

2. Socio-economic changes in Ukraine in the 60-80s of the XIX century

Abstract.

Many scientific works are devoted to the study of this problem. Interest in the socio-economic situation of Ukrainian lands after the agrarian reform of 1861 increased sharply in the 60-80s of the XIX century.

Deterioration of the social situation of the peasantry in the first half of the nineteenth century. in the conditions of serfdom led to the activity of peasant movements, which shook the foundations of an autocracy.

Agrarian reform was carried out in the interests of the landlords. The abolition of serfdom did not bring the peasants full equality. They were obliged to pay ransom payments. In addition, after the agrarian reform, the peasants received less land than they had before 1861.

The abolition of serfdom was a kind of key to the modernization of the Russian Empire. Such a radical transformation in the agricultural sector required urgent changes and shifts in other spheres of public life, which would make it possible to harmonize and stabilize the situation in the country.

According to scientific and archival sources, statistical data, the article analyzes the impact of the development of railway transport on the economic development of Ukrainian lands in the Russian Empire - in the 60-70's of the XIX century.

Scientific research examines the process of building a railway network in the 60-70s of the XIX century. in connection with the economic growth of industries and agriculture in the Ukrainian lands and their efficiency.

It is analyzed that the government has recognized the need to improve transport routes (railway construction) for the economic development of the country.

Construction of the railway network in the second half of the XIX century. particularly influenced the development of domestic trade, commodity agriculture and increasing sown areas.

The railways contributed to changes in production conditions, became an impetus for further capitalization of the village, as evidenced by figures on increasing

the commodity production of wheat and other agricultural products, their transportation.

From the middle of the XIX century. Ukrainian lands are gradually becoming one of the economically developed regions of the Russian Empire with its strong railway network.

Nevertheless, the problem of the abolition of serfdom, the impact of the reform of 1861 on the economic development of Ukrainian lands, and today continues to be one that requires further research.

Introduction

On the basis of scientific research, analysis of archival sources, statistical data of the study analysis of socio-economic development of Ukrainian lands after the agrarian reform of 1861, the social situation of the peasantry after the abolition of serfdom, analyzed the development of the railway industry and its impact on economic reform.

The source base of the problem is given first of all by an array of works of pre-revolutionary history of Ukraine, in particular by collections of statistical data.

A certain role in the socio-economic study of Ukrainian lands was played by the activities of the General Staff of the Tsarist Army to study the provinces of the Russian Empire. The tenth volume of the "Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire" contains information about the state of the peasantry in the mid-nineteenth century [37].

Research published by P. Batiushkov "Podolia. Historical description: with one chromolithography, 2 phototypes, 46 engravings and 2 maps "(1891) reveals the features of economic, social, national and spiritual (religious) development of the Podolsk region in the late eighteenth - first half of the nineteenth century. [38].

Fundamental study of historical and economic nature "Abolition of serfdom in Ukraine: Sat. documents and materials "was dedicated to the anniversary of the agrarian reform of 1861 [39].

The research of historians Leshchenko L. [40], Zlupko S. [41], Shcherbyna P. [42], Zayonchkovsky P. [43], who studied the reform of the agricultural sector in 1861, is devoted to the study of this problem. and its impact on the economy of the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire, and the associated dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian peasantry with their social status.

The monograph by Reyent O., Serdyuk O. "Agriculture of Ukraine and the world food market (1861-1914)" reveals the peculiarities of the development of agriculture in Ukraine and its integration into the world food market in the second half of the XIX - early XX centuries. achievements of Ukrainian farms in the export of grain and other agricultural products, found out the reasons that hampered the development of export trade [44].

Of great interest in the study of our topic is the work of Prysyazhnyuk Yu. "Ukrainian peasantry of Dnieper Ukraine: sociomental history of the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century." XIX - early XX centuries. [45].

A fundamental study of the historical and economic nature of P. Andreev was dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the South-Western Railway [46]. An important fact for the study of this problem is contained in the memoirs of contemporaries, namely S. Witte, who as director of the Department of Railways and Minister of Railways, paid attention to improving rail transport, rational use of the railway network [47].

The development of the railway network is contained in the issues of the Journal of the Ministry of Railways, a body of the Ministry of Railways of the Russian Empire, which was published in St. Petersburg from 1826 to 1917. [48]

The research of the issue of railway construction is devoted to the scientific pages of the historian S. Kulchytsky, who considers the development of the railway network in the 70-90s of the XIX century. in connection with the industrial revolution in Russia and its impact on the economy of the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire [49].

Setting objectives. Researchers' attention to the issues of the agrarian reform of 1861, the social situation of the peasantry after the abolition of serfdom, socio-

economic development of Ukrainian lands due to the expansion of the Ukrainian railway network remains relevant.

The aim of the research is to try to analyze the main results of the agrarian reform of 1861, which was based on the elimination of serfdom of the peasantry from the landlords, which contributed to the capitalization of the agricultural sector, railway construction and economic development.

Thanks to the informational and analytical-synthetic methods of research on this topic, the economic development of Ukrainian lands in the 60-80s of the XIX century is considered. after the agrarian reform of 1861 - the abolition of serfdom.

2.1 Agrarian reform of 1861 and the situation of the Ukrainian peasantry

At the beginning of the XIX century. The feudal system slowed down the development of most branches of industrial and agricultural production throughout the Russian Empire, including the Ukrainian lands. Europe at that time freed itself from feudalism, embarking on a path of capitalist development with high economic performance.

The basis of the feudal system was established by law ownership of land, regardless of who was the owner of the land - the state or the landlord. Landlord and state peasants had no right to own land. Serfs made up 70% of the peasantry.

In most landed estates serfdom is becoming widespread as a form of labor rent. Thus, in the 1940s, in the South-Western region, out of 408 estates in 131 serfs, each peasant worked 3-4 days a week, and in 277 estates - each yard. In the provinces of the Left Bank of Ukraine, the size of serfdom, which was performed by more than 99% of landlord peasants, reached 4-5, and in some cases, 6 days a week [40, p. 52].

The Military Statistical Review of the Podolsk Province (1850) notes that peasants were forced to serve 6 days a week by whole families (except for girls under 12), which affected their low standard of living [37, p. 89].

Men aged 18-55 and women aged 17-50 served in serfdom. Peasants worked three-day serfdom, tasks were transferred through the treasurer [37, p. 96].

There were also other forms of duty. Thus, in the Podolsk province, peasants were forced to maintain a night guard of 2 people daily. At the direction of the landlord, they could work in a factory or factory [37, p. 97].

The state tried to legislate the amount of exploitation of serfs, and the size of their duties in most cases depended on the will of the landlord. The number of landless peasants from whom landowners have taken away land plots is growing. They were more often sent to work or used on farms as free labor.

In the first half of the XIX century. there is a deterioration in the social situation of peasants. With the development of commodity-money relations, the forms of social duties of serf peasants increased significantly and diversified. The intensification of serfdom contributed to the mass migration of peasants to the South, where taxes and duties were much lower.

Capitalist relations originated in Europe in the late eighteenth - first half of the nineteenth century. For the Russian Empire, serfdom became a brake on the further capitalist development of the entire state and Ukrainian lands. But already in the 20-30's of the XIX century. the process of disintegration of this system is planned, which was accompanied by a severe agrarian crisis. At the same time, there is a rise in popular discontent, and peasant movements are becoming more widespread, for example, led by V. Karmelyuk in the Right Bank of Ukraine. In addition, the causes of peasant movements were national and religious factors. In 1839, the governors-general of Kyiv, Volyn, and Podolia reported to the Minister of the Interior that Catholic clergy and gentlemen in the provinces were cruel to peasants, using violence, cruel punishment, and forcing them to starve, thus persecuting them for their Orthodox faith. [50, p. 247].

During 1855 there were 101 peasant demonstrations in Ukraine, in 1856 - 82, in 1857 - 191, in 1858 - 190, in 1859 - 63 and in 1860 - 81 demonstrations. Instead, during January-May 1861, the number of performances here was 622 [10, pp. 356-400]. However, as in the empire as a whole, they all occurred mainly after March 9-10, ie after the publication of documents on the reform of 1861.

Defeat of Russia in the Crimean War of 1853-1856 pp. showed the negative features of the feudal system.

On January 3, 1857, a Secret Committee was established, which was renamed the Main Committee for Peasant Affairs [15, pp.104-107]. According to the tsar's decree, the responsibilities of this committee included: to monitor the implementation of regulations on peasants freed from serfdom, to participate in the creation of a general peasant statute [52, p. 4].

Thus, those who were interested in the stability of their own situation had to solve the peasant question.

Tsar Alexander II understood the need to liberate the peasants. At the same time, going for reforms, Alexander II sought to preserve the existing form of government by adapting it to new trends and thus strengthen both domestic power and international authority of the empire, which was shaken after the defeat in the Crimean War. Under such circumstances, he, taking care of the state's interests, one must think, but thought little about how the masses would react to this.

In accordance with the order of the government, provincial committees were set up in the provinces to prepare for peasant reform. Particularly interested in the abolition of serfdom was the bourgeoisie, whose factories and mills needed free labor, and in the conditions of serfdom they were not enough - the peasants were attached to the land.

Thus, in the second half of the XIX century. in the Russian Empire there was a reform of the agricultural sector - the abolition of serfdom, or historians call the peasant, agrarian reform.

The main provisions of the reform of 1861 were set out in the Manifesto of February 19, 1861 and the "General Regulations on Peasants Freed from Serfdom." According to these documents, the peasants became personally free.

According to Article 1 of the General Regulations, it was declared that "the serfdom of peasants living in landed estates and of courtiers is abolished forever ...". According to this provision, serf peasants were declared "free peasants" and ceased to be the property of the landlord. They were allowed to conduct free trade, open industrial and craft enterprises, trade establishments, enroll in shops, buy, own and sell movable and immovable property, even, without the landlord's permission to marry, send children to educational institutions.

Agrarian reform provided for the following measures: 1) the abolition of serfdom, granting peasants the rights of citizens; 2) endowment of peasants with land and determination of duties for its use; 3) redemption of peasant holdings.

Despite the elimination of personal dependence on the landlords, the peasants continued to belong to the lower class. Without the permission of the community, they could not obtain a passport and leave the village, that is, they were restricted in their right to move. Peasants received a passport only for a year, paid a per capita tax, performed conscription. Until 1904, corporal punishment, separate peasant courts, and a circular guarantee for the payment of taxes and performance of duties persisted. Landlords were considered trustees of the rural community.

The landlords continued to own all the land, and the peasants became perpetual users of their share. According to the royal "Manifesto", the former serfs received the estate and allotment of field land for indefinite use. Norms of field allotment were set depending on the quality of land and terrain. According to the landlords, the government kept the maximum amount of fertile land.

The peasants protested against the unjust endowment of their land: "All of us are exhausted to the point of impossibility, around our small estates is bordered by the land of the former landowner Miklashevsky, an area of 120 acres. all kinds of inhuman abuse" [45, p. 281].

According to the agrarian reform, the peasant economy was separated from the landlord. Peasants received the right to engage in agricultural and other activities. Allotment land was provided to the village community, which, in accordance with government decisions; a) transferred it to the peasants in the hereditary land, b) left in public ownership and periodically distributed among the peasants' yards for temporary use depending on the quality of land, available souls and livestock. The most common were manor, foot and additional allotments. Infantry allotments were given to all peasants, for long-distance peasants there were additional allotments.

The decision on the procedure for redemption of land by peasants and the amount of the redemption amount was determined by a special Regulation on redemption.

Peasants could buy estates in the absence of debt to the landowner and the treasury. Only with the consent of the landlord could allotted land.

The law of 1881 introduced compulsory redemption of allotted land for landlord peasants.

The size of the ransom was determined by the capitalized value of the annual land rent and duties of the peasants (a sum of money, which, being deposited in the bank, would bring income in the amount of the value of the duties of the peasant before the reform of 1861 at a bank rate of 6%). If the rent and duties of the peasant was 10 rubles., Then, subject to the capitalization of this amount, he had to pay the owner of the land 166.6 rubles. ($10 \times 100 : 6$). This is the approximate cost of ten horses. The peasants paid the landlord 20-25% of the ransom in cash at the conclusion of the ransom agreement. Then the government became the mediator, paying the landlord 80% of the peasant's debt when providing a full allotment (75% - incomplete) part of the money, but mostly in the form of 5% of banknotes or redemption certificates. Peasants became debtors of the state and were obliged to repay the loan within 49 years, paying annually in% of the redemption amount. The average ransom was 150 rubles. outside. Thus, the landlord annually had interest on the ransom, which was equal to the income from the peasant economy before the reform [43, p. 304].

For each Ukrainian province, the amount of redemption payments for 49 years (million rubles):

- Chernihiv - 54.6 million rubles, which is 4.5 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Poltava - 49.4 million rubles, which is 5.6 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Kyiv - 110.0 million rubles, which is 3.7 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Podilska - 101.0 million rubles, which is 2.5 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Kherson - 33.2 million rubles, which is 5.8 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Tavriya - 3.5 million rubles, which is 7.4 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land.

Specific (belonged to the royal family) peasants received the right to buy land in 2 years. According to the law of 1866, state peasants received a permit to buy land for 6 years or assigned it for indefinite public allotment or yard use. The value of land rent was determined for 20 years. In 1886, compulsory land redemption was introduced for state peasants.

The law forbade the sale or purchase of allotted land until its full redemption.

The abolition of serfdom did not bring the peasants full equality. They were obliged to pay ransom payments. In addition, after the agrarian reform, the peasants received less land than they had before 1861.

The peasants of the Right Bank of Ukraine kept allotments in the amount determined by the inventory rules of 1847-1848 pp. On average, peasants were given 1.9-2.3 tithes per capita. As on the Left Bank, the land was allocated to the rural community and assigned to the peasants in the hereditary yard land use. In connection with the Polish uprising of 1863 p. tsarist government July 30, 1863 p. issued a law introducing compulsory redemption of peasant holdings.

Most Ukrainian peasants received manorial and foot plots of land. While cultivating it, it was not enough to provide for oneself. The average allotment per capita on the Left Bank was up to 2.5 tithes, in the provinces of Steppe Ukraine - up to 3.2, on the Right Bank - 2.9 tithes. The allotments of state peasants averaged 4.9 tithes per capita, which was almost twice the size of the serfs' allotments. Landowners gave them the worst lands. But the peasants continued to consider the land - "nurse" the mediator between God and people, through whom good is transmitted, the Lord's mercy [45, p. 281].

Pastures, hayfields, forests, part of which after the reform was left in the common use of peasants and landowners, after the Senate decree of 1886 p. almost completely became the property of the landlords.

Agrarian reform had a certain feature in the Right Bank Ukraine. Doubting the loyalty of the Polish nobility (as evidenced by the Polish uprising of 1863), the

government tried to attract Ukrainian peasants to its side and distributed 18% more allotments than they had before 1861. But when they received larger allotments, the peasants were forced to pay for them at inflated prices. During the reform, the landlords took the best lands, leaving the worst to the peasants.

In the post-reform era on the Right Bank, the richest were Counts Branicki, who according to a special separate act issued by the Kyiv Judicial Chamber on February 28, 1866, received three polling stations - Bila Tserkva, Stavyshe and Boguslav. There were 145,000 children in the Bila Tserkva polling station. land, Stavyshechenskaya - 139, Boguslavskaya - 123, and together - 407 thousand dec. It should be reminded that the above-mentioned act did not include 97,994 acres, in particular, villages with lands in Cherkasy district - Kumeiky, Plevahy, Stanislavchyk, Mykhailivka, Shelepuhy, Bereznyaki, Sofiyivka and Gusha.

Possessions of Count KK Potocki only in Bratslav district of Podolsk province, on both sides of the Southern Bug, exceeded 20 thousand dec. The ancient Potocki Palace was located on the stone cliff of the river and sank in an extremely picturesque park [44, p. 17-18].

Police and gendarmes systematically informed the governors of the peasants' hostility to Polish and Russian landowners. The incompleteness of the peasant reform prompted the peasants to active mass demonstrations. Thus, in the Podolsk province, the peasant movement covered about 300 villages, or 32% of the total number of settlements in Ukraine. In the Kiev province participated residents of 242 settlements, which was 30% of their total [40, p. 51].

It is clear that the reduction of size had a depressing effect on the moral and volitional mood of the peasants-owners and members of their families [45, p. 283].

With the reduction of livestock in the yards, the peasants gave up, first of all, field plots (on occasion, they were forced to rent them on unfavorable terms) and only later got rid of gardens. Life became worse and worse, and crop failures led to a reduction in feeding supplies. And if before the peasants plowed their land with two or three pairs of oxen, now they were forced to use a pair of bad horses. Therefore, they often abandoned their farm and went to the city [45, p. 284].

In areas that were less suitable for cultivation, fields were more often used for pastures, carts and other trades were spread, firewood was cut and sawed, work was done in furnaces, sugar factories, near steam mills, and so on.

In the works of the Vinnytsia Committee of Economic Status it is noted that in Vinnytsia County there is 0.67 dec. land, 3.8 acres per yard, 8% have only one estate, 2.3% - landless and 14% with full plots. On average, peasants receive 12 rubles. per year per capita gross income from the land, per yard - 70 rubles., per tithe - 18 rubles. and this is still the best situation in the county due solely to local earnings. Unfortunately, the vodka drunk by the population goes to each yard in the amount of 25 rubles, ie 2.5 times higher than taxes (all redemption) [53, p. 351].

Large landowners of the Right Bank of Ukraine were forced to actively rebuild their farms due to the abolition of serfdom, adapting to new conditions and using self-employed labor, quickly becoming capitalist farmers and industrialists, which allowed them to save their land.

In addition to land, the landowners also owned mills, fishing, taverns, distilleries, looms, brickyards, sawmills and sugar factories, and so on. The largest sugar growers were Bobrynsky, Branytsky, Potocki, Baskakov, Balashov, and landowners — Tereshchenko, Kharitonienky, Brodsky, and others. There was a direct and inseparable connection between large landowners, sugar and other industries [44, p. 20].

Thus, the agrarian reform of 1861 was carried out in the interests of the landlords, which was reflected in its content and ways of implementation. Despite its bourgeois nature, it was fiscal to the peasantry.

With the support of the state and the lack of land demarcation before the reform, the landowners of the Russian Empire not only seized the best lands, but also cut off many of their peasants: from 14% in Kherson province to 37% in Ekaterinoslav. Therefore, after the reform, 220 thousand Ukrainian peasants remained landless, almost 100 thousand had an allotment of up to one tenth and 1,600,000 - from one to three tenths. In general, in the post-reform period, almost 94% of peasant farms owned plots of up to 5 acres, which did not allow for efficient farming. In addition, as a result

of the reform, Ukrainian peasants lost 1 million acres (over 15% of the total land area), which were previously in their use [51, p. 22].

The reform was carried out at the expense of the peasants, who were forced to pay landlords ransom for land, and in fact it was compensation for the abolition of feudal duties. Since they could not pay the full amount of 11 annual taxes from the peasant's court at once, the state acted as an intermediary between the peasants and the landlords. She paid ransom to the landlords, and gave the peasants a loan for 49 years. As a result, the royal treasury for each ruble given to the peasants received 63 kopecks of net profit [41, p. 236].

The ransom operation became a real robbery of the peasants. The peasants paid three times their value for their land. The peasants considered the reduction of their land use especially unfair. Cruel landlord exploitation, predatory nature of the reform itself caused dissatisfaction of peasants, which led to mass peasant demonstrations, one of the most important demands was the return of "segments" [42, p. 27].

The abolition of serfdom was a kind of key to the modernization of the Russian Empire. Such a radical transformation in the agricultural sector required urgent changes and shifts in other spheres of public life, which would make it possible to harmonize and stabilize the situation in the country.

The formation of bourgeois land ownership, the introduction of machinery and agricultural machinery, and the improvement of the structure of the economy contributed to an increase in yields, an expansion of sown areas and an increase in commodity production, and an increase in domestic and foreign trade.

The abolition of serfdom was one of the most important events of the second half of the XIX century. The state is forced to eliminate the feudal system that has existed for hundreds of years. The reform was prepared by the serfs, so it was not possible to make it radical. It was half-hearted, inconsistent, with a focus primarily on the interests of the nobility. The greatest achievement of this reform was that the peasants received personal freedom.

The peasant community remained in the villages, restricting the personal freedom of the peasants and regulating their economic activities, maintaining archaic

relations in the countryside. The peasants tried to leave the community and move to backyard land use.

Objectively, the peasant reform led to the improvement of the life of the peasantry and contributed to the economic and socio-political development of Ukrainian society. It was an important step in the capitalist transformation of society.

After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the Russian Empire began a slow transition from archaic to industrial society. The authorities sought to increase labor productivity, introduce new technologies in agriculture, and focus producers on the production of competitive products. However, agriculture remained the most important area of employment for the vast majority of the population. In different regions of Ukraine from 70 to 80% of rural residents lived exclusively through agricultural fishing [44, p. 11].

In the post-reform period, the expansion and strengthening of private land ownership, the reduction of landlordism, and the growth of its mortgage debt were decisive for agrarian relations in Ukraine.

Land became a commodity whose price was constantly rising. The process of stratification intensified the concentration of land in the affluent. Up to 80% of peasant farms were landless and landless.

The result of significant remnants of serfdom in the agricultural sector of Ukraine was artificial overpopulation. The surplus of labor in the countryside forced the peasants to go to work. The vast majority of villagers moved to the southern regions of Ukraine, Crimea, Caucasus, Bessarabia (about 800 thousand people.) [43, p. 142].

2.2 Construction of the railway network

Railways have played an important role in regulating the country's economic development and its place at the international level.

Given their capabilities, the owners of large estates were looking for ways to export their products to domestic and foreign markets.

It should be noted that the question of building railways was raised in the 30s of the XIX century. The Governor-General of Novorossiysk, Prince M. Vorontsov, argued that the railway was of great importance for the development of the Ukrainian economy. By connecting important cities by rail, each region of Ukraine could transport a large number of stocks of bread and other goods for trade, which would contribute to the future economic development of the regions [55, p. 27].

In the 40s of the XIX century, with the participation of the Governor-General of Novorossiya MS Vorontsov developed a project to build the Odesa-Parkan railway (on the Dniester) and to Olviopol; it was also planned to build a railway branch to the Baltic. Then the railway was to be extended to Kremenchuk. In addition, Odesa was mentioned in almost all railway construction projects. And this is understandable, because in the 30-40s of the XIX century, Odesa was a large grain export port [56, p. 194-195].

M. Vorontsov's project was approved by the tsar in 1850. The Crimean War delayed construction, significantly damaging Ukrainian agriculture, whose share in the foreign market decreased [57, p. 245]. But another reason for the delay in the construction of railways was the lack of interest of Ukrainian landowners in solving transport problems. With the construction of railways, landowners lost one of the duties of their serfs - "underwater".

The first railway companies were established in the 1940s and 1950s. Thus, in 1848, a secret adviser to Marina proposed to build a railway from Odessa through Olviopil to Kremenchuk. An amount was allocated from the local fund to study the area under construction. But the project was not completed since Marina died.

In 1852, Prince L. Kochubey asked the government's permission to form a company to build a railway from Kharkiv to Feodosia with a branch to the Dnieper pier near Katerynoslav with a 4% guarantee of fixed capital of 25 million rubles for 50 years. After the completion of this project by the government, the customer refused to build.

In the spring of 1857, another railway construction company appeared in Ukraine. Representatives of the Trade House "T. Bonar and K »princes S. Dolgoruky

and L. Kochubey, Count F. Lubensky and others asked to form a joint-stock company to build a railway from Odessa to Balta, Bratslav, Kyiv, Nizhyn with a length of 1483 km, determining its value at 2.8 million *kp6*. silver. All this was rejected due to more favorable offers [58, p. 85-86].

With the introduction of the agrarian reform of 1861, the transport backwardness and crisis became clear. Thus, in 1862 in the landed estates of the Right Bank of Ukraine remained without sales up to 1.34 thousand tons of grain [49, p. 104].

The lack of perfect transport links delayed the development of industry. So, in 1866 in Donbass there were 10 million tons of not taken out coal.

On January 15, 1863, the Novorossiysk Governor-General P. Kotsebu began to build a railway line from Odessa to the Fence at the expense of state funds [48, p. 36]. On March 26, 1864, Kotzebue was ordered to extend the railway to the town of Balti. Balta was a significant trade center of the Podolsk province, where there were long bread shops and fairs. Products produced mainly in the South-Western region (bread, lard, wool, seeds, etc.) were sent to Odessa from the Baltics [23, sheets 79, 88]. In the middle of the XIX century. this city actually became a shopping center in the south of Ukraine, where large fairs were held. The great importance of this railway line was that the products of the South-Western region were sent from the port of Odessa [46, p. 60].

As early as December 1865, the movement of goods and, later, passenger traffic began along this line.

In the same year, the Society de Vriere and K. was commissioned to build the Kyiv-Baltic Railway with a branch to Volochysk. The length of this line reached 456.5 km.

In 1871 the railway lines Kyiv-Kozyatyn, Birzula-Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka-Volochysk (488 km) were put into operation [60, p. 2, 39]. It should be noted that all this intensified and paved the way for the sale of local products for the population of Kyiv, Volyn, Podolsk provinces, which made it impossible to transport them by oxen [61, p. 9]. The opening of the Kyiv-Baltic Railway contributed to the further development of the South-Western region.

Dozens and hundreds of entrepreneurs interested in big profits have been involved in the railway business since the mid-1960s. In order to accelerate the development of the railway network, the government pursued a policy of unlimited support for joint-stock companies, using a concession system of construction. This period lasted from 1866 to 1880, ie for 15 years [62, p. 7].

Joint-stock railway companies were considered as one of the best forms of private capital investment [63, p. 54]. The treasury, by giving concessions to joint-stock companies for the construction and maintenance of the railway, guaranteed them profits on shares and bonds of railway loans, took into account all their losses. The government provided continuous financial assistance to shareholders, guaranteeing 5% return on investment for 80 years or more. In addition, the treasury took on the task of selling share capital, holding all bonds and issuing them to shareholders specified in the charter. Railway companies, for their part, undertook to pay annual interest to the treasury and repay the specified amount within a specified period.

However, railway loans were not sold by the company, but directly by the government in foreign markets. Companies paid only interest on bond loans, but the difference between the income from the sale of loan capital and the interest paid on it came to shareholders and was the source of their dividends. All joint-stock companies received a government guarantee. In addition, the treasury guaranteed a return on capital, calculated on the basis of the inflated cost of railway construction. Government agencies did not interfere in the company's affairs. Railway construction provided large profits to concessionaires, and employees on private railways received high salaries. Yes, S.Yu. Witte received more as the manager of the private South-Western Railway than as the Minister of Finance [47, p. 152].

The first railway in Ukraine, built by the joint-stock company with significant financial assistance from the treasury, was the Kursk-Kiev railway, which connected the central industrial region of Russia with the center of the sugar industry of Ukraine. In November-December 1868, the Kursk-Kiev railway was opened to trains. In July 1869, the Kursk-Kharkiv section was opened, with a total length of 243 km [64, p. 15].

The Fastiv railway built by the society was opened to traffic on November 23, 1876, connecting the lines Kyiv-Odesa, Kharkiv-Mykolayiv, with a length of 354 km [58, p. 244]. The main purpose of this area is to serve the sugar industry.

In 1873-1875, the Lozova-Sevastopol railway network was built, thanks to which the Left Bank was connected with the Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih district and the Crimea [65, p.2]. This railway played an important role in increasing grain exports, opening the way to Donetsk Dnieper coal [58, p. 270].

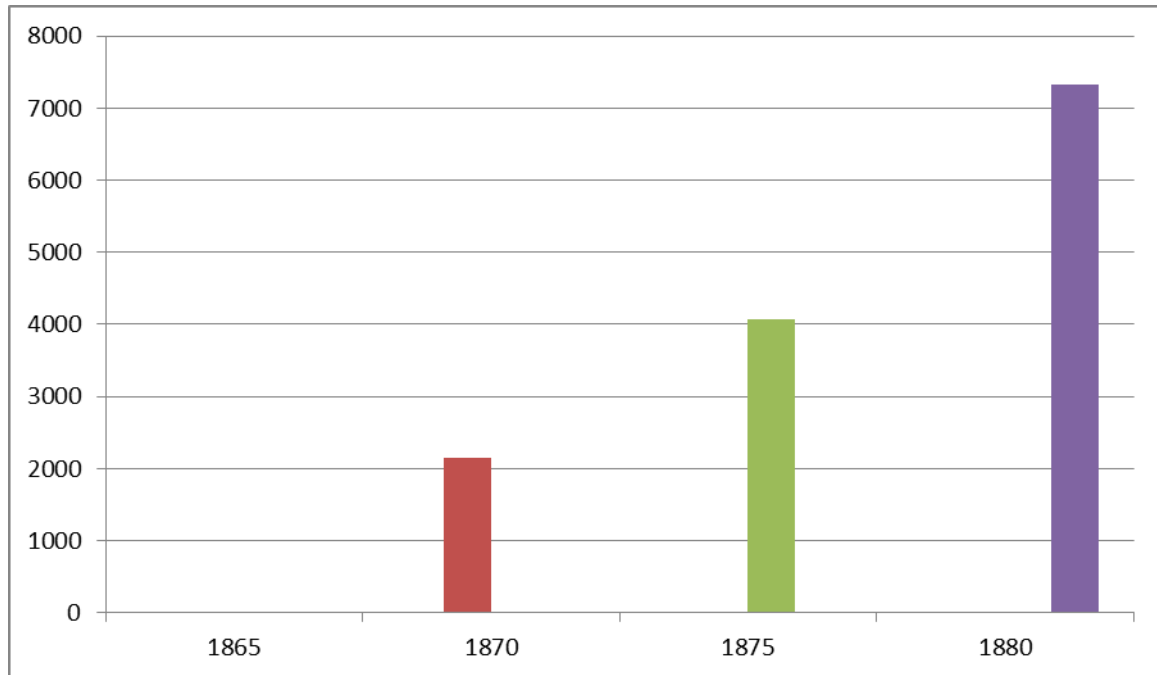
In 1876, the construction of the Donetsk Railway began, which was expected to revive the coal industry, facilitate the supply of metal and mineral fuels to the Black Sea Fleet. It was partially opened to traffic in December 1878, and finally in August 1879.

In the 70s of the XIX century. the merger of small railway companies begins. Thus, in 1878 the societies of Kyiv-Brest, Brest-Grayev and Odessa railways merged into the "Society of South-Western Railways", the length of which was 2167 km [66, p. 5-45]. The formation of this railway network was an extraordinary event.

The main line of the South-Western Railway Society is the most important artery connecting the Black and Baltic Seas, and through other railway lines it supports the connection of southern Russia (Odesa) with the Warsaw and Moscow industrial regions. Its importance for the South-West region is that it provides access to locally produced products (bread) both in the south (Odesa) and in the north (Danzing, Keninsberg). From January 1, 1895, the South-Western Railways will be transferred to the state (state) use [46, p. 3-4, 96].

During the period from 1875 to 1879, the Ukrainian railway network increased from 4,069 to 7,335 km, which is shown in Table 1.

Table 1.



Sources: CDIA of Ukraine. F.442. Op.534, Spr.180, ark.8; F. 442. Op.566. спп.49. arch. 17; Engine. 1870. Jan. 26, April 29; Kiev. 1865. December 2; Angeleiko V. Railways of Ukraine in 1865-1965 // Essays on the history of technology and science. 1962. S. 13-14.

The railways completely changed the conditions of production, became the impetus for further capitalist development of the village. This was reflected in the increase in agricultural production and export.

2.3 Interdependence of agricultural development and railway transport

With the gradual expansion of the railway network, industrial areas merged with agricultural suburbs, which contributed to the improvement of trade, strengthening the domestic market. The construction of new railways during this period allowed to expand trade relations with Europe and Asia. Thus, in 1866 the Ukrainian railways exported 736 thousand tons of wheat, 60 thousand tons of corn, 5.9 thousand tons of wool, 7 thousand tons of lard to Europe and Egypt [31, p. 16b].

Wheat remained the main crop. With the expansion of railways, the center of economic life moved to the southern and southeastern regions [68, p. 65].

The southern Ukrainian regions also needed to improve transport connections for their own development. There was a need to build a new port in Nikolaev, which in 1862 received the status of trade. This contributed to the increase in wheat exports to 40 million tons per year [69, p.11].

Therefore, the government is taking the following urgent decision: to build the Znamyanka-Mykolayiv railway to open access to the Left Bank of Ukraine. In August 1873, the movement of trains was opened by this railway branch. During the year it sent more than 8 million tons of wheat [70, p.11].

Large transport centers were formed: Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa. Each Ukrainian district had connections with the Black Sea-Azov ports.

Due to the increased capacity of rail transport, most of the goods were transported by him. Thus, Ukrainian sugar produced in 1871-1872, weighing 70,000 tons, was transported through Ukrainian territory by the following railways: Zhmerynsko-Odesa, Kremenchuk-Kharkiv, Kremenchug-Odesa, Kozyatyn - Kyiv - Moscow. In 1879 the export of sugar and grain cargo amounted to more than 376 thousand tons [71, p. 345].

The process of decentralization of trade took place: trade operations were carried out not only in large shopping centers, but also at small railway stations. At the same time, the role of large shopping centers grew, especially those that were railway junctions or ports.

Railway stations were flooded with a lot of small traders, commission agents, who bought bread, hemp, leather, lard, sheepskin, bristles and other goods. Layers of small trade intermediaries penetrated the village, quickly involved it in commodity-money circulation, contributed to the growth of marketability of agriculture.

Bread remained an important product in the domestic market. The expansion of the railway network was the impetus for the development of commodity bread production in the Ukrainian lands, especially in the southern provinces.

In 1871-1873, grain cargo accounted for 40.4% of the total cargo turnover of the Ukrainian railway network. The average annual export of grain from the South-Western region was up to 320 thousand tons. Gradually, this figure was increased. If

we analyze the period of 60-70's, it turns out the following: in 1862-1866 - 144 thousand tons, in 1867-1871 - 256 thousand tons, in 1872-1876 - 352 thousand tons , in 1877-1878 - 622 thousand tons [72, p. 2].

From 1878 to 1882 wheat was exported only from Poltava province: 7.5% to Belgium and Holland, 42% to England, 31.2% to France, 31% to France, 18% to Italy, Spain, Austria, Turkey and Romania. , 1% [48, p. 48-49].

The railways contributed to changes in production conditions, became an impetus for further capitalization of the village, as evidenced by figures on increasing the commodity production of wheat and other agricultural products, their transportation.

In 1875, grain transportation by Kyiv-Brest railway reached 72.9% of the total number of grain transportation [73, p.74].

During the period under study, the volume of grain exported from the Russian Empire, although with some fluctuations, gradually increased. In 1877, 252.011 million poods of five main cereals (wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn) were exported to the world market, including flour and bran [74, p. 4].

And if in the first half of the XIX century. The supplier was the Left Bank, then in the late 70's in the first place are the southern provinces of Ukraine, the average annual export of which is 464 thousand tons of wheat, compared with 320 thousand tons from the Right Bank provinces [68, p. 73].

Grain and flour were also important items in the internal trade of the Right Bank of Ukraine. Beginning in the 1950's, most of the bread from the Right Bank of Ukraine was sold for 2.5% of the annual harvest. The main bread was sold in local and domestic markets, processed into vodka, supplied to the army. 40% of bread fell on the Right Bank of Ukraine (wheat - 57%), about 38% - in the southern province, more than 22% - in Bessarabia.

Food products were sold in nearby and distant markets. The development of rail, sea and river transport provided them with direct access to Central Russia, Belarus, the Baltics, the Kingdom of Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia, the Far East [75, p. 34].

The leading role belonged to grain production. Arable land and crops expanded. The area of arable land in the 60-70's of the XIX century. increased from 19.7 to 29.1 million acres. The average grain harvest from the tithe on the Right Bank increased by 60%, on the Left Bank - by 92%, in the South - by 72% [76, p. 237].

The construction of the Catherine Railway contributed to the expansion of sown areas in the steppe provinces of Ukraine (Kherson, Ekaterinoslav and Tavriya), to sown areas increased from 5528.9 thousand acres in 1883-1887 to 8423, 9 thousand acres in 1898-1900. [76, p. 204].

In particular, in the Ekaterinoslav province, wheat production increased from 563 thousand tons in the 60's to 850.9 thousand tons in the 80's of the XIX century, ie by 51%. In the Kherson province for this period - from 236 thousand tons to 1111.2 thousand tons, and in the Tavriya province - from 167.5 thousand tons to 666.2 thousand tons of wheat annually [76, p. 146].

Ukraine was the main region of the Russian Empire, where wheat, barley, rye, oats, and buckwheat were grown.

Many potatoes were grown, which took an important place in the diet, became a raw material for industrial cultivation and starch production.

Sugar beet crops grew rapidly, in particular, in the Right Bank, Kharkiv, Chernihiv provinces. In general, Ukraine gave 82% of the gross collection of the empire [48, p. 60].

Flax and tobacco remained important technical crops in Ukraine. Despite some upsurge, crop production in eastern Ukraine remained backward.

In the agricultural sector of Ukraine, both in its western and eastern regions, significant remnants of feudal relations continue to persist, due to the very content of agrarian reforms. It is clear that they hinder the development of market relations, but, despite this, they are still gradually gaining ground in both landlord and peasant farms.

In the 1870s, bread was exported from Ukraine across the western land border, the Baltic and Black Sea-Azov ports. The latter were actively used by landowners of the Right Bank. At the same time, the latest research of Ukrainian historians clearly shows that "the importance of Baltic ports in European bread trade gradually declined,

while the role of southern ports was constantly growing and reached in the 1890s almost $\frac{3}{4}$ all-Russian" [74, p. 15]. Moreover, during the 70-80s of the XIX century. the share of Northern Black Sea ports in Black Sea grain exports has been gradually increasing, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2.

**Cargo turnover of the Black Sea-Azov ports in the 70-80's of the
XIX century.**
(thousand tons)

Port / years	187-75	1876-80	1881-85	1886	1887
Odesa	1081.87	1118.2	1325.16	1261.35	2052.7
Sevastopol	54.78	715.8	1003.36	2381.84	2998.56
Mykolaiv	301.64	1408.7	3392.15	3254.44	6610.69

Source: Bulletin of Finance, Industry and Trade. 1888. Vol.2. №36. Pp. 586-588

Improvements in grain exports have been observed in recent years. This was facilitated by the fact that at the end of the XIX century. Agriculture entered a new period of its development, which was accompanied by increasing the efficiency of various forms of land tenure - from small farms to landlords. At the same time, the extent of steppe plowing has significantly increased in the provinces of Southern Ukraine, as well as in the Don region, the Volga region and the North Caucasus. Thus, in 1894 in Ukraine was collected more than 1 billion poods of bread, a huge surplus of which was exported to foreign markets even in the following 1895. All this gave additional impetus to the overall development of productive forces, the industrial boom of the second half of the 1890s. and hence to increase the capacity of seaports in Ukraine [74, p. 20].

During this period, the Ukrainian provinces, compared with other regions of the Russian Empire, occupied a decisive place in the export of grain to the world market.

In total, about 178 million poods of bread (44.79%) were exported by rail from 9 Ukrainian provinces in 1895, 176.7 million (44.56%) from 28 Russian provinces, from the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Bessarabia, the Baltic region and the Belarusian provinces. - 41.8 million poods (10% of all exports by rail) [77, p. 79].

The post-reform period was marked by the undeniable dominance of Odessa among the Ukrainian Black Sea-Azov ports in terms of grain shipments to foreign markets. In 1890, the city received 83,650 railway wagons with grain cargo or about 50.19 million poods of various grains. For comparison: in the same year over 21,856 million poods of grain were delivered to Mykolayiv by rail, 13,659 million poods to Sevastopol, 3,492 million poods of grain to Mariupol [74, p. 13].

Relatively insignificant, given the distance from the main regions of grain growing, were the volumes of grain exports from Sevastopol. After the commissioning of the Kursk-Kharkiv-Sevastopol railway, the export of bread from the port of Sevastopol increased. Other ports through which grain was exported include Feodosia, Yevpatoria, Kerch, Henichesk and Skadovsk. The amount of grain coming to Feodosia for a long time also depended on the intensity of navigation on the Dnieper. However, from 1892 the situation became more favorable - after the completion of the construction of the railway Feodosia-Dzhankoy and its connection with Lozovo-Sevastopol branch. Since then, grain began to arrive en masse in the Crimea from Ekaterinoslav, Tavriya, Kharkiv and Poltava provinces.

It should be noted that at the end of the XIX century. Ukrainian territory became one of the economically developed regions of the Russian Empire, thanks to the expansion of the railway network and the industrial revolution in the 70-80's, which contributed to the formation of large industrial regions such as Donetsk coal region, Kryvyi Rih iron ore, Nikopol and Pipan manganese sugar.

Railroad tracks were often connected directly to land estates and sugar factories. Due to rail and river connections, the export of agricultural and livestock products to seaports and border points on land, and from there to the markets of Europe and the Middle East (to England, Germany, France, Italy, Turkey, Egypt and other countries) increased.

Conclusions. Summing up, it should be noted that the agrarian reform of 1861 had its own peculiarities, was carried out at the expense of the peasants, who had to pay ransom to the landlords. Formally, this ransom was intended for the land, but in fact it was compensation for the abolition of feudal duties.

The abolition of serfdom did not bring the peasants full equality. They were obliged to pay ransom payments. After the abolition of serfdom in European Russia, including Ukrainian lands, the remnants of feudal relations remained. It should be noted that after the reform the peasants had less land than before 1861.

The reform of 1861 was not completed. Mass landlessness of peasants, preservation of the remnants of serfdom in the countryside - all this led to the impoverishment of the bulk of the peasantry, to strengthen its class differentiation, the separation of the rural bourgeoisie (kulaks) and rural proletariat and the middle peasantry.

Significant evolution of agrarian relations and the development of the agricultural sector in the post-reform period of the second half of the nineteenth century. there was a deepening of specialization, increasing the yield of grain and industrial crops, the use of machines.

A series of subsequent reforms of the 60's and 70's of the XIX century. contributed to the transformation of the empire into a bourgeois monarchy, and the reforms of the 80-90's of the XIX century. allowed to maintain the existing form of government. On the other hand, the reform left great opportunities for the preservation of the remnants of feudal relations, the basis for this was the preserved landlordism and economic dependence of a large part of peasant farms on landlord farms.

The railways, which began to be actively built in the post-reform era, had a positive impact on the development of agriculture in Ukraine. The construction and expansion of the railway network have created favorable conditions for the export of agricultural products not only to the domestic but also the world market. The construction of new railways during this period allowed to expand trade relations with Europe and Asia. At the same time, the increase in the length of railways was accompanied by an increase in sown areas of grain and other crops.

Often, access tracks were brought directly to land estates and sugar factories, which contributed to their further economic recovery. Due to rail and river connections, the export of agricultural and livestock products to seaports and border points on land, and from there to the markets of Europe and the Middle East (to England, Germany, France, Italy, Turkey, Egypt and other countries) increased.