

DOI: 10.21847/1728-9343.2020.2(166).201961

MARYNA BUDZAR,

Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University (Kyiv, Ukraine)

e-mail: bmimab24@ukr.net, ORCID 0000-0002-3720-7799

THE COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES OF THE UKRAINIAN NOBILITY IN THE MID-19th CENTURY (ACCORDING TO CORRESPONDENCE)

The life of the Ukrainian nobility within the realities of the middle of the 19th century via the analysis of the communicative strategies is presented in the article. The consideration of the family correspondence has permitted to reconstruct the complicated network of social and cultural connections of the regional elite, whose representatives realized different range of ideological and behavioral objectives. The resourceful base of the article was a complex of letters from Galagan's family archive - a noble family that had origins in Cossacks' officers. The choice of the sources was determined by the following reasons. Firstly, the family of Galagan maintained close contacts with the regional nobility and simultaneously, established the new with the imperial authorities according to the marriage strategies during 18th-19th centuries. Secondly, the perfectly preserved archive provides the important material for communicative strategies' study on the base of correspondence. This fact permits to understand the work of social mechanisms affected on the landowners' life of Left-bank Ukraine during the middle of the 19th century. The aim of the article is to consider communicative strategies of the Ukrainian elite on the base of the family correspondence from Galagan's archive during the second half of 1840-s to the middle of 1860-s. The communicative scenarios of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine in the connections with the local authority and imperial center, landowners and peasants, groups of relatives within the noble community have been studied. The documents consideration provided an opportunity to know the reaction of the Ukrainian nobility to the events of 1840-1860-s: the actions of the imperial government during the reign of the emperors Mykola I and Oleksandr II regarding Ukraine, the Crimean War, the Peasant reform of 1861 and consequences of its implementation on the Ukrainian lands. The research results have developed the presentation of the Ukrainian society in space and time of the 19th century. The article is based on the original author's conception.

Key words: *communicative strategies; network of social connections; correspondence; Ukrainian nobility; Left-bank Ukraine; 19th century; G. P. Galagan; O. V. Kochubej.*

Introduction

The history of the Ukrainian nobility of the 19th century within the regional variants via the mechanisms of social action and recurring practices of communication within the regions has still been an urgent issue. It permits to demonstrate the sophisticated system of collective duties as the ground for community's social features. The crucial material for the study is provided from Left-bank Ukraine (within the provinces of Poltava and Chernihiv according to the administrative division of the 19th century). The ordinary life of the elite of the region was connected with the significant stages of Ukrainian early modern and modern history, namely the times of Poland, Hetmanat creation and imperial period. Despite the interest's revitalization to the social history of the region in the works of O. Gurzyi and Yu. Rusakova (*Gurzhi, Rusakov, 2017: 172*), T. Lytvynovoi (*Lytvynova, 2011: 732*), L. Yakymenko (*Yakymenko, 2019: 23-28*), etc. during the last decade, the issue of social and cultural communications of the nobility is not prioritized.

The epistolary heritage as a group of texts with the particular origins (ego-documents, self-narratives), the analysis of which demonstrates the individual features of social relations is a resource base of the study. The correspondence peculiarities "correlate with the forms of

practical actions and with disposition of the agents of communication in social space" (*Kozlova, 2004: 19*). The correspondence is "a crucial form of indirect communication that reflects all spheres of human life due to its poly-functional nature" (*Abrosymova, 1999: 116*). The fact enables the consideration of the diversity of communication in community where some social networks exist. The definition "social network" is explained as the multiplicity of members belonged to a social system and collection of connections depicted the interconnection of the persons (*Burt, 1980: 81*).

Family correspondence has high informational potential for the analysis of communication and networked practices. A group of relatives is an individual social network as well as an expanded network of personal connections in a community (*Wellman, 2000: 82*). The deeper relations at the social level are behind a family layer in the family correspondence as an affinity acts simultaneously as a product and result of social relations (*Rothery, 2018: 116*).

Having considered all abovementioned, the material for correspondence study was chosen from the archive of Galagan's family - one of the most preserved family collections of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine. It is a complex of letters written by the main keeper of the collection -

Grygoriy Pavlovych Galagan (1819-1888), the sixth representative of the family, to his uncle-in-law Oleksandr Vasilievych Kochubej (1788-1866), as his wife Kateryna Vasylivna Galagan was born Kochubej. The epistolary group contains the texts covered the great period from 1847 to 1865, and due to the significance of the author in the Ukrainian history of imperial time is a valuable source for the study of communication strategies of the Ukrainian nobility in the mid-19th century.

The correspondence between G.P. Galagan and O.V. Kochubej drew the researchers' attention. In the second half of 1920-s, Stepovych I.A. who was one of the first researchers of Galagan's archive, published two letters from the collection of May 1st, 1849¹ where the life in Kyiv was described in 1849 (*Stepovych (ed.), 1925: 109-110*) and of November 18th, 1861 that depicted a situation of the peasant reforms implementation in the estates of G.P. Galagan, one of the richest landowners in Left-bank Ukraine (*Stepovych, 1927: 11-12*). Moreover, the researcher used the letters in two articles. The first revealed the analysis of G.P. Galagan's participation in the peasant reforms in the south-western region (Kyiv, Podillia, Volyn) (*Stepovych, 1927: 332-341*), the second was devoted to the analysis of local self-governance on the lands of Left-bank Ukraine (*Stepovych, 1927: 185-189*). The communication network of the Ukrainian nobility with the focus on the relations between the nobility and peasants at the beginning of reform period in Russian empire was partially reconstructed in all publications, mainly in final two.

The value of G.P. Galagan's correspondence with O.V. Kochubej (along with other materials from Galagan's archive) has been gradually recognized by the modern scientists. In particular, T.F. Lytvynova has mentioned the high potential of the sources that "are the most informative for the study of spontaneous reactions, motivations, attitudes..." (*Lytvynova, 2011: 624*). Kovaliov E.A. re-read the articles of Stepanovych A.I. in a new way, namely the need for further study of the correspondence was mentioned (*Kovaliov, 2019*). The publication of the G.P. Galagan's letters to O.V. Kochubej has been continued, their partial characteristics in the context of analysis of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine according to the ego documents from Galagan's archive (*Budzar, 2017; Budzar, 2018*) have been presented. The provided context permits to apply the resource material for peculiarities consideration of social connections of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine in the middle of the 19th century.

The purpose of the article is to study the communicative strategies of Ukrainian elite on the base of the family correspondence from Galagan's archive (the letters of G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej) in the second half of 1840-s - the mid 1860-s.

Methods

The study is based on the principle of interdisciplinarity. The methods of archival and resource analysis are applied for efficient content interpretation of the correspondence, such as genetic method and problem personalization for determination of the consequences of text creation and the circumstances of personal author's life under which it was written, source attribution and chronology for its correlation with the content and historical events. The problem and thematic method is used for the correspondence characterization according to their informative saturation.

The sociological studies were useful regarding the main principle of work that was a social aspect. Primarily, it was determined that due to P. Berger and T. Luckmann,

"the social structure was the whole sum of standardization and repeated examples of interaction created on its base" (*Berger, Luckmann, 1995: 112*). Furthermore, we referred to the particular thesis of actor-network theory of B. Latour, the base of which was "the ensembles of relations", multi-component, changing integrity that did not have the independent existence in a single dimension (physical, functional or symbolic) (*Latour, 2014: 92*).

Additionally, a correspondence analysis of Galagan's archive based on the statement that a social network can be considered as a whole according to the ego-documents where the whole structured role relations are reproduced in society, and as a personal network where the personal connections are reconstructed.

Results

The complex of G.P. Galagan's letters to O.V. Kochubej that is the base of the study, has been stored in the funds of two institutions - The Institute of Manuscript of Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (fund III "Letters", 24 texts each of them is recorded in a separate file) and State Central Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv (fund 1475 "Galagan, landowners", 53 texts, united in one file²). It was explained by the peculiarities of correspondence storage and processing, from which A.I. Stepovych had chosen separate letters (the letters were given to the scientist by the niece of G.P. Galagan, K.P. Lamzdorf-Galagan) at the end of the 19th century. "I have slowly transferred his letters to the department of Manuscript of National Library" - A.I. Stepovych mentioned in his article in 1928 (*Stepovych, 1927: 186*). Such dispersion is not correct as the letters are an integral complex according to the chronology and content. The regular correspondence began from the marriage between G.P. Galagan and K.V. Kochubej in 1847 and finished at the end of 1865 (soon O.V. Kochubej died). The high informative potential of the letters is caused by Galagan's personal attitude to his uncle-in-law as well as to his status, property and social priorities. Being a descendant of Cossacks' officers, who had seen the whole Ukrainian history in the past of his family; it meant a lot that his wife was born as Kochubej. It was the most significant for him that the old relatives of his wife partially kept a connection with Ukraine: "My uncles, my old Kochubej family, good people have preserved something our, something that has not been vanished despite their life in St. Petersburg. They are all young in the souls, everyone has, although, the part is cut, they have maintained the national name - Kochubej..."³ (the underlines made by the author, - M.B.). Nevertheless, the fact that O.V. Kochubej was an active privy councilor, senator, member of the State Council of Russian empire, had authority in the circles of the imperial bureaucracy⁴, was equally important for G.P. Galagan. He was a powerful person in the connections with the authority structures for his nephew, who represented the local regional nobility.

² ЦДІАК України (Центральний державний архів України, м. Київ) Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 127 аркушів. Листи Галагана до дядечка Кочубея. (State Central Historical Archive (SCHA) of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 127 pages. The letters of Galagan to his uncle-in-law Kochubej) 1847-1865.

³ ІР НБУВ (Інститут Рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. І. В. Вернадського) Фонд I Опис 1 Справа 6923 7 аркушів. Галаган Г. Записки (The Institute of Manuscript of Vernadsky National Library (IMVNL) of Ukraine, Fund I File I Case 6923 7 pages. Galagan's Notes) 1850 p.

⁴ Two other uncles of K.K. Galagan had high social status: Demian Vasyliovych Kochubej (1786-1859) was a member of the State Council and Arkadiy Vasyliovych Kochubej (1790-1878) was a senator.

¹ Hereinafter the data is according to the Julian calendar.

The family correspondence contains the records of social and private value. The author's life strategies are reproduced in the context of communication with the representatives of particular social groups: the nobility of Poltava, Chernihiv, Kyiv regions, the authorities' elite, in particular, imperial officials, peasants of his own estates, and Kochubej's property, etc. The relatives, primarily Kochubej family, occupied a remarkable place in that system of communication. It should be mentioned that the letters of G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej demonstrated in practice the way of collective connections of the regional community development when the support service was implemented within the local network of relatives. Kochubej O.V. performed a crucial role in the correspondence, his nephew-in-law applied to him searching support for his social activity, for the issues connected with his career, closing the legal cases, etc.

Consequently, there are at least three networked groups of communication, created by: 1) family connections; 2) social activity; 3) needs of economic activity. The networks of cultural and intellectual communications where G.P. Galagan participated as an adherent of Ukrainian/Slavophiles' ideas, defender of the concept of national education, etc. could not be reconstructed according to the letters. It might happen in the case when O.V. Kochubej did not share all the thoughts of his nephew-in-law. Having understood that, G.P. Galagan deeply respected his uncle-in-law: "I know that you have another point of view in a number of things, still you are open-minded, and I am completely sure in this..."⁵.

The communicative scenarios reflected the particular historical events, as G.P. Galagan narrated to his recipient the crucial Ukrainian events in the context of the imperial realities: the actions of Mykolay I government (the regulations for implementation of inventory management in Right-bank Ukraine during 1847-1848, militia forces creation and peasants' rebellions in Right-bank Ukraine during the Crimean War) and events of Oleksandr II governance (the beginning and implementation of the peasant reform during 1858-1865, local self-governance establishment in 1864, etc.). Each of the communicative scenarios was directly reconstructed within the context of the event and in a particular historical perspective.

According to the geographical and territorial principle, a number of localities vital for the networked connections of the local nobility were distinguished. There were country towns Pryluky, Borzna, Kozelets; the centers of provinces Chernihiv, Poltava, Kyiv, big imperial cities, particularly, metropolitan St. Petersburg. The country estates of Galagan family (in Sokyrntsi, Gnylytsia, Lebedynets villages of Pryluky country town of Poltava province) and Kochubej family (Kunashivka, Bili Vezi, Borznianskyi country town of Chernihiv province (at that time), Voronky, Zgurivka, Kozeletskyi country town of Chernihiv province (at that time) and Prulytskyi country town of Poltava province) occupied a prominent place in the communication network built in the letters. Kyiv that had obtained significance in the social and cultural strategies of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine during 1840-1860-s, and St. Petersburg as a center of the imperial power, the relations with which were vital for the Ukrainian elite, became the most important centers of communications.

⁵ ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 10 100. Аркуш 1зв. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 27 лютого 1859 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine, Fund III File 1 Case 10 100 Pages. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, February 27th, 1859).

Research

The consideration of the research results demonstrates the diverse problematic spectrum in the letters written by G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej during 18 years, namely from the author's duties of nobility's leader of Borznianskyi country town of Chernihiv province during 1847-1851-s, his work for the institutions created for serfdom elimination in Russian empire between 1850-1860-s and the work for the peasant reform and local self-governance implementation during 1862-1865-s to churches building and decoration in the estates of O.V. Kochubej, diseases and deaths of relatives, wine transportation from St. Petersburg to Ukraine.

Owing to the personal social activity of G.P. Galagan, his public position and social communication, the letters depicted the way of enhancement of his connections in the process of interaction with the country (province) officials, bourgeoisie, persons from the local nobility, and the highest imperial authorities. The letters from the end of 1840-s demonstrated the challenges of social communications that 30-years old G.P. Galagan had faced when became a leader of the nobility of Borznianskyi country town. He was completely sure that a leader's duty was to care about social improvement, however his thoughts were not correlated with the realities of a country town: "...only one thing is unpleasant, it seems to me that the appointed workers by the government have another view on the business"⁶. Galagan G.P. was immediately in the center of town's conflicts and had to settle the argument with the local officials and smooth things out with his uncle-in-law, the most powerful landowner of the country town: "You have probably heard the complains of a governor of a town to whom a postmaster filed a complaint. All Borzna has attacked the postmaster, especially since you were the reason of such action [...] I feel sorry for this man, and mainly for his children that I have reconciled him with the governor and now I am appealing to you with a request to forgive this poor man..."⁷.

The communications within the nobility of Poltava and Chernihiv provinces, between the landowners of Left-bank Ukraine and the landlords of the south-western region of Right-bank Ukraine, between the separate social layers of the nobility, bourgeoisie, merchants, Cossacks, described in the letters of 1857-1865-s, written during preparation and implementation of the reforms aimed at serfdom elimination and local self-governance establishment in Russian empire, were surprisingly dramatic.

The correspondence during 1857-1861-s displayed the events from the initial stage of the process of "peasants' emancipation" to the stage of Chernihiv province committee's activity regarding settlement and improvement of the landowners' peasants. Galagan G.P. expressed his personal public position that he consistently supported in the letter to O.V. Kochubej of December 14th, 1857: "Nevertheless, having removed selfishness, the noble committee [...] should not keep a rule to provide immediately many benefits and rights to the peasants in order to establish the solid ground for their future prosperity and development..."⁸.

⁶ ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 11 082. Аркуш 1зв. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 27 червня 1848 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine, Fund III File 1 Case 11 082 Pages. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, June 27th, 1848).

⁷ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 3-3зв (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Pages 3-3).

⁸ ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 11 094. Аркуш 1зв. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 14 грудня 1857 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine,

According to the researchers, "the period of transparency" at the end of 50-s of the 19th century was an extremely saturated historical period when the views and positions of the particular people and groups were dynamically developed under the circumstances, hesitations of the government policy (*Lytvynova, Yakymenko, 2012: 97*). The period was represented in that way in G.P. Galagan's correspondence with O.V. Kochubej, where the described nobility was separated into different groups, wherein the rivals became the author and his relatives, particularly, V.D. Dunin-Borkovskiy: "There is a terrible mess in Chernihiv. All conservative party ruled by Schabelskiy forced him even to write complains. Now the members of the party endeavor to accept Borkovskiy for membership instead of approved Pidvysotskiy"⁹.

Wanting to attract as many like-minded people as possible to the process of the peasant reform implementation, he tried to use Kochubej's influence among the town's nobility: "It is a great pleasure that you will participate in the elections in Borzna, still I am respectively requesting to convince the noblemen to elect Vasyl Vasyliovych Tarnovskiy¹⁰ as a candidate. Please, persuade the noblemen that it is much more beneficial to them of having Tarnovskiy as a deputy from the nobility than from the government..."¹¹. In this way G.P. Galagan endeavored to increase the small group of "liberals", "red" in quantity, with whom he acted, in particular at the meeting of Chernihiv province committee regarding peasants' household settlement during 1850-1860-s.

Some descriptive letters during 1863-1865-s were devoted to the analysis of his acts and public reaction of Kyiv and the south-western provinces to the decisions of the interim commission that was in charge of termination of the mandatory relations between peasants and landowners, a vice-president of which he became according to the imperial decree of July 30th, 1863. He appealed to O.V. Kochubej, seeking his support in his wish to take the peasants' side in addressing the issue of land tenure in the provinces of Right-bank Ukraine that caused a lot of landowners' complaints and eventually misunderstanding with the Interior Minister P.O. Valuev, who had initially been intended to keep the side of the commission according to the offer of G.P. Galagan.

The analysis of the letters to O.V. Kochubej devoted to the regulation of the agrarian question of Right-bank Ukraine in the mid-1860-s, gave understanding that Galagan's position was not straightforward. He wanted to protect the interest of peasants from Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn provinces and weakened the influence of the big landowners, primarily with the Polish origins, in the region. Simultaneously, he was eager to realize a long-standing goal of the descendants of Cossacks' officers: to take root in Right-bank Ukraine. Using a fear of the imperial government of January Insurrection (Polish rebellion) during 1863-1864-s, G.P. Galagan supported open anti-Polish rhetoric with the aim of protecting his point of view (and attitude of the regional community) in the letters to O.V. Kochubej as to the representative of the state's authorities. In December 1864 he wrote: "If we try to have a clear understanding, we will ascertain that the Polish access to any public activity in the western region means that we

have presented them the region or artificially thrown the seeds of scorn and turbulence. We need to tolerate them as foreigners, their life and property should be protected; however, it is impossible to allow the possibility of their public activity"¹². In the meantime, the representatives of conservative circles of the local nobility considered the Galagan's actions regarding the reformation of agrarian relations in Right-bank Ukraine as politically dangerous much later. Being in Kyiv, the senator O.O. Polovtsov had mentioned a thought of S.M. Gudym-Levkovych in his note book in November 1880: "... the peasants' commission under the head of Galagan ordered each mediator to press and eliminate the landowners to the extent possible, by inciting peasants against them" (*Budzar, Kovalov, Tere-shchenko, D. (Eds.), 2019: 72*).

The communicative scenarios between the representatives of different social layers depicted the beginning of local self-governance establishment in Poltava and Chernihiv provinces in summer 1865 were equally interesting. Galagan G.P. described the elections in local self-governance, particularly in Kozelets, Borzna, Pryluky and Chernihiv, and had drawn attention to the behavior of voters from the different social layers. He mentioned an ability of reaching a consensus between the landowners and Cossacks, having approved the elections in Kozelets: "The nobility had good relations with the Cossacks. The last were offered to sit on the chairs during the elections and negotiations. Nobody had poorly used the unprecedented right..."¹³. The other was a situation in Borzna: "Pidvysotskiy who had come from it to Kyiv, narrated with anger what Gamalia and the whole gang of the minor nobility, included even horse thieves, were doing there..."¹⁴. Galagan G.P. was principally interested in the new communications between the representatives of different social layers who had been previously separated in terms of wealth and law. Stepovych A.I. payed attention to that peculiarity, he mentioned that the persons from the previously isolated layers were portrayed, "who were in charge of the common business and could become closer to some extent, therefore the business of local self-governance was adjusted and continued in more-or-less right way..." (*Stepovych, 1928: 186*).

Furthermore, the crucial feature of the letters of G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej was that the author endeavored to obtain understanding of the governmental initiatives in economy and agriculture from his respondent, the person who was closed to the imperial authorities, during the long-standing correspondence. For instance, he wanted to hear the views of the authorities regarding inventory regulations implemented in Right-bank Ukraine where the military governor of Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn, Governor General D.G. Bibikov was involved: "I am extremely interested in the capital's news about the intentions of our sovereign regarding the implementation of inventory regulations on our lands"¹⁵. The other letter revealed the attitude of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine to "the issues of excise tax and vodka tax payments": "There are negotiations and

Fund III File 1 Case 11 0094 Pages 1. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, December 14th, 1857).

⁹ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 97. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 97).

¹⁰ It was referred to V.V. Tarnovskiy - the older (1810-1866).

¹¹ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 54зв. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 54).

¹² ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 10 729. Аркуш 2. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 27 грудня 1864 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine, Fund III File 1 Case 10 729 Pages 2. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, December 27th, 1864).

¹³ ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 10 730. Аркуш 1. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 23 квітня 1865 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine, Fund III File 1 Case 10 730 Page 1. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, April 23rd, 1865).

¹⁴ Ibid. Page 1зв.

¹⁵ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 5. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 5).

mess everywhere, extraordinary meetings that have not finished yet..."¹⁶.

The special attention in the letters of the mid-1850-s was devoted to the events of the Crimean War, social reaction and consequences. Galagan G.P. informed O.V. Kochubej regarding the additional costs that should be paid by the Ukrainian nobility according to the military tax. He was writing that the charity of the nobility of Chernihiv province: "will be 22 thousand rubles and we should pay from the tithe, but not from our will"¹⁷. The maintaining of Cossacks' camps: "is expensive, especially in Poltava province where our expenses are approximately 68 silver kopecks from one man"¹⁸. He expressed the general dissatisfaction with the recruitment to the militia in Left-bank Ukraine in that context: "We have no reason for joy, moreover the general sad mood has been exacerbated by the latest mail with the news about the militia creation in our provinces [...] Despite the militia is a mean common for the whole empire, we has hoped that our little-Russian provinces will not be included into it, at least partially, providing a little ease for us in comparison with the others. We have already experienced the significant burden in a greater degree than the others..."¹⁹.

"Kyiv Cossacks" was a high-profile event in Galagan's letters of spring 1855. It was a reaction of Kyiv province to the manifest of Mykola I regarding the militia as a hope for restoring "Cossacks" (regiments of Cossacks). The peasants' desire of personal freedom was a trigger for establishing the militia. Having clearly understood that the base of "the actions was freedom from the landowners"²⁰, G.P. Galagan indirectly accused the nobility of Right-bank Ukraine in their fail to organize communication with the peasants: "I need to add that the landowners-Little Russians who know the problems of the peasants, for example V.V. Tarnovskyi, do not have rebellions..."²¹. He blamed the local authorities for their incompetence in resolving "the peasant's issue" another way instead of using the violent means: "The local authorities could not halt the national movement that had such content, by the other means, only by shooting people as the enemies of Russia were shot in Crimea or attacked to death, hence they were not able to stop them in any other way except by brutal force..."²².

As a result, we could state with caution that correspondence with O.V. Kochubej was an instrument of informing the authorities about economic, social and political situation on the Ukrainian lands, about the views of the local community on the actions of local and central administration.

The analysis of the correspondence provides an opportunity to imagine the space content of communication of the nobility from Left-bank Ukraine and reconstructs the towns' images formed in the imagination of community

members. The content of the letters proved that the towns of country and province were the centers of property, social and cultural influence for the local nobility. The equation of noble service to the state (since 1831) provided a possibility to act for the benefit of the region, without rejecting the state service. The nobles who wanted to work for the benefit of their native land and were loyal to the central authorities with whom they cooperated used the chance.

The places connected with Galagan's service as an elected official, such as Borzna, Chernihiv, Kyiv were mentioned in the correspondence more often. In the imagination of G.P. Galagan Borzna was "a peaceful shelter for the minor officials"²³ at the end of 1840-s, Chernihiv, by contrast, was presented as a provincial town where "were more or less good or narrow-minded men in a closed and inescapable circle of people, and surprisingly tight space for a person who wanted something beyond the life's small pleasures..."²⁴. Nevertheless, the image of Chernihiv had been modified during 1850-1860-s, the crucial processes for the whole regions happened there, namely preparation and implementation of the peasant reform and local self-governance. Kyiv occupied a special place in the correspondence; it was excluded from the category of the provincial towns due to the author. The content of the letters illustrated as Kyiv had obtained the features of the important center of communication for the decades. The history of Kyiv modernization can be partially followed by the letters, namely the building of Mykolayv (Chain) bridge, the second Municipal Theatre, development of the particular areas. According to Galagan's letter of November 27th, 1854, Kyiv had gradually become a center of the nobility's residence in Left-bank Ukraine: "Kyiv's community [...] had slowly included people that should characterize it. The landowners of our bank of Dnipro had increasingly arrived and might exceed in quantity the Polish landowners. The separate circle would be eventually created that we had been experiencing the lack of till that time..."²⁵. It is vividly proved the eager of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine to take root in Kyiv and extend their influence on Right-bank Ukraine.

Finally, we can identify the way of the family connections' usage by the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine for solving the tough issues connected with service, property, etc. in the imperial capital. The actions were correlated with the behavior strategies common for all European elites; they constituted a crucial basis for establishing the connections of relations, solidarity and identity (*Rothery, 2014: 120*). For instance, in February 1850 G.P. Galagan appealed to O.V. Kochubej in the case of property dispute (that began in 1841) and asked his facilitation in the acquisition of khutor Lebedynets and land division near it²⁶. However, the nephew-in-law wanted help for the relatives, friends from his uncle; particularly in June 1855, he referred his cousin Mykhaylo Markevych's request for finding a place of an ordinary under a general²⁷. In October 1856, he asked (on behalf of the other persons) to assist V.D. Dunin-Borkovskiy in receiving either an award or the next rank that he deserved as a head of Gorodniansky district²⁸. In November 1857, he conveyed gratitude on behalf of the

¹⁶ Ibid. Page 103в.

¹⁷ ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 11 087. Аркуш 23в. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 8 січня 1854 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine, Fund III File 1 Case 11 087 Page 2. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, January 8th, 1854).

¹⁸ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 22. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 22).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ ІР НБУВ Фонд III Опис 1 Справа 11 088. Аркуш 23в. Г. П. Галаган - О. В. Кочубею, 2 квітня 1855 р. (The IMVNL of Ukraine, Fund III File 1 Case 11 088 Page 2. G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej, April 2nd, 1855).

²¹ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 31. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 31).

²² ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 34 зв. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 34).

²³ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 3. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 3).

²⁴ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 37-37зв. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 37).

²⁵ ЦДІАК України Фонд 1475 Опис 1 Справа 992 Аркуш 46. (SCHA of Ukraine in Kyiv Fund 1475 File 1 Case 992 Page 46).

²⁶ Ibid. Page 7-7зв.

²⁷ Ibid. Page 41.

²⁸ Ibid. Page 97.

relatives of the doctor F.F. Meryng (1822-1887) for facilitation in the legal case (*Budzar, 2017: 139*).

The correspondence proved that the powerful relative wanted to assist in Galagan's personal career. He did not reject the help; nevertheless, he remained true to himself and did not seek a court career. He firmly rejected a rank of chamberlain and asked O.V. Kochubej to halt the papers if they had already been submitted: "this court post is not flattered to me and even due to my age, moreover, I should not occupy that rank for being useful to my sovereign and citizens according to my beliefs..."²⁹.

Therefore, communication of the representatives of regional elite with the powerful relatives among the authorities secured the efficiency of the complicated network of the related connections that were simultaneously the social connections.

Conclusions

The consideration of G.P. Galagan's correspondence to O.V. Kochubej during 1847-1865-s provides an opportunity to reconstruct a network of the nobility's social and cultural communications combined with the political, economic and social factors of the social layer from a separate region of Ukraine during the imperial time.

The letters of G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej are a typical sample of related communication for the European nobility where the men belonged to the same social strata represented two different ways of life - regional and imperial; it is noticed in the peculiarities of their communication despite the whole sincerity of the relations.

According to the content of the correspondence, the communication groups can be distinguished within the network, basically they are created due to economic affairs, social activity and related connections. The letters describe the communication levels of the regional community, namely at the level of career contacts, public and political activity; at the level of interaction between the landowners and peasants; at the level of securing the needs of support and networking in the community. The nobility's reaction on the crucial events of the imperial life and mechanisms of loyalty/opposition regarding the actions of the local and central authorities were vividly depicted.

The correspondence displays the geographical dimensions of communicative space of the nobility of Left-bank Ukraine - Poltava and Chernihiv provinces where the noble estates, country towns and province cities are considered as the centers of communication network. St. Petersburg was always the official capital for G.P. Galagan and his community in any comparison with capital and province. The definition "province" had gradually disappeared in the consciousness of the Ukrainian nobility, primarily owing to the increase of political, economic and cultural significance of Kyiv.

Eventually, the letters of G.P. Galagan to O.V. Kochubej demonstrate how the individual communicative scenarios have acquired the typological features of behavior strategies of the social layer - Ukrainian nobility.

REFERENCES

Abrosymova, S.V. (1999). Pryvatne lystuvannia katerynoslavskoho dvorianstva XIX stolittia. Do pytannia dzhereloznavchoho doslidzhennia epistoliarlykh pamiatok. *Zapysky naukovodoslidnoi laboratorii istorii Pivdennoi Ukrainy ZDU. Pivdenna Ukraina XVIII - XIX st.*, 4 (5), 115-124. (In Ukrainian).

Berger, T. Luckmann T. (1995). *Socialnoe konstruirovanie realnosti. Traktat po sociologii znaniya* [The Social Construction

of Reality. A Treatise on Sociology of Knowledge]. Moskva: Premiym (In Russian).

Burt, R.S. (1980). Models of Network Structure. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 6, 79-141.

Budzar, M. (2018). Dvorianaska spilnota Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy 1-i polovyny XIX st. v ego-dokumentakh z arkhivu Galaganiv. *Istorychni dzherela v ukrainskomu informatsiinomu y osvithnomu prostori: veryfikatsiia ta interpretatsiia* (O. O. Salaty, Ed.). (In Ukrainian).

Budzar, M. (2017). Istorija Kyieva v ego-dokumentakh: lyst H. P. Galagana do O. V. Kochubeja 1857 r. [History of Kyiv in the ego-documents: Letter Gregory P. Galagan to Alexander V. Kochubej]. *Kyivski istorychni studii [Kyiv Historical Studies]*, 1, 136-140. DOI: org/10.28925/2524-0754-0757.2017.1.13640. (In Ukrainian).

Budzar, M., Kovalov, Ye., Tereshchenko, D. (Eds). (2019). *Senatorska reviziia Kyivskoi ta Chernihivskoi hubernii: zi shchodennyka O. O. Polovtsova (zhovten 1880 - traven 1881)* (Senatorial revision of Kyiv and Chernigov Provinces: from the Diary of A. A. Polovtsov (October 1880 - May 1881)). K.: StreamArLine. (In Russian).

Gurzhi, O. I., Rusakov, Yu. A. (2017). *Dvorianstvo Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy kintsia XVIII - pochatku XIX: sotsialno-pravovyi status i mistse u vladnykh sturkturakh Rosiiskoi imperii*. Kyiv: Instytut itorii Ukrainy. (In Ukrainian).

Kovalov, Ye. A. I. (2019). Stepovykh i pamiat pro G. P. Galagana. *Pryluky. Fortesia*, 10, 34-41. (In Ukrainian).

Kozlova, N. N. (2004). Metodologiya analiza chelovecheskih dokumentov [Methodology of human document analyses]. *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniia [Sociological Studies]*, 1. 14-26. (In Russian).

Latour, B. (2005). *Peresborka socialnogo: vvvedenie v aktornosevuyiu teoriyu* (Reassembling the Social -An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory). Moskva: Vysshaya shkola ekonomiki. (In Russian).

Lytvynova, T.F. (2011). "Pomishchyt'ska Pravda": dvorianstvo Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy ta selianske pytannia naprykintsi XVIII - u pershii polovyni XIX stolittia (ideolohichniy aspekt). D.: "Lira". (In Ukrainian).

Lytvynova, T.F., Yakymenko, L.I. (2012). Dialoh chy konfrontatsiia: pozysytii dvorianstva Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy shchodo selianskoho pytannia naperedodni velykoi reformy. *Naddnpirianska Ukraina: istorychni protsesy, podii, postati*, 10, 93-100. (In Ukrainian).

Rothery M. (2018) Communities of kin and English landed gentry families of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Family & Community History*, 21:2, 112-128. DOI: 10.1080/14631180-2018.1495470.

Stepovykh, A. (Ed.). (1925). Pro kyivske zhyttia 1849 r. *Ukraina*, 6, 109-110. (In Ukrainian).

Stepovykh, A. (1928). Do diialnosti "Vremennoj komissij po prekrasheniyu obyazatelnykh otnoshenij krestyan k pomeshikam v Yugo-Zapadnom krae". *Yuvileinyi zbirnyk na poshanu akademika M. S. Hrushevskoho*, 1, 332-341. (In Ukrainian).

Stepovykh, A. (1927). Z podrobyts reformy 1861 r.: lyst G. P. Galagana pro yoho kozeletskyi i prylytskyi maietok. *Ukraina*, 4, 111-112. (In Ukrainian).

Stepovykh, A. O. (1927). Z pershykh rokov "zemskih sobranij" na Livoberezhzhij. *Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddil VUAN*, XIII-XIV, II, 185-189. (In Ukrainian).

Wellman, B. (2000). Mesto rodstvennikov v sisteme lichnykh svyazey. *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniia [Sociological Studies]*, 6, 78-87. (In Russian).

Yakymenko, L. (2019). Dvorianstvo Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy sere-dyn XIX st. *Unyversum ystoryy y arkeolohyy [The Universe Of History And Archeology]*, 1(1-2), 23-28. DOI: 10.15421/2611803. (In Ukrainian).

²⁹ Ibid. Page 40.

LIST OF REFERENCE LINKS

- Абросимова С. В. Приватне листування катеринославського дворянства XIX століття. До питання джерелознавчого дослідження епістолярних пам'яток. *Записки науково-дослідної лабораторії історії Південної України ЗДУ. Південна Україна XVIII - XIX століття*. 1999. Вип. 4 (5). С. 115-124.
- Бергер П., Лукман Т. Социальное конструирование реальности. Трактат по социологии знания; пер. с англ. Е. Руткевич. М., 1995. 323 с.
- Будзар М. Дворянська спільнота Лівобережної України 1-ї половини XIX ст. в его-документах з архіву Галаганів. *Історичні джерела в українському інформаційному й освітньому просторі: верифікація та інтерпретація / наук. ред. д. і. н., проф. О. О. Салати*. Вінниця: "Твори", 2018. С. 128-158.
- Будзар М. Історія Києва в его-документах: лист Г. П. Галагана до О. В. Кочубея 1857 р. *Київські історичні студії*. 2017. № 1. С. 136-140. DOI: org/10.28925/2524-0754-0757.-2017.1.13640.
- Гуржій О. І., Русаков Ю. А. Дворянство Лівобережної України кінця XVIII - початку XX в.: соціально-правовий статус і місце у владних структурах Російської імперії. К.: Інститут історії України, 2017. 172 с.
- Ковальов Є. А. І. Степович і пам'ять про Г. П. Галагана. Прилуки. *Фортеця*. 2019. № 10 (червень). С. 34-41.
- Козлова Н. Н. Методология анализа человеческих документов. *Социологические исследования*. 2004. № 1. С. 14-26.
- Латур Б. Пересборка социального: введение в акторно-сетевую теорию; пер. с англ. И. Полонской. М.: "Высшая школа экономики", 2014. 384 с.
- Литвинова Т.Ф. "Поміщицька правда": дворянство Лівобережної України та селянське питання наприкінці XVIII - у першій половині XIX століття (ідеологічний аспект). Д.: "Ліра", 2011. 732 с.
- Литвинова Т.Ф., Якименко Л.І. Діалог чи конфронтація: позиції дворянства Лівобережної України щодо селянського питання напередодні великої реформи. *Наддніпряньська Україна: історичні процеси, події, постаті*. 2012. Вип. 10. С. 93-100.
- Про київське життя 1849 р. [Подав А. Степович]. *Україна*. 1925. № 6. С. 109-110.
- Сенаторська ревізія Київської та Чернігівської губерній: зі щоденника О. О. Половцова (жовтень 1880 - травень 1881) / упоряд.: М. Будзар, Є. Ковальов, Д. Терещенко. К.: StreamArLine, 2019. 208 с.
- Степович А. До діяльності "Временной комиссии по прекращению обязательных отношений крестьян к помещикам в Юго-Западном крае". *Ювілейний збірник на пошану академіка М. С. Грушевського*. Т. 1. К., 1928. С. 332-341.
- Степович А. З подробиць реформи 1861 р. Лист Г. П. Галагана про його козелецький і прилуцький маєток. *Україна*. 1927. Кн. 4. С. 111-112.
- Степович А. О. З перших років "земських собраний" на Лівобережжі. *Записки Історично-філологічного відділу ВУАН*. К., 1927. Кн. XIII-XIV. Ч. II. С. 185-189.
- Уэллман Б. Место родственников в системе личных связей. *Социологические исследования*. 2000. №6. С. 78-87.
- Якименко Л. Дворянство Лівобережної України середини XIX ст. *Універсум історії та археології*. 2019. № 1(1-2). С. 23-28. DOI: 10.15421/2611803.
- Burt R.S. Models of Network Structure. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 1980. № 6. P. 79-141.
- Rothery M. Communities of kin and English landed gentry families of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Family & Community History*. 2018. 21:2. P. 112-128. DOI: 10.1080/14631180.2018.1495470.

Марина Будзар,

Київський університет імені Бориса Грінченка (м. Київ, Україна)
e-mail: bmimab24@ukr.net, ORCID 0000-0002-3720-7799

КОМУНІКАЦІЙНІ СТРАТЕГІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ДВОРЯНСТВА СЕРЕДИНИ XIX ст. (НА ЕПІСТОЛЯРНОМУ МАТЕРІАЛІ)

У статті досліджено життєдіяльність українського дворянства в реаліях середини XIX ст. через аналіз його комунікаційних стратегій. Розгляд сімейного листування дозволив реконструювати складну мережу соціокультурних зв'язків регіональної еліти, в якій її представники реалізовували розмаїтий спектр ідеологічних і поведінкових завдань. Джерельним матеріалом для статті став комплекс листів з фамільного архіву Галаганів - дворянського роду козацько-старшинського походження. Вибір джерел обумовлено кількома причинами. По-перше, завдяки шлюбним стратегіям впродовж XVIII-XIX ст. Галагани зберігали тісні контакти серед регіонального дворянства й водночас споріднювалися з імперською знаттю. По-друге, гарно збережений архів надає вагомий матеріал для дослідження комунікаційних стратегій саме на підставі листування. Це дозволяє зрозуміти дію соціальних механізмів, що обумовлювали життя лівобережного панства середини XIX ст. Метою статті є розгляд комунікаційних стратегій української еліти 2-ї половини 1840-х - середини 1860-х рр. на основі аналізу сімейного епістолярію з фамільного архіву Галаганів. Автором досліджено комунікаційні сценарії дворянства Лівобережної України у взаєминах між місцевою спільнотою та імперським центром, між дворянами-землевласниками й селянами, між групами родичів всередині дворянської спільноти. Розгляд документів дозволив з'ясувати реакцію українського дворянства на низку подій 1840-х - 1860-х років: дії імперського уряду часів правління імператорів Миколи I і Олександра II щодо України, події Кримської війни, перебіг Селянської реформи 1861 р. та наслідки її реалізації в українських землях. Результати розвідки поглиблюватимуть уявлення про життя українського соціуму у просторі та часі XIX ст. Стаття ґрунтується на оригінальній авторській концепції.

Ключові слова: комунікаційні стратегії; мережа соціальних зв'язків; епістолярій; українське дворянство; Лівобережна Україна; XIX сторіччя; Г. П. Галаган; О. В. Кочубей.

© *Marina Budzar*

Надійшла до редакції: 20.03.2020

Прийнята до друку: 03.04.2020

ISSN 1728-9343 (Print)
ISSN 2411-3093 (Online)

SKHID No. 2 (166) March-April 2020