

UKRAINIANS IN WESTERN SIBERIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURY: SPECIFIC FEATURES CHARACTERIZING THEIR RESETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

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ABSTRACT

Russia was a traditional empire which emerged between the late Middle Ages and Modern Times. The national composition of its population formed over 16–19 centuries through the addition of new territories. There were about 100 different nations, peoples, ethnic groups, and tribes living here in the early 20th century. Each of them took its place in the social, political and economic life of the country. One of the largest ethnic communities was founded by Ukrainians who were finally co-opted into Russia in the late 18th century. Already the second half of 17–18th centuries identified areas in which Ukrainians played a major role for Russia: the Orthodox Church (higher clergy), border security (Cossacks), and agricultural production (peasants). Reforms launched by Peter the Great and Catherine the Great resulted in the fact that only Ukrainian peasants preserved their value. In the 19th century, Russian agricultural sector, a deep crisis, which was based on agrarian overpopulation in the European part, arose as a result of conservation antagonisms between peasants and nobility, landowners, the lack of support from the state, backlog in the agronomy. In the conditions of that time, the only solution was to relocate peasants to the outskirts of the state, where there was plenty of free fertile land. The active resettlement campaign in Asiatic Russia resulted in a dramatic leap in the population and gave impetus to the economic development of Siberia and the Far East. This also gave rise to new ethnic communities. One of the largest groups was the Ukrainian community (more than 700 thousand people.). Current scientific literature pays much attention to the history of Jewish, Polish, and German communities. The life of Ukrainians in Siberia remains in the shadow of the history of the Russian population in the region. But the Ukrainian community had specific features which distinguished the processes how it formed and developed in the new environment. The issue of the adaptation of Ukrainians in Siberia is of particular interest. The article identifies stages in the formation of the Ukrainian community in Siberia and analyzes their characteristics (geography of previous and new places of residence and migration dynamics and results), examines the features describing how Ukrainians adapted to their new conditions. The main source for this article has been provided by published and archival materials that have not been previously used by researchers.

Key words: Russia, Ukrainian community, Siberia, migration, economic adaptation

GLI UCRAINI IN SIBERIA OCCIDENTALE NELLA SECONDA METÀ DEL XIX E AGLI INIZI DEL XX SECOLO: LE SPECIFICITÀ CHE HANNO CARATTERIZZATO IL LORO REINSEDIAMENTO E L'ADEGUAMENTO ECONOMICO

SINTESI

La Russia era un impero fondato durante il Medioevo e l'età moderna. La composizione nazionale della popolazione si è formata tra il XVI e il XIX secolo con l'annessione dei nuovi territori. All'inizio del XX secolo in Russia vivevano più di 100 gruppi nazionali, etnici e tribù diversi. Ciascuna occupò il suo posto nell'organizzazione sociale, politica ed economica dello Stato. Uno dei più numerosi gruppi furono gli ucraini, che erano annessi alla Russia verso la fine del XVIII secolo. Già nella seconda metà del XVII e nel XVIII secolo era chiaro il ruolo che gli ucraini avevano ottenuto in Russia: la Chiesa Ortodossa (il clero superiore), protezione dei confini (i cosacchi) e la produzione agricola (gli agricoltori). Nonostante le riforme di Pietro il Grande e Caterina la Grande, gli agricoltori ucraini mantenevano la propria posizione. A causa dei conflitti tra i contadini e la nobiltà, i proprietari terrieri, nel XIX secolo il settore agrario russo si ritrovò in una grande crisi. Lo Stato non appoggiò gli agricoltori, il che si causò una enorme arretratezza agricola. Nelle date circostanze l'unica soluzione era il reinsediamento della popolazione rurale nei paesi periferici, dove c'era molta terra non ancora coltivata e fertile. La campagna di reinsediamento nella Russia asiatica causò una forte crescita della popolazione, che ha dato un nuovo impulso allo sviluppo economico della Siberia e dell'Estremo Oriente. Inoltre ha anche favorito la nascita di nuovi gruppi etnici. Uno dei più numerosi erano gli ucraini (oltre 700 mila persone). La letteratura scientifica odierna pone grande importanza sulla storia della comunità ebraica, quella polacca e tedesca. Nella storia della popolazione russa della regione la vita della comunità ucraina rimane così nell'ombra. Tuttavia, la comunità ucraina aveva caratteristiche specifiche e un processo di formazione e di sviluppo diverso. Pertanto, la questione dell'allineamento degli ucraini nell'ambiente siberiano è di particolare interesse. L'articolo definisce le fasi della creazione della comunità ucraina in Siberia e analizza le loro caratteristiche (la geografia degli insediamenti precedenti e quelli nuovi, le dinamiche migratorie e i risultati) ed esamina come gli ucraini si adattarono alla nuova situazione. Le fonti principali, usate nell'articolo, sono composte da documentazione pubblicata e archivistica non ancora utilizzata dai ricercatori.

Parole chiave: Russia, comunità ucraina, Siberia, migrazioni, adeguamento economico

INTRODUCTION

Until the second half of the 17th century, Ukrainian lands were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1667, Russia and Poland signed the Truce of Andrusovo in the Andrusovo village. Poland recognized the Left Bank Ukraine, which retained the rule of hetman, as part of the Tsardom of Moscow. Following the 1772–1795 Partitions of Poland, Galicia came into possession of the Austrian Habsburgs, and the rest of the Right-Bank Ukraine passed into ownership of the Russian Empire.

From the end of the 17th century, Ukrainians became Russia's second largest nation. Already the second half of 17–18th centuries determined areas in which Ukrainians played a major role for Russia: the Orthodox Church (higher clergy), border security (Cossacks), and agricultural production (peasants). The church reform in Russia in the early 18th century significantly reduced the role of higher Orthodox clergy in the country. Priests turned into bureaucratic administrators who were implementing tsarist policies. Empress Catherine II abolished the rule of hetman in 1764, and destroyed the Zaporozhian Host in 1775. Russia's advancement further into the Black Sea steppes and Crimea removed from its agenda the need to use the Cossacks to protect the country's southern borders. Reforms launched by Peter the Great and Catherine the Great resulted in the fact that only Ukrainian peasants preserved their value.

Social and economic factors contributed to their more active role both in internal migrations, and emigration movement. This gave birth to ethnic communities in various Russian regions, such as Siberia, North Caucasus, Central Asia, etc. Siberia became new home to one of the numerous communities, which took shape over the second half of the 19th and early 20th century. In 1926, Western Siberia alone was inhabited by approx. 700 thousand Ukrainians.

The modern historical science had created an extensive historiography of ethnic communities in Siberia (German, Polish, Hebrew, Korean, and Chinese communities). The history of studies on Ukrainians has no specialized monographs and articles on one of the largest communities in the territory of the Russian Empire. The article looks at how the Ukrainian community formed and economically adapted in Western Siberia in the pre-Soviet period. Western Siberia included the territory from the Urals to the Yenisei and from the Arctic Ocean to the steppes of North Kazakhstan. In the second half of the 19th century, it was divided into the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates. In the early 20th century, it consisted of the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates, as well as the Omsk district of the Akmola region.

DISCUSSION

The resettlement periods of Ukrainian peasants in Siberia have for a long time appeared in the writings by Russian historians as a vivid example which illustrates the agrarian crisis in European Russia in the late 19th–early 20th century. Many scientific papers on the problems of colonization recognize Ukraine as the region of the Russian Empire, which provided the largest number of internal migrants.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, contemporaries wrote about the resettlement of peasants to Siberia. Already at that time, they identified basic research areas: causes of migration, geography of previous and new places of residence, adaptation of migrants to new conditions, and place and role of the state in organizing the resettlement movement (Kaufman, 1905; Voshchinin, 1912).

As early as in the 1920s – early 1930s, there was a number of general works on Ukrainian migrants published (Zarembsky, 1926; Bezhkovich, Mogilyanskaya, 1930). Between the 1940–1970s, the ethnic history was not a popular subject among history experts in the Soviet Union for ideological reasons. However, the “Ukrainian question” was addressed in the studies into the Russian demography and economy (before 1917).

Thus, the monograph by A.G. Rashin *The population of Russia for 100 years (1813–1913)* (1956), listed the governorates, which gave the most significant number of migrants to Siberia for the period from 1885 to 1914 and in the list it specifies the Poltava governorate 421,900 migrant families, Chernigov governorate 294,700, Kharkov governorate 220,000, Ekaterinoslav governorate 202,700, Kiev governorate 187,900, Kherson governorate 156,700, and Taurida governorate 122,500. The Poltava governorate gave the largest number of migrants of all provinces of European Russia, while the Chernigov governorate was in third place after the Kursk governorate (Rashin, 1956, 73).

The problem of the peasants leaving Ukraine in the early 1960s was addressed by Leningrad historian L.F. Sklyarov, who in his monograph on resettlement and land development in Siberia in the years of the Stolypin agrarian reform, cited data on the number of migrants that moved from the Ukrainian governorates to Siberia. Over the period from 1885 to 1904, the number of such migrants amounted to 494,508 people, and for the period from 1904 to 1914 1,394,343 people (Sklyarov, 1962).

In 1978, a monograph was published by B.F. Tikhonov, where he examined the materials of the 1897 census and grouped data on non-indigenous ethnic groups by highlighting directions of population migrations. Hence, the migration of peasants from the Poltava and Chernigov governorates to the Tomsk governorate was referred to a large-scale direction in the population migrations. He classified the medium-scale directions as peasant resettlement campaigns from the Chernigov and Poltava governorates to the Tobolsk one as well as from the Kharkov governorate to the Tomsk one (Tikhonov, 1978, 165–175).

One of the most prominent publications in the past years has become a monograph by V.M. Kabuzan entitled *The Ukrainians in the world: The dynamics of their number and settlement, the 20s of the 18th century to 1989* (2006). One side of the process which he gave much attention to concerned internal migrations which resulted in new Ukrainian territorial communities. Against this background, V.M. Kabuzan outlined the essential role in the Ukrainian agricultural migration, taken by Siberia as a region that in the early 20th century welcomed about 1 million Ukrainians, which accounted for approx. 20 % of the total migratory flow.

In the 1990s–2000s, the topic of the Ukrainian migration attracted much attention from Ukrainian researchers. We will not dwell on the trends in the Ukrainian historiography. We should only generally single out the monograph *Ukrainians on their native lands* by V.O. Romantsov (2004). Based on extensive statistical material, the author has pointed

out that Siberia in the late 19th–early 21st century was a region in which the number of Ukrainian population showed the most rapid growth.

Social, economic and political events of the 19th–20th century were major drivers of the Ukrainian resettlement. About 5 million of them live in the diaspora, of which 2 million in the United States. Canadian, US, Argentine, and Polish researchers conduct the study into the history of the Ukrainians. First of all, their studies deal with the history of their corresponding community (formation conditions, development features, culture and other aspects). This allows us to make a comparison of individual processes. For example, some of them point to the political reasons that brought about the Ukrainian migrations from the Russian Empire already in the early 18th century (Subtelny, 1978).

In terms of comparativism, a very interesting work is a monograph by Polish historians *Argentine Poles, Ruthenians and Ukrainians* (2011), where the authors investigated into the Slavic migration activity, including the Ukrainian one, and its implications over the late 19th and 20th century. The book represents an in-depth study of Argentine colonies established by immigrants from Eastern Europe. This material makes it possible to draw parallels to the issues related to the adaptation of Ukrainian migrants across the world at the turn of the 19th–20th century.

It should be admitted that the history of Ukrainians in Siberia is addressed in fragments and in the context of general problems. It is necessary to employ numerous sources to reconstruct the aspects of the life of the Ukrainian community.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

One of the problems faced by historians who study the history of individual regions of Russia is a small number of published sources. Most of the sources are stored in the archives. Western historians, specialists in Russian philology, only work with the funds of the federal archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Resources of the federal archives allow us to consider a particular problem in the general context. However, similar processes proceeded differently in different Russian provincial regions. It is the regional archives which keep many sources that help restore the most complete picture of the past.

A brief description of the sources that we have used is given below. All sources can be divided into published and unpublished ones. The second half of the 19th century brought about the active development of demographic and economic statistics. Results of statistical surveys were published both in collections and as individual editions.

1897 witnessed the First General Census of the Population carried out in Russia. Its results were published between 1904 and 1905. The census results make it possible to generally draw the demographic and economic portraits of the Ukrainian community. Comparing the same order data for different regions reveals the presence or absence of specific regional features. Information on the economic activities is instrumental in determining the place and role of the community in the region's economy.

Important sources of compiled content are *Memorable books* (Pamyatnaya knizhka) maintained by Siberian governorates and regions, which contain statistical data and information on the history of migration and adaptation processes of Ukrainian peasants to the

new place of residence. The information for the *Memorable books* was mainly received from official annual reports of provincial governors and the work of governorate statisticians.

Archival documents are a particular value for researchers. On one side, we can set apart a block of record keeping documents which represent the process of people's moving from Little Russian governorates to Siberia. These are departmental correspondence, petitions filed by peasants, etc. These documents help identify and characterize the features of the resettlement of peasants, who came from specific Russian regions, in areas beyond the Urals. In addition, they are useful in describing what was specific and general in the placement and resettlement of migrants in the new place of residence and how they communicated with local indigenous peoples and old inhabitants in the region. A part of the record keeping documentation gives a more thorough picture of the entrepreneurial activity Ukrainians were engaged in in rural areas and cities in the period under consideration.

A unique source reconstructing the economic history of the Ukrainian community is found in the materials of several agricultural censuses (1916, 1917). Particular attention should be given to the All-Russian Agricultural and Land Census carried out in 1917 – its initial sheets have been preserved in some Siberian archives (Barnaul, Tomsk). The questionnaires specifically highlight nationality, former place of residence and year of resettlement. On the other side, they supply considerable details on the peasant economy covered by the Census. The complete set of the data (the questionnaire contains more than 160 items) allows us to more accurately define the features which distinguished the formation and socio-economic development of the Ukrainian community in the region. A closer look at the census materials allows analyzing some of the features characterizing the adaptation of Ukrainians in their new home.

Thus, the use of various materials will enable us to consider the main features distinguishing the formation and economic development of the Ukrainian community in Siberia.

Ethnic communities may be studied using a number of methodological approaches. For example, we may consider this process based on the theory of colonization (Klyuchevski) or frontier (Turner). Large masses of the population, which left European Russia to resettle in Asia in the 18th–20th century, had a tremendous civilizational influence on the local population and changed the economic, social and cultural life of the region. Ukrainians were an integral part in the migration flow from Europe to Asia. The major part of the flow was composed of Russians. It brings us to the problem of the adaptation of Ukrainian migrants in the new place of residence. It is analyzed through the lens of the theory of adaptation which can help assess the ability of groups to adjust to new climatic, social and economic conditions, retaining or losing their own identities. Adaptation can achieve varying degrees: from complete dissolution in the host society with being included in the economic, political, social and cultural life to genuine cultural pluralism.

This paper's attention is centered on the Ukrainian community in Siberia in the second half of the 19th–early 20th century. It utilizes the terms "Ukraine", "Ukrainian", "Little Russia" and "Little Russian", which require explanation. The term "Little Russia" was

coined in the Byzantine ecclesiastical and administrative practices in the 14th century. It referred to the land in the Dnieper Basin. The name “Little Russia” was used in the Russian Empire until 1917 to generically denote the Volyn, Podolsk, Kharkov, Chernigov and Poltava governorates. The term “Ukraine” was in use as a toponym to refer to the areas which were densely inhabited by Ukrainians.

RESULTS

The active migration of peasants to Siberia began in the 18th century. The most promising lands were in the southern regions of the Tomsk governorate. The migration flow in the 18th–first half of the 19th century was dominated by peasants from agricultural governorates of European Russia (Saratov, Samara, Kazan, and Nizhny Novgorod governorate). Throughout 1846–1860, the main flow of migrants to the Tobolsk governorate included settlers from the Smolensk, Vitebsk, Pskov, Orel, Kursk, Kaluga, and Voronezh governorates (Bakhrushin, 1922, 74). As we can see, until the middle of the 19th century, peasants from Little Russian governorates did not take part in the inter-regional migration.

However, this does not mean that there were no Ukrainians in Siberia. The main source of the Ukrainian population in Siberia was exile. According to Ye. Anuchina, Little Russian governorates¹ provided 0.8 % of exiles deported for criminal and administrative offenses to Siberia over 1827–1837 (Anuchin, 1873, 188). Most of the exiles were sent to Siberia for vagrancy. It is necessary to note that the crime rate in the governorates of Little Russia was much lower than that in neighboring New Russia (Kherson, Taurida, and Ekaterinoslav governorates).

The active work carried out by the Ministry of State Property was aimed at improving the situation of state peasants and colonizing border regions. It is this factor that underlies the first massive arrivals of Ukrainians in Western Siberia, which is referred to in sources. For example, *The memorial book of the Akmola region as of 1912* says that by the order of the government, the resettlement of “Little Russian” Cossacks and peasants of the Orenburg and Saratov governorates (3852 people) was carried in 1846–1850, following which they took the best agricultural land in the Kokchetav uezd of the Akmola region and founded there prosperous and populous stanitsas (stanitsa – a village inside a Cossack host).²

In the 1860-s, a set of laws was passed to open the floodgates for voluntary migrants to move to Siberia. The consequence was that already in the 1860s–1870s their number amounted to approx. 500 thousand people, but the percentage of migrants from the Little Russian governorates was insignificant – just over 3.5 percent of the total flow. From the mid-1870s, the number of Ukrainians, who resettled in Western Siberia, grew every year, not only in absolute terms but in their relative correlation as well. Some of them found new homes in cities, and in the first place, it was true to members of the lower middle

1 Volyn, Kiev, Podolsk, Poltava, Kharkov, and Chernigov governorates.

2 The memorial book of the Akmola region as of 1912 (Statisticheskie svedeniia o sostoianii Akmolinskoi oblasti, 1912, 7).

class – petty bourgeois, who, for example, accounted for 36 % of all Ukrainian migrants in Omsk in 1877 (Yakimenko, 1983, 17).

It was not until 1881 that the provisional rules governing peasant resettlement in Siberia were adopted. In particular, the government allowed to resettle to those peasants who had a land allotment smaller than 1/3 of the norm established for this governorate by the peasant reform of 1861. Moreover, the state now provided support to peasants in resettling and setting up households at their new place of residence. In 1889, a new law was ratified, which simplified the procedure of exit from the community for peasants and granted them tax benefits in the new place of residence.

Until the end of the 1880s, migrants traveling to Siberia used rivers through Orenburg, Zlatoust and Tyumen. The constructed Ural Railway directed 75 % of all migrants in Siberia through Tyumen (Chirkin, 1922, 89). In the future, it was the railway transport that would play a key role in the transportation of migrants.

Capitalist relations developing in rural areas in the conditions of agrarian overpopulation altered the geography of outgoing migrant flows. At the end of the 19th century, a growing number of migrants came from the Kursk, Voronezh, Penza, Orel, and Tambov governorates, and governorates of Little Russia.

Their contemporaries already tried to identify the reasons that forced peasants to move to Siberia. One of the main reasons was defined as the lack of land to carry on the sustainable agrarian economy. This is evidenced by numerous polls that were conducted among migrants. For example, 2/3 of the migrants as reasons for resettlement called the insufficient size of their land plot, poor soil quality, too high prices and complicated procedures in land renting, as well as one-sided composition of the land. “All these are synonymous to the shortage of arable land”, A. Kaufman noted (Kaufman, 1905, 163). On the other hand, we should understand that the shortage had a relative nature depending on the region. Peasants in different provinces attributed their own meaning to the term: for the Poltava governorate it was 1–2 dessiatines per family member, for the Saratov region 5–6 dessiatines, for Siberia 10–15 dessiatines, and for the Cossacks and Kazakhs 150 dessiatines per family. For comparison: at the same time, 84.7 % of French landowners had plots less than 10 hectares, in Baden 72 % of landowners had plots no more than 3.6 hectares, 65 % of Belgium landowners had plots no bigger than 0.55 hectares per family (Kaufman, 1905, 178).

The land shortage for peasants meant their inability to support their families. The phenomenon began to show where the farming system became ineffective. A land plot with the same area can be successfully used to develop the three-field system and have an absolutely unprofitable land use system based on the right of first possession.

The issue of the shortage of arable land could be economically addressed by introducing an enhanced system of land management using mechanization. However, the persisting egalitarian repartition in the communal land ownership, low purchasing power of peasants, costly agricultural machinery, which until the early 20th century was imported to Russia from abroad, the lack of cheap and long-term loans for peasants and other reasons hindered any agricultural modernization in Russia. Its agronomic backwardness led to the fact that the country was forced to abandon its efforts to intensify agricultural sectors and

develop in an extensive way by introducing border lands into the land turnover.

If we look at the geography of the regions, which gave the largest number of migrants over 1885–1900, it turns out that one of the leaders will be the Poltava governorate, from which approx. 156 thousand people. The average size of the land plot per 1 family will be only 1.5 dessiatines, and more than 36 % of households will have the plot less than 2 dessiatines (Kaufman, 1905, 171).

The dynamics of the Ukrainian migration to Siberia in 1880 is shown in the statistical materials which are listed in Table 1.

Governorate	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	total	%
Poltava	3	17	28	53	180	33	314	34,3
Chernigov	14	33	0	1	25	1	74	8
Kharkov	7	1	5	22	350	143	258	57,7
in total	24	51	33	76	555	177	916	100,0

Table 1: Resettlement from Little Russia to the Tomsk governorate in 1884–1889 (Number of migrating families)

As we can see, the process of colonization in this period was characterized by the absence of unambiguous dynamics and depended on subjective reasons. In this case, the migration movement included only the governorates of the Left-Bank Ukraine, while Kiev, Volyn and Podolsk governorates gave no families in this period.

The settlers showed the greatest interest to the Altai mining district where there were the most favorable conditions for agriculture (many free fertile lands and favorable climate). The fact that Ukrainians took part in migration flows to southern areas of Western Siberia can be confirmed, based on statistical evidence: from 1888 to 1892 about 16 thousand Ukrainians arrived in the Altai mining district from Kharkov, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev and other governorates (GAAK-3).

A major catalyst for the resettlement movement was crop failure followed by famine in European Russia in 1891–1892. The most vulnerable group was the peasants in those governorates that focused on agriculture. There were Little Russian governorates among them. Fleeing from famine, peasants left their land plots and went to other regions. It was at this time when many of them moved to Siberia without government permission.

Official statistics provides data on the migration from Little Russian governorates to the Tomsk governorate in the 1890s.

As we can see, it was the period between 1893 and 1894 which coincided with the peak inflow of Ukrainian peasants in the Tomsk governorate (50.8 % of all families who came over 1890–1896). The largest number of migrants in this period was given by the Poltava governorate (54.7 % of families). Little Russians accounted for only 19 % of the settlers' families which arrived in the Tomsk governorate over 1890–1896. It should be

Governorate	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	total
Poltava	5	12	834	999	2798	951	555	6154
Chernigov	4	320	272	528	445	600	861	3030
Kharkov	56	29	376	91	115	170	329	1166
Kiev	0	8	61	587	112	18	11	797
Podolsk	0	1	48	43	5	2	1	100
Total	65	370	1591	2248	3475	1741	1757	11247

Table 2: Resettlement from Little Russia to the Tomsk governorate in 1890–1896 (Number of migrating families)

also remembered of the presence of unauthorized migrants, who went to Siberia without permits and occupied vacant land. As a result, the number of Little Russian migrants will be higher in Western Siberia.

The most comprehensive data on the number of Ukrainians is provided The First General Census of the Population of the Russian Empire of 1897. According to the data, approx. 190 thousand Ukrainians resided in the territory of the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates and Akmola region. Their distribution in the region was extremely uneven. The largest community was founded in the Tomsk governorate (53 %, or approx. 100 thousand people), while the smallest group was in the Tobolsk governorate (20 %, or approx. 38 thousand people). In the total population, the proportion of Little Russians was low and amounted to 2.64 % in the Tobolsk governorate, to 5.2 % in in the Tomsk governorate, and to 7.5 % in the Akmola region.³ Based on this indicator, they shared the second place with the Tatars in the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates. In the Akmola region they occupied third place, giving way to Kazakhs and Russians. One of the specific features of the Ukrainian community was its exclusively agricultural character – almost 98 % of Ukrainians lived in rural areas. In this respect, it did not differ from the Belarus community which was also largely concentrated in villages.

At the turn of 19th–20th centuries, the agrarian migration from Ukrainian governorates to Siberia gathered its pace. As experts estimated, in 1896–1911 the governorates in Little Russia and Novorossia already had the share of 43 % of peasants who moved beyond the Urals (Chirkin, 1922, 99).

A qualitatively new stage in the evolution of the Ukrainian community began in the Stolypin agrarian reform. This was associated with a combination of factors, such as easier exit from the community, more elaborate resettlement laws, new policies to stimulate farmers in various aspects, and the allocation of a significant land fund to establish new resettlement sites. The main inflow of Ukrainians in the early 20th century fell on the

3 Akmola region, 1904 (Akmolinskaia oblast', 1904, 52–53, 55); Tobolsk governorate, 1905 (Tobol'skaia guberniia, 1905, 84–87); Tomsk governorate, 1904 (Tomaskaia guberniia, 1904, 76–81).

Barnaul and Zmeinogorsk districts, Altai part of the Tomsk governorate. There were more than 30 % of Siberian Ukrainians living there already at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries (Skubnevsky, 1998, 102). This was connected, on the one hand, with the similarity of the climatic conditions in Altaic steppes and Left-Bank Ukraine and Novorossiia. On the other hand, resettlement sites were allocated exactly in this area. Meanwhile, the geography of immigrants outflow also underwent changes: in the early 20th century, the bulk was provided by the Poltava, Ekaterinoslav, Taurida, Kherson and others governorates.

Over 1897–1913, the size of the Ukrainian community in Siberia grew several times. For example, it increased from 137 thousand to 376 thousand people in Western Siberia alone. There was a leap in the ratio between Ukrainians and the rest of the Siberian population: in Western Siberia from 4.1 % to 5.7 % and in Eastern Siberia from 1.9 % to 4.6 % (Romantsov, 2004, 60).

Later on the main contributor to the Ukrainian migration to Western Siberia were social, political and economic upheavals in Russia. Migration flows and natural population growth led to the fact that in 1926 the Ukrainian population amounted to almost 700 thousand in the region.⁴

In the second half of the 19th century, Siberia remained a sparsely populated region. In terms of economic development, it was much inferior to European Russia. Little Russian governorates were actively involved in capitalist relations in this period. Rural areas actively developed commercial grain farming, which supplied both the domestic market and export grain to other countries (Turkey, France, and Germany). Growing commercial sugar beet farming in Little Russia made the Russian Empire one of the exporters of beet root sugar in Europe. Extensive railway construction projects created jobs for impoverished peasants. They joined the ranks of hired workers in industrial enterprises of Donbass.

Once in Siberia, Ukrainians had to adapt to the new place of residence. Already the second half of 19th century determined the economic activity of the Ukrainian community in Siberia. The main occupation, as it was the case in the previous place of residence, was agriculture. Comparative data on the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates as of 1897 fully confirms this fact (see Table 3).⁵

As we can see, the overwhelming majority of families maintained the traditional occupation of agriculture. On the one hand, the effect resulted from the dominating number of peasants in the resettlement flow. On the other hand, migrants received larger land allotments, compared with the previous place of residence. For example, migrants from the Chernigov governorate had an average land allotment of 8.7 dessiatines per family, while migrants from the Poltava governorate 6 dessiatines. It gave them hope for better material well-being. A role was played by the peasant mindset of the Ukrainians, who can not think of living in the city. Even rapidly developing Siberian cities such as Omsk, Tomsk, Barnaul, and Novo-Nikolaevsk could not provide jobs for everyone at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries. Even in the village, as we can see, from 10 to 20 % of Ukrainians

4 All Union Population Census December 17, 1926 (*Vsesoiuznaia perepis'*, 1928, 85–93). Our counting.

5 Akmola region, 1904 (*Akmolinskaia oblast'*, 1904, 52–53, 55); Tobolsk governorate, 1905 (*Tobol'skaia guberniia*, 1905, 84–87); Tomsk governorate, 1904 (*Tomskaia guberniia*, 1904, 76–81).

	Tobolsk governorate		Tomsk governorate	
	<i>8,964 families</i>	<i>100,0%</i>	<i>18,255 families</i>	<i>100,0%</i>
Agriculture	7083	79,0	16153	88,5
Hired workers	332	3,7	432	2,4
Clothes making	287	3,2	276	1,5
Construction	137	1,5	150	0,8
Railway jobs	29	0,3	150	0,8
Crafts	343	3,8	294	1,6
Other	753	8,4	800	4,4

Table 3: Economic activities carried on by Ukrainians in the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates (1897)



Fig. 1: Karta Tomskaia guberniia [Map of Tomsk governorate] (Wikimedia Commons)

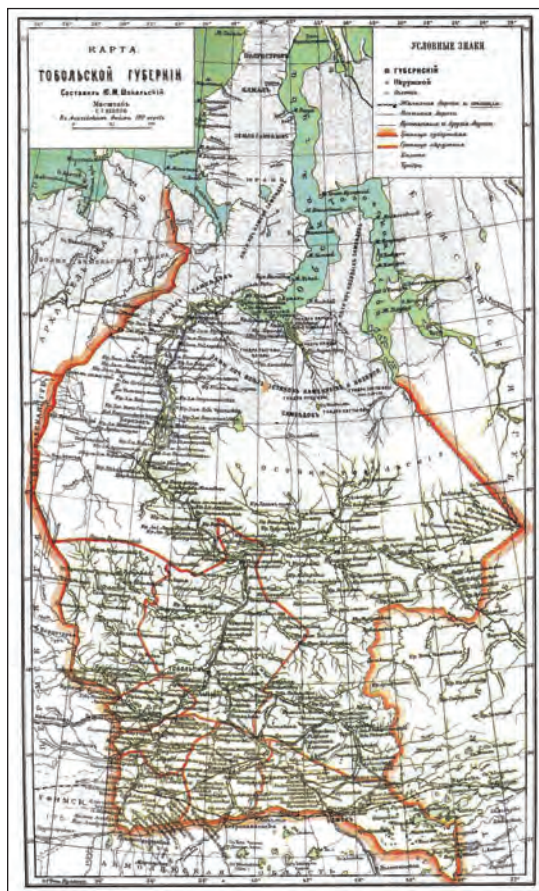


Fig. 2: *Karta Tobol'skaia guberniia* [Map of Tobolsk governorate] (Wikimedia Commons)

earned their living using other methods. They were hired laborers in factories and practiced crafts. These areas were made use of by those peasants who were unable to establish a farm at the new place of residence.

We can suggest the nature of adaptation of Ukrainians in Siberia, based on statistical surveys which were carried out in Western Siberia and covered migrants from Little Russian governorates as well. In total, we can identify three such surveys. The first survey was conducted in resettlement villages in the Tobolsk governorate in the late 1880s–early 1890s. The results were published in 1895 (Stankevich, 1895). The second survey was conducted by statisticians in the Tomsk governorate in 1911–1912. The results were published in 1913 (Nagnibeda, 1913). The third survey was the All-Russian Agricultural and Land Census of 1917. In Siberia, the census was conducted in August and included almost 100 % of farms. The inaccuracy based on the results of random checks amounted to

by various indicators from 0.5 to 1.5%. Unfortunately, the outbreak of civil war in Russia and economic collapse prevented the processing and publication of the complete 1917 census results. In the 1920s, only limited data was published. We will use the information received in the processing of 1917 census questionnaires, a small number of which survived in regional archives.

In the second half of the 19th century, Ukrainians in Siberia rapidly lost their identity. The primary reason was that they cohabited with Russian and Siberians in the same settlements, and on the other hand, this process was caused by the scattered distribution of Ukrainians throughout regions. An eyewitness wrote in the late 19th century that “Kursk Ukrainians have lost much of their Little Russian way of life over their five-year stay in Siberia and assimilated Siberian lifestyle traits” (Nagnibeda, 1913, 90).

At the new place of residence, Ukrainians faced with multiple problems. It was very difficult for them to adapt to new climatic and environmental conditions. In cold Siberian winters, salvation was found in living near forests which were a source of firewood. Houses were designed in the traditional style: logs were processed inside and outside the house, and the walls daubed with clay. Later, Ukrainians stopped processing logs, as in this case, the walls did not freeze right through in winter.

They needed time and money to buy required agricultural tools. In their homeland, Ukrainians prepared soil for sowing with plow. In Siberia, it could only be used for already cultivated lands. But such plows broke in virgin soil, and Ukrainians had to use a Siberian sokha, a light wooden ard.

In the first years of life in a new place, Ukrainians tried to maintain the same agricultural structure. They sowed buckwheat, millet, corn, beans, watermelons, and melons, and planted apples and pears. However, all these agricultural crops were not adapted to the local climate. The harvest depended on nature. In this situation, it also determined welfare of Ukrainian peasants. The only exception was tobacco, which gave good harvests in the local environment.

An important role in the life of Ukrainians in places they previously resided went to corn and vegetable crops, including beans. An interesting fact was revealed by Polish historians when they studied Polish-Ukrainian colonies in Argentina: the share of corn in the crops structure accounted for up to 70 % of the cultivated area, and vegetable crops, including beans, from 15 to 30 % (Stemplowski, 2011, 140). The mild Argentine climate allowed Ukrainians to preserve their traditional cropping patterns.

The economic welfare of Ukrainians had an extremely low level in the first years of residence in the new area. The explanation was that they lacked capital to purchase cattle. For example, the Lebedinsky village, Tobolsk governorate, was home to 32 Ukrainian families (settlers from the Kharkov governorate) in 1893. A statistical survey, conducted by officials, found out that 5 of the families had no horses to perform field works. The average proportion was as follows – 1 horse per 1 family, and 1 cow per 2 families (Stankevich, 1895, 91).

Long distances between Ukrainian villages and major administrative and economic centers (45 – 60 km) made Ukrainians heavily rely on old inhabitants who were more affluent. It was they who could provide migrants with additional income opportunities. The

most widespread type of work was day labor in summer and autumn – harvesting, threshing, haymaking and other jobs. However, the remuneration was very low. Local traders among old inhabitants granted small monetary loans to Ukrainians and lent them bread.

All this made the economic situation of migrants direr. Not everyone was able to adapt to the new harsh living conditions. Remigration was common and amounted to up to 25–30 %. Nevertheless, welfare improved in the Ukrainian villages where migrants they lived longer for a longer period. For example, the Chernigovka village, Tobolsk governorate (first Ukrainians in this village came in Siberia in 1886 from the Chernigov governorate) and by 1893 we can see the following picture: 24 families had 77 horses, 67 cows and young cattle 82 heads (Stankevich, 1895, 107).

Thus, the adaptation process was quite difficult. It was affected by the disastrous financial situation of peasants who moved from Little Russia to Siberia. The money that peasants received from the sale of the land, houses, and cattle in the previous place of residence, was barely enough to pay their passage to Siberia. Many peasants told officials that they spent all money on food. Until the early 1900s, the government provided them with no cash allowances. Therefore, peasants had to rely on their own resources. As a result, they had no money which they could use in the new place of residence to buy required cattle (cows, and horses), and agricultural implements, as well as to build a home and outbuildings. As they lived in remote locations far from key transport routes and major cities, this deprived them of opportunities of finding additional earnings.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Siberian village began active development of capitalist relations. It was the migrants villages that were able to most adequately respond to the challenges of the time. In contrast to old inhabitants, settlers were much less tied by communal relations and the resettlement in Siberia itself as well as establishing households in the new place led to the growing economic differentiation of society. Eventually, this resulted in the deeper social and property stratification of society, more elaborate commodity-money relations, lease relations, capitalization of the peasant economy and other consequences.

1912 marked a gradual decline in the migration movement to Siberia. Stolypin migrants, who came here, including those from Little Russian governorates, were actively engaged in economic processes. This was facilitated by changes in the state migration policy. We should remember that migration from European Russia to Siberia and the Far East was no longer a spontaneous process. A large number of officials from the Resettlement Administration helped peasants set up new homes in their new place of residence. Peasant settlers had to pay only 25 % of the train fare. The state granted them interest-free loans in the amount of 160 rubles. In the first 5 years of residence in Siberia, legal migrants were exempted from payment of all taxes and fees, and in the next 5 years, they paid only 50 %. Finally, the land allotment rate was stipulated at 15 dessiatines per 1 man in the family (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2013, 27). All this created favorable conditions for efficient farming households.

The main flow of Ukrainian migrants headed for the South of Western Siberia. First of all, migrants were attracted by the Baraba steppe. Local climatic conditions were close to those characteristic to Little Russia. This should facilitate their adaptation.

In this region, Ukrainians were neighbors of German settlers, who came here in great numbers from the Volga region and the governorate of Novorossia. They adopted from Germans a landownership system which was new to them. If the old place of residence the dominating system was the communal land distribution among peasant families, in Siberia, they shifted to the household land ownership: each family became the owner of their own land plot and could dispose of it at will.

One of the biggest resettlement villages, founded by Ukrainian migrants, was the Arkhangelskoye village, located 200 kilometers south-east of the Omsk city. This resettlement community received 10 thousand dessiatines of land in 1907, of which 6 thousand dessiatines were already cultivated in 1910 (Voshchinin, 1912, 31).

Adaptation processes in the economic sphere generally proceeded smoothly for Ukrainians. One indication of the improved economic welfare of migrants was the increased size of the arable land plot per household. For example, out of 1,188 Ukrainian families, who took part in the survey, almost 42 % had the arable land with the area from 3 to 9 dessiatines, and 21.1 % of families more than 9 dessiatines (Nagnibeda, 1913, 4–5). Consequently, over 60 % of migrant families considerably improved their situation. This can be shown by the example of migrants from individual governorates of Little Russia (see Table. 4).

Size of arable land plot	Poltava governorate		Kharkov governorate		Chernigov governorate	
	families	%	families	%	families	%
No crops	9	5,9	8	4,5	2	3,5
Up to 1 dessiatine	13	8,6	9	5,1	4	7
1–3 dessiatines	48	31,8	43	24,4	19	33,9
3–9 dessiatines	56	37,1	83	47,2	29	51,8
Over 9 dessiatines	25	16,6	33	18,8	3	3,8

Table 4: Size of arable land plots owned by Ukrainian migrants from different governorates

As we can see, a positive trend can also be seen in this case: the vast majority of migrants had much larger sizes of arable land in the new location, than in the homeland. It should be remembered that peasants had more land for their houses (typically 0.1 – 0.2 dessiatines), mowing and pasture.

This picture would be incomplete without a comparison with Russian and German peasants who lived in neighboring resettlement villages. For example, in German villages almost 60 % of families had arable land over 9 dessiatines, while in Russian villages only 13 %. About 11 % of Ukrainian peasant families in Siberia were connected with hired

labor and sale of handicrafts, rather than agriculture. At the same time, this figure was 4% in the German village and 7.5 % in the Russian village. Only 21.1 % of the Ukrainian households were oriented on the market. A large land allotment gave the required amount of bread for a family and a surplus for sale. In the Russian village, only 13 % of the households were of a commercial nature. The highest level of commercialization was demonstrated by the German village – 59.5 %.

Growing crops, as we have mentioned above, was the main occupation taken up by Ukrainian migrants. After they moved to Western Siberia, they had to deal with various agricultural practices, ranging from the old inhabitant version of land use (*zaimochno-zakhvatny*), where the right to land (*zaimka*) was determined by the initial grab of the land, to the four-year rotation used by settlers from German colonies in Southern Russia. Contemporaries repeatedly pointed out that German colonists exerted substantial cultural impact on their neighbors. This was also the case in the south of Western Siberia. One change was related to the transition from the communal land ownership to the individual one. Interestingly, Little Russian peasants said that it was easier for them to plow their own land.

The choice of crops was largely dictated by climatic conditions. In the first years of living in Siberia, settlers made attempts to farm the way they were accustomed to in the places they previously resided. But it took them very little time to realize that to survive they should make use of the experience accumulated by old inhabitants and borrow seed grains from them. At the same time the natives of Little Russian governorates contributed to the wider spread of watermelons, melons and gourds in steppe regions in the South of Western Siberia. It turned the communication between old inhabitants and migrant communities into a kind of agricultural dialogue.

Basic grains sowed by settlers were spring wheat of the local durum species, which accounted for up to 75–80 % of the sown area. The second most wide-spread crops were barley and oats with approx. 15–20 %. No other crops were represented in the sowing pattern. Ukrainians sowed a minor part of the cultivated area with industrial crops (sunflower, potato, tobacco) and in certain areas with gourds and melons (GAAK-233, inv. 1b, f. 411, 575, 576).

Ukrainian migrants found themselves in the region of enormous economic potential. Thus, they cultivated only part of the land received in the first years. The region still retained a very large fund of virgin land, which made it possible to increase the size of arable land.

Steppe conditions allowed receiving good harvests in the first years. Hundreds of thousands of peasant agricultural households which emerged in the south of Western Siberia, dramatically increased grain production and the volume of grain sale. In the early 20th century, there were several companies that bought grain from peasants. The large firms were the Trading house “A.I. Vinokourov i synoviya”, “V.A. Gorokhov” and “Vaslovsky i Frey.” In 1914, the Joint Stock Company “Altaiskaya fabrichno-promyshlennaya kompaniya” was established, which became one of major grain processors (RGIA-23).

In the 1910s, the marketability of the peasant economy in Siberia showed rapid growth. However, the grain market was hampered by the lack of a developed transport network. The main transport routes continued to be the Ob, Irtysh, and Aley. They were

used to deliver bread to the Omsk and Novonikolaevsk railway stations. Later on, the Siberian Railway was used to deliver bread to Eastern Siberia and the Far East. However, the river transportation was seasonal, and transporting bread by land was unprofitable. This situation could be addressed through the improved railway network.

The need for railway construction was recognized by peasants themselves, whose welfare was determined by the volume of grain sold. In 1910, Siberia was visited by Prime Minister Stolypin. Peasants appealed to him asking to build a railway from the Slavgorod village to the Siberian Railway. In 1913–1915, an Altai private railway was built from Semipalatinsk to Novo-Nikolaevsk. The main shareholder was a Russian-French bank syndicate. Construction of the railway enabled exporting grain from southern Altai regions. In 1917, the construction of the Kulunda railway was completed to connect Slavgorod and the Tatarskaya railway station, linking one of Siberia's largest dynamically developing resettlement areas with the Siberian railway (there were approx. 600 thousand peasants living here in 1910, who cultivated more than 5 million dessiatines of land).

The development of transport and trade contributed to the growth of the commodity peasant economy. Before and during the First World War, it developed in two lines. On the one hand, it preserved the dominating sale of bread as the key source of the family budget. On the other hand, growing importance was attached to the participation in industrial cooperation which was related to the butter production.

The overall economic development of Siberia improved the material well-being of peasants. This was the case with Ukrainian peasants as well. By 1917, already about 50 % of Ukrainian settler farms had a sufficient number of working animals and considerable land plots (over 10 dessiatines). Based on these indicators, the households can be described as bourgeois. At the same time, the proportion of poorer households remained at the level of about 11 % (GAAK-233, inv. 1b, f. 411, 575, 576). This suggests that by living for a longer time in Siberia peasants were able to increase the number of working animals and purchase implements, which they needed to work their land and gather harvests.

The 1910s demonstrate high rates of economic growth. Using sophisticated tools in the household activities became quite a cost-effective solution – a self-rake reaper usually paid off in one season. However, its high price made it unaffordable for everyone who wished to buy it. A way to deal with this situation was offered by implements lease. Ukrainians were no exception. The agricultural implements lease was sufficiently wide-spread (see Table 5) (GAAK-233, inv. 1, f. 799, 800, 801, 802, 803; inv. 1b, f. 411, 575, 576).

Nation	Reapers	Winnowers
Germans	2,66	2,56
Russians	3,75	4,06
Ukrainians	4,14	8,6

Table 5: Harvesting machines lease by different population categories, Altai, 1917 (per 10 households)

The Ukrainian economy came to attach a major importance to raising stabled livestock. Borrowings from indigenous population were also reported in the sphere. For example, in the steppe Irtysh regions, Ukrainians adapted thoroughbred fat-tailed sheep from Kazakhs, and some villages began to use camels as draft animals. However, in terms of livestock availability, Ukrainians were inferior to other categories of the population. The average proportion was 2.6 horses and 1.6 cows per 1 peasant household. As for Russian migrants, these figures were 3.1 and 1.9. The total average provision of Ukrainian peasants with all types of livestock amounted to 10.2 (Germans – 13.2, Russian immigrants – 16.6, Estonians – 27.8) (GAAK-233, inv. 1, f. 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 980; inv. 1b, f. 411, 575).

In Siberia, Little Russians were forced to abandon the use of oxen as draft animals and switch to horses instead. Cattle were bred in the first place, in order to produce meat and dairy products. In the early 20th century, butter-making industry started booming in Siberia, which boosted the profitability of this line of business in livestock breeding. A system of butter-making cooperatives established before the First World War led to a dramatic increase in the number of cattle in resettlement villages, including Ukrainian households. Breeding sheep and pigs was uncommon among Ukrainians at the time.

Cattle were becoming increasingly important. Primarily, this was associated with the rapid development of butter production. Simultaneously, dairy farming grew more and more profitable. If at the end of the 19th century, a cow generated the annual income from 5 to 7 rubles, at the beginning of the 20th century, its yield increased by 2.5-3 times (Zvezdin, 1910, 73).

The economic development of the Ukrainian resettlement village included not only the steady growth of agricultural production. One of the key challenges met by Ukrainian peasants was processing their produce for own consumption and for sale on markets.

The region in the early 20th century featured a booming food industry. First, the grain processing sector developed. Analysis of applications for the right to build mills in Siberia, however, suggests that Ukrainians themselves either due to their inadequate financial capacity or lack of capital had a limited role in the construction of processing enterprises. As a rule, they were compelled to lease out their land plots to Russian or German companies to construct mills powered by oil engines, stipulating for themselves a fixed price for grinding one pood of grain.

In the late the 19th century, first mechanical separators appeared in Siberia, which greatly facilitated the cream separation process. Labour mechanization enabled a dramatic increase in the industry performance. Initially, manufacturers opened private butter factories in Siberia, where peasants submitted their milk. However, the purchase price was extremely low. This forced peasants to start their own cooperative butter factories. Unlike flour mills, they did not require large capital investments. Such a factory was compact enough to be installed in a peasant's house. Main funds were spent to purchase a separator and equipment needed for the technological process of butter production. Almost every Ukrainian village in Siberia operated its own butter-making artel. According to our estimates, approx. 50 % of Ukrainian households in the steppes of Siberia were engaged in butter-making cooperatives. Products offered by artels had

good quality and were subsequently sold to a Danish “Siberian Company” to be exported to Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

Hence, we have analyzed some aspects of the formation and economic adaptation of Ukrainian migrants in Siberia. We come draw the following conclusions. Siberia became new location where a large Ukrainian community took shape over the second half of the 19th and early 20th century, which included several hundreds of thousands of people. It formed in two stages:

The 1860s–1890s – Unorganized migration of peasants from Little Russian governorates mainly to the Tobolsk governorate.

The 1900s–1910s – Active participation of Ukrainian peasants in Stolypin’s migration campaign to Siberia, and the key place of new settlement was the Tomsk governorate.

The migration was brought about, first of all, by economic reasons. The relative land shortage, absence of the real support from the state and persisting outdated agronomic techniques forced peasants to move to the outskirts of the state, where there was an abundance of fertile virgin lands.

A large number of peasants in the migration determined the inclusion of Ukrainians in the agricultural sector of the Siberian economy. A small part of migrants was unable to adapt to the new conditions and had to turn to crafts and hired labor.

Changes in the state policy in the early 20th century greatly facilitated the adaptation of Ukrainian migrant peasants in Siberia. Gradually, they engaged themselves in the capitalist relations. Ukrainian farms, based on household land ownership borrowed from Germans, were medium and small enterprises of the farming type that were involved in the commercial production of agricultural products. The level of their welfare improved over time. However, the Russian Civil War (1918–1920) and economic devastation inflicted a serious blow to peasant agriculture. Its recovery took place only in a different social and economic system in the period of the NEP.

This subject has a great potential for further research. One important question that has not been dealt with in the article is the relations between Ukrainian settlers and the administration in the new location, and relations between Ukrainian settlers with Russians, Germans and other migrants. An interdisciplinary result may be an interactive atlas of Ukrainian settlements in Siberia. Statistical sources to study the Russian agrarian history are numerous. An thorough computerized analysis of primary cards of the All-Russian Agricultural and Land Census of 1917 in Russia will make it possible to accomplish a comparative study of Ukrainians in different parts of the country (the North Caucasus, Siberia and others), Ukrainian migrants from various governorates in the new place of residence, and Ukrainian migrants and migrants of other ethnic groups (Russians, Germans, Estonians, Belarusians, and Poles).

UKRAJINCI V ZAHODNI SIBIRIJI V DRUGI POLOVICI 19. IN ZAČETKU 20. STOLETJA: POSEBNOSTI, KI SO ZAZNAMOVALE NJIHOVO PONOVRNO NASELITEV IN GOSPODARSKO PRILAGAJANJE

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POVZETEK

Rusija je bila imperij ustanovljen med srednjim in novim vekom. Nacionalna sestava prebivalstva se je oblikovala med 16. in 19. stoletjem s priključevanjem novih teritorijev. V začetku 20. stoletja je v Rusiji živelo več kot 100 različnih nacionalnih in etničnih skupin ter plemen. Vsaka od njih je prevzela svoje mesto v družbeni, politični in gospodarski državni ureditvi. Eno največjih etničnih skupin so predstavljali Ukrajinci, ki so bili Rusiji priključeni konec 18. stoletja.

Že v drugi polovici 17. in 18. stoletju je bil jasen položaj, ki so ga Ukrajinci zavzeli v Rusiji: Pravoslavna Cerkev (višja duhovščina), varovanje meja (kozaki) in kmetijska proizvodnja (kmetje). Kljub reformam Petra Velikega in Katarine Velike so ukrajinski kmetje obdržali svoj položaj. V 19. stoletju je v ruskem agrarnem sektorju, zaradi nasprotij med kmeti in plemstvom, zemljiškim lastnikom, prišlo do velike krize. Država kmetov ni podprla zato je prišlo do velikega zaostanka v agronomiji. V danih razmerah je bila edina rešitev preselitev kmečkega prebivalstva na obrobje države, kjer je bilo veliko neobdelane in rodovitne zemlje. Preselitvena kampanja v azijsko Rusijo je povzročila dramatičen porast populacije, kar je dalo nov zagon gospodarskemu razvoju Sibirije in Daljnega vzhoda. To je tudi spodbudilo nastanek novih etničnih skupnosti. Ena največjih je bila ukrajinska (več kot 700 tisoč ljudi).

Znanstvena literatura danes daje velik poudarek zgodovini judovske, poljske in nemške skupnosti. Življenje ukrajinske skupnosti tako ostaja v senci zgodovine ruske populacije v regiji. Vendar je ukrajinska skupnost imela posebne značilnosti in drugačen proces oblikovanja ter razvoja v novem okolju. Zato je vprašanje prilagoditve Ukrajincev v sibirsko okolje posebnega pomena.

Članek opredeljuje faze pri oblikovanju ukrajinske skupnosti v Sibiriji in analizira njihove lastnosti (geografija prejšnjih in novih prebivališč, migracijske dinamike in rezultati) ter preučuje kako so se Ukrajinci prilagodili novim razmeram. Osrednje vire za prispevek predstavljajo objavljeno in arhivsko gradivo migracijskih raziskav, ki jih raziskovalci do sedaj še niso uporabili.

Ključne besede: Rusija, ukrajinska skupnost, Sibirija, migracije, gospodarska prilagoditev

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