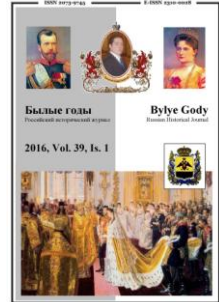


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Published in the Russian Federation
 Bylye Gody
 Has been issued since 2006.
 ISSN: 2073-9745
 E-ISSN: 2310-0028
 Vol. 39, Is. 1, pp. 109-119, 2016

Journal homepage: <http://bg.sutr.ru/>



UDC 940

The Ukrainian community of Western Siberia: specific features of formation and development in the 2nd half of the 19th – early 20th century

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Abstract

The agrarian crisis in the European part of the Russian Empire in the middle of the 20th century seriously impeded agricultural progress. Agrarian overpopulation and peasants deprived of land in the course of the peasant reform of 1861 further aggravated the negative situation in the governorates of Central Russia, Belarus, and left-bank Ukraine. These factors provided fertile soil for migratory sentiments among peasants. It was resettlement in vacant lands in the Asiatic Russia and North Caucasus, which allowed most of them to preserve their homesteads. In the 2nd half of the 19th – early 20th century, Ukrainian peasants were actively engaged in the migration movement which was supported by the state. One of the main placement areas became Western Siberia where a large Ukrainian peasant community was formed. The history of research on the Ukrainian community in Western Siberia is fragmentary, as many aspects remain unstudied. Hence, the article focuses on the following questions: causes of the Ukrainian migration to the border lands of the Russian Empire; stages in the migration; main areas where Ukrainians resided in Siberia; population dynamics of the Ukrainian community; adaptation patterns specific for Ukrainian migrants in their new places of residence; their role in the economic life of Siberia in the early 20th century. This article utilizes primary data from the All-Russian Agricultural and Land Census of 1917, which have been introduced for scientific use for the first time. As the methodological basis, the study draws on the system approach combining regional, neo-imperial and comparative principles.

Keywords: Ukrainians in Siberia, Ukrainian community, migration, Russian Empire, Siberia, adaptation.

1. Introduction

From the end of the 17th century, Ukrainians became Russia's second largest nation. Social, economic and political development of the country led to their more active role both in the internal migration, and the emigration movement. This gave birth to ethnic communities in various Russian regions, such as Siberia, North Caucasus, Central Asia, etc., and enabled new Ukrainian diasporas in Europe and America. Siberia became the region where one of such numerous communities took shape over the 19th and early 20th century.

The article looks at how the Ukrainian community in Western Siberia formed and economically developed in the pre-Soviet period.

2. Material and Methods

Information sources related to the Ukrainian community are quite diverse. 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 are instrumental in identifying and characterizing the features of the resettlement of

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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.

Special mention should be made of statistical sources. First of all, this are the materials of departmental statistics (kept by the Cabinet and ministries), which reveals the migration dynamics in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries. However, using this source is quite difficult because it contains almost no national indicators: the data emphasise the governorate of exit. The exception is the 1897 First General Population Census and data retrieved from the source make it possible to compose a regional portrait of communities (their size, territorial distribution, urban and rural breakdown, economic activities and so forth).

A unique source to reconstruct the economic history of the Ukrainian community is found in the materials of some 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 hand, 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.

The study uses a variety of methods. The comparative method was used as a tool to find out about general regularities and distinctive features of the community's social and economic evolution. The chronological technique is instrumental in breaking down the subject into a number of specific issues to be dealt with in chronological order. The statistical analysis makes it possible to isolate required information and generalize data from statistical sources on the community's economic development. Methods of historical geography help link historical, economic, and demographic phenomena to a specific area.

This paper's attention is centered on the Ukrainian community in Siberia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century. This article makes use of 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 utilized as a toponym to refer to the areas which were densely inhabited by Ukrainians.

3. Discussion

Ethnic communities have always been an object of avid interest to contemporaries and history scholars alike. This is totally attributable to the ethnic groups that lived in Siberia in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This is evidenced by quite an extensive array of historiographical materials both in the form of journalistic works and serious scientific publications. Today, however, the knowledge of different national minorities varies. For example, there are many works on the history of Siberian Germans. In the second half of the 19th century, Polish and Russian historians turned to Siberian Polonia. The early 20th century saw numerous studies published on various issues related to the history of Jews in Siberia. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian community stands out of the pack. Strangely enough, but the history of Ukrainians in Siberia has received no full understanding so far, and its historiography is rather scanty.

Studying the history of Ukrainians in Siberia is rather a novel line as it rarely attracted the scientific attention at the end of the 19th and over the 20th centuries. In the period of the Russian Empire, Little Russians were often viewed as part of a single Russian nation. The few publications at that time looked at the problems of resettlement of migrants in new locations.

The years between the 1920s and early 1930s brought about a series of works by Ukrainian migrants (Zaremsky, 1926; Bezhkovich & Mogilyanskaya, 1930), written mainly in the ethnographic aspect. A general historical article titled "Ukrainians" was prepared to be printed in the fifth volume of "Siberian Soviet Encyclopedia", which remained unpublished.

Between the 1940 –70s, ethnic history was not a popular subject among history experts in the Soviet Union for political reasons. This also refers to the study of the history of Ukrainians in specific regions of Russia. Researchers at this time concentrated on the history of republics that constituted the Soviet Union, including Ukraine. But this did not mean that the national factor in history was left without scientific attention. At this time, a series of monographs, which analyzed the history from geographic and demographic perspectives, was published. The authors discussed such problems as the size, changes and location of groups of the population, including Ukrainians, in the Russian Empire in various periods (Rashin 1956; Kabuzan, 1963, 1971; Tikhonov, 1978). In particular, some of them mention Ukrainian migrations to Siberia in the general context, which allows us to draw conclusions on their scale.

In the early 1980s, the Joint Institute of History, Philosophy and Philology of the Siberian Branch of the USSR's Academy of Sciences channeled its efforts to study the agrarian history of Western and Eastern Siberia. The outcome was the appearance of the summarizing treatise "The peasantry in Siberia in the

capitalism age" (1983), which, among other things, mentions Ukrainian peasant settlers. In the 1980s, major scientific journals started publishing individual articles that also refer to Siberian Ukrainians (Bruk & Kabuzan, 1980). These works were made in the form of reviews. The main contribution made by the authors was the fact that they introduced a large amount of statistical data into the scientific use, which they obtained from published censuses.

In the 1990s, the Ukrainian community in Siberia once again became a specialty for historians and anthropologists. This was reflected in a number of dedicated publications (Kutilova, 1996; Korovushkin, 2006). These works typically dwelt on specific points in the history of migration and economic life of Ukrainians beyond the Urals. It was characteristic of the works that the events shown were described outside the general Siberian context. However, the situation has changed somewhat in the recent years, and the Ukrainians are being considered as part of the Siberian social environment (Skubnevsky, 1998; Karikh, 2004 and others).

One of the most prominent publications in the past years has become a monograph by B. Kabuzan titled "The Ukrainians in the world: The dynamics of their number and settlement, the 20s of the 18th century - 1989" (2006), in which he summarized many years of research into various aspects of Ukrainian demography. The author built his study on the comparative analysis of demographic development of the Ukrainian population in Russia and Austria (Austria-Hungary) as applied to the 18th – early 20th century. One side of the process which he gave much attention to concerned internal migrations which resulted in new Ukrainian territorial communities. Against this background, B. 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 amounted to approx. 20% of the total migratory flow in the late 19th – early 20th century.

In the 1990s - 2000s, the topic of Ukrainian migration attracted much attention from Ukrainian researchers. We will not dwell on the trends in the Ukrainian historiography. We should only generally note 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 20th century was a region in which the number of Ukrainian population showed most rapid growth.

Of course, the Ukrainian history is of much interest in the countries which formed large diasporas in the 20th century, such as Canada, USA, Argentina, Poland, etc. Researchers there conduct studies into the history of their formation. For example, some of them point to the political reasons that brought about the Ukrainian migration already in the early 18th century (Subtelny, 1978).

The deepest interest to diasporas and their histories is shown by Polish historians. The result of their work was the monograph titled "Argentine Poles, Rusyns and Ukrainians" (2011), where authors generalize their scientific findings on the Slavic migratory trends, including their Ukrainian element, and their consequences throughout the end of the 19th – 20th centuries. This is a presentation of a comprehensive study into 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.

4. Results

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. Empress Catherine II abolished the Hetmanate in 1764, and destroyed the Zaporozhian Host in 1775. 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. The outcome of the 1768-1774 Russo-Turkish War was the recognition of the Crimean Khanate as an independent state, and in 1783 its lands were incorporated into Russia. The Tatar settlements in the steppe lands of Novorossiia and Taurida, as annexed by the Russian Empire, became sites for the founding of Russian localities, including some currently major cities, such as Zaporozhye (1770), Dnepropetrovsk (1776), Kherson and Mariupol (1778), Sevastopol (1783), Simferopol and Melitopol (1784), Nikolaev (1789), Odessa (1794), and Lugansk (the Lugansk plant established in 1795).

Until the late 18th century, there was the Little Russian governorate in the Ukrainian lands, with its capital city in Glukhov, and since 1775 in Kiev. It consisted of the Novgorod-Seversky, Chernigov and Kiev provinces. Until the late 18th – early 19th century, Ukraine was a predominantly agrarian territory. From the middle of 19th century, Ukraine's present eastern regions (Lugansk and Donetsk) and later the Kiev region began their growth as industrial areas thanks to the inflow of Russian and foreign capital.

The economy of feudal Russia demonstrated signs of the looming agrarian crisis in the first half of the 19th century, which manifested itself in the peasant land scarcity. Soaring land prices and high rents cramped the expansion of peasant lands. Therefore, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian peasants were quite enthusiastic about resettling in unpopulated areas.

In the early 19th century, Ukrainians began to move to the Novorossiysk governorate general established on land that was annexed by the Russian Empire in the wars with Turkey. This gave rise to

numerous Ukrainian villages. It should be noted that this region was rapidly settled. It became home to many Russian villages as well as German, Bulgarian, Greek, and Jewish agricultural colonies.

Over the 17th – first half of the 19th century, the share of Ukrainians in the Siberian society was extremely small. The main source contributing to the community's growth was exile. In the late 17th century, it was Siberia that was the key area which received criminal and political offenders.

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 (Yakimenko, 1983: 19).

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 class, who, for example, accounted for 36% of all Ukrainian migrants in Omsk in 1877 (Slovzov, 1880: 76).

The bulk of the settlers were peasants. It can quite clearly be seen in the example of the Altai mining district (South of Western Siberia), which kept a permanent record of migrants from various governorates. The fact that Ukrainians took part in migration flows can be confirmed, based on, for example, the 1888 data which indicate that the natives of the Kharkov governorate at this time ranked second in the massive resettlement and accounted for more than 12%. In total, from 1888 to 1892 about 16 thousand Ukrainians arrived in the Altai mining district from Kharkov, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev and other governorates (GAAK. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 741. L. 2.).

The early 1890s were characterized by the growing number in migrants to the Altai, which was related to changes in the resettlement laws. The increase amounted to about 45% in 1890-1891, compared to 1889. The explanation to a large extent lied in a more intensive migration outflow from the Kursk, Kharkov, Tambov and some other governorates. The biggest emigration wave at this time experienced the Chernigov governorate (see. Table. 1).

Table 1: Dynamics of resettlement of peasants from the Chernigov governorate in the Altai (1888 – 1890)

Year	1888	1889	1890
No. of people	139	42	6973

Source: GAAK. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 741.

A peculiar feature pertaining to the demographic statistics in the Russian Empire until the end of the 19th century was that it did not divide the Russian population into Great Russians, Belarusians and Little Russians. This division was first applied when Russia went ahead with preparations for the First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897. It was data of this statistical survey that give us the most complete picture of the size and demographic characteristics of the Ukrainian community.

Analysis of the published results of the 1897 population census proves that approx. 190 thousand Ukrainians resided in the territory of the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates and Akmola region at that time. The majority of them migrated from the Poltava, Chernigov and Kharkov governorate – approx. 82 thousand people (Tikhonov, 1978: App. 1).

Little Russians were very unevenly distributed over the territory of Western Siberia. The largest community estimated at nearly 53% (approx. 100 thousand) lived Tomsk, while the smallest group was in the Tobolsk governorate – 20% (approx. 38 thousand). However, the proportion of Ukrainians in the population of governorates and regions looked totally different: Tobolsk 3.7%, Tomsk 5.2%, Akmola 7.5% (Akmolinskaia oblast', 1904: 52, 53, 55; Tobol'skaia guberniia, 1905: 84-87; Tomskaia guberniia, 1904: 76-81). But even within the region, Ukrainian migrants settled down in quite compact groups. One reason was the preserved communal spirit, brought by them from their previous place of residence, and on the other hand the policy pursued by local authorities.

There is a number of areas standing out in each of the three regions, which feature ethnically related settlement with regard to Ukrainians, as evidenced by the value of the concentration index. It shows how the ethnic group's proportion in the area's population was higher or lower comparing to this group's proportion in the total population. For example, the Akmola region has this type of area in the Petropavlovsk district (1.99), the Tobolsk governorate in the Tyukalinsk district (1.43), the Tomsk governorate in the Barnaul (1.7), Mariinsk (1.64) and Zmeinogorsk Districts (1.58) (Akmolinskaia oblast', 1904: 52, 53, 55; Tobol'skaia guberniia, 1905: 84-87; Tomskaia guberniia, 1904: 76-81).

Hence, specific Western Siberian areas brought about the active formation of Ukrainian communities. The distinctive characteristic of the process was that given the existing migration policy Little Russians were forced to settle in the villages populated by old inhabitants or in the few resettlement areas that were made frequently available on lands unsuitable for farming. Immature resettlement laws, poor state support for migrants, negative attitudes from old inhabitants and a number of other objective and subjective factors led to relatively low economic levels of Ukrainian households.

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" (Stankevich, 1895: 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 to 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 (Ibid. 91).

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 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 from Ukrainian villages to 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 earnings 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 of 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 were the better off the longer they lived in the place. 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 (Ibid. 107).

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, 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 was experienced in 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. Hence, it increased from 137 thousand to 376 thousand people only in Western Siberia. 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).

The post-reform period (1860 – 1880) gave a shape to the Ukrainian migration as the agricultural resettlement. This was largely due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians who migrated to Siberia were peasants who hoped to significantly improve their economic situation. This is also evidenced by the data of the 1897 census: from 77% of Ukrainian families in the Tobolsk governorate to 92% in the Akmola region were engaged in agriculture. Crafts were auxiliary activities and were most widely represented in the Tobolsk governorate (7.1%). In addition, Ukrainians included fairly high percentage of people who were servants and day laborers: from 2.2% in the Akmola region to 4.8% in the Tobolsk governorate. As we can see, more than 15% of Ukrainians were employed outside agriculture in the Tobolsk governorate, which is

explained by unfavorable conditions for farming and the lack of free land in the governorate (*Akmolinskaia oblast'*, 1904: 52, 53, 55; *Tobol'skaia guberniia*, 1905: 84-87; *Tomskaia guberniia*, 1904: 76-81).

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 to 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.

An idea on the stratification level in the Ukrainian village can be drawn from the materials of the 1917 All-Russian Agricultural and Land Census based on the distribution of cultivation areas and working animals between resettlement households (see [Table 2](#)).

Table 2: Distribution of crops and livestock between resettlement households (as illustrated by the Novo-Nikolaevsky village, Tomsk governorate), %

Q-ty per 1 household	No horse	1-2 horses	3-4 horses	More than 5 horses
No crops	9,4	0	2,3	0
Crops up to 4 dessiatines	0	11,6	4,6	0
Crops from 4 to 10 dessiatines	2,3	9,4	6,9	0
Crops more than 10 dessiatines	0	9,4	30,2	13,9

Source: [GAAK. F. 233. Op. 1. D. 980](#).

In this case, we can say that approx. 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 prosperous. However, when we determine the role of a household in the economic structure of the settlement, it is necessary to take into account its size. At the same time the proportion of the poorer households was insignificant and amounted to approx. 11%.

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.

The Ukrainian economy attached a major importance to raising 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 ([Tomilov, 2004: 21](#)). However, in terms of livestock provision, Ukrainians were significantly inferior to other categories of the population (see [Table 3](#)).

Table 3: Availability of livestock to various groups of agricultural population in Siberia in 1917

Ethnic group	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Total
Germans	2.3	2.2	1.4	1.4	13.2
Russian settlers	3.1	1.9	4.1	2.0	16.6
Russian old inhabitants	2.5	2.2	2.9	0.3	12.2
Estonians	2.3	5.6	11.7	1.7	27.8
Ukrainians	2.6	1.6	1.6	0.5	10.2

Source: GAAK. F. 233. Op. 1. DD. 799-803; Ibid. F. 233. Op. 1b. DD. 411, 575, 576.

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.

In terms of available improved agricultural tools, Ukrainian settlers had much worse equipment than Russians, Germans, or Estonians. On average, 10 farms had 0.3 – 0.5 mowers and horse-drawn rakes. As to other of the above groups, the figure varied from 0.6 to 2.4 units (see Table 4).

Table 4: Availability of agricultural implements to various groups of the agricultural population in Siberia (per 10 households)

Ethnic group	Plows	Mowers	Horse-drawn rakes	Reapers	Threshers	Winnowers
Germans	9.14	0.97	0.8	4.8	0.46	2.6
Russians	1.25	N/A	N/A	3.13	0.95	2.5
Estonians	5.9	6.36	5.9	1.36	0.9	4.54
Ukrainians	9.65	0.3	0.3	5.5	0.3	0.7

Source: GAAK. F. 233. Op. 1. DD. 799-803; Ibid. F. 233. Op. 1b. DD. 411, 575, 576.

In this case, we can conclude that the availability of advanced agricultural implements to peasants directly depended on the agricultural specialization of a particular ethnic group. For example, Estonian peasant households were mostly oriented on commercial dairy husbandry. This explains why they were well supplied with handling implements (mowers, horse-drawn rakes). Data on Ukrainian peasants, who focused on grain farming, show that they were supplied with a certain level of appropriate implements (iron plows, reapers, etc.).

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).

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

	REAPERS	Winnowers
GERMANS	2.66	2.56
Russians	3.75	4.06
Ukrainians	4.14	8.6

Source: GAAK. F. 233. Op. 1. DD. 799-803; Ibid. F. 233. Op. 1b. DD. 411, 575, 576.

One of the key challenges met by Ukrainian peasants was processing their produce for own consumption and for sale on local markets. The consequence of this was the growing flour milling industry. 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 process. 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. The situation was quite

opposite in the butter-making industry which required much less initial investment. As a consequence, 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 by artels had good quality and were subsequently sold to a Danish "Siberian Company" to be exported to Europe.

During the First World War, Ukrainians flowed in the stream of refugees from frontline governorates. Part of them found themselves in Siberia. However, their numbers in Siberia were not comparable with those of Poles, Latvians and Jews, who accounted for 13.4%, 8%, and 5.9% of the refugee population in Siberian regions. Some of them settled in rural areas, and some in cities, such as Tomsk, Omsk, Novo-Nikolaevsk, and Barnaul (Nam, 2003: 278).

5. Conclusion

Thus, throughout the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries, numerous groups of "agrarian" Ukrainians – migrants from various Ukrainian regions – took shape in different provinces of the Russian Empire. One of the biggest communities was founded in Siberia in this period. Its main source was the voluntary resettlement. The disastrous economic situation created fertile ground for cultivating migration sentiments among Ukrainian peasants in the Left-Bank and Right-Bank Ukraine. The largest number of migrants came from the Kharkov, Poltava, Chernigov, and Kherson governorates. Fleeing from the devastation, part of the Ukrainians seized the opportunity to emigrate from the Russian Empire to America. However, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian migrants took part in the resettlement in other regions inside the Russian Empire. As a result, there were approx. 827.5 thousand Ukrainians only in Western Siberia in 1920.

Strange climatic conditions and environments, complicated relations with the local population, and settlements away from main economic centers made the life of the migrants extremely hard. Once in Siberia, migrants from Ukrainian governorates tried to preserve their old economic ways, but various factors forced them to significantly transform the practices. The early 20th century marked beginning agrarian capitalism in Ukrainian migrant villages, which developed along the American path (emergence of small and medium farmers). Still, the pace of the capitalist development in Ukrainian communities was slower than, for example, that in German, Polish, or Estonian villages. Nevertheless, Ukrainians took an active part in the agricultural exploration and development of Siberia which before the First World War was one of Russia's fastest growing agrarian and industrial regions.

Примечания

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УДК 940

Украинская община Западной Сибири: особенности формирования и развития во второй половине XIX – начале XX в.

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Аннотация. Аграрный кризис в Европейской части Российской империи к середине XIX в. стал серьезным препятствием в развитии сельского хозяйства. Аграрное перенаселение и обезземеливание крестьян в ходе проведения крестьянской реформы 1861 г. еще больше усугубляло негативную ситуацию в губерниях Центральной России, Белоруссии, левобережной Украины. Эти факторы способствовали формированию благоприятной почвы для миграционных настроений среди крестьян. Именно переселение на свободные земли в Азиатской России, на Северном Кавказе стало для большинства из них способом сохранить собственное хозяйство. Во второй половине XIX –

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начале XX в. украинские крестьяне активно включились в переселенческое движение, которое поддерживалось государством. Одним из основных мест водворения стала Западная Сибирь, где сформировалась многочисленная украинская крестьянская община. История изучения украинской общины Западной Сибири фрагментарна. Незучеными остаются многие аспекты. В центре внимания в статье стоят следующие вопросы: причины переселения украинцев на окраины Российской империи; этапы миграций; основные районы проживания украинцев в Сибири; динамика численности украинской общины; особенности адаптации украинских переселенцев на новом месте жительства; место и роль в экономической жизни Сибири в начале XX в. В статье нами использованы первичные данные Всероссийской сельскохозяйственной и поземельной переписи населения 1917 г., которые впервые вводятся в научный оборот. Методологической основой исследования стал системный подход, сочетающий в себе историко-региональный, ново-имперский и историко-сравнительный (компаративный) принципы.

Ключевые слова: украинцы в Сибири, украинская община, миграция, Российская империя, Сибирь, адаптация.