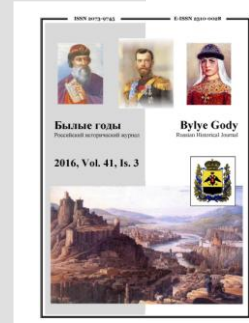


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Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Russian Empire in the Era of Economic Modernization in the Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Century (as Illustrated in the Example of Siberia)

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Abstract

The second half of the 19th century brought about the modernization reforms in the Russian political system, which accelerated the development of the country's capitalist economy. The abolition of segregationist regulations contributed to the development of bourgeois relations in industry and agriculture. The pace of economic modernization was faster in European Russia, while the country's frontier regions in the Asiatic part of the Russian Empire seriously lagged behind the center. The role of agents for capitalist change in industry and agriculture was accepted by the members of non-Russian ethnic groups, such as Jews, Germans, Poles and others. They became new bourgeois who were former government officials who had required connections to establish factories, and traders, who accumulated significant capital. In the 2nd half of the 19th century, a major role was performed by individual entrepreneurship inside ethnic communities. Its scope comprised the sectors which generated no economic interest among Russians living in Siberia, and which required large capital investments (distilling, shipping companies). In the early 20th century the social composition of communities was blurry thanks to peasants who formed a key component in migratory flows to Siberia. This shifted emphasis to small and medium-sized enterprises in the agricultural sector. The purpose of the paper is to use specific examples to show how ethnic entrepreneurship depended on a community's social composition, and determine its place in the regional economy in the conditions of ongoing political modernization and initial steps to industrialization. The foundation for the study is built on the archival documents, statistical digests and current research. The work is based on comparativism.

Keywords: economic modernization, capitalism, Russia, ethnic entrepreneurship, migration, Jewish community, German community, Polish community, Siberia.

1. Introduction

The development of the Russian Empire in the 19th – early 20th century featured a number of peculiarities with the transition from a traditional society to an industrial one being one of them. This process was diachronical in different regions. It started in industrial regions of European Russia and gradually spread to the state's border areas.

Siberia was one of such areas in the Empire's outskirts. By the mid-19th century, it was predominantly inhabited by the Russian population which was engaged in farming activities. In the 19th – early 20th century, Jewish, German, and Polish communities were founded in Siberia, whose members migrated here from economically more advanced regions (such as the Kingdom of Poland, Middle Volga, and Novorossia) to become mediators for capitalist relations.

While adapting to new living conditions, migrants were incorporated into the economic life of Siberia and actively contributed to both traditional sectors (agriculture, distillation, metallurgy, animal-drawn and river transport, loans), and new sectors (brewing, butter production, flour milling, etc.).

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The Jewish, Polish, and German bourgeois classes, which locally formed in Siberia, served as drivers for economic modernization in the region and became one of its characteristic features, especially in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century.

2. Material and Methods

In this paper, we will identify the main stages the ethnic entrepreneurship followed, and suggest their description in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century. We will also attempt to define conditions that constituted underlying factors behind this phenomenon, define the industries in which ethnic entrepreneurship played an important role, and use the comparative analysis to determine its place in the Siberian economy in the period under consideration.

The study uses the modernization theory as a methodology. Modernization refers to a transition from a traditional (agrarian) to a modern (industrial) society. A marker of the modernization displayed improving old sectors of industry and creating new ones, with both the Russian population and members of other ethnic groups participating in the process. The progress is most noticeable in specific regions, including Siberia. It is the regional approach (Kappeler, 1992) that will help characterize how ethnic types of entrepreneurship arose and developed in the period of economic modernization and industrialization in Russia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century.

The work is based on documents from the St. Petersburg, Barnaul, and Tomsk archives as well as published sources. The integrated use of these resources will help accomplish the objectives set above.

3. Discussion

For more than 100 years the economic history of Asiatic Russia in the 2nd half of the 19th – early 20th century has commanded much attention among researchers. The works by Russian scholars (Morozov, 1908; Oganovsky, 1921) place major emphasis on the impact exerted by migrations on the economic development of Siberia. In 1975, publication of a monograph by G.H. Rabinovich "Big bourgeoisie and monopoly capital in the economy of Siberia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries" took place. It was a groundbreaking study for the time, which has preserved its scientific significance to date. The author delineated sources and sizes of the big bourgeoisie in Siberia at the end of the 19th century up to 1917, and its commercial activity in key economic sectors, and the role of monopolies, including businesses at the local level, from central Russia and foreign countries, in the regional economy. A particular focus is put on the sources of the bourgeoisie. In the 2000s, historians have energetically studied the phenomenon of the ethnic entrepreneurship in Siberia. Much has been done on the reconstruction of business activities of Jews, Poles, and Germans (Karikh, 2004; Skubnevsky, 2008, 2009, 2010; Krott, 2010; Shaidurov, 2003, 2013, 2016).

The European and American introduction of Siberia began through the memoir literature. For example, the Polish historiography of Siberia was founded based on the research conducted by Zygmunt Librowicz (1884). In addition to exiled Poles, Librowicz highlighted other issues in his work as well. He also paid attention to their economic activities.

The US perception of Siberia took shape in the late 19th century largely thanks to publications by journalist and explorer George Kennan, who was a member of the American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. He made a journey across Siberia in 1885–1886. The result was his travel notes which were published under the title "Siberia and the exile system" in 1891. Separate sketches made by the author, gave American readers some idea of the region. For example, Kennan provided brief descriptions of major cities which he went through in his travel. In case of Tomsk, he cited data on the its population, mentioned that there was one Catholic church and two synagogues there in addition to Orthodox churches, thus creating a multiconfessionalist picture of the city (Kennan, 1906: 44).

Another illustration of the American notion of Siberia and its people was given in the account of the journey "Across Siberia alone" by an American female adventurer, John Clarence Lee (1914). Unlike Kennan, she created pictures of the daily life led by people who lived in Siberia before World War I. Individual chapters were devoted to the description of Irkutsk, Tomsk and their inhabitants. Almost every chapter contains the theme of resettlement in Siberia. The author gives diverse data received from her interlocutors. For example, in her conversation with a young Siberian woman, who studied medicine, she learned that a large number of migrants of various nationalities had rushed to Siberia, including Poles, Germans, Jews, Little Russians (Malorossy), Finns and others (Lee, 1914: 186).

At the end of the 20th century, the history of Russian entrepreneurship continued to be a relevant research area in the western Slavic Studies. This was reflected in the survey by Jo Ann Ruckman, a professor at the University of Idaho, "The Moscow business elite: A social and cultural portrait of two generations, 1840-1905." In his work, he not only considered the impact of Moscow famous dynasties (the Tretyakovs, Ryabushinskys, Guchkovs and others) on the cultural and political life of Russia and Moscow in particular, but also raised the question about the roots of Russian entrepreneurship. This study was highly appreciated among American Slavists (Bater, 1985).

4. Results

In the second half of the 18th – early 19th century, the population of the Russian Empire revealed a gradually reducing proportion of Russians in the population structure. This was linked both to the country's

integration of new areas (Finland, Poland), and interstate migratory processes (resettlement of Germans, etc.). The largest diasporas in Russia were founded by Poles, Jews and Germans, with the communities ranking among Russia's ten biggest ethnic groups. Political, social and economic processes fostered the growth of territorial communities in the first half of the 19th century. German, Polish, and Jewish communities demonstrated the fastest development in Siberia, the Urals and the Caucasus. As they arrived in the receiving country, Germans, Jews, and Poles had to find their economic niches to ensure decent living standards. In the end, they managed to accomplish this independently or by means of coercion, as Andreas Kappeler noted (Kappeler, 1992).

The Russian Empire stepped into a new stage in its economic development in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century, which was associated with the end of the industrial revolution and the start of industrialization. A number of characteristic features distinguish the Russian economy in the period. First, major industrial areas were established and boomed to become a base of support for key industrial sectors. These were the Central (Moscow), Northwest (St. Petersburg), Polish (Lodz), Southern (Donbass), Baku and Urals districts. Industrial enterprises were highly concentrated here. Economic reforms by Finance Minister Sergei Witte facilitated inflows of foreign capital into the Russian industry. Russia in the early 20th century offered an extremely attractive environment for French, British, German, and Belgian investors. Contemporaries liked to repeat that "Russian railways were built on the money of German cooks." The selective character of investment inflows led to skewed progress in certain sectors, when metallurgy and machine building rapidly grew, while chemical and electrical segments never took any distinct shape.

Meanwhile, Russia remained an agriculture-oriented country that generated most of the national wealth through farming. A characteristic feature of European Russia since the end of the 18th century was its rural overpopulation. The actual absence of the land sale and purchase market brought about constantly growing rent charges which soared by 300-400% only in the second half of the 19th century. The weak purchasing power of peasants denied them of any opportunities to enlarge their land plots by buying or renting land. For example, in central governorates, to lease 1 dessiatine of land (1.09 hectares) cost approx. 300 rubles a year, which compared with buying 10 cows. Such spending could only be afforded by very rich peasants (Yakimenko, 1983: 18). Most peasants had only one way to improve their economic situation that is to migrate to public lands in Asiatic Russia.

The vast expanses predetermined the uneven economic development of the country. Booming regions of European Russia were discordant with the economically backward outskirts of the Empire. The underdeveloped condition of Siberia and Far East was caused by their sparse population, as the density of population was less than 1 person per 1 sq. km here. Although densely populated, Central Asia, which became part of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, went through a crisis of crumbling feudalistic relation, and its isolation from major industrial centers was also a reason for its backward economy. Addressing this backwardness would require resettlement and massive redirection of capital to the region. It was the economic modernization in the second half of the 19th century which created all prerequisites for the steps. Hence, the Russian economy in the 2nd half of the 19th – early 20th century was the environment where private capitalist, state monopolist, petty commodity, and seminatural (patriarchal) types of economic relations coexisted.

One indicator which marked the rise of capitalism in Siberia was the growing number of large enterprises established by members of ethnic communities which resided here. A Siberian official wrote in his report that "in Siberia, wealthy people were engaged in tea trade, pig fat collecting, mining, or owned distilleries" (RGIA. F. 574. Op. 2. D. 146. L. 24). In fact, by the mid-19th century, the economic niches turned out to have already been occupied by Russian merchants and the state.

Vodka production became one of the most lucrative business areas for ethnic entrepreneurs. For example, in the mid-1860s, of the 14 distilleries that had been opened before 1864, 8 belonged to Poles (4), Jews (3) and a German (1). Their share accounted for more than 60% of the total production. The distilling business was dominated over the 2nd half of the 19th century by a Polish millionaire, Poklewski-Koziell, who owned several plants. In the mid-1860s, his marked share accounted for almost 40% of the total liquor volume produced in Western Siberia (Shaidurov, 2016: 197).

A limited circle of people led the entire vodka industry. This could give birth to a private monopoly. The government sought to deal with this situation. However, it was extremely difficult to find an entrepreneur who would agree to rent a state distillery for several years. According to contemporaries, this move required one-time investment in the amount of no less than 200 thousand rubles. Only few businessmen could afford this sum. The government was forced to reckon with the fact.

One of the excellent examples of a German industrial enterprise in Siberia in the 2nd half of the 19th century was the Prang soda plant launched in 1864. The industrial value of soda can not be overestimated. At his time, Dmitri Mendeleev, making a review of the Paris World Exhibition, pointed to the need to organize industrial production of soda in Russia (Mendeleev in 1868).

Being mining engineers, brothers Ivan, Yegor and Matvey Prang (both studied at the Mining Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg) kept track of all technological innovations. Bitter-salt lakes of Western Siberia are rich in various salts. Brothers Ivan and Yegor Prang obtained the right to produce the salts in southern areas of Western Siberia. Their enterprise was granted tax immunity (Skubnevsky, 2010: 199). Over the 1870s – 1900s, the Prang plant was a major soda manufacturer for the Siberian and Ural industry. In 1890, Julia

Prang, the widow of Yegor Prang, became head of the company. She retrofitted the production process. But in 1907, the enterprise was purchased by competitors who liquidated it in 1912.

Distilling, trade and construction contracts became essential tools allowing non-Russian entrepreneurs to accumulate initial capital. Afterward, the money was invested in other business areas (shipping companies, gold mining) and modernization projects. At the turn of the 19th – 20th century, Jews, Germans and Poles were important players in the food, transport and trade segments.

The beginning of the 20th century signified major changes in the economic life of ethnic communities in the Russian regions. Social, economic and political processes acted as a catalyst for peasant migration flows that altered the social image of communities existing on the outskirts of the Russian Empire. For example, the Stolypin agrarian reform led to dozens of thousands of German settlers to move to Siberia from the Volga Region, Novorossiia, and Volyn. As a result, several districts densely populated by German peasants formed in southern areas of Western Siberia. The start of World War I (1914–1915) is characterized by masses of refugees fleeing from the front line zone. For this reason, the urbanized German community became rural for a short time.

A special role in the resettlement process was played by western governorates that also "recruited" a significant number of migrants. Several thousands of peasants from Polish provinces resettled in areas beyond the Urals. In 1914 – 1915, Poles were forced to move to rear provinces, including Siberia. It also brought about the domination of rural population in the Siberian Polonia. Baltic governorates gave Siberia 13,329 new residents only in 1896 – 1907 (Maamyagi, 1991: 4).

It is necessary to give a general description of migratory flows from European Russia to Asiatic Russia in the early 20th century. The Siberia migration of members of western ethnic minorities was different from similar processes among the Russian population (Great Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians).

The main distinction of the migratory flow lay in its social composition – the overwhelming majority of migrants from western minorities were peasants. The consequence was their active engagement in the agriculture development. However, another fact should be indicated: if German resettlement villages focused on agriculture, which soon acquired features of commodity production of cereals, Estonians and Latvians were interested in cattle breeding, that is dairy farming. This has obvious traces of the farming systems prevailing in their previous place of residence. Baltic provinces in the economy of the Russian Empire belonged to traditional areas of commercial dairy farming, while the Volga Region became one of the major grain-producing areas since the middle of the 19th century. Peasant homesteads took definite shape already by 1917, which was recorded in the All-Russian Agricultural and Land Census in 1917, for example, Germans had 9–10 plows per 10 homesteads, and Estonians 6, while they had on average 1 and 6 horse-drawn mowers and rakes, respectively. Availability of working and productive livestock also varied: Germans had on average 4–5 horses per 1 homestead, Estonians 2; 3 and 6 head of cattle, respectively (GAAK. F. 233. Op. 1. D. 799-803, 805, 808, 812; Op. 1b. D. 411, 575, 576).

Another specific feature found in the resettlement among members of western ethnic minorities, e.g. resettlement of Balts to the Altai, is associated with remigration to Siberia. First Baltic migrants turned up in the Tobolsk governorate in the early 19th century. It was from here that the settlement of Estonians and Latvians began at the end of the century, including in the territory of the Altai Mining District. As they founded small villages, they invited their kinsmen to resettle, who often agreed to move to a new place. Polish and Jewish migrants settled down in cities or established new settlements based on the right of first possession.

It should be pointed out that the new settlements had specific nature. The vast majority of non-Russian migrants sought to settle in compact groups. This led to the rise of "enclaves" which were inhabited only by Germans, Poles or Estonians. An insignificant number of migrants lived in small groups and separate homesteads among the peasants of other nationalities. This phenomenon stemmed to a large extent from religious differences between Orthodox believers and those professing Christianity in its western forms. Controversies often arose precisely on religious grounds, when, for example, Lutheran migrants in their letters to the General Directorate of the Altai Mining District pointed out that with Russians they "did not wish to live together, in fact, because they recognize the religion (Lutheranism – V.Sh.) totally as Mohammedanism" (GAAK. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 670. L. 42). On the other hand, the desire to settle compactly can be explained by high levels of national unity.

One of the most attractive areas for peasant colonization in the period under consideration was steppe and forest areas in southern parts of Western Siberia (Tomsk governorate). The areas were most actively populated by natives of Little Russia, the Volga region, South Russia and Baltic regions. This is illustrated, for example, by the following fact: by 1910, Ukrainians and Germans accounted for more than 55 % of the population in this region (Shaidurov, 2013: 122). Taking into account the number of settlers from Baltic provinces, the percentage of the non-Russian population in the Barnaul uezd (district), Tomsk governorate, further increased in the early 20th century.

The specific development of agricultural production in the resettlement villages with a distinct national character, also affected related sectors, above all, manufacturing and processing. It should be noted that among processing sectors German resettlement villages predominantly concentrated on milling, while villages of migrants from the Baltic states on butter-making.

Two villages, Liflyandka and Estonia, located in the Zmeinogorskaya volost of the same name uezd, set themselves apart in the few settlements founded by Estonians and Latvians in the Altai. Both settlements were established in the late 19th century. They quickly became centers of economic gravity for surrounding communities of Russian old inhabitants and migrants.

In the early 20th century, Siberia became a new home to Poles who were engaged not only in agriculture but also in a variety of processing businesses. In 1904, a Warsaw commoner Petr Pel built a flour mill near Barnaul (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 181). Poles opened their small enterprises both in cities and in rural areas. However, they faced certain problems in the new environment.

In 1904, the Altai became a destination for Albert Kowalski and his family. A native of the Mogilev uezd, Podolsk governorate, he comes to the region at the invitation of his friend, who wrote in numerous letters, "that the population is large here and in need of steam mills and workshops to repair peasant agricultural implements" (GAAK. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 255. L. 8). Before moving to Siberia, Kowalski maintained a mill in the Bessarabia governorate. As he set up a small mill on a rented plot in the Loktevsky estate, Kowalski had to deal with first difficulties. They were caused, in the first place, by differences in applicable laws regarding industrial enterprises that manufacture products subject to excise tax. The thing was that the use of steam engines in manufacturing was controlled by the factory inspectorate in European Russia. Meanwhile, in Siberia, this authority still did not exist at this time, and its functions were fulfilled by various bodies, including the police, construction department at the governorate administration, etc.

In March 1907, the correspondence between A. Kowalski and the Tomsk authorities revealed the contradictions, but even before that there was a conflict situation, where one party was the small entrepreneur and the other police officials who insisted on compliance with the current Siberian legislation. The police officials adopted a tough, but consistent line of action. Initially, they asked the miller to submit the documents required for opening a mill with moving sieves (rastrus mill) to the Tomsk authorities. However, A. Kowalski tried to refer to the law he knew well from his previous place of residence, and continued to operate the locomobile illegally (GAAK. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 255. L. 8, 18). The Pole's defiance had a consequence when two years later, since the start of the proceedings, by order of the Zmeinogorsk district captain of the police, the Shelkovnikovskiy superintendent of the police sealed the locomobile and thus left A. Kowalski without work. It made the miller in a relatively short term to raise funds to produce mill and engine drawings, and execute all supporting documents, as appropriate, and then send them to Tomsk. This allowed him to gain a permission to operate the mill April 30, 1909. Reopening the mill made it possible to provide the population of 15 nearby settlements with flour (GAAK. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 255. L. 18).

Two trends can be identified in the German entrepreneurship in the south of Western Siberia. On the one hand, the initiative in creating manufacturing enterprises was displayed by peasant settlers. On the other hand, we can speak of entrepreneurial activity by migrants from Germany and those of German descent who earlier lived in cities of European Russia. The distinctions between them can be summarized in the forms of production organization – collective and individual types of business, characteristic of the first and second trends respectively, and the availability of the funds needed for the construction.

It was often the case that individuals turned up who undertook to build a mill or another company at their own expense. At the same time, individual entrepreneurs had to deal with the problem of obtaining land allotments for construction. Prior to the massive land survey campaign, they were forced to mainly rent Cabinet-owned land that was sometimes granted to them at disadvantageous terms (short term lease, relatively high rent payments, remote location from populated areas and sales markets, etc.). After 1907, the situation changed for the better. In addition, another contributing factor was the available free land plots in the lands of resettlement villages that were founded in the Altai steppe regions at the time.

The greatest boom in flour mills construction by Germans was recorded in 1910–1911, i.e., in the period when migrant communities located in the steppes of the Altai region formed their economies. We can suggest the entrepreneurial character in German millers. This is confirmed, above all, by the fact that they launched their enterprises to make profits. For this purpose, flour mills were built in the most densely populated areas which generated the biggest demand for grain processing. Mill owners of such type saw no difference in the nationalities of their service users. For them, the top priority was profits which they were prepared to receive at all costs.

A number of entrepreneurs tried to build several mills in different locations. An example is presented in activities by a villager of the Aleksandrovsкая colony, Nalchik district, Terek oblast, Kondrat Miller, in the Suminskaya and Yarkovskaya volosts (peasant communities), Barnaul uezd. In January 1908, on the basis of agreement with the selskoe obshchestvo (peasant community) of the Pechenevo zaimka (village), Suminskaya volost, he leased a plot of land, which was supposed to become a construction site for an oil engine-powered flour mill. Miller planned to build a one-story building which was to consist of two rooms. The applicant and the Construction Administration of the Tomsk governorate government carried on correspondence over 1908–1910. It was not until November 1910 that a construction permit was granted to him (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 368. L. 3).

As he received the above permit, Miller embarks on new negotiations, this time with representatives of the Utyanskoe peasant community, Yarkovskaya volost, on the lease of three dessiatines of land. At the beginning of 1911, the village community assembly unanimously adopted a decision to grant the land (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 386. L. 3).

However, in 1914, Miller files another request with the Construction Administration to transfer the mill to a new location – to the Bystrukhinskoe village, Alekseevskaya volost, Barnaul uезд (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 433. L. 1). One reason for the transfer was to the fact that Konrad Miller was registered in this peasant community, which enabled him to obtain a plot of land without spending any money on the rent. On the other hand, this fact suggests that although he already had a construction permit in 1910-1911, Miller took his time to ensure the most advantageous terms for the mill construction before he started the enterprise.

One of the Altai's leading grain regions in the years of the Stolypin resettlement campaign was the northern Kulunda steppe with the center in the Slavgorodskoe village. This settlement, founded in 1907, quickly turns into a major business hub for the entire North-West of the Altai region. Largest trading houses engaged in the grain trade, including "A.I. Vinokourov i synoviya", "V.A. Gorokhov" and others, launched representative offices here.

Slavgorod emerges as a center for processing sectors. Already in 1910, representatives of the "Frey i Vaslovsky" trading house file a request with the Tomsk governorate government for granting a permit for constructing a flour mill powered by an oil engine (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 374. L. 1).

One of the largest mills, built by Germans in the Altai region, was located in the Halbstadt village, Orel volost, Barnaul district. Preparatory work for the enterprise already began in 1910. The village community assembly made a decision to agree to the request by a villager in the Tesekly-Ishun village. Aleksandrovskaya volost, Perekop uезд, Taurida governorate, Yakov I. Tyart, and grant him two dessiatines of land for nine years for the construction of a high grinding roller mill. The assembly's resolution stipulated the possibility of the rent renewal for another nine years, and the acquisition of the plot from the peasant community on the basis of the deed in case, "if a legal right thereto arises" (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 385. L. 4). The rent size was specified at 300 rubles, with payments to be effected in equal annual amounts until 26 May.

In March 1911, a petition addressed to the Tomsk governor on behalf of Yakov Tyart was submitted requesting authorization for the construction of a mill on the rented plot. The requester was Tyart's business partner who acted on the basis of a power of attorney.

According to the master plan, the mill was to occupy a three and a half story building, and be one of the largest similar manufacturing enterprises in the area. To perform various works, Tyart was intended to employ at least 10 people, for whom he wanted to build bunkhouses on the rented plot. This was described by the miller in the "Information on the establishment planned for opening" (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 385. L. 1). The same document briefly specified the mill's technical equipment. The mechanism was supposed to be actuated by the gas generator. In addition, four roller machines and two pairs of millstones were to be used as main mechanisms and devices (GAAK. F. 31. Op. 1. D. 385. L. 1). This compared the Tyart's enterprise favorably to the general background where buildings were not so big, and mechanisms were not so powerful.

However, the construction of the mill cost the partners a much larger sum than they originally estimated. Most of the money was spent on the purchase of the required equipment in Germany. This led to a slowdown in the facility's construction and commissioning. To tackle this problem, they decided to raise external capital for the project. Eventually, it was not until the period before World War I that the mill began to operate at full capacity (Fast, 1954: 24). The high quality of the structure and its advanced technical "stuffing" are proved by the fact that it operated without any improvements until the end of the 1950s.

Migrants from neighboring regions, such as the Semipalatinsk oblast, also tried to penetrate the flour milling sector. In January 1912, a petition was filed by a settler Franz Vibe, who lived in Pavlodar, for permission to build a steam flour mill. In a relatively short period of time, a two-story mill was constructed on a rented plot in the Ferngeym village, Troitskaya volost, Barnaul uезд, which provided flour for surrounding German and Russian resettlement villages.

In German settlements, mills were often constructed on the initiative of peasant communities. They strove to make this process as much legitimate as possible. The need for construction was discussed at the community assembly. As a rule, the question was raised at the end of the agricultural year, when villagers had to go to neighboring villages which ran their own mills. They often had to travel the distances of several dozens of versts (1 verst = 1.067 kilometer), which certainly caused them great inconvenience. Experiencing these difficulties, the assembly took the decision unanimously. Following the results of the assembly's meeting, a petition regarding the resettlement case was made addressed to the General Directorate of the Altai district or Tomsk governorate government. It was unusual when villagers asked not only for construction permits, but also for financing to complete the construction, which varied between 2–3 thousand rubles. This indicates that peasants had the wish, but no resources to accomplish it at their own expense. However, it was often the case that the authorities dismissed this kind of petition, pointing out that "construction of a steam mill in the area with poor reserves and infertile in grain is of no particular need and will be a purely commercial venture pursuing only personal interests of petitioners" (GATO. F. 239. Op. 8. D. 68. L. 1).

Small and medium-sized ethnic enterprises developed against the background where large companies owned by Jews, Germans and Poles also continued to exist. Large-scale entrepreneurship in the early 20th century reached a new level of progress. Family businesses diversified their operations, which meant that a single trading house might encompass enterprises with different profiles. One good example is the trading

house "I. Fuksman i synoviya" (literally "I. Fuksman and Sons"), which apart from a distillery comprised flour mills, ships and so forth.

Before the outbreak of World War I, trading houses began converting into joint-stock companies. Among Jews, the first businessman who ventured to make a step in this direction was Minei Mariupolsky. In 1906, his relatives became equal founders in the trading house "Minei Mariupolsky i K°", while he became a managing director there. By 1911, he had ensured his dominant participation in the enterprise and initiated the reincorporation of a joint-stock company with the same name (authorized capital 800 thousand rubles). In 1912, the IPO process was generally completed (RGIA. F. 23. Op. 12. D. 1192. L. 104-104 ob.).

In the early 1910s, similar transformation started changing the milling industry in the Novo-Nikolaevsk (Novosibirsk). The largest company was "Altaiskaya fabrichno-promyshlennaya kompaniya" established in 1911 with the authorized capital 450 thousand rubles. In 1912, merchant Aron Kogan bought up contributions from the majority of its founders and joined the company's governance. Following the IPO, Kogan held 4,100 shares of 10 thousand shares that were issued (RGIA. F. 23. Op. 12. D. 1014. L. 29).

5. Conclusion

Thus, in the 2nd half of the 19th – early 20th century, Russia enjoyed economic modernization. This process proceeded at a faster pace in the central regions of the empire. The population in Asiatic Russia was unprepared for the rapid transition to capitalism in the economy. The role of agents promoting capitalist relations in industry and agriculture was assumed by European communities which were founded here (German, Polish, and Hebrew communities). Over the 2nd half of the 19th – early 20th century, they managed to identify and fill their niches in the regional economy. This process can be considered in two stages:

- the 60s – 90s of the 19th century
- 1900 – 1917.

This time witnessed a substantial transformation in the economic life of ethnic communities in Russian provincial areas. The first period is characterized by the predominance of large individual ethnic entrepreneurs, who were major players in various sectors (production of mineral raw materials, distillation, construction, transport, etc.). This can be explained by the social composition of the group that had large amounts of capital, kinship, and could be incorporated into the regional business elite.

The second period is associated with a dramatic increase in the number of ethnic communities. Migration flows in the early 20th century made European communities more exposed to peasantry. Along with poor Polish peasants and German colonists, Siberia was also a resettlement destination for prosperous rural bourgeoisie, who saw it as an opportunity to generate more capital. This led to the emergence of small and medium German, Polish, Estonian, Latvian, and other entrepreneurs who were mainly oriented on agriculture and agricultural produce processing.

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Национальное предпринимательство в Российской империи в эпоху экономической модернизации второй половины XIX – начала XX в. (на примере Сибири)

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Аннотация. Во второй половине XIX в. в России началась модернизация политического строя, которая ускорила процесс капиталистического развития экономики. Отмена сегрегационных норм способствовала формированию в промышленности и сельском хозяйстве буржуазных отношений. Более быстрыми темпами экономическая модернизация протекала в Европейской России. Национальные окраины в азиатской части Российской империи значительно отставали от центра. Русское население Сибири было оторвано от экономических ценностей, которые к середине XIX в. распространились в Европе. Проводниками капитализма в промышленности и сельском хозяйстве стали представители нерусских народов (евреи, немцы, поляки, эстонцы, латыши и пр.). Они стали новыми буржуа из числа бывших чиновников, которые имели необходимые связи для устройства заводов, и торговцев, накопивших большие капиталы. Во второй половине XIX в. главную роль играло индивидуальное предпринимательство в среде национальных общин. Оно охватило те сферы промышленности, к которым у русских в Сибири не было экономического интереса, и которые требовали больших капиталовложений (винокурение, пароходство). В начале XX в. социальный состав общин был размыт крестьянами, которые стали основной частью миграционных потоков в Сибирь. В результате произошло смещение акцентов на сферу мелкого и среднего предпринимательства в аграрном секторе. Цель статьи – показать на конкретных примерах зависимость национального предпринимательства от социального состава общин и определить его место в региональной экономике в условиях политической модернизации и начавшейся индустриализации. Основанием для исследования стали документы из архивов, статистические сборники и современные исследования. Работа построена на основе компаративизма.

Ключевые слова: экономическая модернизация, капитализм, Россия, национальное предпринимательство, миграции, еврейская община, немецкая община, польская община, Сибирь.

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