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THE KHARKIV GOVERNORATE PROVINCIAL CITIES POPULATION (1861-1917)

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Стаття присвячена аналізу зростання і зменшення чисельності населення провінційних міст Харківської губернії в 1861-1917 рр., особливостям їх соціального, вікового, національного складу відповідно приналежності до різних типів за чисельністю населення і адміністративного статусу. Підкреслюється, що життя малих і середніх українських міст в період пізньої Російської імперії рідко потрапляє в поле зору професійних істориків; книги, які періодично з'являються в інтелектуальному просторі сучасної України, написані місцевими краєзнавцями, які схильні ідеалізувати місцевих діячів і всі події в минулому. Стаття заснована на документах з Державного архіву Харківської області, офіційних публікаціях, матеріалах статистики і періодичної преси. Стверджується, що з 1861 по 1914 рік відбувалося інтенсивне зростання населення провінційних міст губернії: в 1,35 рази в другій половині XIX століття і в 1,5 рази на початку XX століття; мало місце суттєве скорочення частки чисельності населення повітових і безповітових міст губернії, надшвидке зростання населення Харкова в 1861-1897 рр. і стабілізація співвідношення між населенням центру губернії і провінційними містами. Підкреслюється, що якщо в 1861 р. в регіоні було тільки малі і найменші міста, то на початку 20-го століття з'явилися міста середні за кількістю населення і залишилися тільки три найменші міста; структура населення провінційних міст була ближче до структури сільського населення, а відсоток інтелігенції, городян, зайнятих в торгівлі, фінансовій або промисловій сферах, людей найбільш працездатного віку був значно меншим, ніж в Харкові; домінування чоловіків не було значним в провінційних містах, але етнічний склад провінційних міст значно відрізнявся від складу провінційного центру. Перша світова війна вплинула на скорочення населення провінційних міст на 18%, змінила структуру зайнятості міських жителів і викликала значне ослаблення міської еліти.

Ключові слова: місто, Харківська губернія, повітовий центр, міське населення, національний склад, соціальна структура.

Статья посвящена анализу динамики численности населения провинциальных городов Харьковской губернии в 1861-1917 гг., особенностям их социального, возрастного, национального состава в зависимости от принадлежности к разным типам по численности населения и административному статусу. Подчеркивается, что жизнь малых и средних украинских городов в поздней Российской империи редко рассматривается профессиональными историками; книги, которые периодически появляются в интеллектуальном пространстве современной Украины, написаны местными краеведами, которые склонны идеализировать местных деятелей и все события в прошлом. Статья основана на документах Государственного архива Харьковской области, официальных публикациях, материалах статистики и периодической печати. Утверждается, что с 1861 по 1914 год происходил интенсивный рост населения провинциальных городов губернии: в 1,35 раза во второй половине XIX века и в 1,5 раза в начале XX века; имело место существенное сокращение процента населения уездных и безуездных городов внутри губернии, сверхбыстрый рост населения Харькова в 1861-1897 гг. и стабилизация

соотношения между населением центра губернии и провинциальными городами. Подчеркивается, что если в 1861 г. в регионе были только малые и сверхмалые города, то в начале 20-го века появились города средние по численности населения, и остались только три сверхмалых города; структура населения провинциальных городов была ближе к структуре сельского населения, а процент интеллигенции, горожан, занятых в торговле, финансовой или промышленной сферах, людей наиболее трудоспособного возраста был значительно меньше, чем в Харькове; доминирование мужчин не было значительным в провинциальных городах, но этнический состав провинциальных городов значительно отличался от состава провинциального центра. Первая мировая война повлияла на сокращение населения провинциальных городов на 18%, изменила структуру занятости городских жителей и вызвала значительное ослабление городской элиты.

Ключевые слова: *город, Харьковская губерния, уездный центр, городское население, национальный состав, социальная структура.*

The article deals with the growth and reduction of population in the Kharkiv Governorate provincial cities in 1861-1917, the features of its social, age, national structures according to different types to population size and administrative status. It is stressed that life of small and medium sized Ukrainian cities at late Russian empire is rarely kept under review by professional historians; the books which periodically appear in the intellectual area of modern Ukraine are written by local historians, who are inclined to idealize their local officials and all events in the past. The article is based on the documents from the State Archive of Kharkiv Region, official publications, statistics and the materials from periodical press. It is argues that from 1861 to 1914 occurred an intensive growth of the population of provincial towns of Governorate: 1,35 times at the second part of 19 century and 1,5 at the beginning of 20 century; sufficient percent reduction in the district and non-district city population within the Governorate, the Kharkiv population ultrafast growth at 1861-1897 and stabilization of the ratio between the population of the Governorate center and provincial cities. It is emphasizes that if at 1861 there was only small and smallest towns in region, then were appeared five average population cities and only three of the smallest cities remained at the beginning of the 20th century; the provincial cities population structure was closer to the rural population structure and the percentage of intellectuals, city-dwellers employed in trade, financial or industrial spheres, people of the most working age was significant less than in Kharkiv; the male domination wasn't significant in provincial towns, but the ethnic composition of the provincial cities differed significantly from that of the Governorate center. The First World War influenced the reduction by 18% the provincial cities population, varied the employment structure of the urban dwellers and caused a significant weakening of the urban elite.

Key words: *city, Kharkiv Governorate, district center, city-dwellers, national composition, social structure.*

The history of Ukrainian cities was completely «erased» from the historical memory of entire generations. It applies especially strongly to the period from the middle of the 19th century till the beginning of the 20th century in the Ukrainian part of the Russian Empire. After 1991, the situation has changed. The problems of historical memory reconstruction and search for the «historical roots» became particularly relevant. All issues related to urban life became more and more important after Ukraine had proclaimed its course towards European integration and a range of legislation addressing the decentralization and municipal self-government progress had been adopted.

«The History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR» fundamental edition which was published in 1960-1980 gives an insight into the scale and techniques of «erasing» historical memory in the Soviet period. The articles which were devoted to the specific city mentioned the urban development of the period from the middle of the 19th century till the beginning of the 20th century very rarely and only in one or two sentences. For example, the statistical data on provincial cities population were presented not in their dynamics, but, generally for one year. Coverage of the workers' plight under capitalism and the rise of labour movement received primary emphasis in any

publications on urban issues. Any positive changes were disregarded [8, с.651-653; 9, с. 596-598; 11, с. 394-395, 454, 481-483, 627-631; 14, с. 97-102, 130-131, 358-359, 431; 15, с. 244-246, 513-514, 530-532, 624-626, 669-672]. All this was done to over-emphasize the Soviet period achievements.

In the summarizing studies devoted to the history of the Russian Empire and Ukraine, the weak development of cities, their poor economic condition, the lack of access to the achievements of modern civilization in city life and the accumulation of unsolvable problems are primarily connected with the shortcomings of the Municipal Statutes (“*Gorodovoe Polozhenie*”) of 1870 or 1892 and with the incompetent or palliative measures taken by the Empire government [22, 23, 29]. The version about «the breakdown of urban modernization» in Russia (according to M.F. Hamm [39, p. 183]) which led to the Revolution of 1917 became widespread in historiography [38, 41, 42, 43].

After 1991, all ideological taboos were removed in Ukraine. However, the dominant discourse of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1920 in the young Ukrainian state influences the historians' options. That's why all events which preceded the national revolution, are studied from only one point of view – search of its prerequisites. The cities of Ukrainian lands are treated exclusively as bastions of anti-Ukrainian trends. Hence, this is a typological repeating of the preceding Soviet period situation.

In the Ukrainian historiography the transition towards profound examination of all aspects of the urban life in the Ukrainian regions of the Russian Empire has been merely outlined. This was facilitated by publishing the book by modern Russian historian B. N. Mironov devoted to the modernization processes in Eastern Europe as well as a discussion about it. Contrary to the dominant point of view, B. N. Mironov stressed that the Russian Empire and its cities had been consecutively developing till 1917 and offered not to over-emphasize the difficulties which took place [12, 20]. However, as in all previous years only Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, the largest cities of the Ukrainian provinces, are in the focus of interest to the historians [4, 16, 40].

Life of small and medium sized cities is rarely kept under review by professional historians [32, 33]. The books which periodically appear in the intellectual area are written by local historians, who are inclined to idealize their local officials and all events in the past [5, с.49-50; 21, с. 21-70; 30]. The main portion of modern document publications which are devoted to specific cities doesn't exceed the bounds of the 19th century. The striking example of such a situation is a series of documentary collections about the Slobodskaya Ukraine small towns, where only two percent of documents refer to the events of the beginning of the 20th century [1-3, 6-7, 13, 17-19, 34].

On the basis of the above mentioned, the aim of the article is to analyse the growth and reduction of population in the Kharkiv governorate provincial cities in 1861-1917, the features of its social, age, national structures according to different types to population size and administrative status. The research is based on the documents from the State Archive of Kharkiv Region, official publications [24-26, 31], statistics [27-28] and the materials from periodical press [35, 36].

At that time the network of Kharkiv province cities included the Governorate center, 10 district cities and six non-district settlements. The six cities – Slovyansk, Izium, Lebedyn, Sumy, Bilopillia, Okhtyrka – with the population from 10,2 to 17,4 thousand people were small sized at 1861. The ten cities – Zmiyiv, Zolochiv, Krasnokutsk, Valky, Vovchansk, Chuhuviv, Kupiansk, Nedryhailiv, Starobilsk, Bohodukhiv – were considered smallest with the population from 4,1 to 9,5 thousand people. As we can see from Table 1 there was an intensive growth of the Governorate city population in 1861-1897 and in 1897-1914. From 1861 to 1897 the population of provincial towns 1,35 times increased from 142,905 to 193,354 people. It was characterized by sufficient percent reduction in the district and non-district city population within the Governorate (from 73,96% to 52,6%) and the Kharkiv population ultrafast growth. At the beginning of the 20th century the urban population growth continued. From 1897 to 1914 the number of townsman and townswoman 1,5 increased. But the difference between populations of provincial cities and the center remained stable. At that time the five cities were average ones with the population from 20,6 to 49,9 thousand

people. The eight cities with population from 11,6 to 17,9 thousand were considered small. The three cities were the smallest, their population numbered from 6,3 to 8,3 thousand inhabitants.

The success in industrial development promoted the growth of provincial cities. The sugar plant of the Haritonenko's firm was the most dominant one in Sumy, providing about 80 % of the city industrial turnover. The plant owner was the main sponsor of all local cultural events. Slovyansk became the center of salt production, and its owners were at the heart of the local elite. Okhtyrka, Bohodukhiv, Valky, Vovchansk, Iziium, Kupiansk, Lebedin were the centers for processing agricultural products, mainly flour [3, 56-58; 10, с. 97-99; 33, 98-104; 13, с. 55-56; 18, с. 33-34; 19, с.68-72; 35, 1890, 17 янв.; 1904, 9 ноябр.; 36, 1912, 12 дек.; 1913, 20 марта; 1914, 29 янв.]. The Military School located in Chuhuiv had a great impact on the city development [35, 1910, 30 сент.]. Other cities were mainly the centers of local trade. The recreational component gained increasing importance in Slovyansk: the city was gradually becoming an important resort center.

Table 1. Urban population growth in the Kharkiv Governorate, 1861-1917

	1861	1882	1897	1914	1917
Kharkiv	50,301	133,139	173,989	249,698	288,024
Zolochiv*	5,379	5,777	6,573	12,214	?
Okhtyrka	17,415	23,223	23,399	31,928	28,832
Bohodukhiv	9,461	10,268	11,752	15,538	13,251
Krasnokutsk*	6,427	5,771	6,860	8,303	6,249
Valky	5,942	7,185	7,938	13,659	6,906
Vovchansk	7,901	15,200	11,020	16,965	16,075
Zmiyiv	4,105	4,382	4,673	6,628	5,750
Chuhuiv*	8,176	9,782	12,592	17,028	15,983
Iziium	11,179	17,989	13,108	17,880	14,797
Sloviansk*	10,225	15,374	15,792	28,925	26,246
Kupiansk	5,594	3,097	6,893	11,629	13,345
Lebedyn	13,747	17,993	14,301	20,619	17,453
Nedryhailiv*	6,167	6,761	5,873	6,348	?
Starobilsk	8,164	7,916	9,801	12,323	6,818
Sumy	11,277	14,630	27,564	49,945	35,770
Bilopillie*	11,746	12,565	15,215	21,897	16,519
Province cities	142,905	177,913	193,354	291,829	223,994
Total	193,206	311,052	367,343	541,527	512,018

[Source: 24, Ведомость «О числе жителей по сословиям»; 26, с. 33 – 62; 27, с. 4–5; 28, с. 14–15; 31, с. 136–142]

* Non-district cities.

The provincial cities population structure differed significantly from that of the center. By many indicators, it was closer to the rural population structure. By the Census of 1897, 34,5 % of the provincial cities population (self-dependent individuals and the members of their families) were involved in agricultural production, while only 1,7 % of such people lived in Kharkiv. The percentage of intellectuals, servants, day labourers, inhabitants employed in trade, financial or industrial spheres was significantly less (the Census counted them without dividing into businessmen, craftsmen or factory workers). In the provincial cities, children under 10 years of age made more than 26 % of the population (17,4% in Kharkiv), while people of the most working age (aged 20 to 39) made 28,4 % (40,5% in Kharkiv).

The male domination wasn't significant, men exceeded women by 2,7 thousand (by 10,4 thousand in Kharkiv). The ethnic composition of the provincial cities differed significantly from that of the Governorate center. 79,5% of the Ukrainians, 18,4% of the Russians, 1% of the Jews, 0,4% of the Poles, 0,2% of the Germans lived there. In comparison, there were 25,8% of the Ukrainians, 63,2% of the Russians, 5,7% of the Jews, 2,3% of the Poles, 1,3% of the Germans in Kharkiv [27, с. 4-5, 67, 270-273].

The First World War which began in August 1914 significantly influenced all the aspects of urban life in the region. At the beginning of 1915, there was a slight reduction (by 9655 people) in the size of the Governorate urban population. Moreover, 61,3% of out-migrants were from the provincial cities. In January 1915, their population was 285 906 [25, Ведомость «О числе жителей по сословиям»]. By the end of 1917, the provincial cities population continued to reduce and was estimated at 223 994, whereas the Kharkiv population increased to 288 024 (growth by 20,5%) [28, с. 14-15]. Because the Zolochiv and Nedryhailiv population data are missing, the scale of reducing by 1917 can be correctly compared with the data of 1914 apart from these cities. So, the number of citizens in the provincial cities was reduced by 49 273 (by 18%). It means as if two provincial cities, Okhtyrka and Izium, disappeared from the Governorate map!

The cities that suffered the greatest population loss were the district centers, where agricultural production dominated: in Valky – by 49,4%, in Starobilsk – by 44,7%. Depopulation in Krasnokutsk, Sumy, Bilopillie was by 25-28%, in Lebedyn, Bohodukhiv, Zmiyiv, Izium – by 13-17%, in Okhtyrka, Vovchansk, Sloviansk, Chuhuiv – by 4-9%. The only city with the increased population was Kupiansk – at the end of 1917 there were 13 345 citizens, that was by 1,7 thousand people or by 14,7% more than it had been on the eve of the First World War. In Chuhuiv, where the Military School was located and where the military units were trained before being sent to the front, the population practically stabilized in 1915-1917 [25, Ведомость «О числе жителей по сословиям»; 28, с. 14-15]. As a result, at the end of 1917 the provincial cities population percentage reduced by 43,7% (see Table 1). The main causes for population decline were the mobilization of citizens (for example, 3445 people or 15,7% of population went to the front from Bilopillia, 1167 of them died in military battle (5,3% of citizens) [14, с.131], the departure of the military units located in the cities for the front and the workers, who had not long ago been farmers, for the country due to the labour shortage there and the increasing demand for food.

The war influenced the employment structure of the provincial cities population. By the beginning of 1915, the total number of craftsmen had reduced by 3,2 thousand in the provincial cities, whilst Kharkiv lost only 221 craftsmen. The reduction applied to almost all trades, but the most notable decrease occurred in construction: carpenters, masons, stove-setters, house-painters, roofers, glaziers – by 495, tailors, shoemakers – by 985, butchers and sausage makers – by 275, cabmen – by 262. Evidently, a part of them were drafted into the military or went out of business in the context of the consumer market demand restructuring. Some of them had to retrain for a new profession. Thus, by the end of 1915 the number of people occupied in baking bread had been increased, while the number of bakers, who were making more delicious *kalach* (kind of white wheatmeal loaf) and buns had been reduced [24, Ведомость «О числе ремесленников в городах Харьковской губернии»; 25, Ведомость «О числе ремесленников в городах Харьковской губернии»].

The War resulted in a significant weakening of the provincial cities elite. Thus, the number of the Okhtyrka executive board (*uprava*) members was reduced by half: the mayor N. Y. Baliashniy, a former professional military man and a retired colonel, was drafted into the acting army; one of the members of the executive board V. I. Pup was engaged in military service in Kharkiv [36, 1916, 29 янв]. The district nobility head N. V. Kleynmihel departed to the front from Bohodukhiv [35, 1915, 8 марта]. Similar events took place in other cities. The local elite staff losses proved to be very heavy. For this reason, when at the beginning of 1916 the Empire authorities started selecting candidates for administrative positions in Galychyna which they were once again going to take under their control after its occupation at the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915, only five candidatures were nominated from the Kharkiv Governorate: three – from Kupiansk district and

two – from Kharkiv district [37, Ф. 3, оп. 287, спр. 5719, арк. 4-11]. A sharp drop in the number of reports concerning the events in the provincial cities and districts in the Kharkiv newspapers became one of the indirect evidences for intellectual losses in the provincial cities [36, 1914-1916]. Evidently, those educated and socially active city dwellers, who were local newspaper correspondents, were drafted into the army as well. The depopulation was only partially offset by those who had arrived after evacuation from the Empire western regions. This was the cause for the insignificance of small towns and the lack of facilities the people evacuated from the Empire Western Governorates were accustomed to.

The cities of the Kharkiv Governorate are of interest because they composed quite an integrated system from the point of view of its origin, the features of social, age, national structures of the population. They belonged to different types according to population size, administrative status, economic activities. From 1861 to 1914 we can see an intensive growth of the the population of provincial towns of Governorate: 1,35 times at the second part of XIX century and 1,5 at the beginning of XX century. At the same time we can constant sufficient percent reduction in the district and non-district city population within the Governorate, the Kharkiv population ultrafast growth at 1861-1897 and stabilization of the ratio between the population of the governorate center and provincial cities. If at 1861 there was only small and smallest towns in region, then the average population cities appeared and only three of the smallest cities remained at the beginning of the 20th century. We believe that this growth was facilitated by socio-economic changes and the implementation of the principles of the Municipal Statutes. But at 1914-1917 the provincial cities population reduced by 18%. The provincial cities population structure was closer to the rural population structure. The percentage of intellectuals, city-dwellers employed in trade, financial or industrial spheres, people of the most working age was significantl less than in Kharkiv. The male domination wasn't significant in provincial towns. But the ethnic composition of the provincial cities differed significantly from that of the Governorate center. The First World War influenced the employment structure of the provincial cities population and caused a significant weakening of the urban elite. Nevertheless in our view the main development vector – towards modernization of their socio structure – was clearly seen.

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