## ІСТОРИЧНІ СТУДІЇ

УДК 94(477) «18/19» DOI: 10.30840/2413-7065.4(85).2022.267875

# УЧАСТЬ ПІДДАНИХ ГАБСБУРЗЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ У БОРОШНОМЕЛЬНІЙ ПРОМИСЛОВОСТІ ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ (XIX – ПОЧ. XX СТ.)

## <u>Юрій ФІГУРНИЙ</u>

orcid.org/0000-0002-6463-0920 кандидат історичних наук, завідувач відділу української етнології НДІУ

#### Олена ЖАМ

країнознавство **4**(85)

> orcid.org/0000-0001-6216-5167 кандидат історичних наук, провідний науковий співробітник Музею хліба Національного історико-етнографічного заповідника «Переяслав»

### Оксана ВИСОВЕНЬ

orcid.org/0000-0002-0061-2301 доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри історії і культури України та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Університету Григорія Сковороди в Переяславі

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано участь підданих Австро-Угорської імперії у млинарстві Правобережної України (XIX – поч. XX ст.). Виявлено, що у досліджуваний період громадяни монархії Габсбургів відігравали помітну роль в борошномельній галузі Правобережної України. З'ясовано, що вони дали потужний імпульс розвитку борошномельної промисловості й формуванню кваліфікованого складу працівників млинів, це у свою чергу стало важливим чинником прискорення економічного розвитку регіону. Зазначено, що цьому сприяли тісні економічні, соціальні й політичні зв'язки між двома імперіями та відповідне законодавство у сфері торгово-промислового підприємництва. Показано, що активна участь австрійців, угорців, чехів та інших представників Австро-Угорської імперії у борошномельній галузі Правобережної України засвідчила їх позитивний вплив на розвиток млинарства. Виявлено, що австрійські переселенці поширювали передові технології, європейську підприємницьку та управлінську культуру, інвестували капітал в борошномельну промисловість. З'ясовано, що високий професіоналізм і гарна репутація громадян Австро-Угорщини сприяли їх залученню на посади службовців, робітників млинів, тому на Правобережжі України фахівців із європейських країн високо цінували й запрошували на найважливіші посади: директорів-розпорядників, помічників управляючих, машиністів, механіків. Показано, що чимало австро-угорських промислових і торгових компаній мали свої представництва на Правобережжі України, через які реалізовували товари австрійського й угорського виробництва. Виявлено, що великою популярністю на парових млинах регіону користувалися парові машини і млинарські механізми, виготовлені Королівським Угорським машинобудівним заводом у Будапешті. Доведено, що з початком Першої світової війни підприємництво австрійських підданих почало згортатися внаслідок низки законів, згідно з якими німецькі й австро-угорські піддані були зобов'язані у примусовому порядку продати нерухоме майно (землі, підприємства, фірми), яке їм належало.

**Ключові слова:** Правобережна Україна; Австро-Угорська імперія; Російська імперія; Поділля; борошномельна промисловість; млини.

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# PARTICIPATION OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE HABSBURG EMPIRE IN THE FLOUR INDUSTRY OF THE RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE (19<sup>th</sup> – EARLY 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES)

### <u>Yurii FIHURNYI</u>

Candidate of Historical Sciences, Head of Ukrainian Ethnology Department of RIUS

#### Olena ZHAM

*Candidate of Historical Sciences, lead research fellow of Bread Museum, National Historical and Ethnographic Reserve "Pereiaslav"* 

#### Oksana VYSOVEN

Doctor of Historical Sciences, research fellow of the Department of Military and Patriotic Education of RIUS

Annotation. The article analyzes the participation of the subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the milling industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was revealed that during the researched period, citizens of the Habsburg monarchy played a prominent role in the flour industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine. It was found that they gave a powerful impetus to the development of the flour industry and the formation of the qualified workforce of mill workers, which in turn became an important factor in accelerating the economic development of the region. It is noted that this was facilitated by the close economic, social and political ties between the two empires and the relevant legislation in the field of trade and industrial entrepreneurship. It is shown that the active participation of Austrians, Hungarians, Czechs and other representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the flour milling industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine ensured their positive influence on the development of milling. It was revealed that the Austrian immigrants expanded advanced technologies, European entrepreneurial and management culture, invested capital in the flour industry. It was found that high professionalism and good reputation of the citizens of Austria-Hungary contributed to their recruitment to the positions of employees, mill workers, therefore, on the Right-Bank of Ukraine specialists from European countries were highly valued and recruited to the most important positions: managing directors, assistant managers, machinists, mechanics. It is shown that many Austro-Hungarian industrial and trading companies had their representative offices on the Right-Bank of Ukraine, through which they sold goods of Austrian and Hungarian production. Steam engines and mill mechanisms manufactured by the Royal Hungarian Engineering Works in Budapest proved very popular in the region's steam mills. It is proven that with the beginning of the First World War, the entrepreneurship of Austrian subjects began to curtail as a result of a series of laws, according to which German and Austro-Hungarian subjects were obliged to forcibly sell real estate (land, enterprises, firms) that they owned.

*Key words:* Right-Bank Ukraine; Austro-Hungarian Empire; Russian Empire; Podillia; flour industry; mills.

Despite the undeclared Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war that has been going on for 9 years and the full-scale invasion of the Russian occupying forces on Ukrainian lands, which began on February 22, 2022, the European integration direction of its development remains on the agenda of the Ukrainian state. Since the accession of Ukraine to the European Commonwealth will contribute to the return of Ukraine not only to the family of European developed democratic countries, but also to the European community of civilization.

The relevance of the study of this problem is to show how in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries there were mutually beneficial

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economic contacts between the inhabitants of the Right-Bank Ukraine, which at that time were part of the Russian Empire, with the more developed European Austria-Hungary state.

The novelty of scientific intelligence lies in the fact that by researching the issues we announced, which, unfortunately, remain aside from the vast majority of conceptual analytical developments devoted to the economic development of the Right-Bank Ukraine and the important role of the subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in these processes.

The purpose of the study is to understand the participation of the subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the milling industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine (19th early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries). To realize the goal, we consider it expedient to outline the state of the investigated issues; to find out what role the citizens of the Habsburg monarchy played in the flour milling industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine during the research period; highlight how Austrian immigrants spread advanced technologies, European business and management culture, invested capital in the flour industry of the Right-Bank; to show that steam engines and mill mechanisms manufactured in Austria-Hungary were very popular at the steam mills of the region; to prove that with the beginning of the First World War, the entrepreneurship of Austrian subjects began to curtail as a result of a number of Russian laws; summarize the research.

The problem of the participation of subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the milling industry of the Right-Bank of Ukraine (19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) interested many scientists. Certain aspects of the problem were highlighted by the following researchers: P. Biletskyi, K. Bulba,

S. Yesiunin, O. Zham, O. Mashkin, O. Petrenko, S. Tikhonov and others.

In the late 19th - early 20th century in the agricultural sector of the Right-Bank of Ukraine, foreign entrepreneurship became more and more widespread, including the participation of the subjects of the Habsburg monarchy in the economic life of the region. This was facilitated by the relevant legal framework of the Russian Empire and bilateral agreements between the two empires. The law of 1861 allowed landowners to hire foreign workers and settle them on their own estates. The regulations on customs duties of 1863 and 1865 secured the right to freedom of trade and industry for the citizens who paid patent fees. In 1868, the government issued an official permit for the settlement of foreign immigrants in the region. In 1860 a treaty on trade and navigation was concluded, in 1867 – a declaration of mutual recognition of joint-stock trade, industrial and financial companies, in 1894 - a trade convention [2, p. 98; 3, p. 124]. According to the above-mentioned laws and regulations, Austro-Hungarian citizens were given the right to buy real estate freely, establish industrial enterprises, establish joint-stock companies, and engage in entrepreneurial activity on the same condition as local residents.

There were close economic and political ties between the Russian and Austrian empires (Austria-Hungary since 1867). It is understandable, because the countries had a common border. Among foreigners living on the Right-Bank, they were the subjects of the Habsburg Empire who outnumbered, especially in the adjacent Podillia and Volyn provinces. They had interests in many industries, but preferred mostly flour milling and distillery.

Austrian emigrants began to enter the flour-milling industry of the Right-Bank

Ukraine in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The introduction of steam mills required skilled workers, engineers, employees and other specialists, who at that time did not exist in the flour-milling industry of the Right-Bank and the Russian Empire as a whole yet. Having gained experience working at local enterprises, some of them became entrepreneurs by buying and renting mills. The profitable flour-milling industry was interesting not only for potential employees, but also for investments of Austrian capital. Citizens of Austria-Hungary invested in the modernization of existing and construction of new mills in the region under study.

Thus, the Austrian subjects on the Right-Bank were the owners, managers, tenants, employees of mills. Let's illustrate this with specific examples.

An Austrian citizen, Karl Weiss, owned mills in the town of Kornin, Skvyra county, Kyiv province. A former soldier of the Russian Imperial Army (since 1850 a major general, since 1860 a lieutenant general) after retiring, in 1859 he bought the town of Kornin from Ludwik Kruszynski. He immediately began to put the farm in order: in 1860 he built a sugar factory and had plans to improve the two-wheeled water mill. But soon for participating in the uprising of 1861, the Kornin estate was confiscated from Weiss. A few years later, the estate was returned to the general, but in a slightly reduced form. In 1864, Weiss built 4 windmills, a brewery, two shops, and a starch factory in the estate. In 1885 his heirs converted the water mill from cylindrical to a roller one. They installed 4 roller machines and 1 French millstone. The mill employed 6 workers, produced wheat flour of 4 grades. The products were sold in the vicinity, and about 8,000 poods were sent to Kyiv through Popilnia station (opened in 1870)

on the Kyiv-Fastiv-Koziatyn railway. Gersh Feldman rented a mill [10, p. 189].

In 1843, there were 21 mills in the Kurenivsky quarter of Kyiv. One of them, newly built with one pair of millstones, belonged to Count Valentii-Vladyslav Esterhazy, who had an estate near Preorka with an area of 8 acres [14, p. 270]. V. Esterhazy came from a very influential ancient Hungarian princely family, in 1796 he moved to Podillia and settled in Lutsk-Meleshkivska, Vinnytsia county, Podillia province. It is known that at this time (1799) 1044 people lived in the village, there were 135 yards, 5 water mills worked. He also had estates in Volyn and Kyiv provinces with mills inherited by his sons Valentii and Vladyslav. The brothers lived mostly in Vienna and their estates and, in particular, mills were managed by the managers [9, p. 122].

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century Austrian subjects owned a large number of mills in Podillia province. The Austrian Subject Count V. Dzedushinsky owned rolling and crushing mills in the estate of Yaryshiv, Mohyliv county, whose annual production was 24.1 thousand rubles. Count R. Potocki, a subject of the Habsburgs, owned two water mills (one of them with a grain grinder) in the Vinnytsia county at the Uladiv sugar plant. The spouses of the Austrian subjects Mychalyna and Heinrich Rychalski owned a water mill in the village of Chabany, Proskuriv county, Podillia Province. Their compatriot I. Voznychyshyn - two water mills in the villages Vadaturkul and Kaetanivka of Balta county. Their compatriot O. von Ram had a water mill in the village of Murafa, Yampil county, and L. Kuchynskyi – a water mill in the village of Pirogovo, Yampil county [1, p. 394–395]. Austrian S. Gaiman had a water mill in the village of Oleksiivka, Vinnytsia

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> county, and L. Markhlevskii - in the village of Sheremetka of Vinnytsia county. Austrian landowner Victor Skibnevskyi of Ślepowron coat of arms owned a water mill in the village of Holozubyntsi, Ushytsia county, Podillia province. It is known that there were only three water mills in the village, they were located on the river Studenitsa. One of them has survived to this day (Fig. 2). His son B. Skibnevskyi had water mills in the villages of Antonivka and Mushkutyntsi of Ushytsia county [2, p. 103]. In 1894, B. Skibnevskyi inherited the Holozubyn estate and bought another water mill in this village [1, p. 393]. Count of Hungarian Origin G. Shembek was the owner of a water mill in the village of Levada, Kamianets county, Podillia province [8, p. 85].

> An Austrian subject Oleksander Lianger was the owner of one of the largest steam flour mills in the Podillia province, located in Haisyn town. In 1894-1895 he installed 3 modern steam boilers at the enterprise, which provided 75,000 poods of annual grinding of this enterprise. 6 workers worked at the mill [2, p. 94]. According to the encyclopedic publication «History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR», the steam mill in Haisyn, built in 1899, was located on the outskirts of the city [6]. S. Yesiunin gives data according to which O. Lianger's steam meal was built in 1891 [7, p. 110]. The Podillia governor's report for 1878 states that in the reporting year there were 29 steam mills in the province, one of which was in Haisyn, 15 workers worked at it and flour worth 9,500 rubles was produced [16, p. 28-30]. According to the Podillia Provincial Statistical Committee, the steam mill in Haisyn, built in 1866 in a wooden three-story building, belonged to retired lieutenant Verderevskyi. The mill had 6 pairs of millstones, 3 pairs of which were with French

millstones, a steam engine with a capacity of 32 horsepower, sieves of the American system. A mechanic, 12 millers and workers were employed there. [12, p. 12].

In the village of Ihnatkovo, Yampil county, Podillia province (now the village of Hnatkiv, Tomashpil district, Vinnytsia region), the heirs of an Austrian subject L. Kuchynskyi had 558.24 acres of land, a water mill, 4 houses, an outbuilding and farm houses [2, p. 167].

An Austrian surgeon, David Rakh, who lived in Zhytomyr, Volyn county, dreamed of his own windmill. On May 31, 1849, he filed a petition in the Zhytomyr City Duma to give him a plot of land on the outskirts of the city for the construction of a windmill and to provide a loan for its construction in the amount of 15,000 silver rubles for 25 years. The Duma refused to allocate funds to D. Rakh, but acknowledged that the city needed a mill, so if he wants, he can build a windmill at his own expense, the required area will be given, even some discount when taxing the mill is possible for a while. It is separately stated that D. Rakh has to pay a fee of 1 ruble 20 kop. to the treasury for care, paper and other consumables. [15, p. 10].

The Odessa company of the Bershad sugar factory, whose shareholders were Austrian subjects, owned a steam water mill in the town of Bershad and a water mill in the village of Tartak, Olhopil county [2, p. 123].

However, more often the subjects of the Habsburg Empire rented mills. For example, an Austrian subject H. Langer in the 80s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century rented a stone water mill to Princess M. Sviatopolk-Chetvertynska on the Sob river (left tributary of the Southern Bug) in the town of Dashiv, Lypovets county, Kyiv province. The mill was built in 1850, its construction cost 25,000 rubles. In 1881, a new grinding stone mill was built on the

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site of the old wooden mill. It was rented by the Austrian H. Langer. He had a good technical education he received in Austria. With him the mill was improved: 6 pairs of millstones and 3 roller machines, a grain cleaning machine, two triers were installed. The mill worked uninterruptedly throughout the year. It processed rye and wheat. Highquality wheat flour of 4 grades was sold in various cities of the Russian Empire. More than 100,000 poods were sent through Vinnytsia station (opened in 1870) on the Kyiv-Zhmerynka-Birzula railway every year. Rye flour was sold on the spot. 22 male workers worked at the mill [10, p.186].

The mill of the peasant's association in the village of Fursy, Vasylkiv county, Kyiv province in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was rented by Austrian V. I. Shubert. His mill produced 14,000 poods of flour per year [5, p.56].

Specialists from Austria-Hungary also held senior positions at flour-milling enterprisers. Thus, the Austrian Ya. Brostsak served as the manager of a rolling mill in the village of Serby of Mohyliv county, and his compatriot T. Shermer – manager of one of the mills in Bratslav [2, p.123]. Austrian I. Schuster was the manager of a water roller mill on the Lozova river in the village of Serby, Mohyliv county, Podillia province (since 1948 the village of Hontivka, Chernivtsi district, Vinnytsia region). Austrian I. Tsvyntar was the manager of the mill in the village of Vadyturkul, Balta county, Podillia province [1, p. 395].

Anton Ruzhychka, an Austrian subject of Czech origin, was for a long time (from 1886 to 1906) the manager of a water roller mill in the village of Turbiv, Berdychiv county, Kyiv province, which belonged to the heirs of Princess Sofia Kudashova. The mill was built in 1886 from stone on the left rocky bank of the Desenka river, which was mined

by hand on the same bank. According to the legend, it had several floors and a length of about 100 m. In 1897, the water mill of Princess Sophia Kudasheva and Alexei Kudashev in Turbiv employed 42 workers and produced annually 192,800 poods of flour worth 199,900 rubles. [11, p. 14]. In the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the steam engine of the Menier system with an operating pressure of 6 atmospheres under the provincial № 952 was installed at the mill. At that time, the mill employed 48 workers from the locals, and the flour was exported abroad. A. Ruzhychka proved to be a skilled leader, with whom the mill worked successfully. He got out of difficult situations easily. Here is one example. According to the Circular of the Ministry of Finance of July 7, 1899, under № 22842, the senior factory inspector of the Kyiv province demanded on Sundays to replace Christian workers by non-Christian day laborers at all enterprises in the province. At this A. Ruzhychka wrote on February 11, 1900: «... I will not grind on Sundays... Workers refuse to work on Sundays with specially hired Jews, it is impossible to stop the mill, this is a huge loss, and it is also difficult to establish three shifts» [18, p. 36, 43,74]. Subsequently, A. Ruzhychka found a way out of the situation: he decided to stop working on steam on Saturdays and continue to work with water, then specialists such as firemen (5 people at the mill) do not need to work, and the remaining 6 laborers (2 millers, 2 grain growers, 2 grinders) will be replaced by adherents of different faith. But this did not have to be done, as the circular was soon canceled. Day laborers appeared to be useless for work at the mills and such a replacement was not allowed to prevent accidents at work. In 1907, «Turbiv steam-water roller grinding mill» was leased by Nathan Golovchiner [5, p. 43]. It employed 46

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> workers, produced 312,000 poods of flour worth 276,436 rubles. The working mechanisms included a turbine with a capacity of 50 horsepower and a steam engine with a capacity of 69 horsepower's. There is no information whether A. Ruzhychka stayed the manager at it. It is known only that during the general strike of workers of all enterprises of the city (sugar, leather, brick, mill ones and others) on May 26, 1907 a group of armed workers attacked the office of the Turbiv roller mill and destroyed all the documents [13]. In 1918, a part of the mill was destroyed, and the remaining one lasted until the middle 50s of the 20th century. In the summer of 1956, after the spring floods, the mill collapsed into the river. Today, only the foundation of the mill has remained.

> The high professionalism and good reputation of the Austrians contributed to their involvement in the positions of employees, mill workers. On the Right-Bank Ukraine, specialists from European countries were highly valued and attracted to the most important positions: managing directors, assistant managers, drivers, and mechanics.

> The special technical knowledge and skills of the Austrians in the flour production helped to build new mills and increase the productivity of the existing ones. For example, in 1846 the construction of a water roller mill in Sarny (until 1845 - Ohrim) on the Odai river was carried out with the participation of the Austrian insurance company «Salamander» (insurance against fires of movable and immovable property). The stone building was made of high quality bricks, measuring 42x13 m, half of the building has 3 floors, the other half - two. The equipment was purchased in the Netherlands and Austria-Hungary. The millstones were driven by an Austrian steamer with numerous transmissions. The mill produced

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high-grade flour. The capacity of the plant was 10 tons of grain during the shift. The owners of the mill were the landowner Marko Sarnetsky and the Uman merchants, the Jews of Posen. The mill has remained to this day in good condition [4, p. 75].

Many Austro-Hungarian subjects worked as mechanics and millers at steam mills. Machinists of steam mills in the village of Serbikivtsi of Lityn county and the village of Bortsi of Mogilev county of Podilia province were Austrian subjects L. Bernadrykivskyi and I. Bohdanovich [2, p. 123]. The miller at the mill in Tynna, Ushytsia county, was a Czech named G. Friedel [1, p. 393]. In 1915, some Austrian subjects who lived in Podillia province, in applications for Russian citizenship indicated their main profession as a miller or grinder:

1. Burysh Felix, born in 1891, living in the village of Berytivtsi of Letychiv county, miller;

2. Leopold Kopersky, born in 1876, living in Sataniv of Proskuriv county, miller;

3. Kulma Karl, born in 1849, living in the village of Nova Siniava, Lityn county, miller;

4. Prohasko Wilhelm, born in 1895, living in the village of Pochapyntsi of Kamianets county, miller;

5. Prohasko Sigismund, born in 1897, living in the village of Krasnostavtsi of Kamianets county, miller;

6. Shydlovskyi Mykola, born in 1868, living in Bratslav, of Vinnytsia county, miller;

7. Khudiak Iosyf, born in 188, living in Yaryshiv, Mohyliv county, grinder ;

8. Andriy Svystovych, born in 1861, living in Stara Ushytsia, Ushytsia county, miller and mechanic [2, p. 227].

Many Austro-Hungarian industrial and trade companies had their representative offices on the Right-Bank Ukraine, through which they sold goods of Austrian and Hungarian production. Steam machines and milling machines manufactured by the Royal Hungarian Machine-Building Plant in Budapest were very popular in the region's steam mills. For example, on August 26, 1897 the owner of a steam mill in the village of Stavyshche, Vladyslav Branytskyi applied to the senior factory inspector of Kyiv province for permission to replace the old steam engine with a new one manufactured at this plant. After obtaining a permit, a steam engine of the locomotive type «Compound» with a capacity of 16.5 horsepowers was installed at the mill under the provincial № 1944 [17, p. 197]. Almost until the end of the 19th century, the equipment of the mills on the Right-Bank was of foreign origin because the volumes of domestic production of milling machines and their technical perfection were not sufficient. In 1898, in Proskuriv, Podillia province, the Proskuriv Iron Foundry of the Austrian subject B. Ashkinazi, whose products included a variety of equipment for mills started working. Austrian F. Dibert received permission to re-equip his mechanical workshop into an iron foundry, which in addition to casting, began to produce straw cutters, graters and other accessories for mills [2, p. 90].

Thus, during the studied period, subjects of the Habsburg monarchy played a significant role in the flour-milling industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine. They gave a powerful impetus to the development of the flour-milling industry and the formation of a skilled staff of mills, which in turn was an important factor in accelerating the economic development of the region. First of all, this was facilitated by close economic, social and political ties, and relevant legislation in the field of trade and industry.

In one article it is not possible to cover the participation of all subjects of the

Habsburg monarchy in the milling of the Right-Bank Ukraine, so we limited ourselves to showing the participation of representatives in various areas of this industry. However, even a selective analysis shows the active participation of Austrians, Hungarians, Czechs and other representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the flour-milling industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine and shows their positive impact on the development of milling. Austrian settlers spread advanced technology, European business and management culture, invested capital into the flour industry. With the outbreak of World War I, the business of the Austrian subjects began to curtail as a result of a series of laws requiring Germans and Austro-Hungarians subjects to sell forcibly real estate (land, businesses, firms) they owned.

Despite curtailing mutually beneficial economic ties, the Ukrainians of the Right-Bank, thanks to the experience gained, continued to successfully develop their own flour milling industry, millinery and mills.

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