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## **RURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN UKRAINE (1850's — EARLY 1900's)**

*Сільське підприємництво в Україні  
(друга половина XIX — початок XX ст.)*

*The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of rural entrepreneurship in Right-Bank Ukraine as an important factor in accelerating the socioeconomic modernization of 1861–1914.*

*Under the influence of the reforms of the 1860's and 1870's, especially the abolition of serfdom and Stolypin agrarian reform, rural entrepreneurs in the Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces increased the output of rural production employing the natural climatic conditions of the region, land resources, minerals, wood, entrepreneurial income, and capital. The regional basis of the economic development was enterprising landowners and wealthy peasants who applied the most profitable types of economic activity, such as growing grain crops, sugar beets, potatoes, hops, and processing them at their enterprises as close to raw materials as possible. The most profitable industries were sugar, distillery, and flour production. In the late 1800's, sugar production accounted for more than half of the total factory production. The region, which included Kyiv, Podillya, and Volyn, became one of the leaders in producing and exporting sugar to foreign markets. Families of Tereshchenkos, Khanenkos, Symyrenkos, Bobrynskies, Pototskies, Branytskies, Balashovs, Sangushkos, Brodskies, Yaroshynskies, and many other represented multi-field business activities. Integration of Poles, Jews, Germans, and Czechs into a system of economic relations with governorates of the Right bank territories had positively influenced the future development of agriculture, industry, trade, and business.*

**Keywords:** entrepreneurship, modernization, agriculture, industry, profit.

*У статті за матеріалами Правобережної України досліджено роль сільського підприємництва як важливого чинника прискорення соціально-економічної модернізації 1861–1914 рр.*

*Методологія дослідження базується на принципах історизму, всебічності, багатофакторності та міждисциплінарності. Причиново-наслідкові складові сільського підприємництва в контексті глибинних перетворень 1861–1914 рр. розглядалися як комплексні, зумовлені історичною логікою.*

*Наукова новизна. На основі неопублікованих джерел та наявної історико-географічної бази доведено, що у Київській, Подільській та Волинській губ. у досліджуваній період склалися передумови для розвитку приватної ініціативи, поширювалися ринкові відносини та сільське підприємство; показано участь сільських підприємців у соціально-економічній модернізації регіону, особливості їх діяльності, форми ефективного господарювання, найприбутковіші галузі в досліджуваних губерніях.*

*Висновки. Під впливом реформ 1860–1870-х рр., особливо скасування кріпацтва та столипінської аграрної реформи, саме сільські підприємці у Київській, Подільській і Волинській губ., використовуючи природно-кліматичні умови краю, земельні ресурси, корисні копалини, деревину, підприємницькій хист і капітал, знайшли шляхи й методи збільшення обсягів виробництва на селі, прибуткового господарювання. Основою економічного розвитку Київської, Подільської і Волинської губ. було землеволодіння підприємливих поміщиків і заможних селян, які застосовували найвигідніші види господарської діяльності — вирощування зернових культур, цукрових буряків, картоплі, хмелю та їх переробку на власних підприємствах якомога ближче до сировинних ресурсів. Найвигіднішими галузями були цукрова, винокурна та борошно-мельна. Продукція цих галузей становила найбільшу частину в загальному обсязі промислового виробництва. А виробництво цукру наприкінці XIX ст. становило більше від половини загального фабрично-заводського виробництва. Регіон, у який входили досліджувані губернії, став потужним виробником і експортером цукру на закордонні ринки. Зразки багатопрофільної підприємницької діяльності — Терещенків, Ханенків, Симиренків, Бобринських, Потоцьких, Браницьких, Сангушків, Бродських, Ярошинських та багатьох інших господарів можуть служити прикладом і для сучасних підприємців. Позитивно вплинула на подальший розвиток сільського господарства, промисловості, торгівлі й підприємницької діяльності інтеграція в систему економічних відносин губерній Правобережжя поляків, євреїв, німців, чехів.*

**Ключові слова:** підприємництво, модернізація, сільське господарство, промисловість, прибуток.

The significance of agricultural entrepreneurship and organic production, as well as socioeconomic development of rural areas, in the context of globalization

of the food markets and the intensification of international competition has become clear. In the post-Soviet context, where the collective farms and state farms were reorganized and the previous ownership structures were destroyed, the development of agricultural business and creating conditions for its efficient functioning has become an urgent task. It seems relevant to research and understand entrepreneurship during the period of socio-economic modernization, when the significant results in industrial and agricultural production in rural areas were achieved. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> — beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ukraine (which was the part of the Russian Empire) became a powerful producer and exporter of agricultural products.

Rural entrepreneurship of the indicated period has not been the subject of a comprehensive historical study in Ukrainian historiography. The functional features and organizational forms of entrepreneurship, the activity of entrepreneurs in the industrial and social spheres remain underinvestigated. The entrepreneurship in Ukraine had its own territorial peculiarities. The entrepreneurs in Donbass played a key role in the development of heavy industry (coal mining, metallurgical, metalworking, chemical industries). Entrepreneurs in the South of Ukraine, having access to the Black Sea ports, developed commercial grain farming and fine-wool sheep breeding. In the Right-Bank Ukraine, in particular, in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces rural entrepreneurs became the driving force of socioeconomic modernization. They increased production volumes and raised profitability of farming in agriculture, livestock breeding and processing industry.

In the pre-revolutionary period, special studies devoted to the development of the agricultural market and rural entrepreneurship were not published. Only at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> — beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the peasant question is discussed from the scientific perspective. In particular, L. Khodskiy made an analysis of the economic essence of the peasant reform of 1861 in his work “Land and Farmer. Economic and Statistical Research”. He provided statistical information regarding the distribution of land ownership on the basis of the investigation carried out in 1878–1879 in 49 provinces of the Russian Empire (Ходский, Л. 1891). The problems of economic development of the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces were studied by A. Yaroshevych (Ярошевич, А. 1914), M. Tolpygin (Толпыгин, М. 1910) and M. Novynskiy (Новинский, М. 1915).

During the years of the Soviet rule, the history of entrepreneurship in Ukraine was presented mainly in the context of oppression, exploitation of hired workers by the owner. However, such one-dimensional vision of this economic phenomenon did not reveal its complexity. Rural entrepreneurship was banned by the state, therefore the peasants who became united in the collective farms lost their economic independence. All of this led to the disappearance of the topic of “entrepreneurship” in the scientific-historical and economic literature.

Although during 1930’s — 1980’s the research of entrepreneurship was not in priority, during this period a number of works devoted to entrepreneurship

appeared. Such studies covered the development of market relations during the implementation of the peasant reform of 1861 and Stolypin's agricultural reform. The main achievements of the historical science of the post-war period was the shift of emphasis from statement of facts to their analytical processing, the significant development of the source base, and the changes in the assessment of individual events and phenomena. Owing to the works of I. Gurzhiiia (Гуржій, І. 1968), V. Teplytskyi (Теплицький, В. 1959), P. Telychuk, (Теличук, П. 1973), O. Nesterenko, (Нестеренко, О. 1962), a large part of the actual material concerning the state of agriculture and rural industry was introduced into the scientific use.

In the context of independent Ukraine and the development of market relations, the problem of scrutinizing the historical experience of entrepreneurship has received more attention. The scientific findings of O. Reient (Реєнт, О. 2003), T. Lazanska (Лазанська, Т. 1999), N. Temirova (Темірова, Н. 2003), O. Donik (Донік, О. 2007) and O. Tkachenko<sup>1</sup>, V. Pavliuk<sup>2</sup>, V. Kolesnyk (Колесник, В. 2007), O. Lobko<sup>3</sup>, V. Pererva (Перерва, В. 2010) provide unique investigations regarding the efficiency of economic management executed by Tereshchenko, Branyskyi, Pototskyi, Sangushki, Yaroshynskyi and others.

Improving conditions for a better life has always been the ultimate goal of the humankind. Entrepreneurship (ability to obtain benefits and make profit) became one of the ways to gain money by improving the life of other individuals. The formation and development of entrepreneurship took place due to a number of prerequisites. Firstly, objective economic conditions (the development of crafts, agricultural and industrial production, trade) nurtured entrepreneurship. Secondly, external and internal political factors played their role. Economic connections with foreign states, adapting of their experience, the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire opened the ways for the development of market relations and the implementation of a number of further reforms. Thirdly, social and psychological motives were also important — every subject of entrepreneurial activity tried to withstand a competitive struggle, because their family welfare and the success of their business depended on the wise participation within the existing exchange relationships.

Introduction of entrepreneurship in the Ukrainian provinces of the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century occurred under the influence of the reforms of the 1860–1870's, in particular, the Stolypin agricultural reforms. The basis for regulating the agricultural relations in all provinces was presented as

<sup>1</sup> Ткаченко О. В. Підприємницька та меценатська діяльність родини Терещенків в Україні (1861–1917 рр.). Дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. Київ, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Павлюк В. В. Вплив шляхетських родів Волині на соціально-економічний та культурний розвиток краю в ХІХ ст. Дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. Запоріжжя, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Лобко О. А. Поміщицькі маєтки Правобережжя в умовах соціально-економічної трансформації 1831–1917 років (за матеріалами володінь графів Потоцьких). Дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. Київ, 2008.

a series of unified legislative acts of the Russian Empire, issued on February 19, 1861. At the same time, there were three specific laws for the Ukrainian provinces, “Local Provisions on the Land Arrangement of Peasants”, which were applied to the regions of a different socioeconomic structure. These documents resolved the main issues related to the abolition of serfdom: the elimination of the individual dependence of the peasants on landlords, peasants’ release and the establishment of peasant self-government bodies; giving land to peasants and put peasants in charge of the given land.

Based on the key principles of classical economic theory, the basis of entrepreneurship is private property and its qualitative indicator. In agriculture, in particular, the ground for entrepreneurship is the possession of the main means of production — land. During the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, landlords-noblemen had the best conditions for the development of entrepreneurship. With some exceptions, the legal norms of the documents of the reform in 1861 served the interests of the landlords, and they retained the right to possess all the land belonging to them.

The complex of reforms initiated by the tsar’s decree on November 9, 1906 continued the modernization processes that started in the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Stolypin’s agricultural reform emphasized the entrepreneurial skills of the peasants, their personal initiative, which contrasted the values of traditional community. The complex of these reforms aimed at intensifying agriculture as the consequence of private ownership of land implementation, increasing the level of marketability of agricultural products.

Despite all the negative sides of the reform of 1861, the abolition of serfdom was the factor that encouraged adaptation to new realities, promoted the transformation of economic thinking, and started the restructuring of the essence of economic activity and the formation of a new social stratum — entrepreneurs. The laws of 1863, 1865 and 1898, unlike the previous period, introduced the principle of equality for representatives of all strata of the population in the entrepreneurial activity, formalised the legal status of entrepreneurs. In the context market economy emergence, the hierarchical constraints disappeared and the population was gradually divided into new social strata — entrepreneurs and representatives of wage labor.

Due to the natural, climatic and socioeconomic factors, the investigated region of Ukraine (Kyiv region, Podillia and Volyn region) was the most suitable for cultivating crops and developing livestock breeding. Available mineral deposits, forests and water resources contributed to the development of iron production, woodworking, glass, porcelain and faience, cement, and paper industries. Unlike the other regions, during the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century rural entrepreneurs played a key role in increasing of the production volumes and raising profitability of farms in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn regions. These were landlords and wealthy peasants who managed to use landownership to make

the double advantage and made profits both through agricultural production and through industry. This, in turn, testifies the intensification of entrepreneurship, the demand for acquiring the novel entrepreneurial skills under the new economic conditions, the expansion and development of market environment, which made it possible to establish the production of the most profitable products. The main field of their economic activity was the cultivation and processing of the agricultural products, local minerals and wood.

The emphasis of economic management and entrepreneurship was to a large extent, the introduction of organic production in landlords' and peasants' farms. The main goal of agricultural practitioners was not only obtaining the high profits but, first and foremost, maintaining the high quality of agricultural products. For this purpose, the families of agrarians learned and applied various agricultural techniques and, in particular, organic ones, which ensured the continual improvement of soil fertility and the provision of safe and healthy products.

Rural entrepreneurs in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century introduced the best technologies for cultivating crops, improved equipment, used organic fertilizers, seeds of better quality, improved fodder and livestock breeding. The foundation for organic production laid in the farms of landlords and peasants. For instance, the structure of territory and the rules of annual crop rotation were determined by the specialization of the economy depending on climatic conditions and soil fertility; the structure of acreage and the system of crop rotation with perennial grasses were introduced; the crop production and livestock sectors were combined, which ensured the possibility of introducing organic fertilizers and increasing crops; products were manufactured using mainly the substances of natural origin.

The specialization of the studied region was described in one of the editions of 1914 “The Whole South-West Region. Reference and Address Book of the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn Provinces” which was prepared by the Southwestern Department of the Russian Export Chamber with the participation of Professor M. Dovnar-Zapolskyi and edited by A. Yaroshevych, a teacher of the Kyiv Commercial Institute. “Sugar beet and winter wheat dominate in the crop husbandry and all in all give products worth 80–90 million rubles; besides, these products are the main commercial agricultural products. In addition, they serve as raw materials for the local industry — sugar beet and flour mills, giving 2/3 of the total productivity. Taking into account the significance of these facts, the South-Western region can be called a beet-wheat productive environment” (Ярошевич, А. 1914).

The economic basis for the development of market agriculture and the processing industry, and hence entrepreneurship in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn regions were, first of all, large landholdings of enterprising nobles who managed

to create profitable commercial farms based on their estates. The peculiarity of the landlord tenure was the presence of large latifundia. Their average size in Volyn province was 790,1 dessiatines (2135 acres), in Kyiv province 538,6 dessiatines (1455 acres), in Podillia 505,8 dessiatines (1367 acres). On the Left Bank, the average size of large land holdings was significantly lower: in Chernihiv province it amounted to 101,4 dessiatines (274 acres), in Poltava 111,4 dessiatines (301 acres), in Kharkiv 367,1 dessiatines (992 acres) (Лось, Ф. & Михайлик, О. 1976). Thus, the large landowners like Tereshchenko, Branytskyi, Bobrynskyi, Pototskyi, Sangushko, Radziwill and many other entrepreneurs with smaller land holdings found the most profitable types of economic activity — cultivation of cereal crops, sugar beets, potatoes, hops and processing them at their own enterprises in their estates. Entrepreneurs also achieved significant volumes of production in woodworking, glass, porcelain, paper, and cement industries.

The experience of entrepreneurship and patronage of the Tereshchenko dynasty, three generations of which had significantly improved production, is essential. They found the most profitable sphere of their activity — sugar production. Being originally from the lower classes, the Tereshchenko family became successful and prosperous thanks to hard work and entrepreneurial spirit. In particular, the founder of the dynasty Artemii and his sons Mykola and Fedir received titles of nobility. After the reform of 1861 the Tereshchenko family actively bought and leased the estates of the landlords. After acquiring land tenure, they created competitive farms, built sugar factories and other industrial enterprises.

The estates of brothers Mykola and Fedir Tereshchenko were marked by high farming standards, the introduction of multiple-field crop rotation, the use of machinery and the ability to combine crop and livestock industries. Due to intensive farming, they received significant profits<sup>1</sup>. Apart from the production of agricultural products, the Tereshchenko family invested in the most profitable industries. The combination of agricultural production with its industrial processing in their own estates, extensions of the product range and penetration into new industries provided the owners with high efficiency of economic management. Diversified entrepreneurial activity enabled the Tereshchenko family to receive permanent profits.

The main business interest of Tereshchenko family was the production of sugar. In 1870, “The Society of the Tereshchenko Brothers Sugar Plants” was founded. It included 5 enterprises, and the remaining 6 factories were in the private ownership of the brothers. The initial capital was 3 million rubles; by 1900 it reached 8 million rubles. In addition to the head office in Kyiv, it had 14 representative offices in the largest cities of the Russian Empire, which sold the final products internally and abroad. The Society received significant profits

<sup>1</sup> Центральний Державний історичний архів України у м. Києві (далі ЦДАК України). Ф. 830. Оп. 1. Спр. 445. Арк. 2, 7; Спр.834. Арк. 5-9.

annually (Лазанська, Т. 1999, с. 215). In terms of the fixed capital and production, it was the largest in the sugar industry of the Russian Empire<sup>1</sup>.

Advanced technologies of that time were also used by Bobrynskyi in the sphere of agriculture and processing industry at the farm households. In particular, O. Bobrynskyi introduced the innovative methods of soil cultivation and sugar beet crops tending. He invented a lot of agricultural advances, which contributed to the high yields of sugar beet of higher quality. O. Bobrynskyi was one of the first to introduce technical modernization of sugar production. The use of steam engines, vacuum devices, centrifuges — the transition from fire to steam plants provided higher labor productivity, reduced production costs. The amount of sugar produced at the enterprises belonging to O. Bobrynskyi was almost three times bigger than in other factories (Толпыгин, М. 1910, с. 164). At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bobrynskyi owned 5 sugar factories in the Kyiv province (Smila, Balaklia, Hrushkivka, Kapitanivka)<sup>2</sup>.

Large landowners, such as counts Branytski, were famous entrepreneurs as well. Improving farming standards, the introduction of crop rotation, the use of quality seeds and sufficient amount of fertilizers enabled the owners to obtain high yields. Grown products were processed at their own enterprises, which provided permanent profits. In particular, if three-field crop rotation was the most widespread in the Kyiv region, most villages of Branytski's estates used nine-field system, which was rare in these regions. The multiple-field system was especially widespread in Vasylykivskyi district, where "31 estates out of 92 used multiple-field crop rotation" (Пеерва, В. 2010, с. 46). Counts Branytski were owners of big territories of land; as of 1913 they owned 7 sugar plants, 2 distilleries and 8 steam mills in the Kyiv and Podillia provinces.

According to modern estimates, as of the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the landed property of the Pototskyi family on the Right Bank was about 150–160 thousand dessiatines. In particular, in Kyiv and Podillia regions it was 65 181 dessiatines, in Volyn 77 417 dessiatines. Along with the agricultural production, the Pototskyi family developed sugar production, distillery and flour milling, which brought significant profits. One of the largest estates belonging to the Pototskyi family in the Right-Bank Ukraine, the Teplytsko-Sytkovets estate, was located along the Southern Bug in the Haisyn district of the Podillia province and in Lypovets district of the Kyiv province (the modern territory of the Haisyn, Nemyriv and Teplytskyi districts of the Vinnytsia region). The total area of this estate was 26 285 dessiatines. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Pototskyi family had enterprises in this territory. These were 2 sugar plants (Sobolivskyi and

<sup>1</sup> Сборник сведений о действующих в России акционерных обществах и товариществах на паях. СПб., 1911. С. 50–51.

<sup>2</sup> Фабрично-заводские предприятия Российской империи / под. ред. Ф. А. Шобер. [2-е изд.]. Петроград, 1914.

Sytkovetskyi), 3 distilleries (Pchelnianskyi, Bubnovetskyi, Sokalskyi), 9 mills, a brick factory, 24 taverns, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The owners with average incomes were also involved in entrepreneurial activity during the market reforms. Archival and statistical materials contain numerous examples of their profitable economic management. Thus, the total land in the estate of Berestiaga F. Zakrzewski (Podillia province, Haisyn district) was 1677,6 dessiatine. The household received the main profit from agriculture, from the cultivation of wheat and sugar beets. The estate used mainly a ten-field crop rotation: 1) steam with fertilizer; 2) winter wheat; 3) sugar beets; 4) spring crops; 5) steam; 6) winter wheat; 7) sugar beets; 8) steam; 9) winter wheat; 10) spring crops. As for livestock breeding, there were 90 horses and 150 oxen in the household<sup>2</sup>.

We introduce an example of the farm “Konelski Khutory” from the materials of the agricultural and economic research of the farms of the Kyiv province. This farm was owned by M. Galenzovskyi; it was located on the land of the villages Konelski Khutory and Medovatka. Total land area was 252,5 dessiatine, of which on 75 dessiatine a ten-field crop rotation was used: 1) steam with fertilizers (75 cartful); 2) winter rape; 3) winter wheat; 4) sugar and fodder beets; 5) oats or barley with sowing clover; 6) clover in two cuts; 7) clover and steam; 8) winter wheat; 9) beets or legumes (peas, beans, lens); 10) oats, barley, millet. On the other 48,6 dessiatine, a 9-field crop rotation was applied<sup>3</sup>. Basically, the owner received a profit from the cultivation of wheat and sugar beets.

The farmers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Krasniansk Society of Rogachiv volost, Novohrad-Volynskyi district conducted economic activities effectively. This Society included 12 farms, which were mostly owned by former peasants who leased land and bought farms for themselves, or for their sons. Among them, we provide a description of the economic management of Ya. Kaminskyi. He owned an area of 9 dessiatine as well as the vast majority of farmers. The crop rotation was three-field: rye, barley, buckwheat, oats, potatoes. Soil cultivation was carried out with simple implements, and mould was used for fertilization. But the owner focused on the quality of seeds, and due to this there was enough harvest for their own needs and for sale<sup>4</sup>.

The experience of the processing industry in Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces is worth investigating. Entrepreneurs developed the processing industry in rural

<sup>1</sup> Лобко О. А. Поміщицькі маєтки Правобережжя в умовах соціально-економічної трансформації 1831–1917 років (за матеріалами володіннь графів Потоцьких). Дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. Київ, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Материалы по аграрно-экономическому исследованию Юго-Западного края (Уманский, Липовецкий, Звенигородский и Таращанский уезды Киевской губернии и Гайсинский уезд). Гайсин, 1909. С. 30, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Материалы по аграрно-экономическому исследованию Юго-Западного края (Уманский, Липовецкий, Звенигородский и Таращанский уезды Киевской губернии и Гайсинский уезд). Гайсин, 1909. С. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Державний архів Житомирської обл. (Держархів Житомирської обл.). Ф. 226. Оп. 1. Спр. 7. Арк. 394.

areas as close as possible to the place of raw materials production. In the absence of convenient communication lines and the necessary vehicles, the processing of the products (grain, sugar beets, potatoes, mineral deposits) which are difficult to relocate into more transportable products (flour, sugar, alcohol, glass, porcelain, etc.) directly on-site was economically justified.

Using archives and statistical sources, the author calculated that the volumes of industrial production in the investigated provinces increased in almost 15,5 times during 50 years, i. e. from 25 275 453 rubles in 1861 to 391 319 127 rubles in 1911, mainly owing to agricultural processing industry. Production generally increased at the expense of sugar, distillery, and flour milling industries, which were the most profitable for production activities in the context of the region. Output of sugar, distillery and flour milling industries accounted for the biggest share in the total volume of industrial production in all provinces (78,2% or 19 786 061 rubles in 1861, 81,6% or 164 539 774 rubles in 1901 and 93,2% or 364 941 448 rubles in 1911). Sugar production accounted for more than a half of the total industrial production during the investigated period<sup>1</sup>.

The most important shifts that had changed the nature of production, awarding it with the features of a large capitalist industry took place in these sectors and, especially, in the sugar industry. Labor productivity increased remarkably. New organizational forms of production activity appeared. These were the creation of share societies, stock companies, monopolies, which diversified entrepreneurial activities. From the mid-1860's, entrepreneurs in the sugar industry began to create share societies to increase their capacity and survive in a competitive struggle. In 1887 a sugar syndicate was created at the convention of sugar manufacturers in Kyiv. According to the author's estimates, in 1913–1914, 93 sugar plants out of the 148 that operated in the investigated provinces (almost 70%) and were owned by societies.

The ability to constantly search for economic benefits was typical for the societies who owned several sugar factories. Entrepreneurs who managed to create powerful mechanized enterprises by introducing a more progressive technology for production made significant profits. Thus, according to the data of 1913, the Koryukiv Society of Sugar Plants had large production. This Society included Lebedynskyi sugar plant in the Kyiv province, Koriukivskyi and Orlovsko-Spasskyi in the Chernihiv province and Zalyvanshchynskyi in the Podilia province. The Oleksandrivka Society of Sugar Plants consisted of Matusovskyi and Raigorodskyi sugar plants in the Kyiv province, Novoseletskyi in the Volyn province, Starynskyi in the Poltava province, and Odeskyi in the Kherson province.

<sup>1</sup> Російський Державний історичний архів у м. Санкт-Петербурзі (далі — РДІА у м. Санкт-Петербурзі). Ф. 1281. Оп. 6. Спр. 16.; РДІА у м. Санкт-Петербурзі). Ф. 1281. Оп. 6. Спр. 28.; РДІА у м. Санкт-Петербурзі). Ф. 1281. Оп. 6. Спр. 61; Памятная книжка Киевской губернии на 1913 г. К., 1912. 448 с.; Обзор Подольской губернии за 1911 г. Каменец-Подольский, 1912. 171 с.; Обзор Вольнской губернии за 1911 г. Житомир, 1912. 102 с.

S. Rafalovych, A. Frenkel, A. Pokotilov, A. Goldberg and A. Dobryi were board members in both societies. In the Podillia province, the Societies of Khrenovetskyi, Vendychanskyi, Trostianetskyi, Mohyla Sugar Plants, each of which owned two plants, as well as the Society of Yaltushkovskyi, Gnivanskyi, Horodotskyi, Krasnosilktivskyi Sugar Plants received large capitals in sugar production. The board members were M. Zaitsev, L. Frenkel, A. Brodskyi<sup>1</sup>.

Cultivation of cereal crops and the necessity to meet the constantly growing needs of population in flour and cereals created conditions for the development of flour milling industry, which became rather profitable for entrepreneurs. The mill in Kyiv belonging to the Stock Company was the biggest. The board members included L. Brodskyi, A. Brodskyi, A. Goldenberg. The board members of the Stock Company J. Waldenberg and I. Berman provided the efficient operation of the steam mill in Pogrebyshche of Berdychiv district. About 600–800 thousand poods (one pood equals 16 kilograms) cereals were milled annually: in the Kyiv province — N. Golovchynera (Turbovo of Berdychiv district), K. Krasnomovyd (Krasnomovyd of Berdychiv district); in the Podillia province — S. Averbukha (Sokolets of Bratslavskyi district), N. Orzhevskya (N. Chortoryia of Novograd-Volynskyi district)<sup>2</sup>. A large number of small mills, which used water and wind energy as well as living pulling force, continued to work along with the large mills equipped with steam machines.

Sugar-beet sowing and sugar refining was beneficial for households located in the forest-steppe zone, while distilleries and growing potatoes were the most suitable for the Polissia region with low-fertile, sandy soils. Distilleries brought the farms the greatest profit. It was a simple and practical way for the processing of the products that are difficult to transport in more portable and more valuable products, especially in the absence of convenient means of communication. Unlike the sugar industry, the distillery sector had a large number of small enterprises. Profitable plants (average in size, employing 20–45 workers) were created in the Kyiv province by K. Balashova (Baibuzy of Chernihiv district), L. Kutsenogiy and M. Spilberg (Ivanky of Uman district), F. Rostsyshevskyi (Kosary of Chygyryn district), S. Mering (Ovechache of Berdychiv district). In the Podillia province they were founded by M. Shcherbatova (Nemyriv of Bratslav district), A. Altman (Ladyzhyn of the Haisyn district), O. Orlov (Chechelnyk of Olgopolskyi district), K. Rally (Brailiv of Vinnytsia district)<sup>3</sup>.

The study of archive documents shows that in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> cent. — early 20<sup>th</sup> cent., distillery, sugar and flour-mill industry were the most essential.

<sup>1</sup> Фабрично-заводские предприятия Российской империи / под. ред. Ф. А. Шобер. [2-е изд.]. Петроград., 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Фабрично-заводские предприятия Российской империи / под. ред. Ф. А. Шобер. [2-е изд.]. Петроград., 1914.

<sup>3</sup> Фабрично-заводские предприятия Российской империи / под. ред. Ф. А. Шобер. [2-е изд.]. Петроград., 1914.

At the same time, based on the specific conditions of each province, there was the development of entrepreneurship in other branches of production. There were more ironworks and mechanical plants with larger volumes of annual production in the Kyiv province than in other provinces. Underground phosphorite extraction was peculiar to the Podillia province. In the Volyn province, large volumes of production were achieved in the woodworking, glass, porcelain, cement, paper and brewing industries.

Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn regions represent rich experience of ethnic aspects of entrepreneurship. These provinces were multi-ethnic in their national composition, which determined the diversity of economic and cultural life of the region. The role of ethnic groups in a wide range of entrepreneurial activities was different, ambiguous and dependent on the state policy. Russian tsarist government controlled the process of colonization, adjusting it with laws on private land ownership, its lease, etc. Therefore, periods of encouragement of foreign colonists for the resettlement shifted with certain restraining measures. However, integration of the Germans, the Czechs, the Poles and local Jews into the system of economic relations in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces positively influenced the further development of agriculture, industry, trade and entrepreneurship. It is not deniable that local peasants adopted colonists' crop rotation, began fertilize organic soil, started to make new types of agricultural inventory, and borrowed more productive breeds of cattle.

In order to reduce the influence of Polish landowners, the Russian government carried out an intensive russification of the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces. Government officials, nobles and landlords of the central Russian provinces were granted with preferential terms for the acquisition and lease of land in this region. Thus, the Russian landowners Balashovs owned more than 500 thousand dessiatines of land. In particular, K. Balashova was the owner of two largest estates — Shpykivskiyi (11,8 thousand dessiatine), the best sugar plant in the Podillia province and Moshnogorodyschenskiy (43,6 thousand dessiatine) in the Kyiv province, which she inherited from her uncle S. Vorontsov. The development of the household was facilitated by the high profits received from 2 distilleries, 2 brick plants, sawmills, breweries and a sugar factory built in 1876. Cheap labor force of the land-poor peasantry was used at the enterprises and estates, which was enough in these areas<sup>1</sup>.

K. Balashova's entrepreneurship is proved by a number of operations carried out in the sugar-beet industry. Thus, in 1910, K. Balashova leased Mariinskiy sugar plant for a term of 24 years to the Stock Company Marino-Horodyschenskiy Refinery. At the same time, she made an agreement with this Stock Company that during the entire lease of the Mariinskiy sugar plant, she takes the commitment to grow sugar beets on her lands (1400–1500 dessiatine) and to hand over the entire

<sup>1</sup> Державний архів Київської обл. (Держархів Київської обл.). Ф. 1556. Оп. 1. Спр. 45. Арк. 43.

harvest to the Mariinskyi plant. In the same period, in 1910 K. Balashova leased Burtiansko-Viazivskyi estate of colonel Ivashchenko in Cherkassy district (6739 dessiatine) for 14 years with all buildings, lands, lease and labor-rent articles, and also was obliged to grow sugar beets on the leased land of this estate (700–800 dessiatine) for the Mariinskyi plant<sup>1</sup>.

Russian nobility of foreign origin took an active role in the economic life of Ukraine in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup>— the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. These were San-Donato, Wittgenstein, Gutten-Chapskyi, Broel-Pliater, Shembeky, Nirod, Geiden, Morstin, Shteinhel, Wrangel, Mass, Meka and others. They mainly had land tenure and the most common types of entrepreneurial activity in their estates were distilling and grain milling.

During the investigated period there was a problem of relations between the Russian authorities and Polish nobility. It was particularly manifested in solving issues concerning its legalization, redistribution of land ownership and various restrictive measures. However, despite prohibitions and repressive measures, the share of the Poles in entrepreneurial activities in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces remained significant. Polish landowners occupied a significant place among the owners of sugar plants, distilleries and mills. These were Branytski, Pototski, Sangushki, Yaroshynski, Radzyvily, Liubomyrski. The work of the well-known industrialists and public figures in the Podillia region such as K. Bushchynskyi, S. Dersevilia, E. Mankovskyi, O. Tyshkevych, A. Urbanskyi, T. Grokholskyi, Z. Grokholskyi was a multi-faceted activity.

The Volyn province provided a lot of information about the entrepreneurship of the Poles. Half of the entire Polish population of Ukraine resided in that territory at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the oppression the system of Polish land tenure rooted firmly in the Volyn province. The high intensity of production was illustrative of the estates owned by count Y. Pototskyi (70 876 dessiatine) located in Novograd-Volynskyi, Starokonstantyniv and Zaslav districts, also by R. Sangushko (65 213 dessiatine) in Lutsk and Rivne districts, and by counts Liubomirski (15 692 dessiatine) in Rivne district<sup>2</sup>.

Along with the production of agricultural products, Polish landowners developed distillery and flour-milling in their estates, which brought them significant profits. Thus, in the late 70's of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Poles owned about 48% of industrial enterprises in the Volyn region (Klemantowicz, D. & Ziomek, W. 2004, s. 44). In particular, large distilleries belonged to countess S. Chatska in village Koniukhy of the Volodymyr-Volynskyi district, count I. Olizar on the farm Leonivka, K. Krasyskyi in village Kholoniv, count I. Tyshkevych in village Bilka of Zhytomyr district. Two plants were owned by F. Radzyvil in Dubny district, in the city of Belgorod,

<sup>1</sup> Держархів Київської обл. Ф. 1556. Оп. 1. Спр. 46; Спр. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Список землевладельцев и арендаторов Вольнской губернии, во владении которых находится не меньше 50 дес. земли. Житомир, 1913. 270 с.

in villages Tsvetosi and Mykhli of the same district; three factories belonged to R. Sangushko; the distillery of S. Liubomyrskyi produced alcoholic drinks in village Kolodentsi of the Rivne district. The distilleries in the Volyn province also belonged to such counts as V. Grokholskyi (village Grytsev, Zaslav district), L. Ledokhovskiyi (village Matviivtsi, Kremenets district), L. Liadukhovskiyi (village Korostova, Starokostyantyniv district). Polish entrepreneurs made a notable contribution to the development of paper, glass, porcelain and other industries of the province. Later the great landowner R. Sangushko (65 212 dessiatine of land) founded 4 paper and 2 cloth factories. Such products (paper, cardboard, cloth) were in demand on the market. G. Stetskyi, the owner of the estate in Romaniv of Novograd-Volynskiyi district (14 420 dessiatine) founded a glass factory in 1903.

In the context of restrictions of the economic activity of the Poles, numerous facts of the skillful economic management of small rural commodity producers are worth mentioning. According to the All-Russian Census in 1897, out of 184 thousand Poles in the Volyn Province, the majority constituted a group of farmers (60,8%). The Russian state encouraged colonization of low-fertility lands in the Volyn province by the Poles. Most of them received their shares in areas with waterlogged or sandy soils. However, even in these circumstances, the colonists managed to make their newly-founded farms profitable. The settlers used the land under tenancy; the most enterprising of them bought out that land in the future.

In particular, many settlements were founded by colonists in the Novograd-Volynskiyi district at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among them there was a village of Dorogan and a village of Kopilyanka. At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, those who leased land were permitted to buy out their land for private ownership. In 1903 with the help of the Volyn Land Bank, they created the Doroganske Society, which included 16 households<sup>1</sup>.

In 1908, the first peasant association of Yosyp, Frants, Anton, and Volodymyr Vyslotski was formed in village of Kopelianka. They bought out 20 dessiatine of land from the owner M. Muraviov with the help of the Peasant Land Bank. In 1909 there was another peasant society of two householders who bought out 9,3 dessiatine of land<sup>2</sup>.

27 Polish families who founded the colony of Yadvypol in Rivne district can serve as an example of more advanced land use in comparison with other peasant households. The colonists leased land plots ranging from 9 to 15 dessiatines for a fixed fee for 30 years from Radzyvil. They introduced a five-field crop rotation in agriculture. They practiced grass growing such as clover, vetch and timothy, as well as sowed fodder beets and carrots for cattle in the summer. Due to the lack of grazing, livestock were fed with hay, clover, root crops and straw in the summer<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Держархів Житомирської обл. Ф. 182. Оп. 1. Спр. 1539. Арк. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Польські поселення Житомирщини / [Білобровець О. М., Денисевич В. Ф., Кондратюк О. П., Полетаєв Г. В.] Житомир, 2011. С. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Держархів Житомирської обл. Ф. 226. Оп. 1. Спр. 47.

Apart from agriculture, Polish settlers developed glass, porcelain, woodworking, iron-mining, pitch, potash production. To this day, the names of many “Polish villages” keep memory about the occupation of their inhabitants. In particular, some toponyms reflect the type of production that were present in the village, for example, the places where iron was extracted from bog ore (Rudnia Gatskivka, Rudnia Kamin, Rudnia Kropyvenka, Rudnia Gorodyshche, Nova Rudnia), the places where the glass was produced (Guta Yustynivka, Guta Shyietska, Guta Isakivka), etc. The village of Adamivka was founded in the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century as a settlement of gentry for hot-glass production. It was a part of the Sokolovskiy estate owned by countess Ya. Stetska. As of 1858 it had 38 inhabitants, in 1911 already 608<sup>1</sup>. Marianivka, which was founded at the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century also belongs to the “Polish villages”. Due to the presence of significant reserves of quartz sand, starting from 1700, the glass factory worked there<sup>2</sup>.

Despite the fact that the Russian tsarism restricted human rights and economic opportunities of the Jews, representatives of the Jewish ethnic group showed remarkable entrepreneurial activity. Brodski, who owned large capital and a number of highly productive enterprises, became well-known entrepreneurs. In the Kyiv region, tobacco factories were owned by Kogeniv (Kyiv), A. Zarytskyi (Cherkasy), Kh. Marianovskiy (Uman), N. Grobivker (Berdychiv). The majority of representatives of the Jewish ethnic group owned sawmills and other woodworking enterprises in the Volyn province. The author estimated that at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century out of 45 sawmills that existed in the province 28 belonged to the Jews (60,9%). Thus, Kh. Gottesman owned 4 sawmills, his brother, Ya. Gottesman along with the son were the owners of plants in Ovruch and Zhytomyr districts; 2 sawmills in Zhytomyr district belonged to A. Grafman<sup>3</sup>.

German colonization of the provinces in the Right-Bank Ukraine, especially Volyn, in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century took place mostly in the sphere of agriculture, although a number of the Germans were also employed in industry. The massive resettlement of the Germans to the territory of the region was facilitated by the considerable privileges provided by the tsarist government, which was determined by the hope to weaken the Polish economic influence. The predominant form of land tenure of the Germans was land lease, although they did their best to purchase land for ownership. The area of German land tenure grew rapidly, which forced the authorities to adopt appropriate legislative restrictions. However, these attempts did not give the desired result.

At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, German land tenure was in the third place after Polish and Russian. According to the statistics of that time, the land plots

<sup>1</sup> Польські поселення Житомирщини / [Білобровець О. М., Денисевич В. Ф., Кондратюк О. П., Полетаєв Г. В.] Житомир: 2011. С. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Польські поселення Житомирщини / [Білобровець О. М., Денисевич В. Ф., Кондратюк О. П., Полетаєв Г. В.] Житомир: 2011. С. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Фабрично-заводские предприятия Российской империи / под. ред. Ф. А. Шобер. [2-е изд.]. Петроград., 1914.

of German owners were up to 50 dessiatines. There were few German people among the large landowners of the province. The Arndt family were wealthy landowners; they owned 3 507 dessiatines in Zhytomyr and Novograd-Volynskiy districts. G. Rhein owned 3579 dessiatines in Ostroh district, F. Banautu 6 601 dessiatines in Rivne district. A little earlier, in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of the estates in different districts of the province belonged to V. Rau with a total area of 22 387 dessiatines<sup>1</sup>. German farms were distinguished by better technical equipment, sound use of land, advanced technologies in agriculture and livestock breeding.

In the context of the region, the role of the Germans was noticeable in the development of forestry, woodworking, cloth, paper, flour mill, and brewing industries. The enterprising Germans engaged in timber logging, founded sawmills and various woodworking enterprises utilizing the existing forests. In particular, V. Rau owned 3 sawmills in villages Kozyn, Orshiv and in town Stepan of Rivne district; A. Kendau was the owner of a sawmill in village Ploska of Dubno district; merchant Albrecht had the same plant in village Kasarevi of the same district. A large woodworking enterprise of the German firm “Wolf German” was located near Romaniv of Novograd-Volynskiy district<sup>2</sup>. The manufactured materials were sent to Danzig. It is clear that such massive timber logging left considerable areas of the forest cut down by the Germans, which, without further reproduction, had complex consequences for the forest resources of the Volyn region.

In the post-reform period, the Russian tsarist government took a number of measures to resettle the Czechs to the Volyn, Podillia and Kyiv region. Czech colonists, mostly engaged in agriculture, quickly developed craftsmanship and trade. Their economic management was at the highest level; it was considered a this model is considered to have been by the local peasantry. The economic activity of the Czechs, as well as favorable natural and climatic conditions, contributed to the intensive development of hop growing which started in the 1870’s, especially in Volyn. In 1882, 10–14 years after the organization of the first plantations in the province, up to 5 poods of hop were produced, later in 1887 — 37 thousand poods, in 1891 — 45 thousand poods. From 1910, average production volume reached 120 thousand pounds a year. (Засухин, И. 1910, с. 23).

The cultivation of hop facilitated the development of brewing, which became a profitable industry, where many enterprising people worked. From the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a rapid process of creating breweries in Novograd-Volynskiy, Rivne, Goroshky (now Volodarsk-Volynskiy), Myropil, Kodnia and others. In particular, in 1878 Y. Makhachek and T. Yansa founded a brewery “Slovianskyi”; it produced beer of different brands, which was in great demand. In 1903 I. Albrecht opened a brewery “Volyn”, which was located in the suburbs

<sup>1</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України в м. Києві (ЦДІАК України). Ф. 575. Оп. 1. Спр. 2.

<sup>2</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф. 575. Оп. 1. Спр. 2.

of Zhytomyr at that time; this brewery produced high-quality beer, which was awarded rewards at foreign exhibitions<sup>1</sup>.

The last decade has seen the creation of large Ukrainian business groups with agricultural, industrial and financial profile. This is linked to the formation of a new Ukrainian elite — representatives of “big business”. The issue of ownership changes of large and strategic state-owned enterprises and increase of the efficiency of the management of Ukraine’s agricultural property are still not resolved (Chugaievska, S. & Wisła, R. & Nowosad, A. 2020, p. 32).

The share of the agricultural sector in the Ukrainian economy in the early 1990’s was close to 25% (in Gross Domestic Product, GDP), while the industrial processing sector accounted for a total of 80% of the stream of GDP produced. Between 1995 and 2001, the share of agriculture fluctuated between 14,5% and 12%; in 2007, it fell to its lowest level in Ukraine’s history (6,6%). The period 2008–2015 manifested a consistent marked increase in the share of agricultural production in GDP (an increase of 5,5% points). In 2017, this share was 10,1% in the Ukrainian economy (Wisła, R. & Chugaievska, S. & Nowosad, A. & Turanli, U. 2020, p. 46).

*Conclusions.* Rural entrepreneurship became an important factor in accelerating the economic development in the Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The most profitable areas were the cultivation of cereal crops, sugar beets, potatoes, hop, and also sugar, milling and distillery industries. The driving force of economic modernization and the intensification of production were rural entrepreneurs, mainly landowners and wealthy peasants. The basis of economic development was the large land tenure of enterprising landlords, who mastered the effective method of management — a combination of agricultural and industrial production. At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, a significant part of the products on the market were produced at peasant households, which were mastering the wisdom of competition and the ability to make profits.

Examples of multi-industry entrepreneurial activity of Tereshchenko, Khanenko, Symyrenko, Bobrynskyi, Pototskyi, Branytskyi, Balashov, Sangushko, Brodskyi, Yaroshynskyi and many other householders can serve as an example for modern entrepreneurs. Integration of the Poles, Jews, Germans, and Czechs into the system of economic relations in the Right-Bank provinces had a positive influence on the further development of agriculture, industry, trade and entrepreneurship.

In the realities of that time, these were rural entrepreneurs who managed to find ways to intensify their production in rural areas, to conduct profitable economic management, using the climatic conditions of the province, land resources, mineral deposits, timber, capital and entrepreneurial ability, which is

<sup>1</sup> Памятная книжка Вольнской губернии на 1913 г. Житомир, 1912. С. 10.

so relevant today. Although owners of land resources and enterprises achieved an increase in profits, along with other factors and at the expense of the cheap labor of the impoverished rural population, we regard the entrepreneurship of that period as a positive phenomenon that facilitated economic modernization and intensification of production in Ukraine.

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## **ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПЕРЕЯСЛАВСЬКОГО ЗЕМСЬКОГО СКЛАДУ ЗЕМЛЕРОБСЬКИХ ЗНАРЯДЬ І МАШИН У 1892–1915 РР. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ПОСТАНОВ І ЗВІТІВ ПЕРЕЯСЛАВСЬКИХ ЗЕМСЬКИХ ЗБОРІВ)**

*Pereyaslav Depot of Agricultural Equipment and Mashines  
in 1892–1915: Based on the Materials of Regulations  
and Reports of the Pereyaslav County Administration*

*На основі матеріалів постанов і звітів Переяславських повітових земських зборів, Переяславської земської Управи та інших джерел проаналізовано історію створення Переяславського земського складу землеробських знарядь і машин та його діяльність у 1892–1917 рр. Охарактеризовано асортимент сільськогосподарського реманенту складу, основні напрямки та механізми його реалізації. Відзначено, що заходи переяславського земства щодо забезпечення населення сільськогосподарським реманентом сприяли підвищенню технічної бази місцевого сільського господарства, покращенню агрокультури в регіоні.*

**Ключові слова:** Переяслав, склад землеробських знарядь і машин, земство, кредитування, фінансування.