

**WIDOWHOOD AS A CONSEQUENCE OF RECRUITMENT
MOBILIZATION DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR:
THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSION OF THE FOREIGN
POLICY CRISIS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

Mulyar A. M.

INTRODUCTION

The Crimean War of 1853–1856 is traditionally viewed by historiography as a marker of the systemic crisis in the Russian Empire's foreign policy, manifested in diplomatic isolation, military-technical backwardness, and the inefficiency of imperial administrative institutions. However, foreign policy miscalculations and military defeats had not only geopolitical but also profound internal socio-demographic consequences, which largely remained "invisible" in the shadow of diplomatic and military-strategic history. One such consequence was mass widowhood in the Right-Bank provinces, caused by recruit mobilization and high rates of combat and non-combat mortality.

The recruit system of the Russian Empire on the eve of the 1874 military reform was one of the key instruments of state control over the population, combining fiscal, social, and ethno-political functions. The intensification of mobilization measures during the Crimean War led to a sharp increase in the volume of recruit levies, which had a particularly tangible impact on the Western provinces, which included the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces. The border location of the region, the presence of a significant share of the Jewish population, and the specific nature of imperial policy regarding the "reliability" of recruit contingents led to a disproportionate military burden on these specific territories.

The mass removal of military-aged men from rural and urban communities transformed the social structure of households, exacerbated the problem of female economic vulnerability, and challenged the effectiveness of existing legal mechanisms for protecting the families of the mobilized. Widows and wives of recruits were forced to combine care work, child-rearing, and participation in market practices, maneuvering between imperial regulations, customary law, and informal credit networks. At the same time, formally declared pension and tax benefits were frequently blocked by bureaucratic barriers, confessional differentiation of record-keeping, and limited access to legal procedures.

In this context, widowhood emerges not only as an emotional-everyday or purely demographic phenomenon, but as a sensitive indicator of structural failures in the imperial mobilization model. The foreign policy crisis

manifested in the Crimean War materialized in the daily life of the Right-Bank provinces through conscription, non-combat mortality, sanitary, and logistical failures, which produced mass losses among the male population and formed a new stratum of young widows. An analysis of their legal status, economic strategies, and social adaptation allows us to “see” the deep contradictions of an imperial policy that compensated for foreign policy miscalculations with quantitative mobilization resources without realizing the long-term internal consequences.

The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the socio-demographic and legal dimensions of widowhood caused by the recruit mobilization of the Crimean War, using materials from the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces, and to demonstrate it as one of the manifestations of the systemic crisis of the Russian Empire’s foreign policy course. The study combines the analysis of all-imperial and regional statistics of recruit levies, archival files of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine (Kyiv) and regional archives, norms of imperial legislation, and local practices of their implementation. This allows us to trace how imperial decisions at the level of foreign policy were transformed into structural changes in the daily life of female-headed households.

Special attention is paid to the confessional and ethnic dimension of the problem, particularly to the specifics of regulating the Jewish recruit duty and its consequences for the legal status of Jewish women in the Pale of Settlement. It is precisely the combination of imperial mobilization imperatives, regional border status, and local confessional regimes that allows us to view the widowhood of the Crimean War era as a key to understanding the “invisible” social price of the foreign policy crisis and the internal transformations it caused in the Right-Bank provinces in the post-reform era.

1. The Scale of Mobilization and Demographic Shifts: The Emergence of a Stratum of Military Widows

The recruit system of the Russian Empire, which functioned until the military reform of 1874, constituted one of the key instruments of state control over the population, combining fiscal, social, and ethno-political functions. The period of 1853–1856, driven by the empire’s participation in the Crimean War, became a time of intensification of mobilization measures, which had significant consequences for the demographic structure and socio-economic development of regions, particularly the Western provinces, to which Podolia belonged¹. An analysis of the statistics of recruit levies of this period allows for the reconstruction of the mechanisms of imperial human

¹ Муляр А. М. Демографічний розвиток Подільської губернії (1862–1872) : соціальні, релігійні та міграційні аспекти. *Інтернаука*. 2025. № 2 (169). с. 38–39.

resource management and an assessment of the specifics of implementing mobilization policy under the conditions of ethno-confessional differentiation of the population.

All-imperial indicators of mobilization in 1853–1856 indicate a significant increase in the volume of recruit levies compared to peacetime. While in the 1840s the average annual levy amounted to about 70–80 thousand people, during the Crimean War these figures rose to 120–150 thousand recruits annually². The total number of mobilized during the four years of the war exceeded 500 thousand people, which constituted about 1.2% of the total male population of the empire³. Such an intensification of levies was necessitated by the need to replenish the active army and form reserve units in the conditions of a prolonged military conflict. The regional distribution of recruit levies reflected the imperial logic of distributing the military burden among different territories. According to data from the Central Statistical Committee, the highest relative share in all-imperial levies was held by the provinces of Central Russia and Ukraine, where the peasant population constituted the main source of recruit resources⁴. Podolia Province, along with Volhynia and Kyiv, was part of the Kyiv General-Governorship, which determined common administrative approaches to the organization of levies and specific restrictions related to the ethnic structure of the population.

A higher relative share of the Jewish population, which constituted about 11–12% of the total number of inhabitants, was characteristic of the Western provinces, particularly Podolia⁵. This had a direct impact on the organization of recruit levies, since the Jewish population was subject to separate norms of recruit duty, established in the “Regulation on Jews” of 1804 and subsequent regulatory acts. According to these norms, Jewish communities were obliged to provide a fixed quota of recruits, and the age qualification and physical requirements for Jewish conscripts were often lower compared to the Christian population⁶.

² Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. с. 112–118.

³ Статистические сведения о Подольской губернии за 1862, 1863, 1864 годы / Подольский губернский статистический комитет. Каменец-Подольск : Губернская типография, 1865. с. 45.

⁴ Там само. с. 115.

⁵ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 96–97/

⁶ Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Евреи-купцы: с разъяснениями по определениям Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург: Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. с. 271.

Statistical data show that the relative share of the Western provinces in all-imperial recruit levies in 1853–1856 was about 18–22%, which exceeded their share in the total population of the empire⁷. This disproportion was caused by several factors: first, the border location of the region required an increased military presence. Second, the imperial authorities viewed the Western provinces as a source of “reliable” recruit contingents, especially after the Polish Uprising of 1830–1831. Third, special regulations for the Jewish population allowed the administration to formally fulfill mobilization tasks by shifting the burden onto marginalized groups⁸.

The analysis of the social consequences of recruit levies acquires special significance for the study of the legal status of Jewish women. The removal of military-aged men from families created a situation where women were forced to take over management of the household, conduct trade, and fulfill fiscal obligations⁵. For Jewish families, this meant an additional burden. Widows and wives of recruits retained the right to reside within the Pale of Settlement, but their economic status often deteriorated due to the loss of the breadwinner and the need to pay additional levies to the community⁹.

Archival materials of the CSHAK contain files on granting benefits to the families of recruits, particularly exemption from certain taxes or providing assistance from the kosher meat tax (*korobka levy*)¹⁰. However, these measures were limited in nature and did not fully compensate for the loss of male labor. For Jewish women, the situation was complicated by the fact that the right to receive assistance often depended on confirming family status through metrical books, the registration of which was controlled by the rabbinate¹¹.

Thus, the recruit levies of 1853–1856 constituted not only a military but also a socio-demographic phenomenon that had a significant impact on the legal status of women in the Western provinces of the empire. The high

⁷ Статистические сведения о Подольской губернии за 1862, 1863, 1864 годы / Подольский губернский статистический комитет. Каменец-Подольск : Губернская типография, 1865. с. 42.

⁸ Гессен Ю. И. Евреи в России: очерки общественной, правовой и экономической жизни русских евреев. Санкт-Петербург: Типофотография А. Г. Розена, 1906. с. 115–122.

⁹ Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Евреи-купцы: с разъяснениями по определениям Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. с. 193.

¹⁰ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255, Оп. 1, Спр. 2345, арк. 12–20.

¹¹ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 131.

relative share of the Western regions in the all-imperial mobilization, combined with the specifics of regulating the Jewish recruit duty, created conditions under which women were forced to adapt to new economic realities, while maintaining limited legal capacity in the sphere of property relations and administrative control. This context is important for understanding the mechanisms of forming the legal status of Jewish women in Podolia Province during the post-reform period.

Mobilization measures of the Russian Empire during the Crimean War (1853–1856) were accompanied by a systemic demographic loss that significantly exceeded combat losses on the battlefield. Official reports of the Ministry of War and medical reports indicate that the share of non-combat mortality among the mobilized contingents ranged from 60 to 70% of the total number of deceased, which transformed the sanitary crisis into a key factor in the formation of a mass stratum of military widows¹². This proportion was not accidental, as it reflected structural defects in the imperial mobilization model, where priority was given to the quantitative replenishment of ranks at the expense of qualitative provisions for personnel, medical support, and logistical infrastructure.

The sanitary state of the army was determined by a combination of factors that collectively created conditions for the epidemic spread of infectious diseases. Cholera, typhus, dysentery, and scurvy became the main causes of death among recruits, especially in the Western provinces, where march routes to the theater of military operations ran through regions with high epidemiological tension¹³.

The lack of an effective system for medical sorting, disinfection, and isolation of patients turned military field hospitals and temporary infirmaries into sources of secondary infection. In Podolia Province, which supplied a significant portion of the recruit contingent for the Southern Army, provincial reports record a sharp increase in morbidity among the mobilized in 1854–1855, which directly correlated with widowhood rates in rural and urban communities¹⁴.

Logistical miscalculations by the imperial administration deepened the sanitary crisis. The lack of an developed railway network, poor road communications, and an inefficient system for supplying food, uniforms,

¹² Сборник материалов по истории Крымской войны и начертание истории обороны Севастополя. Т. 1 / сост. под руководством М. И. Богдановича. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Эдуарда Веймара, 1858. с. 112–118

¹³ Военно-медицинский журнал. Санкт-Петербург: Медицинский департамент Министерства внутренних дел, 1856. Т. 68, ч. 2. с. 45–52.

¹⁴ О помощи семьям низших воинских чиновников. Материалы для исследования Подольской губернии в статистическом и хозяйственном отношениях. Каменец-Подольск : Типография губернского управления, 1873. с. 84–91.

and medicines led to recruits covering hundreds of versts on foot marches under unfavorable climatic conditions, without proper nutrition or medical support¹⁵/

Archival materials of the Podolia Provincial Administration contain complaints from volost elders regarding the shortage of transport vehicles for transporting the sick, which forced them to leave sick recruits in roadside villages, where they often died without being registered in official lists¹⁶. The uncertainty of the status of such deceased individuals complicated the procedure for recognizing their wives as official widows, which deprived women of the right to pension provisions or tax benefits.

A comparative analysis of combat and non-combat losses demonstrates a clear dependence between the level of logistical support and the demographic consequences for the mobilization regions. While in regular units stationed in Crimea, combat losses predominated during the siege of Sevastopol, in the rear and marching echelons formed mainly from the population of the Right-Bank, non-combat mortality reached 75–80% of the total number of dead¹⁷. This asymmetry had a direct impact on the structure of widowhood. Wives of the mobilized who died from diseases or logistical hardships often did not receive the official status of a “war widow”, which reduced their legal position to the level of ordinary smallholder peasant women or townswomen (meshchanky) deprived of state support.

The regional specificity of Podolia intensified this effect. The high density of the rural population, dependence on seasonal migrations, and the limited infrastructure of medical assistance created conditions under which the army’s sanitary crisis rapidly transformed into a demographic crisis for civilian communities. Provincial statistical committees record an increase in the share of widows among the female population by 12–15% in the period of 1854–1857, which significantly exceeded the all-imperial indicators¹⁸.

Most of these women lacked documentary confirmation of the cause of their husbands’ deaths, which complicated the procedure for obtaining assistance and left them in a state of legal uncertainty. The economic adaptation of such households occurred mainly through the involvement

¹⁵ Рєсєнт О. П. Аграрне питання в Україні в пореформений період : монографія. Київ : Наукова думка, 1999. с. 142–145.

¹⁶ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2345. арк. 77.

¹⁷ Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. с. 134–139.

¹⁸ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам’янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 96–97.

of women in informal types of employment, petty trade, and loans within family or kahal networks, which confirms the transition from a traditional patriarchal model to forced economic agency¹⁹.

Thus, non-combat mortality during the Crimean War acted not as a side effect of military operations, but as a systemic product of imperial mobilization policy, where the priority of quantitative indicators over the qualitative provision of personnel led to large-scale demographic loss. The sanitary crisis, epidemics, and logistical miscalculations formed a structural factor of widowhood that exceeded combat losses in its consequences.

For the Western provinces, particularly Podolia, this situation had profound socio-economic consequences. Mass widowhood driven by non-combat mortality weakened the labor potential of households, increased the dependence of women on informal support networks, and demonstrated the systemic inability of the imperial administration to provide legal protection for the families of the mobilized under the conditions of a structural crisis in foreign policy.

The demographic profile of female widowhood in Podolia Province in the post-reform period was shaped under the direct influence of the mass recruit mobilization of 1853–1856 and high non-combat mortality, causing a sharp increase in the proportion of women who lost their breadwinners. Statistical information and metrical books show that the war not only accelerated natural widowhood but also significantly shifted the age structure of this stratum toward younger and able-bodied cohorts²⁰. This phenomenon went beyond ordinary demographic dynamics and became a direct consequence of the systemic exhaustion of the imperial mobilization model.

The age structure of widows was characterized by a clear “rejuvenation”. While in the pre-war period the vast majority of widows were women over 40 years old, after 1856 a spike is recorded in the share of women aged 25–35, which corresponded to the age of the mobilized recruits. This brought new economic and social challenges. Young widows, often with minor children, lost not only family protection but also a stable source of income, forcing them to seek alternative survival strategies – from temporary seasonal migration (*otkhodnichestvo*) to entering a second marriage or engaging in petty trade²¹. At the same time, a high proportion of

¹⁹ Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Еврей-купцы: с разъяснениями по определениям Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. с. 193.

²⁰ Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. с. 42–45.

²¹ Муляр А. М. Демографічний розвиток Подільської губернії (1862–1872) : соціальні, релігійні та міграційні аспекти. *Інтернаука*. 2025. № 2 (169). с. 38–39.

older widows (45+) persisted due to chronic diseases and the post-war demobilization of disabled soldiers who died of complications in the first years after their return. Thus, the war formed a two-wave demographic effect: the mass widowhood of young women due to combat and sanitary losses, and the accumulation of vulnerability in older age groups due to the lack of social protection infrastructure.

The estate (soslovie) composition of widows reflected the agrarian-peripheral specificities of Podolia, where peasants constituted over 93% of the population²². The vast majority of widows were peasant women, whose legal and economic status was regulated by the norms of the rural commune and customary law. The loss of a husband in a peasant family often meant the risk of losing allotment land (nadil) or its partial division, since allotments were secured primarily through the male line, and widows depended on the decision of the commune assembly (skhod) or the volost administration²³.

Townswomen (meshchanky) and the widows of merchants were in a slightly more advantageous position. Provided they paid guild dues, they could inherit trade patents and continue the businesses of their deceased husbands. However, their status remained vulnerable due to administrative audits, competition in local markets, and dependence on male guarantees in credit operations²⁴. A separate category was formed by the wives of lower ranks (nizhnie chini) and retired soldiers. Their position was determined by imperial legislation on pensions and assistance to families of the deceased; however, in practice, these payments were often delayed or paid partially, which forced women to rely on informal support networks, kahal funds, or parish assistance²⁵.

The confessional differentiation of widows in Podolia Province, which was part of the Pale of Settlement and bordered Austrian lands, had a significant impact on their social status and adaptation mechanisms. Orthodox widows, who constituted the absolute majority, fell under the

²² Муляр А. М. Демографічний розвиток Подільської губернії (1862–1872) : соціальні, релігійні та міграційні аспекти. *Інтернаука*. 2025. № 2 (169). с. 34.

²³ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 117.

²⁴ Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Евреи-купцы: с разъяснениями по определением Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. с. 163.

²⁵ Mulyar A. Women in the social and legal field: the legal status of women in the Podolsk province in the 19th century. *Science and Education: Paths to Progress* : materials of the International Scientific and Professional Conference. Los Angeles, 2026. p. 40–41.

jurisdiction of local consistories, which controlled marital-family relations and inheritance. The Church provided limited material assistance through parish funds but simultaneously demanded adherence to patriarchal norms. This complicated remarriage or independent living, especially in the absence of support from the relatives of the deceased husband²⁶.

Catholic widows (mainly of Polish descent) enjoyed certain advantages in inheritance law due to the influence of gentry (szlachta) traditions and the preservation of elements of Magdeburg rights. However, canonical prohibitions on divorce and complex procedures for declaring a marriage invalid left many in legal uncertainty. Jewish widows found themselves in the most difficult situation. Their status was regulated by the intersection of imperial restrictions (the Pale of Settlement, the ban on rural real estate) and the norms of Halakha, which gave the husband priority in divorce and limited the inheritance rights of women in the presence of sons²⁷.

Despite this, it was among Jewish women that the highest adaptive activity was observed. Widows frequently inherited lease contracts for mills or taverns, utilizing the informal credit networks of the kahal to preserve economic autonomy under imperial administrative pressure.

Thus, the demographic profile of widows in Podolia in the post-reform period was not homogeneous. It was shaped at the intersection of age, estate, and confessional factors that determined different trajectories of social adaptation and levels of economic vulnerability. The war of 1853–1856 accelerated the formation of a mass stratum of young and able-bodied widows, whose position depended not so much on individual circumstances as on the institutional logic of the imperial state. Peasant women found themselves in a zone of economic marginalization, townswomen and merchant women retained limited commercial agency, wives of lower ranks depended on an inefficient pension system, and confessional affiliation determined access to legal tools and social support networks. This differentiation indicates that widowhood became not only a demographic consequence of war losses but also an indicator of systemic crises in imperial social policy, which failed to provide universal mechanisms for protecting women during a transitional period.

The demographic reconstruction of the mass widowhood process, provoked by the recruit mobilization of 1853–1856, requires a critical

²⁶ Mulyar A. Women in the social and legal field: the legal status of women in the Podolsk province in the 19th century. *Science and Education: Paths to Progress* : materials of the International Scientific and Professional Conference. Los Angeles, 2026. p. 365.

²⁷ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 131.

analysis of the source base, where metrical books, statistical reports of provincial committees, and census data play a key role. The metrical books of Orthodox, Catholic, and Jewish communities constitute the source closest to the events, recording acts of death, marriage, and birth. However, their value as a demographic marker is limited by the confessional segregation of record-keeping and administrative dependence on the local clergy.

Wartime conditions and mass mobilization caused systemic delays in registration, especially in the border counties (uezds) of Podolia Province, where many deaths of recruits were recorded only on the basis of official notifications from military units rather than upon the actual fact in the family's place of residence²⁸. This created institutional "lacunae" in metrical records, where widows were officially considered the wives of absent husbands for years, which significantly distorted the real demographic picture and complicated their ability to obtain tax benefits or the right to remarry.

The dynamics of remarriage serve as an important indicator of the socio-economic adaptation of widowed women and imperial demographic policy. The growth in the share of remarriages in 1856–1860 reflects not only the natural restoration of families but also the pressure of the tax system and the rural commune, which was interested in restoring able-bodied households. Statistical information shows that widows, especially those with minor children, frequently entered into remarriages within 1–3 years after receiving official notification of their husband's death; however, this process had a pronounced gender asymmetry. Women registered remarriages much more frequently than widowers, which was explained by economic dependence and the norms of customary law²⁹.

At the same time, imperial legislation and ecclesiastical institutions established strict periods of mourning and canonical impediments, which slowed down the official registration of new unions, especially among the Orthodox population. Catholic and Jewish communities, conversely, possessed their own regulatory mechanisms, which were partially ignored by the secular administration in its attempts to universalize population tracking³⁰.

²⁸ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 131.

²⁹ Муляр А. М. Демографічний розвиток Подільської губернії (1862–1872) : соціальні, релігійні та міграційні аспекти. *Інтернаука*. 2025. № 2 (169). с. 40.

³⁰ Mulyar A. Women in the social and legal field: the legal status of women in the Podolsk province in the 19th century. *Science and Education: Paths to Progress* : materials of the International Scientific and Professional Conference. Los Angeles, 2026. p. 365.

Data from provincial statistical committees, which aggregated metrical information and the results of annual surveys, provide a macro-level of demographic statistics; however, their representativeness requires critical verification. Committees compiled reports based on information submitted by parish priests and rabbis, which frequently contained generalized totals without detailing age, estate, or cause of death. In the post-reform period, provincial statistical tables began to record the category of “widows”; however, it was merged into a single category without division into military, civilian, or cases of loss due to migration or epidemics³¹. This makes the precise isolation of “war widows” impossible at the level of official reporting, forcing researchers to apply methods of micro-historical reconstruction and cross-analysis of archival files on pension payments, tax benefits, and guardianship appointments.

The main problems concerning the representativeness of the source base are related to three key factors. First, mass seasonal migration and mobilization created the phenomenon of “legally undefined widowhood”, where husbands went missing and their wives could not obtain an official death certificate for years, blocking remarriages and access to state assistance³². Second, the confessional differentiation of record-keeping led to unevenness in recording. Orthodox metrical books were integrated into the imperial administrative vertical, whereas Catholic and Jewish records often remained local in nature and less frequently entered provincial aggregations.

Third, the statistics of the imperial period focused on fiscal and recruitment needs; therefore, women who did not apply for benefits or avoided official registration out of fear of losing property rights or finding themselves under administrative surveillance remained “invisible”. Thus, the reconstruction of the demographic consequences of military mobilization requires the triangulation of diverse sources: combining metrical extracts, court cases on inheritance and guardianship, provincial statistical reports, and local administrative complaints, which makes it possible to compensate for institutional lacunae and reproduce a more objective picture of female widowhood in the post-reform village of Podolia.

³¹ Статистические сведения о Подольской губернии за 1862, 1863, 1864 годы / Подольский губернский статистический комитет. Каменец-Подольск : Губернская типография, 1865. с. 42/

³² Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Евреи-купцы: с разъяснениями по определениям Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. с. 163.

2. Legal Status and Administrative Oversight: Imperial Policy Toward Military Widows

The legal regulation of the status of military widows during the Crimean War was based on all-imperial legislation, which formed a unified regulatory framework; however, in the conditions of the Right-Bank provinces – Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia – the implementation of these norms acquired a distinct regional specificity. The basis of institutional regulation was the *Svod zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii*, particularly the volumes dedicated to estate law, military duty, the financial-tax system, and family relations. In the context of the 1853–1856 military mobilization, a key role was played by recruitment statutes and accompanying senate clarifications, which determined the conditions of conscription, the procedure for exemption from duty, and the mechanisms for the material provision of the families of the mobilized³³.

The recruit system, which operated until the introduction of the all-estate military reform of 1874, provided for conscription lasting 20–25 years, which effectively transformed mobilization into an instrument of demographic and social redistribution. The death or long-term absence of a recruit-husband altered the legal status of the woman. She transitioned from the category of “wife of a lower rank” to the category of “widow”, which was accompanied by the loss of a portion of state guarantees and the acquisition of new administrative obligations.

In accordance with the articles of the *Ustav o rekrutskoy povinnosti* [Statute on Recruit Duty] (1845 edition with amendments of 1854–1855), the families of lower ranks who were killed in battle or died of diseases were entitled to a one-time monetary allowance and temporary exemption from taxes and natural duties³⁴. However, this norm required official confirmation of death through military reports, which, under the conditions of long marches, the dispersal of rear hospitals, and delays in correspondence between General-Governorships, frequently led to months, and sometimes years, of delay³⁵.

The management of allowances and pension cases was carried out through the institutions of guardianship committees and provincial treasuries, the activities of which were regulated by separate senatorial decrees of 1854–1855. The regulation “On Assistance to the Families of Lower Military Ranks...” established differentiated payout amounts

³³ Свод законов Российской империи: в 15 т. Т. 4. Санкт-Петербург: Типография II Отделения Собственной Его Императорского Величества канцелярии, 1857. с. 412–430.

³⁴ Там само. с. 455–458.

³⁵ Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї дільниці Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 46. Арк. 112–115.

depending on rank, length of service, and cause of death. However, for the majority of peasant families in the Right-Bank provinces, these payments were symbolic in nature, as they did not compensate for the loss of the primary breadwinner and did not cover the tax obligations of the commune³⁶.

Administrative practice in the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces indicates a systemic divergence between formal norms and local implementation. Provincial administrations frequently shifted the responsibility for calculating allowances onto *volost* administrations, which, in turn, demanded additional certificates from parish priests, rabbis, or Catholic church administrators. This lengthened the bureaucratic chain and intensified the dependence of widows on the local administration³⁷.

A specific feature of the legal landscape of the Right-Bank provinces was the combination of all-imperial norms with confessional-estate restrictions that regulated access to pension and guardianship institutions. For the Orthodox peasantry, the primary mechanism of protection remained parish funds and customary law. Despite the absence of official codification, customary law determined the order of inheritance for allotment land and the duties of the rural commune regarding the support of smallholder families.

In the Volhynia and Podolia provinces, where Catholics and Jews constituted a significant portion of the population, the legal status of widows was complicated by requirements regarding the registration of marriage and death in the corresponding metrical books, which were controlled by Catholic consistories and Jewish rabbimates. The imperial administration recognized only those metrical extracts that had undergone verification by provincial statistical committees. This created an additional filter for obtaining the status of a “war widow” and the corresponding benefits³⁸.

The regulatory oversight of guardianship over the children and property of deceased recruits also possessed a distinct gender asymmetry. According to the *Zakony o sostoyaniyakh* (Vol. IX of the *Svod zakonov*), a widow retained the right to manage a household only under the condition of official recognition as the head of the household (*khozyayka dvora*), which required a decision of the *volost* assembly or the town *duma*. In the absence of adult sons or male relatives, guardianship was frequently transferred to representatives of the rural commune or local officials, which effectively

³⁶ Сенатские указы 1854 года. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Санкт-Петербург: Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1856. Т. 29. с. 24–27.

³⁷ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2345. Арк. 18–22.

³⁸ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 7854. Арк. 14–19.

limited the economic agency of the woman and reduced her status to that of a person controlled by the administrative vertical³⁹. An analysis of archival files on the appointment of guardians in Kyiv Province confirms that over 60% of decisions in 1854–1856 were made while ignoring the petitions of the widows themselves, indicating an institutional distrust of female legal capacity during wartime⁴⁰.

Thus, the legislative framework of the Crimean War period formed a formally coherent system of legal protection for the families of the mobilized; however, its implementation in the Right-Bank provinces collided with the structural limitations of the imperial administration, the confessional differentiation of record-keeping, and the estate hierarchy. Recruitment statutes and pension regulations, despite declared guarantees, functioned in practice as an instrument of bureaucratic control rather than social support. It was precisely this gap between the regulatory framework and local law enforcement that created an institutional vacuum in which widows were forced to adapt to new economic conditions, relying on informal networks, customary law, and limited state assistance.

The legal position of military widows in the Right-Bank provinces of the empire was shaped under conditions of deep ethnic-estate differentiation, which was institutionally secured in the legislation on the Pale of Settlement and the internal passport regime. For the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces, which were part of the western border complex, this differentiation acquired a special dimension due to the high concentration of the Jewish population, the presence of the Polish-Catholic townspeople, and the preservation of archaic forms of peasant land tenure until the post-reform period⁴¹. Formal guarantees of pension provisions and guardianship, declared in the recruitment statutes, collided in practice with a complex of restrictions regulating the right of residence, movement, and property disposal according to estate affiliation and confessional identity. This institutional dualism created a situation where the legal status of a widow was determined not so much by the fact of losing a breadwinner in the war, but by her belonging to a specific administrative-territorial and ethno-religious group.

The regime of the Pale of Settlement, which functioned from the end of the 18th century and was reinforced in the 1840s–1850s due to the strengthening

³⁹ Свод законов Российской империи. Т. IX: Законы о состояниях. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1899. с. 210–215.

⁴⁰ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 145. Арк. 33–37.

⁴¹ Свод законов Российской империи. Т. IX: Законы о состояниях. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1899. с. 312–318.

of imperial control over the western borderlands, determined the basic conditions of residence for the Jewish population, which constituted a significant portion of the urban and small-town (mestechko) contingent of the Right-Bank provinces. The death of a recruit-husband in this group automatically transitioned the woman into the category of a “settled person”, deprived of the right to free relocation outside the provincial complex without a special permit from the provincial administration⁴².

In the Volhynia and Podolia provinces, this norm was reinforced by additional orders regarding “unreliable” categories, which included the families of the mobilized who evaded the payment of kahal taxes or did not possess fixed property. For Orthodox peasant women and Catholic townswomen, the restrictions had a different character. They were regulated by the norms of the rural commune and the remnants of Magdeburg rights, which preserved elements of autonomy in the cities of Kyiv Province, but simultaneously required official recognition of the widow as the head of the household through the volost assembly or the town дума⁴³. Thus, the ethnic-estate division functioned as an administrative filter determining the degree of intervention by state institutions into the private-legal relations of widowed women.

Passport dependence acted as a key instrument for controlling the movement and economic mobility of widows. According to the *Ustav o pasportakh* [Statute on Passports] (1851), a woman who lost her husband was obliged within three months to re-register the internal passport in her own name or obtain a certificate from the rural/urban commune confirming her status and right to temporary residence⁴⁴.

In the Right-Bank provinces, this procedure was complicated by the necessity of obtaining additional certificates from parish priests, rabbis, or Catholic church administrators, as well as verification of the absence of debts to the commune or treasury. Archival files of county police administrations in the Kyiv and Podolia provinces record numerous cases of refusals to issue passports to widows who attempted to leave for provincial centers or border towns in search of work⁴⁵. These restrictions operated with particular severity toward Jewish widows, who were forbidden from

⁴² Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Т. 29. № 28104. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1856. с. 315–324/

⁴³ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 189. Арк. 44–47.

⁴⁴ Свод законов Российской империи. Т. XIV. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1857. с. 201–205.

⁴⁵ Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї дільниці Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 89. Арк. 33–36

moving outside the boundaries of a designated county without a special “transit letter” (proezdnoy list), effectively blocking their integration into the regional labor market and forcing them to rely on local credit networks or artisan guilds.

Restrictions on the inheritance of property and land allotments constituted another layer of institutional inequality. According to Volume X of the *Svod zakonov*, a widow was entitled to maintenance from the property of her deceased husband and a share in the inheritance in the presence of minor children; however, the realization of this right depended on estate status and the type of tenure. For peasant families in the Right-Bank provinces, allotment land formally remained the property of the commune, and the widow retained only the right of use under the condition of paying taxes and performing natural duties⁴⁶.

In the event of the absence of adult male heirs, the allotment could be confiscated and redistributed, transforming widowhood into a direct economic risk of losing a vital resource. In the urban environment of the Kyiv and Volhynia provinces, merchant and townswomen widows could inherit trade patents and real estate; however, this required confirmation of property status through provincial treasuries and was frequently accompanied by lawsuits with the husband’s relatives⁴⁷. Confessional norms (Catholic inheritance law, Halakhic regulations on the *ketubah*, norms of Jewish religious law, and guardianship) only complicated the standardization of practices. They created parallel legal planes where the imperial administration acted as an arbiter only in cases of fiscal significance or political sensitivity.

Thus, ethnic-estate restrictions in the Right-Bank provinces formed a fragmented legal reality in which formal guarantees of state support for military widows ran into the structural barriers of the Pale of Settlement regime, passport dependence, and the estate hierarchy. The Pale of Settlement determined the geographical boundaries of legal agency. The passport system regulated economic mobility, and inheritance norms reinforced gender asymmetry in property disposal. This institutional complex not only complicated the adaptation of widowed women to wartime conditions but also contributed to the formation of alternative survival strategies that lay outside the official legal field.

Imperial policy toward the families of the mobilized during the Crimean War was shaped under conditions of institutional dualism, where declared

⁴⁶ Сенатские указы 1854 года. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Санкт-Петербург: Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1856. Т. 29. с. 112–115.

⁴⁷ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам’янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 5512. Арк. 88–92.

mechanisms of social support were gradually transformed into instruments of administrative control and fiscal regulation. Formally, legislation guaranteed military widows pension provisions, temporary tax benefits, and institutional protection through guardianship committees. However, the implementation of these norms in the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces demonstrated a persistent gap between regulatory prescriptions and local law enforcement. This transformed support institutions into mechanisms for verifying loyalty, tracking property status, and restricting the mobility of widowed women⁴⁸.

Pension provisions for the families of deceased lower ranks were regulated by separate orders of the Ministry of War and financial circulars of 1854–1855, which established differentiated sizes of annual payouts depending on rank, length of service, and the circumstances of death. However, archival materials of provincial treasuries record a systemic dragging out of the verification process for pension rights. To receive payouts, a widow had to submit a certificate from the military unit, a certificate verifying the absence of debts to the commune, and a notarized application, which under wartime communication conditions frequently required from six months to two years⁴⁹. In the Right-Bank provinces, this procedure was complicated by mandatory verification through police boards and volost administrations. They were frequently used during the pension processing as a pretext for additional levies or the forced recruitment of the family into community duties. Even after the approval of payouts, their size rarely compensated for the loss of the breadwinner, and the inflationary processes of wartime combined with delays in treasury transactions reduced pension support to the level of symbolic aid⁵⁰.

Tax benefits provided for the families of the mobilized were temporary in nature and were usually limited to exemption from a portion of the poll tax (*podushnaya podat'*) or natural duties for a period of one to three years. However, in local practice, these benefits were frequently neutralized through mechanisms of collective responsibility (*krugovaya poruka*) and the redistribution of the tax burden within the commune. In the Podolia and Volhynia provinces, where the peasant commune remained the primary fiscal agent of the empire, the exemption of one family was compensated

⁴⁸ Сенатские указы 1854 года. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1856. Т. 29. с. 12–15.

⁴⁹ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 156. Арк. 40 – 48.

⁵⁰ Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. с. 142–145.

for by raising the rates for the remaining households. This generated social tension and forced widows to hide their status or refuse the official processing of benefits⁵¹. This approach indicates that the fiscal loyalty of the local administration to formal imperial orders yielded to the interests of preserving fiscal stability at the county level.

Guardianship committees, which formally were supposed to ensure the protection of the property and interests of the minor children of deceased recruits, functioned in practice as an instrument for restricting the economic agency of widows. According to the *Zakony ob opeke* [Laws on Guardianship], a woman retained the right to independent management of a household only under the condition of being officially recognized as legally capable, which required a decision of the provincial administration or the county court. In the majority of cases, especially in the peasant environment of Kyiv Province, guardianship was transferred to the male relatives of the deceased, representatives of the *volost* assembly, or even local officials, who controlled the disposal of the allotment, livestock, and monetary funds of the family⁵². This not only deprived widows of the right to economic independence but also created a legal dependence where any attempt by the woman to sell property or conclude a credit agreement without the guardian's permission was qualified as a legal offense.

Administrative surveillance over the relocation of widows supplemented the control system, integrating them into the passport vertical and police tracking. According to the *Ustav o pasportakh*, a widowed woman was obliged within the established timeframe to re-register the document in her own name, indicating the purpose of residence and source of income. In the Right-Bank provinces, this procedure was accompanied by a verification of "reliability", which included certificates from priests, testimonies confirming the absence of connections with "suspicious persons", and confirmations from local elders.

For Jewish widows residing within the Pale of Settlement, surveillance was reinforced by the requirement to obtain permission from kahal administrations and restrictions on traveling outside the boundaries of the county without a special transit letter^{53.1}. Even for Orthodox and Catholic peasant women, the absence of an updated passport made legal employment, land leasing, or traveling to provincial centers in search of work impossible.

⁵¹ Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї дільниці Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 72. Арк. 88–91.

⁵² Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 1892. Арк. 31–35.

⁵³ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Оп. 1. Спр. 6712. Арк. 14–19.

This effectively tied them to their place of residence and forced them to rely on local survival networks.

The divergence between formal norms and local practice acted as a systemic feature of the imperial administration in the Western provinces. On paper, support institutions demonstrated a humanistic orientation of state policy; however, under wartime conditions, resource limitations, and institutional overloading, they were transformed into mechanisms of selective control. Provincial administrations and county police administrations used the procedures for appointing pensions, granting benefits, and establishing guardianship as an instrument for verifying loyalty, tracking property status, and preventing “undesirable” population mobility. This institutional gap not only complicated the economic adaptation of widows but also contributed to the formation of parallel survival practices lying outside the official legal field.

The bureaucratic procedure for appointing material assistance and pension provisions to the families of deceased lower ranks functioned as a multi-level system of verifications, where each institutional stage generated its own delays and filtration mechanisms. The formal path from submitting an application to receiving funds involved data verification by military chancelleries, police administrations, provincial treasuries, and confessional departments, which under conditions of wartime communication and the dispersal of archives frequently dragged out for eighteen to twenty-four months⁵⁴.

A key element of the bureaucratic barrier was the dependence on confessional institutions for registering family status. According to the regulatory provisions of the *Svod zakonov* and the relevant sections of the *Ustav o dukhovnykh delakh* official confirmation of a husband’s death and a widow’s right to inheritance or assistance required a notarized extract from the metrical books. These were maintained by Orthodox consistories, Catholic spiritual boards, and Jewish rabbinate⁵⁵.

During the Crimean War, this system experienced functional strain. The consistories of the Volhynia and Podolia provinces record an increase in the number of requests to locate records of marriage and the baptism of children of deceased recruits. Along with this, archival files indicate systemic discrepancies between church registries and secular population lists⁵⁶. For Jewish communities, the procedure was complicated by the requirement of

⁵⁴ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 210. Арк. 44–48.

⁵⁵ Свод законов Российской империи. Т. XI, ч. 1. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е.И.В. канцелярии, 1857. с. 312–315.

⁵⁶ Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 67. Арк. 22–25.

double registration. Rabbinate maintained their own metrical books, but their extracts required additional legalization through county police administrations and provincial statistical committees. The absence of standardized certificate forms, language barriers in correspondence, and confessional competition for jurisdiction frequently led to widows being unable to obtain documentary confirmation of their status for years. This automatically blocked access to pension payments and tax benefits.

Court inheritance cases constituted another layer of institutional complication, where bureaucratic delays were transformed into prolonged legal conflicts. The loss of documentary confirmation of rights or a refusal to recognize a widow as a legitimate heir frequently prompted women to appeal to county courts and civil court chambers of the Kyiv General-Governorship. An analysis of court archives from 1854–1858 demonstrates that the majority of cases concerned the distribution of allotment land, real estate in small towns, and the challenging of decisions made by guardianship committees⁵⁷.

Procedural norms required the plaintiff to provide a full packet of documents, which frequently proved impossible due to the loss of metrical extracts or the absence of notarized wills. Court sessions were accompanied by significant expenditures on stamp duties (*gerbovye sbory*), the services of attorneys, and court clerks, which exceeded the financial capabilities of peasant and townswoman families. In addition, the judicial practice of the Right-Bank provinces demonstrated a persistent tendency toward prioritizing the male relatives of the deceased in inheritance disputes, based on the interpretation of customary law and imperial norms on “family guardianship”. This reduced the role of the widow to that of a passive participant in the process, where her economic agency was limited by the necessity of constant appeals to higher-level authorities⁵⁸.

Cases of refusal to appoint assistance and mechanisms for appealing decisions formed the final stage of bureaucratic selection. Provincial administrations and treasuries frequently rejected applications based on formal grounds: violation of submission deadlines, absence of the seal of the *volost* assembly, discrepancy of entries in metrical books with recruitment list data, or suspicions of hiding property⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 1988. Арк. 56–60.

⁵⁸ Разъяснение Правительствующего Сената о порядке назначения пособий семьям низших чиновников, погибших или умерших во время войны: от 1856 г. Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства, издаваемое при Правительствующем Сенате. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Правительствующего Сената, 1856. с. 89–92.

⁵⁹ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 4412. Арк. 103–107.

The appeal procedure provided for an appeal to the Kyiv General-Governor, and subsequently to the Governing Senate; however, such a path required significant financial and time resources, which only a tiny fraction of widowed women possessed. Archival materials record that the vast majority of appeal cases in the Podolia and Volhynia provinces remained unconsidered due to the absence of additional documents or the expiration of statutes of limitations.

This statistic indicates the systemic nature of institutional selection. The bureaucratic apparatus functioned not as an instrument of social support, but as a filter restricting access to state resources in favor of administrative stability and fiscal discipline. As a result, formal guarantees of imperial legislation were transformed into nominal privileges, the realization of which depended on the woman's ability to overcome a complex of documentary, judicial, and confessional barriers, driving the transition to alternative strategies of economic adaptation.

3. Economic Adaptation and Social Survival Strategies

The removal of a male breadwinner from the household circuit as a result of recruit mobilization or military death during the Crimean War (1853–1856) became a catalyst for the structural transformation of peasant and townswoman households in the Right-Bank provinces. The traditional patriarchal model, in which female labor was integrated into the internal household cycle and supplemented male activity in farming or trades, suffered a demographic rupture. Having lost the primary source of income and the physical strength for cultivating the allotment, the families of the mobilized were forced to adapt economic strategies to conditions of resource limitation. This led to the systemic marginalization of female households and the reformatting of gender roles in daily practice.

The first adaptive reaction to the loss of a breadwinner was the transition to a subsistence economy. Archival materials of provincial treasuries and volost administrations of the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces record a decrease in the share of monetary taxes paid by the families of the mobilized, and a corresponding growth in natural duties⁶⁰. Women intensified the cultivation of homestead plots (*priusadebnye uchastki*), expanded kitchen gardening, increased the livestock of small cattle and poultry, and restored domestic weaving and spinning, which previously had a primarily consumptive character. This transition did not signify economic development but reflected a forced conservation of the household at the level of survival. The absence of male labor complicated plowing, haymaking,

⁶⁰ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2345. Арк. 88–91.

and product transportation. Widows were forced to conclude barter agreements with neighbors or involve adolescents in tasks formally considered male. The consequence was a decrease in allotment productivity and the gradual loss of the household's market positions, which is recorded in the statistical data of provincial committees regarding the reduction of sown areas in counties with a high relative share of the mobilized⁶¹.

In the urban and small-town environment, economic adaptation took the form of integrating women into petty trade and artisanal activity. Widows who inherited small shops, workshops, or lease contracts frequently retained the right to continue the business under the condition of paying guild or corporation dues. However, in practice, this process was accompanied by administrative and financial hurdles. In the Kyiv and Podolia provinces, police administrations demanded from widows confirmation of property status and permission from the corporation elder or town дума, dragging out the legalization of trade for several months⁶². A significant portion of women, deprived of the opportunity to obtain an official patent, transitioned into the sphere of semi-legal trade. They sold textiles, bread, eggs, and artisanal items at bazaars or engaged in peddling. Consistorial and rabbinical metrical books record an increase in the number of court cases concerning illegal trade involving widows, indicating a gap between regulatory requirements for the townspeople estate and the economic reality of wartime⁶³.

Hired labor became another key channel for economic survival, especially for landless peasant women and townswomen who lacked their own household or capital to open a business. Women were actively involved in seasonal agricultural tasks, performing the functions of reapers, stackers, and flax gatherers, as well as serving as domestic servants in landlord estates, gentry manors, and urban homes. Archival records of county police administrations testify to an increase in the number of passport issuances in the name of widows indicating the purpose of "seeking work" or "entering service" in 1854–1856⁶⁴. The wage of female laborers traditionally constituted 30–40% of male wages, making the accumulation of capital impossible and forcing the combination of hired labor with domestic tracking or childcare. In individual cases, widows found employment

⁶¹ Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. с. 148–151.

⁶² Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 67. Арк.40–45.

⁶³ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 5512. Арк. 102–105.

⁶⁴ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 156. Арк. 55–58.

at manufactories and small industrial enterprises of the Right-Bank provinces; however, these positions were limited, and working conditions were strictly regulated by corporation statutes, which frequently excluded women from skilled operations.

The combination of these economic transformations led to a change in the social role of the woman under wartime conditions. From a traditional “mistress” (*khozyayka*) who managed the internal cycle of the household under the formal or actual leadership of her husband, she was transformed into a “dependent” or the actual “head of the household”, bearing full responsibility for fiscal obligations, family nutrition, child-rearing, and property preservation. This transformation was not accompanied by the granting of corresponding legal tools or social guarantees. On the contrary, the imperial administration and the rural commune continued to view the widow as a temporary unit of accounting, whose economic actions were subject to guardianship control or restrictions based on estate and confession. The economic agency of women was shaped not as a result of emancipatory processes, but as a forced reaction to institutional vulnerability and the demographic pressure of recruit mobilization. It was precisely this contradiction between actual economic independence and legal dependence that determined the trajectory of social adaptation for military widows in the Right-Bank provinces.

The property rights and inheritance practices of military widows in the Right-Bank provinces were shaped at the intersection of imperial legislation, customary law, and the institutional restrictions of the rural commune. Formally, the *Svod zakonov* (Vols. IX and X) guaranteed a widow the right to a share in the inheritance and the use of the property of her deceased husband in the presence of minor children. However, in the peasant environment of the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces, these norms ran into the principle of communal land tenure, according to which allotment land remained the property of the commune, and the woman received only the right of temporary use under the condition of paying taxes and performing natural duties⁶⁵. The absence of adult male heirs frequently served as a ground for confiscating the allotment and redistributing it among other households, transforming widowhood into a direct economic risk of losing a vital resource⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ Свод законов Российской империи. Т. X, ч. 1: Законы гражданские. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1899. с. 112–115.

⁶⁶ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2104. Арк. 34–37.

Judicial practice in the Right-Bank provinces records a persistent tendency toward restricting female inheritance agency through the institutional priority of the deceased's male relatives. County courts and civil court chambers of the Kyiv General-Governorship regularly considered cases concerning property division, where widows challenged the decisions of volost assemblies or guardianship committees. An analysis of archival cases from 1854–1858 confirms that the majority of plaintiffs faced procedural barriers: they were required to provide notarized wills, metrical extracts concerning family composition, and certificates verifying the absence of debts to the commune⁶⁷. Judicial precedents demonstrate that in cases of conflict between a widow and the brothers or uncles of the deceased, courts frequently issued rulings in favor of the male relatives, citing customary law and “family guardianship”. This was based on patriarchal notions of the economic incapacity of women, and reduced the role of the widow to that of a passive participant in the process, where her property rights were limited by the necessity of constant appeals to higher instances for the protection of even minor assets⁶⁸.

Under conditions of institutional vulnerability, a key role in preserving the property and economic status of widows was played by communal and family support networks. The rural commune, despite its official orientation toward fiscal discipline, frequently acted as an instrument of local solidarity. It allocated temporary plots for cultivation, organized collective work during sowing or harvest, and provided loans of seed or livestock under terms of working it off. Family networks, particularly the widow's natal family or her brother-in-law (svoyak), frequently assumed the functions of unofficial guardians, providing temporary residence, childcare, and protection against external property claims. Archival materials of parish revisions and volost administrations record numerous cases where widows transferred a portion of an allotment on lease to relatives or neighbors in exchange for food provisions and tax payments⁶⁹. These practices were not recorded in official statistics, but they constituted a real mechanism of social adaptation that compensated for the inefficiency of state support institutions.

Confessional and estate differentiation additionally complicated the standardization of inheritance practices. In the Catholic and Orthodox communities of the Kyiv and Volhynia provinces, parallel inheritance norms operated, where church institutions frequently acted as arbiters in property

⁶⁷ Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї дільниці Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 89. Арк. 55–59.

⁶⁸ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Оп. 1. Спр. 6712. Арк. 102–106.

⁶⁹ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 156. Арк. 78–82.

disputes, especially in the absence of a will. In Podolia Province, where Jews constituted a significant portion of the population, inheritance relations were regulated by the intersection of imperial laws and Halakhic norms, which restricted the right of widows to dispose of real estate in the presence of sons. However, they were permitted to retain control over movable property and trade patents under the condition of obtaining permission from kahal administrations⁷⁰. This institutional fragmentation created a situation where a widow's property rights were determined not so much by imperial legislation, but by local confessional jurisdiction and the woman's ability to maneuver between formal norms and informal agreements.

Thus, the property rights and inheritance practices of military widows in the Right-Bank provinces demonstrated a persistent gap between legislative guarantees and local law enforcement. Restrictions on disposing of allotments, judicial precedents in favor of male relatives, and procedural barriers in inheritance cases transformed widowhood into an institutionally vulnerable status requiring a constant search for alternative protection mechanisms. Communal and family support networks acted as a compensatory tool ensuring the survival of households under the conditions of an inefficient state system of guardianship and pension provisions. It was precisely this interaction of formal restrictions and informal strategies that shaped the basis of economic adaptation for widows, through the prism of a double burden and institutional dependence.

The formation of a mass stratum of military widows in the Right-Bank provinces during the Crimean War (1853–1856) was accompanied by a structural overloading of female households, which in modern historiography is conceptualized as a “double burden”. In the mid-19th century, the imperial state did not possess a developed social protection infrastructure, and pension payments and tax benefits were limited in nature and did not compensate for the loss of labor resources. As a result, widows were forced to combine reproductive and care labor with economic activity, which required reformatting daily practices and created additional demographic pressure on family and communal networks.

Care labor under wartime conditions assumed a systemic character. The loss of a male breadwinner meant not only a financial crisis but also a redistribution of functions for securing the household, caring for elderly relatives, and child-rearing. Archival files of volost administrations in the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces record that widows frequently

⁷⁰ Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Евреи-купцы: с разъяснениями по определениям Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург: Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. с. 193.

became the sole guardians for three or more generations of a family, especially in the peasant environment, where multi-generational households were the norm⁷¹.

The absence of childcare facilities, medical funds, or public shelters forced women to integrate care functions into the daily economic cycle. Spinning, weaving, or petty trade were carried out parallel to caring for children and the sick, lowering labor productivity and restricting opportunities for resource accumulation. In the urban and small-town communities of Kyiv Province, this effect was intensified due to the higher cost of living and the necessity of renting housing, forcing widows to seek additional sources of income without the possibility of delegating care labor⁷².

A special category was formed by war orphans, whose parents were killed in battle or died of epidemics in hospitals. The imperial administration did not create specialized institutions for their maintenance, shifting responsibility onto rural communes, parish councils, and family networks. In Podolia Province, consistorial reports of 1854–1856 record an increase in the number of petitions for appointing guardians for the minor children of the mobilized; however, most decisions came down to officially attaching the child to the closest relatives of the deceased father or mother⁷³. In the absence of relatives, children were transferred under the supervision of volost elders or placed in monastery shelters, where maintenance conditions frequently failed to meet basic sanitary norms. Widows who took in the children of deceased relatives or neighbors assumed an additional economic and emotional burden, deepening their marginalization and forcing them to seek compensatory mechanisms in the form of natural aid from the commune or the temporary involvement of children in auxiliary work.

The economic activity of widows under these conditions acquired a forced flexibility and fragmentation. The combination of care labor with earning activity shaped specific survival strategies: seasonal hired labor, home production to order, petty peddling, or leasing out a portion of housing or land. In Volhynia Province, archival materials of county police administrations confirm that a significant portion of widows registered “absences” (otluchki) for the purpose of seeking temporary employment in landlord economies or at fairs. The duration of such absences was limited by

⁷¹ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 1892. Арк. 42–44.

⁷² Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 72. Арк. 88–91

⁷³ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 5512. Арк. 102–105.

the necessity of returning to children and managing the household⁷⁴. This limited mobility made entry into a stable labor market impossible and secured widows in the segment of low-paid, frequently legally undocumented types of employment. In the confessional dimension, Jewish widows were more frequently involved in petty trade and artisan corporations; however, their economic activity was also regulated by the necessity of childcare and the restrictions of the Pale of Settlement, reducing their agency to local market niches⁷⁵.

The absence of a social protection infrastructure was compensated for by informal institutions, which, despite their flexibility, could not provide systemic support. Parish funds, kahal charitable societies, neighborly aid, and family networks acted as the primary buffers amortizing the consequences of the “double burden”. However, these mechanisms functioned on the basis of interdependence and moral obligations rather than legal guarantees, making them unstable under the conditions of wartime economic crisis. Provincial statistical committees record that widows who lacked developed family connections or found themselves outside confessional communities frequently transitioned into a state of chronic poverty. Forced to sell livestock or lease out land for next to nothing, they found themselves on the brink of complete declassing, confirming the systemic failure of imperial social policy under conditions of external crisis.

In the context of the institutional gap left by the imperial state, the intersection of formal and informal regulatory mechanisms became a space where military widows shaped alternative practices of legal and economic interaction. Formal procedures for processing allowances, passport renewals, or guardianship appointments were frequently bypassed through institutions of informal mediation. In the peasant communities of the Podolia and Volhynia provinces, customary law recognized a woman as the actual head of the household under the condition of involving a male relative or neighbor as a nominal guarantor (*poruchitel*), allowing the preservation of control over the household cycle without officially processing guardianship. Archival cases of county courts in Kyiv Province record numerous instances where widows concluded verbal agreements concerning land leasing, inventory loans, or labor exchange, citing “communal custom” in the event of administrative claims⁷⁶. This practice demonstrates how local norms

⁷⁴ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 156. Арк. 78–82.

⁷⁵ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 117–119.

⁷⁶ Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мировий посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 89. Арк. 40–44.

compensated for the rigidity of imperial regulation, creating a parallel legal plane where the woman's agency was realized through social legitimation rather than formal institutions.

Integration into the market conditions of the war and post-war period became another dimension of the adaptive strategy. The growing demand for textiles, food products, and domestic service in the provinces securing the rear of the Southern Army opened new economic niches for widows. In the urban and small-town settlements of Kyiv Province, women were actively involved in petty trade, leasing shops at bazaars, and manufacturing domestic soap, candles, and fabrics to order. In the rural localities of Podolia and Volhynia, the practice of leasing out a portion of an allotment, livestock, or artisanal equipment in exchange for a share of the harvest or a fixed natural payment expanded⁷⁷. However, market integration was accompanied by high price volatility, seasonal crises, and dependence on middlemen-buyers (*skupshchiki*), who frequently established unfavorable credit or purchase conditions. Widows who did not possess sufficient starting capital or social connections quickly lost competitive positions, transforming market activity from a stabilization tool into a factor of economic instability.

Informal credit networks acted as a key buffer between institutional restrictions and market risks; however, their role was ambiguous. In Orthodox and Catholic communities, parish funds, brotherhoods, and neighbor associations functioned, providing interest-free loans of seed, inventory, or cash under terms of working it off or future harvest. In the Jewish towns of the Right-Bank provinces, access to credit frequently depended on *kahal* structures or private lenders who demanded collateral in the form of movable property, trade patents, or personal guarantee⁷⁸.

Archival materials record that about a third of widows in the Kyiv and Podolia provinces utilized credit resources to restore their household after the mobilization of their husband; however, a significant portion of these loans turned into long-term indebtedness due to unfavorable market conjunctures or repeated crop failures⁷⁹. Credit dependence was frequently compensated for by networks of reciprocity: women exchanged childcare services, jointly leased land, or united for the collective sale of products, lowering transaction costs and strengthening bargaining positions before buyers.

⁷⁷ Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. с. 148–151.

⁷⁸ Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 pp.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. с. 118–120.

⁷⁹ Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Оп. 1. Спр. 6123. Арк. 88–92.

The consequences of such an adaptive strategy demonstrated a persistent polarization between successful integration and social decline. Widows who possessed initial property capital, the support of developed family networks, or confessional connections frequently preserved the status of head of the household, expanded trade or artisanal contracts, and secured the intergenerational stability of the household. In individual cases, they concluded strategic marriages with local merchants or artisans, legalizing their economic status and opening access to corporation institutions.

Conversely, women without support networks, with a large number of minor children, or with a lost allotment, quickly fell into a cycle of debt dependence and economic marginalization. Police reports and parish revisions record an increase in the number of “homeless women” and “wartime beggars” who lost not only property but also social identity, transitioning under the care of public shelters or monasteries⁸⁰. This differentiation indicates that the agency of widows was situational and restricted by structural conditions. It permitted maneuvering within available resources but did not compensate for the systemic institutional vulnerability and market volatility of the wartime period.

Thus, the interaction of military widows in the Right-Bank provinces with imperial norms, customary law, market conditions, and informal credit networks shaped a complex adaptive landscape where female agency was realized through constant balancing between institutional dependence and economic initiative. Successful survival strategies relied on social capital, confessional solidarity, and the flexible use of local norms, whereas social decline became the consequence of losing support networks, debt overloading, and the inability to adapt to market crises. This gap between individual adaptability and structural restrictions underscores the depth of the institutional vacuum left by imperial mobilization policy, laying the groundwork for the subsequent analysis of long-term demographic and legal transformations in the post-war period.

CONCLUSIONS

The conducted study confirms that mass widowhood, provoked by the recruit mobilization of 1853–1856, acted not only as a demographic consequence of war losses but also as a systemic indicator of the institutional crisis of the imperial mobilization model. The analysis of the legal, economic, and social aspects of the position of military widows in the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces permits the formulation of several generalizing results.

⁸⁰ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2104. Арк. 66–70.

First, the demographic shift driven by the intensification of conscription and high non-combat mortality shaped a mass stratum of young and able-bodied widows, whose status was officially recognized by the state but remained effectively unprotected institutionally. Formal guarantees of pension provisions, tax benefits, and guardianship protection, secured in imperial legislation, ran in practice into bureaucratic barriers, confessional differentiation of record-keeping, and ethnic-estate restrictions. Passport dependence, delays in verifying death, inheritance lawsuits, and control by guardianship committees transformed support mechanisms into instruments of administrative surveillance and fiscal selection, where access to state resources was determined not so much by the fact of losing a breadwinner, but by the ability to overcome documentary and jurisdictional filters.

Second, the loss of a recruit-husband led to a structural transformation of female households, where the traditional patriarchal model yielded to forced economic agency. Widows were forced to combine care labor, the rearing of wartime orphans, and active participation in the labor market, trade, or crafts, overcoming restrictions on disposing of allotments and real estate. This “double burden” was compensated for by informal strategies: women integrated into family and communal support networks, utilized customary rights, and maneuvered between imperial norms and local credit practices. The success of adaptation depended directly on starting property capital, confessional affiliation, and integration into social structures. The absence of these resources frequently led to debt dependence, loss of status, and marginalization.

Third, the gap between regulatory prescriptions and law enforcement in the Right-Bank provinces revealed a deep contradiction in imperial policy. The state perceived mobilization as a temporary military tool, ignoring its long-term socio-demographic consequences. Widowhood became a structural phenomenon reflecting the inefficiency of the administrative vertical, the infrastructural inability to ensure the protection of the families of the mobilized, and a systemic crisis of the foreign policy course, which was compensated for by a quantitative rather than qualitative replenishment of the army. It was precisely this institutional vacuum that accelerated the formation of alternative survival practices, which in the post-war period became one of the foundational factors for future post-reform transformations and the reformatting of local social connections.

Thus, the widowhood of the Crimean War era was not an isolated gender or private problem, but acted as a complex socio-legal phenomenon integrating demographic losses, institutional restrictions, and economic adaptation. Its analysis in the regional dimension of Right-Bank Ukraine permits the reconstruction of the “invisible” price of imperial mobilization

and an understanding of the mechanisms by which a state crisis materialized in the daily practice of women forced to balance between institutional dependence and forced independence. As can be seen, the foreign policy miscalculations of the empire were transformed into internal social shifts that determined the trajectory of development for the Right-Bank provinces in the post-reform era.

ABSTRACT

The article examines widowhood as a consequence of recruit mobilization during the Crimean War of 1853–1856 and demonstrates it as one of the socio-demographic manifestations of the systemic crisis in the Russian Empire's foreign policy. Based on materials from the Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia provinces, the impact of the intensification of recruit levies on the structure of households, the legal status of women, and the mechanisms of their economic adaptation is traced. Special attention is paid to the specificities of mobilization policy regarding the Jewish population and confessional-driven differences in access to legal protection and material support. It is shown that benefits formally secured by imperial legislation for the families of recruits were frequently neutralized by bureaucratic barriers and the weakness of administrative control. Widows were forced to combine domestic, care, and production-commercial labor, utilizing both institutional and informal survival strategies. The analysis of sources confirms that networks of family mutual aid, local credit practices, and confessional solidarity partially compensated for the loss of a male breadwinner. At the same time, for a significant portion of women, the consequence of mobilization was debt dependence, marginalization, and increased social vulnerability. It is concluded that the widowhood of the Crimean War era is an important indicator of the “invisible” price of imperial mobilization policy and its long-term social consequences.

References:

1. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2345. Арк. 12–20, 77, 89.
2. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 312. Арк. 45, 52, 61–63, 68, 94–97.
3. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 316. Арк. 89–94.
4. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 145. Арк. 33–37.
5. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 1892. Арк. 31–35, 42–44.

6. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 1988. Арк. 56–60.
7. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 255. Оп. 1. Спр. 2104. Арк. 34–37, 66–70.
8. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 189. Арк. 44–52.
9. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 156. Арк. 40–48, 55–58, 78–82.
10. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. Ф. 128. Оп. 2. Спр. 210. Арк. 32–48.
11. Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 7854. Арк. 12–24.
12. Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 4412. Арк. 103–107.
13. Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Прокурор Кам'янець-Подільського окружного суду. Оп. 1. Спр. 5512. Арк. 88–92, 102–105.
14. Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Оп. 1. Спр. 6123. Арк. 45–67, 88–92.
15. Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 281. Оп. 1. Спр. 6712. Арк. 14–19, 102–106.
16. Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 67. Дирекція народних училищ Подільської губернії. Оп. 1. Спр. 147. Арк. 34–56.
17. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мирний посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 46. Арк. 112–118.
18. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мирний посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 67. Арк. 22–25, 40–45.
19. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мирний посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 89. Арк. 33–36, 40–44, 55–59.
20. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 196. Мирний посередник 1-ї ділянки Літинського повіту. Оп. 1. Спр. 72. Арк. 88–91.
21. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. 230. Вінницька міська управа. Оп. 1. Спр. 1081. Арк. 123–129.
22. Высочайшее повеление 10 июля 1864 года о воспрещении евреям приобретать от помещиков и крестьян земли в губерниях, подведомых Виленскому и Киевскому генерал-губернаторам. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Т. 39. № 41108. С. 71.
23. Военно-медицинский журнал. Санкт-Петербург: Медицинский департамент Министерства внутренних дел, 1856. Т. 68, ч. 2. С. 45–52.

24. Временные правила 3 мая 1882 года о евреях. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 3. Санкт-Петербург, 1885. Т. 2. № 1234. С. 156–158.

25. О помощи семьям низших воинских чиновников. Материалы для исследования Подольской губернии в статистическом и хозяйственном отношении. Каменец-Подольск : Типография губернского управления, 1873. 226 с.

26. Сборник материалов по истории Крымской войны и начертание истории обороны Севастополя. Т. 1 / сост. под руководством М. И. Богдановича. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Эдуарда Веймара, 1858. 401 с.

27. Свод законов Российской империи: в 15 т. Т. 4. Санкт-Петербург: Типография II Отделения Собственной Его Императорского Величества канцелярии, 1857.

28. Свод законов Российской империи. Т. IX: Законы о состояниях. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1899. 412 с.

29. Свод законов Российской империи. Т. X, ч. 1: Законы гражданские. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1899. 512 с.

30. Свод законов Российской империи. Т. XI, ч. 1. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1857.

31. Свод законов Российской империи. Т. XIV. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1857. 501 с.

32. Сенатские указы 1854 года. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1856. Т. 29. 1200 с.

33. Устав о паспортах и беглых. Изд. 1903 г. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Министерства внутренних дел, 1903. 256 с.

34. Разъяснение Правительствующего Сената о порядке назначения пособий семьям низших чиновников, погибших или умерших во время войны: от 1856 г. Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства, издаваемое при Правительствующем Сенате. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Правительствующего Сената, 1856. С. 89–92.

35. Статистический временник Российской империи. Вып. 7 / Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Типография Правительствующего Сената, 1866. 234 с.

36. Статистические сведения о Подольской губернии за 1862, 1863, 1864 годы / Подольский губернский статистический комитет. Каменец-Подольск : Губернская типография, 1865. 285 с.

37. Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собр. 2. Т. 29. № 28104. Санкт-Петербург : Тип. Второго отделения Собственной Е. И. В. канцелярии, 1856.

38. Гессен Ю., Фридштейн С. Евреи-купцы: с разъяснениями по определениям Правительствующего Сената и циркулярам Министерства внутренних дел. Санкт-Петербург : Издание юридического книжного магазина Н. К. Мартынова, 1905. 401 с.
39. Гессен Ю. И. Евреи в России: очерки общественной, правовой и экономической жизни русских евреев. Санкт-Петербург : Типо-литография А. Г. Розена, 1906. 434 с.
40. Евреи в Южной России: формы труда у евреев в Южной России (ист.-этногр. заметки). Одесса : Типография «Одесского вестника», 1899. 156 с.
41. Ецинский С. Семейная жизнь на Подолье в первой половине прошлого века. *Киевская старина*. 1891. Т. 4. С. 24–42.
42. Муляр А. М. Демографічний розвиток Подільської губернії (1862–1872) : соціальні, релігійні та міграційні аспекти. *Інтернаука*. 2025. № 2 (169). С. 32–43. DOI: 10.25313/2520-2057-2025-2-10691.
43. Нестерцова-Собакаръ О. В. Правове становище жінки на українських землях у складі Російської імперії у другій половині ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. : монографія. Дніпро : ДДУВС, 2016. 233 с.
44. Реєнт О. П. Аграрне питання в Україні в пореформений період : монографія. Київ : Наукова думка, 1999. 210 с.
45. Орловський Л. О. Єврейське населення в соціально-економічному житті Поділля (1861–1914 рр.) : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 07.00.01. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020. 256 с.
46. Стоберська Н. А. Польське землеволодіння в українських губерніях : українська та російська історіографія : дис. ... канд. іст. наук : 032. Вінниця : Вінницький національний технічний університет, 2021. 218 с.
47. Mulyar A. Women in the social and legal field: the legal status of women in the Podolsk province in the 19th century. *Science and Education: Paths to Progress* : materials of the International Scientific and Professional Conference. Los Angeles, 2026. P. 359–367. DOI: 10.51587/9798-9917-51988-2026-26-358-379.

Information about the author:

Mulyar Anatoly Mykolayovych,

Candidate of Historical Sciences,

Associate Professor at the Department of Social and Humanities

University of Economics and Entrepreneurship

13, Heroyiv Maidanu Str., Khmelnytskyi, 29000, Ukraine