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MANOR ESTATES IN PODILLIA IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

The article analyzes the development of commodity-money relations in the landowners' households of Podillia and characterizes its socio-economic consequences. The result of involvement of manor estates into the system of capitalist relations, the destruction of natural economy took place with the subsequent use of manufactory production and free-hired labor, which led to the intensification of the economic life of the region and the corresponding social changes. The emergence of a deep contradiction in this process became one of the important factors for the abolition of serfdom in Russia. The purpose of this research is to study the development of commodity-money relations in the landlords' estates of Podillia and to characterize its socio-economic consequences. Research methodology. The research is based on the principles of historicism, comprehensiveness, objectivity and consistency. Also, in the presentation of the material we applied general scientific (analysis, synthesis, elements of the statistical method) and special-historical (problem-chronological, historical-typological, historical-system) theoretical methods. Scientific novelty lies in the attempt to comprehensively research the situation of the landlord estates of Podillia in the afore-mentioned period. Conclusions. Commodity-money relations found a further development in the landowners' estates of Podillia in the first half of the XIX century, which was destroying subsistence farming opening the way to the capitalist mode of production. At the same time, this led to the intensification of the economic life of the region with the corresponding social changes.

Key words: *landlords, manor estates, commodity-money relations, Podilsk province, serfdom, peasants.*

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ПОМІЩИЦЬКІ МАЄТКИ ПОДІЛЛЯ В ПЕРІОД СОЦІАЛЬНО-ЕКОНОМІЧНИХ ЗРУШЕНЬ В РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ІМПЕРІЇ У ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ

Мета дослідження – дослідити розвиток товарно-грошових відносин у поміщицьких господарствах Поділля та схарактеризувати його соціально-економічні наслідки. Методологія дослідження. Дослідження спирається на принципи історизму, всебічності, об'єктивності та системності. Також при викладенні матеріалу застосовано загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, елементи статистичного методу) та спеціально-історичні (проблемно-хронологічний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) теоретичні методи. Наукова новизна полягає у спробі комплексного дослідження питань становлення поміщицьких маєтків Поділля в окреслений період і з'ясування наслідків втягнення поміщицьких маєтків у систему капіталістичних відносин. Висновки. У першій половині ХІХ ст. на Поділлі все більше розвивались товарно-грошові відносини, які руйнували натуральне господарство, відкривали шлях до капіталістичного способу виробництва. В результаті втягнення поміщицьких маєтків у систему капіталістичних відносин почало використовуватись мануфактурне виробництво та вільнонаймана праця. За своїм характером тогочасні мануфактурні й фабрично-заводські підприємства були двох типів: капіталістичного і феодално-кріпосницького. Поява та розвиток елементів системи капіталістичних відносин у поміщицьких господарствах привело до активізації економічного життя краю та відповідних соціальних змін. Водночас розвиток поміщицьких господарств в умовах товарно-грошових відносин вимагав постійної інтенсифікації виробництва, яка стримувалась використанням панцизняної праці, що не могла бути продуктивною. Це глибоке протиріччя стало одним із важливих факторів скасування кріпосного права в Росії.

***Ключові слова:** поміщики, поміщицькі маєтки, товарно-грошові відносини, Подільська губернія, кріпосництво, селяни.*

The statement of the problem. The relevance of the researched topic is related to the importance of studying the experience of transformations that took place in the socio-economic life on Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. That is why, the peculiarities of the gradual development of land use and the methods of management in manor estates in Podillia are of particular interest to many modern scholars.

Research analysis. Aspects of social and economic development of Ukraine in the XIX century were touched upon in the writings of many Soviet and Ukrainian historians. Among others, one should mention the large-scale generalization works of I. O. Gurzhii (Gurzhii, 1954; Gurzhii, 1962) and E. D. Stashevsky (Stashevsky, 1968). The problems of the emergence and establishment of capitalist relations in the first half of the XIX century were quite fully covered in the works of V. Teplitsky (Teplitsky, 1954), O. Nesterenko (Nesterenko, 1959), M. Druzhinin (Druzhinin, 1987) and many others. A new period in the study of socio-economic aspects of the history of Ukraine began at the turn of the XX – XXI centuries. At this stage, there appeared a significant number of scientific papers on the socio-economic history of the Right-bank Ukraine. In particular, in their dissertations Borisevich S. (Borisevich, 1992), Broslavskyy V. (Broslavskyy, 2007) and Lobko O. (Lobko, 2008) supply a lot of factual material on the socio-economic life of Ukrainian regions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the issue of socio-economic relations at manor estates at the regional level requires a wider coverage and more thorough research.

The article's purpose is to analyze the formation and development of capitalist relations in the manor estates of Podillya and to find out the socio-economic consequences of this process.

The statement of the basic material. In the first half of the XIX century commodity-money relations, which were destroying the natural economy, opened up the way to the capitalist mode of production.

Adapting to the needs of the market, the manor estates of the Podolsk province increased the production of commodity bread, especially wheat. A considerable amount of bread was exported abroad which served as the raw material for production of beer and alcohol, the surplus of which was also exported abroad (Gurzhi, 1962: 55).

At the beginning of the XIX century the sown area for agricultural crops – wheat, barley, rye, oats, – increased significantly. At that time, the country estates farms ground 139.4 thousand quarters of grain, of which 36% was sold. Subsequently, the export of bread increased. Beyond the province, the wheat was exported to Odessa, Galicia and other places (DAKhO. F. 228. Op. 1. Case. 3125. P. 10). In 1840, only 0.5 million quarters of grain was exported from Podolsk province to the port of Odessa alone (Bazhenov et al., 1990: 18). The export of bread from the Podolsk province was equal to the export of bread from Kyiv and at times exceeded it (Gurzhi, 1962: 55).

Commodity-monetary relations were penetrating into peasant farms, but much slower than country estates. In Podolsk province, there were only 1.23 acres of land per one revised soul. Under the existing conditions of cultivation such an allocation could barely feed the peasant family. According to the data for 1843, from 5 475 239 quarters of bread collected in Podillya, 51.5% belonged to the landlords and 48.5% to the peasants. Thus, a country estate accounted for 585 quarters of bread on average whereas a peasant farm – 2 quarters. It is evident that the majority of the peasant farms did not only have the capacity to sell excess bread but were partially forced to buy it themselves (Bazhenov et al., 1990: 115).

The landlords were also engaged in growing tobacco, but natural conditions did not contribute to its widespread use. In 1844 in Podolsk province only 13 thousand pounds of tobacco were harvested, 4.6 thousand pounds of which were sold. In 1858, the sown area of tobacco amounted to 200 acres. This was still less than in any other province of the South-West region (Gurzhi, 1962: 59).

Animal breeding also acquired great importance in the commodity production. In 1840's, the manor estates alone had over 300 thousand fine-footed sheep (Bazhenov et al., 1990: 117). Already at the end of the XVIII century, the first capitalist cloth manufactory in Khmelnytskyi area was founded in the village of Minkovtsi, Ushytsk District. In 1845 there were already 65 cloth factories, which produced goods worth 315.6 thousand rubles. Almost all of the distillation was concentrated in the system of large farms, 74 distilleries worked in Kamenetsky and Proskuriv counties. They produced 250,400 rubles worth of vodka and alcohol (Nesterenko, 1959: 456–459).

Sugar refineries developed rapidly. In the 1830's and 1840's sugar beet, in the figurative expression of the eyewitness of those events, turned into «galvanic sparks» that took possession of the minds of Podillya landowners (Gurzhi, 1954: 158). Tadeusz Bobrowski, a well-known Polish publicist, wrote in his memoirs that «Podillya became a cradle of sugar cultivation in Ukraine. And people such as Shpakovsky and Narcissus Makovetsky were among the first to experiment with sugar refining in the years of 1835 – 1840» (Bobrowski, 1909: 29). Between 1848 and 1849, 4232 acres or 15.3% of the total sown area of this crop in Russia was sown in beets in Podillya (Gurzhi, 1954: 158). From 1839 to 1849, within the bounds of modern Khmelnytskyi, 13 sugar refineries were founded. As of December 1, 1859, 31 sugar-beet factories operated in Podolsk province (Collection of documents, 1961: 43). The largest and most well-known were count Potocki's sugar mills in the city of Zbuzhye, Vinnitsa region; Charnomsky's sugar mills in the village of Chernomeni, Olgopil district; Dzerzhko's sugar mills in with Vizhnie-Olchedayev of Mogilev district and others. At the cost of gross output, sugar refining quickly outstripped clothing and distillery industries. We should also single out the largest distilleries, such as: Yurevich's distillery in the city of Bershad, Olgopil district; Markevych's distillery in the city of Yagorlik, Balty district

and Yalovytsky's distillery in the village of Ometintsy, Haysin district. In other areas of industrial production, which manor estates were engaged in, stood out the factory of grape wines in the estate of Prince Wittgenstein's heirs in Kamyanka, Yampil district and Makovetsky's paper factory in village of Proskurivtsi, Ushitsk district. It should be noted that in the middle of XIX century there were no state owned plants and factories in the province (Demyanenko, 1865: 37).

Other branches included brewing, leather processing, candle-making, bricks production. There were metal processing plants in Slavuta, Kropivna, Proskuriv. Growing demand for bags, due to the development of grain trade, was an impetus for the distribution among peasants of the production of domestic fabrics of linen yarn with woolen fabric. For a long time, animal skin treatment and making leather with fur and tailoring various clothes did not go beyond the home craft. Only in the 1830's and 1840's, villagers began to produce leather for sale in the villages of Letychiv, Proskuriv and Ushitsy districts. The manufacture of clothing (warm jackets, shoes) began spreading beyond the limits of craftsmanship. The woodworking industry also became widespread (History of Cities, 1971: 18).

As for the character of the then manufactories, factories and plants, they were of the two types: capitalist and feudal. To the first belonged the enterprises owned by the merchants, the burghers and the peasants, and to the second, with some exceptions, the landlords, the patrimonial-consensual and state-owned enterprises. The above types of industrial enterprises had significant differences. If the enterprises of the first type used civilian labor, then at the enterprises of the second-serf labor, forced. Capitalist enterprises was working on a broad market, and feudal were mostly for satisfying the needs of the treasury and estate. At the same time, the presence of a number of landlord enterprises, which were partially or fully based on civilian work, was already characteristic (Gurzhi, 1962: 23).

According to the then classification, industrial production was divided primarily from sources and types of raw materials, namely, those that processed raw materials of animal and vegetable origin, fossil and mixed production. As of 1863 the enterprises of the first group were: fat stoke – 13, candlestick – 66, soap-making – 13, leather – 41, cloth – 63; the second: potash – 2, sugar – 32, butter – 1, distillery – 180, tobacco – 9, vodka – 2, honey cooking – 1, paper – 1, brewing – 22; the third: tiles and pottery – 22, brick – 57, glass – 2, oil – 1, copper – 5, cast iron – 1. On the basis of raw materials of mixed origin there were 7 carriage, 1 technical and agricultural, 16 joinery manufactures (Demyanenko, 1865: 34–35).

The data shown in the following table testifies to the growth of the number of industrial enterprises in the South-West region in the first half of the XIX century:

Dynamics of growth of industrial enterprises of the Right-bank Ukraine in the first half of the XIX century. (Gurzii, 1962: 25):

Province	Years			
	1825	1832	1854	1860
Kyiv	107	79	223	236
Volyn	185	219	293	323
Podillya	53	43	210	246

Socio-economic shifts, which took place in the economy in the first half of the XIX century, led to an increase in the number of fairs. The arrangement of new fairs was preceded by a petition to the royal government of local authorities and individual landowners. Trying to open new fairs in their villages, the landlords had the goal to collect money for trading places,

as well as make the market accessible to peasant households, which would make it easier for landlords to collect cash from the peasants. The tsarist government was willing to meet with the petition of local authorities and landlords and in large numbers allowed to open fairs in cities, state-owned and landowner villages. True, sometimes the request for the opening of fairs was undergoing a lengthy process of granting permission and it took many years. For example, the petition for the opening of four fairs in Zhytomyr was being «decided» from 1850 to 1864, in Vynnytsia, the opening of the same number of fairs lasted from 1839 to 1857, however, despite the bureaucratic obstacles, in 1858 there were already 56 fairs in Podillia (Gurzhi, 1962: 85).

The trade turnover at those fairs was steadily increasing every year. For example, in 1842, products were imported in the amount of 1 624 361 rubles, sold in the amount of 826 754 rubles, and in 1860 3 578 754 and 1 494 902 rubles respectively (Collection of documents, 1961: 45). Along with this, there was an increase in the city's permanent trade, and with it and an increase in the number of trading institutions. In the province of Kyiv in 1825 there were 512 such institutions, in 1861 their number increased to 2,871, in Volyn from 227 to 2,588 in Podolsk from 322 to 1,983 respectively (Gurzhi, 1962: 150).

Socio-economic transformations that took place in the first half of the XIX century also influenced the growth of the urban population. In 1825 there were 24 369 inhabitants in Kyiv, 13 403 in Zhytomyr, 6,849 in Kamyanets-Podilsky and 6,189 in 1861 – 70 590, 40 564, 22 771 respectively. In general, the urban population of the Podilsk province in the first half and mid XIX century looked as follows: in 1811 – 42.6 thousand; in 1825 – 55.5 thousand; in 1840 – 82.6 thousand; in 1858 – 120.8 thousand people (Teplitskiy, 1954: 189).

The situation of workers at enterprises of landowners' property was largely dependent on their serfdom status. For example, the serf-workers, who worked in the carriage shop of the landowner Andrievych (village PISOCHNE, Kamianets district), in mid-1861 wrote to the governor of Podilsk that for thirteen years they had been working in the workshop of their landowner, but did not receive any rewards. «Because of this, – they said, – we have no means to feed our families. Not only that the landowner does not pay our salaries, but also does not give us any land for sowing, and our wives work as serfs on the level with other peasants» (History of cities, 1971: 19).

In addition, the involvement of landlords in commodity-money relations in the period of the crisis of the feudal system required the growth of sown areas by reducing the land plots of feudal peasants. The field plots were mostly taken away from the peasants. The small holdings were largely ignored by landlords. According to A.Z. Baraboy's calculations, in 1122 estates of the Podilsk province, out of the total number of 2054, the landowners took away from the peasants 2378,8 acres, that is, 3.3% of the peasant household land use for the period 1848 – 1862. The taken land was leased in some estates to free peasants, sugar refiners and Jews-tenants, and in others for building sugar and brick factories, and turned into landlord's land or garden. Field land was not taken away from the peasants only in 119 estates (10.6%). In 990 estates (88.2%), the landlords seized a part of the peasant field land; in 13 estates (1.2%) – the whole land (A.Z.Baraboy, 1958: 85–86).

However, the degree of decay of feudal way of managing in most estates, if we proceed from the fact that the seizure of peasant lands (as the first sign of the expansion of feudalism), did not yet reach catastrophic nature in the middle of the XIX century; most of the landlords' households at that time could still manage on feudal principles, parasitizing on peasant free labor and on a primitive basis. In total, in 1003 estates for the period from 1848 to 1862,

the landlords seized at least 99 995 acres of peasant field land with 521 189 acres, which were in use by the peasants in 1847, that is, the so-called. «Secular» rural peasant land was reduced by 19.2%. It should be emphasized that the landlords were taken from the peasants, as a rule, the best land – the most fertile, most conveniently located, closer to the water, etc., as well as hayfields. From 1848 to 1860, in 867 estates from 1,122 (77.3%), the landowners replaced the peasant field land in part, and in some places totally by the worse fertile land (Baraboy, 1958: 89).

This is clearly evidenced by the correspondence of the Governor-General with the Podilsk governor. In one of the letters, the governor-general wrote: «I know well that in some counties in the estates of landlords there is a separation of land in the following types: a) in some estates, the landmarks are renewed, both between the peasants' plots and between the land of households and the peasants, which eventually the landlords do not have the right to do without permission, or at least without the knowledge of the provincial authorities; b) in other estates, the land is replaced either totally or in part by the landlord, which is also not permitted without permission, and finally; c) in the estates in which the peasants' plots were in fact larger than shown in the real inventory, the peasants were given plots of such quantities as are shown in the inventories, which contradicts the inventory rules, since it is known that in many inventories the value of the plots is not shown accurately; ... the peasants' land in its entirety should occupy such a space that was in use by the peasants for 6 years before the introduction of inventories, except for those estates in which the secular land was increased in the introduction of inventories; in the latter case, the quantity of their land must be in such a volume as determined by the inventory» (DAKhO. F. 228, Op. 1. Case. 3130. P. 2). In his letters, the governor-general pointed out that there was no admission to the free demarcation of the peasant lands and the need to suspend the delineation of the estates in which it was carried out. At the same time, he emphasized that «on the basis of paragraphs 1 and 6 of inventory rules ... all the land that was in use by the peasants for 6 years before the introduction of inventory rules and shown in inventories as belonging to peasants, must be untouched. And only a small part of it can be replaced by economical, with the consent of the peasants and authorities' knowledge». Describing the reaction of the peasants to the commission of the lawlessness of the landlords, the governor-general noted: «... Changes that are carried out arbitrarily without the consent of the peasants, confusing them, there are dissatisfaction and complaints about the reduction or allocation of the worst quality land plots... There was even a case when arbitrary changes in peasant lands almost did not lead to serious unrest in the estate» (DAKhO. 228. Op. 1. Case. 3130. P. 6).

However, despite the directives and orders of senior officials of the South-Western region, the lawlessness of the landowners in one way or another continued. At the end of the 1850's more than 40% of Podillya landlords could not successfully manage on feudal grounds. 12% of the landlords, in every way intensifying the exploitation of the peasants by breaking their yards, with the favorable condition that the number of audit peasants grew, barely increased their profits by 1–5%. In other words, more than half of the landowners were objectively more interested in the capitalist development of agriculture than in preserving serfdom. There was a two-way process. The landlord's land tenure increased as well as the number of livestock, which allowed the development of manor estates on a capitalist basis. In parallel, there was a stratification of a larger number of farmers, that is, they were transformed into landless agricultural workers, which also contributed to the development of capitalism in agriculture.

The landlessness of the peasants and the intensification of their exploitation was an integral part of the process of initial accumulation of capital, which was delayed in Russia for at least two centuries. Many landlords in Podillya, plowing and intensifying the exploitation of the peasants, accumulated the wealth that was necessary for the organization of capitalist agricultural economies. However, a considerable number of landowners were getting not rich, but poorer: the landlords laid and re-mortgaged their estates, fell into dependence on trade and usurious capital (Baraboy, 1958: 104, 106).

According to the statistics provided by Podilsk governor, as of 1856 – the number of mortgaged estates reached 814; the amount of debt on estates was 17 922 034 rubles (Collection of documents, 1961: 48). Debts did not always lead to inability to manage. In part, the landlords laid the estates to receive money for further commercial and industrial operations. And an increase in the number of factories and factories confirms this fact.

The conclusions. Consequently, with the development of commodity-money relations in the manor estates in Podillya, the destruction of the natural economy took place and the production of work and civilian labor began to be used, which led to the revitalization of the economic life of the region and the corresponding social changes. At the same time, the development of manor estates in the conditions of commodity-money relations required a constant intensification of production, which was restrained by the use of serf labor, which could not be productive. This profound contradiction became one of the important factors in the abolition of serfdom in Russia.

For a more comprehensive coverage of this problem in the future, it would be advisable to analyze the invariant features of the serfdom based landlord households in more detail and to wider describe the manor estates of the Podilsk province.

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