5.0	0.4	88.0	59.0	29.0	3.0
<i>Group 8</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>6.7</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>85.8</i>	<i>52.0</i>	<i>33.7</i>	<i>2.8</i>
Lokhvytskyi	1.5	0.8	3.8	0.3	90.5	56.4	34.1	2.5
Myrhorodskyi	1.5	0.7	3.6	0.2	91.1	56.7	34.4	2.4
Zolotonoshskyi	1.8	0.8	4.1	0.4	89.5	53.6	35.9	3.3
Pereiaslavskyi	1.9	1.0	6.2	0.7	86.7	53.8	32.8	2.7
Konotopskyi	1.7	0.8	6.4	0.4	85.7	53.5	32.2	3.9
Bohoduksivskyi	0.8	0.9	4.9	0.2	88.2	55.5	32.7	4.9
Krolevetskyi	2.4	0.7	8.8	0.4	85.1	57.0	28.1	3.0
Nizhynskyi	1.0	1.0	10.3	0.6	83.8	53.7	30.1	3.5
Poltavskyi	4.2	1.0	8.1	0.6	82.7	49.8	32.8	1.5
Romenskyi	1.0	0.8	2.7	0.4	81.6	53.4	27.8	1.8
Khorolskyi	1.8	0.6	2.5	0.4	90.3	48.8	41.5	2.0
Iziumskyi	1.2	0.9	4.7	0.6	90.5	48.7	41.7	1.9
Sosnytskyi	2.2	1.0	4.2	0.2	89.3	47.3	42.1	2.9
Hadiatskyi	1.1	1.2	5.9	0.6	88.2	48.9	39.3	2.9
Kozeletskyi	1.7	0.9	5.0	0.2	88.4	50.8	37.6	3.6
Hlukhivskyi	2.2	1.1	9.7	0.7	83.7	44.7	39.1	3.2
Chernihivskyi	2.3	1.1	11.2	0.7	77.9	51.9	25.9	2.2
Kharkivskyi	4.0	1.2	10.1	1.5	79.8	52.9	26.8	2.9
Kremenchukskyi	1.7	1.0	15.7	2.0	76.4	50.7	25.7	1.3
<i>Group 9</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>90.2</i>	<i>66.0</i>	<i>24.2</i>	<i>3.2</i>
Zinkivskyi	2.2	1.0	4.1	0.3	88.2	69.4	18.8	3.5
Starobilskyi	0.3	0.8	5.1	0.4	89.7	71.9	17.8	3.8
Osterskyi	0.8	0.7	4.1	0.3	90.0	76.0	14.0	4.3
Kobeliakskyi	1.3	0.8	3.6	0.6	90.3	67.6	22.7	3.3
Valkivskyi	0.9	0.7	1.4	0.1	91.8	67.1	24.7	2.5
Lubenskyi	1.7	1.3	2.5	0.1	91.4	60.5	30.9	2.9
Kupianskyi	1.4	0.6	2.8	0.2	91.7	62.3	29.5	2.4
Akhtyrskyi	0.8	1.1	4.7	0.3	90.2	60.4	29.9	2.6
Zmiivskyi	1.9	0.7	0.8	0.2	90.3	62.7	27.7	4.6
Borznianskyi	1.3	1.0	4.4	0.2	88.4	62.0	26.4	2.2
Macrogroup D	1.2	0.8	7.2	0.5	88.7	35.9	52.6	2.2
<i>Group 10</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>7.2</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>88.7</i>	<i>35.9</i>	<i>52.6</i>	<i>2.2</i>
Novhorodshcherskyi	1.1	1.0	7.4	0.4	93.0	43.4	49.6	2.5
Lebedynskyi	0.7	0.8	3.9	0.2	92.1	44.4	47.8	2.1

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Konstantynohradskyi	0.8	0.8	1.9	0.3	95.4	39.9	55.6	1.8
Prylutskyi	1.6	0.5	6.4	0.5	88.7	35.7	52.9	2.2
Sumskyi	0.7	0.8	7.9	0.5	87.3	33.5	53.8	2.2
Horodianskyi	2.3	0.9	10.9	0.5	85.2	31.0	54.2	2.3
Surazhskyi	0.6	0.5	11.1	0.6	84.3	29.9	53.6	3.2
Vovchanskyi	0.6	0.6	11.3	0.3	84.6	33.1	51.4	1.4
Mhlynskyi	1.7	1.2	7.8	1.1	85.4	38.3	47.0	2.6
Pyriatynskyi	2.0	1.0	3.7	0.3	90.5	30.2	60.3	1.6
Macrogroup E	0.9	0.8	26.7	1.4	68.2	21.5	46.8	3.3
<i>Group 11</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>26.7</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>68.2</i>	<i>21.5</i>	<i>46.8</i>	<i>3.3</i>
Novozybkivskyi	0.9	0.7	22.9	1.4	72.1	23.3	48.8	3.2
Starodubskyi	0.9	0.9	30.5	1.3	64.3	19.6	44.8	3.3

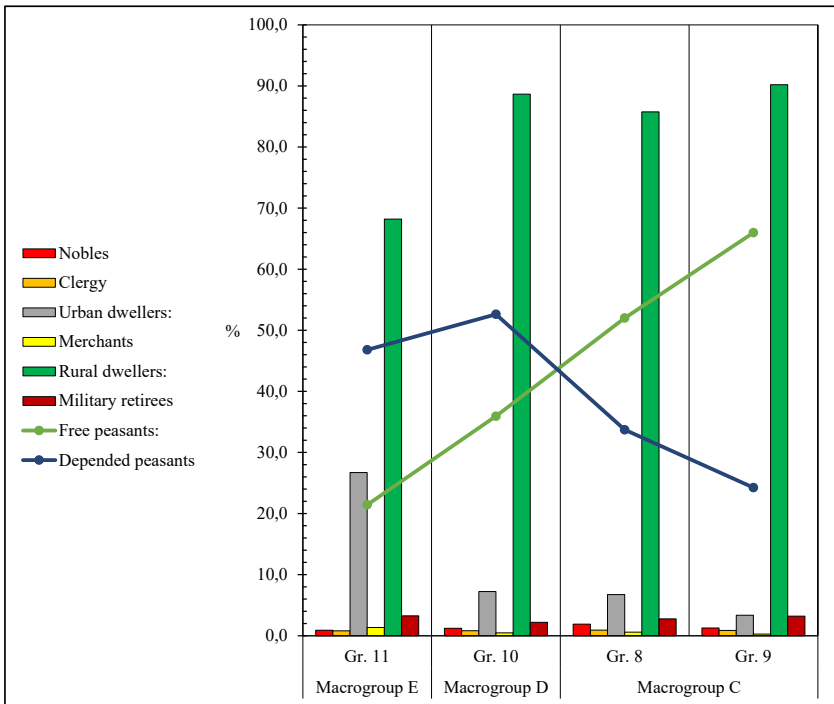


Figure III.6.2. The social composition of cluster groups of districts in the Left-Bank subregion of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (1861 – 1862)

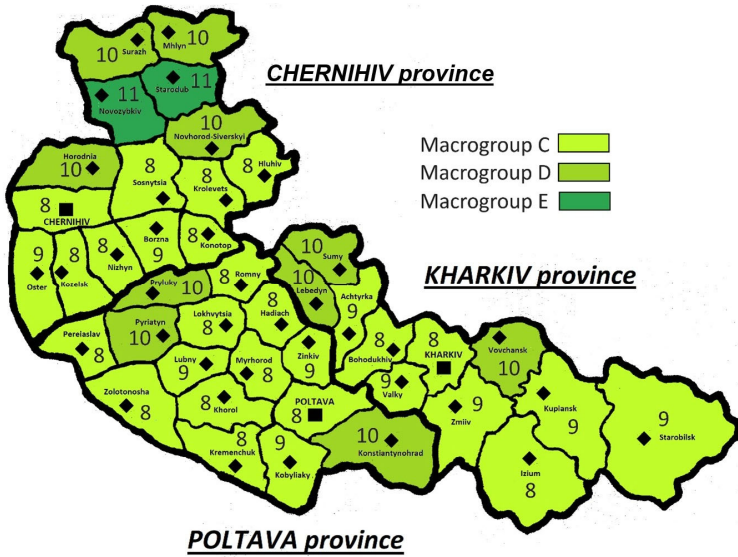


Figure III.6.3. The social landscape of the Left-Bank subregion's provinces (1861 – 1862)