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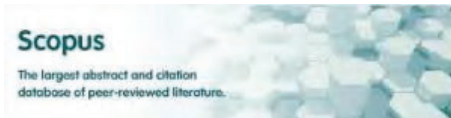
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STUDIES AND ARTICLES

MUNICIPAL INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN UKRAINE JEWS AT THE END OF THE XVIII – THE BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURIES: SETTLEMENT, MODERNIZATION AND PARTICIPATION IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

*Alexander V. Cheremisin**

Abstract

The article is dedicated to the research of Jewish population conditions in southern towns of Ukraine during the end of the XVIII – beginning of the XX centuries. Jewish population constituted a substantial part of southern towns' population during the studied period. That is why the participation of the Jews in cultural, national and municipal life of southern Ukrainian towns is analyzed. Employment of the Jews in towns is characterized, too. The South of Ukraine from a legal point of view of the Russian Empire was marked as a limit for Jewish settlement, so the details of their participation in self-government are analyzed. The problem of the Jews' participation in urbanization and modernization of the Southern Ukraine region is studied taken separately. Demographic changes in a part of Jewish population and in regard to their correlation in municipal councils are also characterized. The conclusions are made concerning the role of the Jews in urbanization of the Southern Ukraine region and their activity in municipal self-government.

Key words: *The South of Ukraine, Jewish population, municipal self-government, local government, the limits of settlement*

Introduction

In the second half of the XVIII century serious geopolitical changes took place which were related directly to the incorporation of the northern Black Sea region into the Russian Empire, making its borderline alongside the Black Sea coast, founding new towns and establishing new trading relationships: both international and home. After the above incorporation of the Southern Ukraine region into the Russian Empire previous or former military settlements became bases for a plenty of Southern Ukraine towns. Eventually they were regarded as “cities”, at the time the power was transferred from military command to civil administrations, which completed towns' formation and their obtaining civil power.

The building of military fortresses and new towns became a stimulus for economic, industrial and trading development of the region (Atanelishvili and Silagadze, 2018). Soon in the Southern Ukraine new towns were built on a basis of old Cossacks' and Crimean tartars' fortresses and settlements. Towns in the region were founded, first of all, as military-administrative centers, on which following primary

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tasks were put: to hold a territory, to populate it, to form administrations and only in due course to develop economically.

International relationships became more tolerant, old conflicts were forgotten and stereotypes were changed. Those who were enemies in their homelands, here in the South of Ukraine got married. At the crossroads of Jewish, Russian and Ukrainian languages a specific “Odessa’s language” was borne. The South of Ukraine became the most tolerant region among others both in Ukraine and Russia in social, national, religious and cultural aspects. Thus, “new life” in the Southern Ukraine changed and modernized all social groups and nationalities, having produced new thinking and behavioural stereotypes as being Liberal-European and civilized. The above mentioned had an impact on social and political life which was more intensive here in comparison with neighbour regions of the Empire (Kozyrev, 2016).

The most characteristic feature of the Southern Ukraine was that from the very beginning it was an area of intensive international process. An active part in the process was taken by representatives of numerous ethnic groups, substantially different from each other by customs, national character, level of national self-consciousness, economic and cultural development. According to the report of Kherson Gubernator from 1852: “No province represented such a plenty of nationalities as Kherson one. Here apart from merchants of different nationalities, who constituted a substantial number, permanently there lived the Malorusians, the Great Russians, the Belarusians, the Serbians, the Bulgarians, the Moldavians, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Germans, the Karaims and the Jews” (Russian State Historical Archive, 2018). Further in the documents the following nationalities are mentioned: the Polish, the Swedes, the Gipsy, the Lithuanians, the Georgians, the Crimean Tatars, the Nogajans, the Kazakhs, the Italians, the French and the Mordovians; 22 nationalities in total. Each of these nationalities left a distinctive feature on the region’s variegated cultural life as well as on its economic activity.

Defining the status of representatives of different nationalities in the Southern Ukraine

The re-settlement of representatives of different nationalities onto the territory of the Southern Ukraine put a problem of defining their status (Bondaletov, 2015). The author shares V. Kolisnyk’s thought that on a basis of the colonization process in the South of Ukraine the Russian Government developed a classification system of state subjects who were divided into three groups (national-ethnic factor was taken as a criterion). The first group consisted of natural subjects among whom nobility, clergy, townspeople and countrymen were distinguished. The second group according to official terminology consisted of heterogeneous population. The third group, the separated one, consisted of Finnish population. Depending on belonging to this or that subject category, the legislation varied substantially in relation to legal status of a person (Kolisnyk, 2001: 70-77).

In fact, the attitude of the Russian Government to colonists of various nationalities was different, which was reflected on the legislation level. In particular:

- Jewish population was separated into a group for which on the territory of the South of Ukraine a limit of settlement was ordered.

- Jews were obliged to carry out military obligations paying in kind, even more than other groups of population;
- Jews were prohibited to take part in local self-government until 1870.

After the colonization of the region, its national formation was basically completed. The Ukrainians, the Russians and the Jews constituted a majority of population in the region (Kabuzan, 1976: 136-149).

According to the researches of O. Donik (2011) and O. Danylchenko (2009), the Russians were the most numerous population group in the Southern Ukraine towns. To the greater extent, they represented military officers, officials, nobility, tradesmen, townspeople, clergy and others. Their number increased substantially at the expense of natural migration from inner regions. The characteristic feature of the colonization of the South of Ukraine was that the Ukrainians settled in the countryside working on farms, whereas the Russians lived in towns. There are a lot of Crimean Tatars who lived in the countryside on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula. The Jews constituted a competitive number for the Russians in towns, which corresponded to military-administrative and commercial specifics of southern towns. Foreign colonists settled mostly in the countryside forming their own communities. In towns, they settled in small groups. For example, the Germans lived compactly in Sudak, Feodosija and other towns. The Greeks lived in Kherson, Mariupol, in the Crimean peninsular towns. The Jews constituted the most compact municipal communities in all towns of the South, especially in Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Kerch, Elisavetgrad, as the territory marked the limit of settlement. The Moldavians lived in all towns of the south, but the most populous group lived in Odessa. Communities of the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians, the Polish, the Greeks, the Swedes, the French, the Czechs, the Serbians, the Estonians, the Italians, the Lithuanians, the Belarusians, the Georgians, the Armenians and others were not populous in the Southern Ukraine towns.

The documents testified that on the territory of the Southern Ukraine all nationalities became modernized. It was indicated that the Russians learnt a lot of Ukrainian words, idiomatic expressions, sayings and other peculiarities of Ukrainian language. The Moldovan population, although having preserved its native language, knew Ukrainian well. The Serbs nearly merged with Ukrainian population. Besides, it was indicated that the Ukrainians of the Southern Ukraine differed from those living on other territories. The former was more mobile, and unlike the Ukrainians from the Left or the Right bank Ukraine, they did not suffer from serfdom's influence. They could go to the Crimea freely or to Moldova in order to earn money in towns, or to work on fields of other farmers or just to run away. Sometimes runaway Ukrainian serfs formed criminal groups who fought against Russian landlords and the Jews, which reflected old memory of Hydamacks movement. In general, there is a widespread opinion that the Ukrainians worked on farms mostly. So it was. Apart from that town Ukrainian residents worked in fishing co-operatives, salt enterprises or worked as cabmen (especially in port towns), when free from working on farms or as shepherds – feeding cattle (Maykov, 1868).

Representatives of the *Russian nationality* – the nobility and the merchantry – took official posts in the state, they were also engaged in commerce and industries.

Although Russian peasants settled in villages, they did not stay permanently there but went to towns the way they did in Russia. The *Belarusians* were not numerous, usually they were busy with farming and transportation. The *Polish* were divided into two categories. The first one took part in the colonization process of the end of the XVIII century. Representatives of this category belonged to higher social strata and served in the state or private service. Representatives of the second category – re-settled by the government in 1847 – were busy with cattle and agriculture farming. The *Bulgarians*, the *Moldavians* and the *Greeks* were busy mostly with cattle and agriculture farming and commerce. The *Germans* worked as teachers in towns, engaged in commerce, they were also industrialists, artisans and officials. The *Swedes* lived in colonies preserving their mother tongue and customs and regarded themselves as subjects of Russia; they studied Russian language in towns (Maykov, 1868).

The *Armenians* lived in towns forming small groups. They were busy with commerce and various trades. But the rich were not numerous, as the Jews were competitive with them in commerce. The *Jews* constituted one of the most numerous population groups in the Southern Ukraine towns. Their main activities were commerce and trading. There were also artisans, but rarely. They possessed main capitals of the region. They found it more profitable to deal with the Ukrainians or foreigners. Among Russian population they were known as renters or buyers of bankrupted estates, where they grew wheat or flax on fields and then sold crops abroad. In commerce they were not competitive only with the Russians (Maykov, 1868).

It is known that the Jews re-settling to modernized Southern Ukraine from Podolje and Volyn provinces, where their relatives still lived in traditional town-ghettoes, forgot their traditional lifestyle very quickly. As a result, they began to get ready 2-3 months before visiting relatives looking for old-fashioned suits, yarmulkes and other articles of traditional Jewish cloth; they also grew paces to look themselves their parents wanted them to (Turchenko and Turchenko, 2003).

Analysis of statistical data of representatives of different nationalities of the Southern Ukraine

Statistical data of Tavria province from 1865 indicated that the Russians (the Great Russians, the Malorusians) lived in towns in the quantity of 58 900 people (10.2% total population of the province). Their quantity was nearly the same on the Crimean peninsular. The Crimean Tatars were 4.7% (lived exceptionally on the Crimean peninsular). The Jews were 2.2%, the Greeks were 1.9%, and other nationalities were less than 1%. In total, townspeople constituted 20.3% in the province (Ravesskiy, 1865).

According to statistics of Katherinoslav province, the Great Russians constituted a majority of population in the south-east part (80 thousand people), whereas the Malorusians – in the north-west part. It was also indicated that the Serbs adopted completely traditions, customs and language of the Ukrainians and nearly merged into one nationality. The Jews (23 thousand people) lived in all towns of the province, were busy with commerce, the Greeks lived compactly in Mariupol district. The Armenians

(up to 20 thousand people) were mostly merchants or townspeople and were engaged in commerce in different towns of the south (Vilson, 1863).

According to the census of population from 1987, town's population were 28.87% of the total in the province. The most populated towns were Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson and Elisavetgrad. In the column "mother-tongue" it was indicated that the Ukrainians were 1 462 039 people, whereas the Russians were 545 375 in the province; there were no distribution data for towns. It was indicated, as a result, that the Russians prevailed in the western districts of the province, the Jews and the other nationalities prevailed in the east. In Odessa lived 55.6% Jews of all towns in the province. According to group distribution middle-classes constituted the most numerous group – 62%, peasants – 25%, merchants – 1.26%, foreigners – 2.88%, other groups – 8%. According to occupations of townspeople it was indicated that the Jews prevailed in commerce, whereas the Russians and the Ukrainians were engaged mostly in various industries (Troynitskiy, 1904).

In Tavria province according to the census of population from 1897 townspeople constituted 20% of the total. In the column "the Russians" there were subdivisions for nationalities: The Great Russians (49.1%), the Malorusians (10.4%) and the Belarusians (0.2%). As for other nationalities, there were following percentages: The Crimean Tatars in towns were 14.2%, the Jews – 11%, the Karaims – 3%, the Greeks – 3.6%, other nationalities – less than 1%. In the countryside the Ukrainians constituted a majority in comparison with towns (42.2%). In total, the Crimean Tatars in the province were about 34%, whereas the Russians – 28% (Troynitskiy, 1904).

According to the census of population from 1897, in Katherinoslav province townspeople were represented by their nationalities as following. In total in the province:

- the Ukrainians constituted a majority – 68.9%;
- the Russians – 17.27%;
- the Jews – 4.69%;
- the Germans – 3.83%;
- the Greeks – 2.31%;
- the Crimean Tatars – 0.82%;
- the others nationalities (the Poles, the Belarusians, the Moldavians, the Turks, the Gypsies, the French) – less than 1%.

In towns representatives of the abovementioned nationalities were distributed as following: in Katherinoslav the Russians constituted a majority (41.78%), the Jews – 35.43%, whereas the Ukrainians – only 15.76%. In Lugansk the Russians prevailed – 68.16%. Mariupol was populated mostly by the Russians (63.22%), the Jews were 15.14%, the Ukrainians – 10.4%. Other nationalities constituted the absolute minority. In particular, the Ukrainians were 19.2%, the Jews – 7.1%, other nationalities – less than 1%. Nearly a half the Russians (51.47%) and the Ukrainians (42.99%) lived in Slovanoserbsk. In Pavlograd the Ukrainians were 33.43%, whereas the Russians – 34.36%, the Jews – 27%. In Oleksandrovsk (42.98%), Novomoskovsk (77%), Verchnedniprovsk (56%), Bachmut (61.78%) the Ukrainian population prevailed. The Russians and the Jews constituted a minority there (Table 1).

Table 1: National representation in municipal self-government of the Southern Ukraine (Troynitskiy, 1904)

Town	Russians	Ukrainians	Jews	Poles	Romanians	Greeks	Crimean Tatars
Kherson	75,4	15	1,5	8,4			
Berislav	10	83,3					
Mykolaiv	90,4	3,6	0,6	7,4			
Olexandria	35	58,8					
Novogeorgievsk	63,3	36,4					
Ananjiv	41,6	35		15,6	6,5		
Elisavetgrad	59,8	28,4	2,9	7,8			
Bobrinetz	28,6	61,9		4,8	4,8		
Voznesensk	42,8	38,1		9,5			
Novomirgorod	95,6	4,4					
Olviopol	44,4	55,6					
Odessa	72,8	7,6	6,4	8,7			
Majaki	44,4	55,6					
Ovidiopol	63,3	27,2		9			
Ochakiv	44,4	55,6					
Katerinoslav	63	25	13				
Oleksandrivsk	37,7	58	3,8				
Bachmut	22,2	68,9	4,4				
Verchnedniprovsk	39	60,7					
Mariupol	67,8	7,1				14,3	
Novomoskovsk	38	53	3				
Pavlograd	64,6	29,2	6,3				
Slovjanoserbsk	50	50					
Lugansk	83,3	13,3					
Simferopol	71,6	9,2	2,6				5,5
Bachtchisarai	11,8	5,8					40,5
Karasubazar	42,1	5,2	10,5				31,5
Berdjansk	67,9	21,5					
Nogaïsk	85,7	14,3					
Orchiv	18,2	81,8					
Oleshki	91,3	6,5					
Eupatoria	63	6,5					15,2
Melitopol	76,9	13,5					
Perekop	77,8	3,7					11,1
Jalta	82,7	6,8					
Feodosia	69,2	5,7					5,7
Staryi Krym	80						
Kertch	84,3	4,7	4,7				1,5

According to the calculations of O. Danylchenko (2009), the national formation situation in towns at the beginning of the XX century had certain characteristic features. During the first decade, the percentage of towns' population surpassed that in other regions of Ukraine. In the South of Ukraine, it constituted 21.7%, whereas on an average for Ukraine it was 18.3%. Towns of the south remained multinational with