

# УРБАНІЗАЦІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ В УКРАЇНІ

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## **South Ukrainian City: changes during the modernization (1870-1900<sup>th</sup>)**

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The article is devoted to the general trends of changes in the population structure of the cities of southern Ukraine during 1870-1897 due to the censuses of the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Using the materials demographic censuses author shows the evolution of occupational and ethnic structure of cities' inhabitants in the last quarter of XIX century. The establishing of new branches of economy (such as finances, service industry) is shown. Author examines the correlation between traditional and industrial patterns of occupation due to the general process of formation of industrial society. Mykolaiv figures are compared to Katerynoslav ones, as far as Katerynoslav was one of the leaders of modernization in Ukraine.

**Keywords:** demographic census, patterns of occupation, Kyiv, industrial branches of economy, modernization, city, urbanization, demographic structure.

## **Південноукраїнське місто: зміни у процесі модернізації (1870–1900 рр.)**

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Стаття присвячена загальним тенденціям змін у структурі населення міст півдня України в період 1870–1897 рр. на основі переписів населення останньої чверті XIX століття. Автор показує еволюцію професійного й етнічного складу жителів міст в останній чверті XIX століття. Становлення нових галу-

зей економіки (таких як фінанси, сфера послуг) проілюстровано статистичними даними. Автор досліджує взаємозв'язок між традиційними і промисловими сферами зайнятості на тлі загального процесу формування індустріального суспільства. Для аналізу обрано статистичні дані переписів Миколаєва та Катеринослава.

**Ключові слова:** демографічний перепис населення, закономірності окупації, Київ, промислові галузі економіки, модернізація, місто, урбанізація, демографічна структура.

The second half of 19th – the beginning of 20th centuries is a special period in the history of south region of Ukraine. In this time, it became an absolute economic and modernization leader of the entire Dnieper Ukraine. On the other hand, southern cities have shown all ambiguousness of modernization and industrialization, their high social price and all the challenges they had created.

Modernization had extensive character. Economic growth of the cities and the region in general (except Bessarabia) grounded on the usage of natural resources, advantages of infrastructure (ports and railways) and work of migrants from the villages of the neighborhood. Qualitative transformations of traditional industries in the cities were very rare. The dominant influence on the development of the cities of Katerynoslavska province had geographical position and deposits of mineral resources, of Kherson province – ports, railways and market for agricultural machinery. Bessarabia was left out of modernization at all.

#### *Infrastructure*

Southern Ukraine was connected to Europe by numerous commercial and personal contacts thanks to the Black Sea ports. Many southern cities had their own window to the world and it was an additional factor and impetus of modernization. Ports also defined economic specialization of the cities. Black

sea and Azov sea ports were the leaders of urbanization. They had additional possibilities for development in decisive spheres such as accumulation of capital through foreign trade, promotion of such branches of municipal industry as processing of agricultural products, agricultural machinery and construction industry, development of the financial sector, transport, shipbuilding, engineering, and market infrastructure. However, only ports were not sufficient. Effective development could provide only modern communication, primarily railways.

Oleksandrivsk gives us the example of how the railway could change the pattern of city development. Line from Oleksandrivsk to Losova and to Katerynoslav (1873) was the first. The goods were brought to the station, then transferred to barges and sent down the Dnieper to the sea ports. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was laid a rail track, which connected Kryvorizkij iron-ore basin and Donetsk coal basin. In addition, the port was reconstructed and Dnieper creek was widened. Improving transport conditions lead to intensive economic growth.

Local elites applied to the central authorities with the projects of laying the railways. For example, rich landlords of Kherson guberniya and city elites initiated the building of the railway through the Mykolaiv. Under the terms of Paris treaty 1856 Russian empire was forbid-

den to keep the marine forces on the Black sea. So, Mykolaiv could face the decline and depression. Demilitarization of the industries in 1850-1860s was in deep crisis. But starting from the 1862 the commercial harbor started functioning. The water-way was deepened, the system of warehouses, terminals and elevator was built. The city got new economic perspectives. The idea of building the railway through the Mykolaiv was supported by military governor fon Glasenap. In 1868 deputation from the city visited St. Petersburg. The mission was successful and in 1873 the track Znamjanka-Mykolaiv started working. With time, local entrepreneurs financed its prolonging to the port. 1907 the railway to Kherson and in 1914 – to Odessa was opened. Mykolaiv became the third port in empire by cargo carriage volume [1, p. 58–60].

The example of Bakhmut is interesting too. The city got the railway grateful to the active position of local entrepreneurs as well. The owners of salterns Greeks I. Skaramanga and V. Angelidi promoted the affair. For the first time, they applied to the government in 1869. But it took 10 years to persuade it that the railway is important to the city. The station was opened in 1878 [2, p. 97].

Export trade of Kherson experiences fall because of the several reasons. The railway started working only in 1907 and it did not linked station and the harbour. In addition, there was no water-way for big ships. The water-way was deepened only in 1901 (the canal was built). The amount of cargoes doubled, but Kherson still could not compete with Mykolaiv or Odessa [3].

#### *Migrations*

Railways made southern cities more reachable for those peasants, who wanted (or were made to do so by circumstances) to change their life and start living in a city. 1897 census fixed that 63,6 % of the total population of Kherson guberniya were migrants [4]. The population of Yelysavtograd tripled during 1861-1913 first because of migrations.

Migration to the cities of Katerynoslav guberniya was one of the biggest at that time in Ukraine, ensuring a steady flow of labor and increasing the capacity of the consumer market. For the 1897–1914 the city population doubled. This meant the increasing urbanization from 11.4 % to 15.68 %. Katerynoslav population increased in 11.2 times for 1861–1897.

*Table 1*

*Growth of Katerynoslav, 1865–1897 [5, p. 154–169; 6, Vol. 13, p. 39–43]*

	1865		1897	
<b>Born in Katerynoslav</b>	10 662	46,6 %	35 430	31,4 %
<b>Born in Katerynoslav guberniya</b>	6 077	26,6 %	16 279	14,4 %
<b>Born in other guberniyas</b>	5 964	26,1 %	60 236	53,3 %
<b>Foreigners</b>	143	0,6 %	901	0,8 %
<b>Total</b>	22 846	100 %	11 2846	100 %

South region was the leader in urbanization. 17,76 % lived in cities there. At the same time the average level of urbanization in Ukraine under Russian empire was only 12,42 %. Urbanization for Kherson guberniya was even 28,65 % because of Odessa – the biggest city of Ukraine on that time. In the south, there were 3 of the 5 largest cities of the Dnieper Ukraine – Odessa (380.5 thousand), Katerynoslav (112.8 thousand), Mykolaiv (92.0). The other two were Kyiv (247.7 thousand) and Kharkiv (174.0 thousand) [6].

Migrations influenced and determined the social structure of the city population. At the end of the nineteenth century the leading social group were petty bourgeoisie, peasants were the second. But their migrations became significant for Odessa from 1870s and from 1890s for other cities. For example, according to the 1897 census of urban population of Katerynoslav guberniya (the most attractive region for migrants) consisted of peasants (40.88 %) nobles and bureaucrats (5,57 %), merchants 2.03 %, 50.57% petty bourgeoisie [6, Vol.13, p. 59–112].

Peasants (usually for a season, not forever) and qualified workers from industrial regions of Russia were those who moved to the southern cities. Both groups seek for higher wages and cheaper life. The percentage of peasants was 26.45%. Most of them (60%) were from adjacent villages. Psychologically South peasantry was more progressive than in other regions of Ukraine. The agricultural sector there was more involved in trade relations. The colonists, immigrants, state peasants, Cossacks were individualists, were willing to take risks, take the initiative. Hence, their

value as a resource upgrading growing cities in the south.

#### *Ethnic composition of the city*

Migrations deepened traditional ethnical division of south cities. We can even talk about economic specialization of different ethnic minorities. For example, Jews and Greeks specialized on trade and export operations. Jews also dealt with real estate, financial operations and corn market.

There were fewer Greeks than Jews. For example, in Mariupol in 1897 they accounted for 5.11 % of the population, and it was the largest Crimean community (Azov) Greeks. The Greeks were engaged in crafts, small artisanal owned enterprises on processing agricultural products, fish factories, preferring forms of family businesses. The Greek community were more conservative and hard to "fit into" the industrial upgrading, so despite the experience, capital and connections lost leadership positions in business and economic development.

Visiting foreigners – Germans, Belgians, French – were engaged in brokering, export operations, led diplomatic and trade missions, formed the vast majority of management and engineering staff of large (engineering, shipbuilding) and owners of technically innovative medium and small (from factories agricultural machinery for photo studios) companies.

Germans are traditionally the most distinguished economic activity. For example, in Katerynoslav province percentage of the economically active population among them was 49.1 % among Ukrainian – 45.1 %, Russians – 48 %, Jews – 36.1 %.

Sothern cities were the leaders in the process of establishing and shaping of

the industrial society (as is proved the employment pattern). But social contradictions manifested here more than in other cities of Dnieper Ukraine (primarily conflicts between employers and workers). The social cost of modernization was often detected too high because of the gap between expected and actual benefits of it.

Odesa and Katerynoslav were the leaders of the region. Their growth and economic development accentuated the stagnation of those cities, which were the outsiders of the modernization (Akerman, Izmajil, partly Kherson). Odesa was the financial and transport center, Katerynoslav was the industrial one. Migration to the Katerynoslav and Odesa was the biggest in Ukraine and provided job market and the growth of consumer market. The urban saturation of the southern Ukraine was the highest in Ukraine – 17.76 % against 12.42 % (urban saturation in all Dnieper Ukraine).

#### *Occupation Structure*

The transformation of employment structure during the second half of the nineteenth century reflects the process of industrial economy establishing, the formation of entirely new industries for cities in Ukraine - service sector, financial sector, heavy industry, modern transport and so on. Sources do not allow to track these processes for all southern cities. However, it is still possible for some of them, i.e. Mykolaiv and Katerynoslav. We will compare the materials of urban one-day censused of 1860-70-ies with the results of the first general census in 1897. This allows to determine trends in the structure of urban economies [5, 7].

The first trend is the increasing the number of economically active people in urban areas. That was the result of several parallel processes – natural population

growth, increased migrations (see chapter above) and the involvement of women and adolescents.

New industries had established and started to grow and even to dominate in economic structure of Katerynoslav and Mykolaiv. For example, it was the financial sector, services, modern transportation (railroads) and industrial production.

By the 1897 the financial sector rose by 0.2 % in Mykolaiv from almost absolute zero – in 1875 only a few individuals could be considered as financiers. 0.6 % of Katerynoslav population were occupied in financial sphere both in 1865 and in 1897, but the absolute numbers definitely increased (from 36 to 411).

The part of the service sector showed a record growth during the 1870-1890<sup>th</sup>. In fact, modern for Empire area formed. Moreover, it directly affected the level and quality of life of townspeople, was changing their everyday life and creating new opportunities for market consumption. Photographies, cafes, theaters, shops and private medical offices revealed to the needs of new social groups (bourgeoisie, senior officers and their wives, etc.). Migrants at the other extreme needed affordable housing, food, clothing, entertainment and so on.

The share of services in Katerynoslav fell from 23.85 % in 1865 to 5.56 % in 1897. Although in absolute figures obviously grew. But it is clear that in the largest industrial city the amount of working people was "dragged" over by the industrial sector and trade. That means new profile of the city – as an industrial center.

In Mykolaiv, both per cent and absolute figures of the service sector did not demonstrated the fundamental dynamic changes (4,5–4,2 % in 1875-

1897). This indicates minimal expansion of the domestic market consumption despite the significant growth of other industries and traditionally high proportion of military personnel.

According to international practice, the development of the service sector provides not only additional capital accumulation, but also serves as a niche for small businesses. The services sector grew where there were a significant number of highly paid people. Obviously, between services, quality of life and socio-political progress and there is a direct proportional relationship.

The sign of Katerynoslav as a new industrial center became sharp increase of the role of industry, transport and communications, especially their modern segments. Thus, the share of employed in industry increased from 40.75 % to 45.10 %, including the rise of employed in industrial production from 1.31 % to 17.04 %. If in 1865 only 3.21 % of employment in industry worked in industrial production, in 1897 – 37.77 %. The share of employed in transport and communication among employees has increased fourfold, and by 1897 2/3 were employed in the industrial part of the sector - ships, railroads, telegraph. For the 1865–1897 due to industrialization grew the share of trade in Katerynoslav (from 17.94 % to 25.11 %) – the growth of commodity economy and expansion needs of industrial goods.

Changes in the shares of employed in industry and craft in Mykolaiv fluctuated within statistical error (24.5 % in 1875 and 23.9 % in 1897). However, the trend of the industrialization of the city would be very clear, if you look at the number of people employed in the industrial sector. Dynamics was impressive – from 0.41 % in 1875 to 9.1 % in 1897

(percentage in the total employment structure).

The role of traditional sectors of the economy (trade and employed as servants, laborers and unskilled workers) was changing as well.

For the 1865–1897 share of trade due to industrialization grew from 17.94 % to 25.11 % – the growth of commercialization of economy and growing needs for industrial goods. The opening of new plants, mineral deposits etc. caused the explosive population growth of the city and therefore the need for commercial establishments. In addition, it was not the easiest way to invest.

For the 1875–1897 the number of engaged in trade in Mykolaiv increased from 9.8 % to 11.67 %. Moreover, such branches as grain trading and mediation added and became very popular among entrepreneurs. Retail trade also grew. The social structure of Mykolaiv in the late nineteenth century had a specific feature – a significant layer of military service both on active duty and retired (1861 - 8% of the population, 1875 – 11 %, 1891 – 12 %). Former soldiers had some benefits after the retirement. It is important that Military Governor Bogdan von Glazenap initiated annually issue of hundreds of free certificates for petty trade in the city and its surroundings.

Increasing the number of employed in trade was the natural result of quantitative growth of Mykolaiv (from 60 to 92 thousand) and expand of the domestic market. Also, it can be considered as evidence of townspeople involving in small business.

The results of the analysis reflect the transformation of traditional employment structure of residents of southern Ukrainian cities. Finally, cities begin to perform modern functions – they become

industrial, financial, transportation centers. This could be used successfully transformed into modern specialization of the city. Katerynoslav managed to become modernization leader of the region. Mykolaiv, just keeping the military component in the employment structure, managed to increase trade and transportation industry, and become a powerful transportation hub, and later shipbuilding center.

**РЕЗЮМЕ.** Стаття посвящена изменениям в структуре населения городов Юга Украины в период 1870–1897 гг. на основе переписей населения последней четверти XIX столетия. Автор показал эволюцию профессионального и этнического состава

ва жителей городов XIX столетия. Становления новых отраслей экономики (таких как финансы, сфера услуг) проиллюстрировано статистическими данными. Автор исследовал взаимосвязь между традиционными и промышленными сферами занятости на фоне общего процесса формирования индустриального общества. Для анализа были выбраны статистические данные переписи Николаева и Екатеринославка.

**Ключевые слова:** демографическая перепись населения, закономерности оккупации, Киев, промышленные отрасли экономики, модернизация, город, урбанизация, демографическая структура.

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