

Copyright © 2017 by Sochi State University
 Copyright © 2017 by Academic Publishing House Researcher s. r. o.



Published in the Russian Federation
 Co-publisher in the Slovak Republic
 Bylye Gody
 Has been issued since 2006.
 ISSN: 2073-9745
 E-ISSN: 2310-0028
 Vol. 43, Is. 1, pp. 162-168, 2017
 DOI: 10.13187/bg.2017.1.162
 Journal homepage: <http://bg.sutr.ru/>



UDC 940

German Industrial Enterprises in Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century

Vladimir N. Shaidurov ^{a, *}

^a Saint-Petersburg Mining University (Mining University), Russian Federation

Abstract

Economic modernization proceeded at an uneven pace in Russia. It was until the second half of the 19th century that the process began in Siberia. The abolition of segregation regulations contributed to the formation of bourgeois relations in industry and agriculture. New bourgeois were former government officials who had required connections to establish factories, and traders, who accumulated significant capital. The specificity of Siberia's national development enabled the formation of the German national entrepreneurship in various economic sectors. The article is intended to characterize the German entrepreneurship and its place in the regional economy in the context of political modernization and industrialization. The foundation for the study is built on the archival documents, statistical digests and current research. The work is based on the regional approach.

Keywords: economic modernization, Russian Germans, Western Siberia, national entrepreneurship

1. Introduction

In the middle of the 19th century, Siberia remained one of the backward regions in the Russian Empire. An explanation suggests that it above all was remote from major economic centers and sparsely populated. By 1865, there was only 4.3 % of the empire's population living there (3.1 million people) (Rashin, 1956: 95). But the population almost doubled over the following decades (in 1897 – 5.8 million people). The sharp growth is explained through ongoing resettlement policies that contributed to the industrial, agricultural, transport and trade development.

However, the economic growth in Western Siberia was hampered by prohibitive laws that were in effect at the time. For example, until the 19th century in the Altai mining district¹ which was one of the industrial centers, it was forbidden to use steam engines at private factories and plants.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Siberia witnessed the formation of various national groups. The largest group was formed by Russians who settled mainly in rural areas and engaged in agriculture. Numerous members were part of Jewish, Polish, German communities who settled mainly in towns and near major transport routes. These communities became mobile diasporic groups that began to play an important role in the regional economy, taking on themselves the functions that could not be fulfilled by Russian peasants and indigenous peoples of Siberia. For instance, Germans and Poles were administration officials in the Tomsk and Tobolsk provinces, Altai mining district, administrators at metallurgical plants, and army officers; Jews were engaged in trade, construction, processing and sales of agricultural produce.

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: s-w-n@mail.ru (V.N. Shaidurov)

¹ Altai mining district – a major administrative and territorial structure which was part of the Tomsk province. The district was located in the territory of the Russian Federation (Novosibirsk, Kemerovo Region, Altai Krai, Republic of Altai) and the Republic of Kazakhstan (East Kazakhstan region). Between 1745 and 1896, the district was controlled by the Cabinet of His Imperial Majesty, and was one of the ferrous metallurgy centers (gold, silver and copper extraction). The district was regulated by special laws.

Political modernization in the 1860s and early 1870s enabled more active development of capitalist relations in the Russian economy, which led to the end of the industrial revolution in the 1880s and the start of industrialization in the 1890s. This process was slower in some Russian regions, which was caused by the distinctive features of their development. National minorities (Jews, Germans, Poles, Finns, Estonians and others) became mobile diasporic groups in Russian, that facilitated economic progress. Resettlement of various ethnic groups to the outskirts of the empire helped develop traditional industries at higher technical and technological levels and contributed to the emergence of new industries. This process has been related to the formation of national entrepreneurship. One of these groups became Russian Germans. The basis for their active role in business activities was provided by objective and subjective factors. Due to high levels of education, knowledge of the latest technology and equipment, and proximity to power, Germans in Siberia played an important part in the development of ore mining and processing sectors, metallurgy, agricultural proceeding industry, etc.

2. Material and methods

In this article, we will define main characteristics of the German national entrepreneurship in the second half of the 19th century on a regional scale, identify conditions that contributed to the emergence of this phenomenon, define the industries in which German entrepreneurship played an important role, and use the comparative analysis to determine its place in the Siberian economy in the period under consideration.

As a main method, we will employ principles of the regional approach, represented on the Russian material by Andreas Kappeler (1992) in his monograph, in the form of reconstruction of specific aspects of history of Germans in Siberia. On the other hand, we will also apply some principles of the situational approach that has been lately widely used by Russian and foreign historians to describe history as resulted from the interaction of various actors (Miller et al., 2006).

The work is largely based on archival documents and published sources. The integrated use of these resources will help accomplish the objectives set above.

3. Discussion

Modern science gives much attention the issues of labor division. Modern history is characterized by the ethnic division of labor and involvement of various ethnic groups in specific sectors of the economy. In modern Russia, this phenomenon is studied using the regional approach (Kalmina and Kuras, 2001; Skubnevsky, 2010; Norkina, 2013). However, there are very few works based on the comparative method, which would make a comparison of the same political, social, economic, cultural, religious phenomena in different ethnic groups (Karikh, 2004; Nam, 2009; Shaidurov, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Germany showed much interest in the history of Russian Germans in the late 20th century. This resulted in the publication of monographs on the Germans living in individual regions of the Russian Empire (Bush, 1995).

4. Results

Bourgeois reforms, undertaken by Alexander II between the 1860s and 1870s, affected the situation of the German minority in Western Siberia. Radical changes took place in the situation of mining engineers and officials who were partly of German descent. This was described, for instance, by V. Zinoviyev, who noted that the Cabinet's enterprises had managerial personnel that came from clerks of mining and metallurgical districts and Freiberg and Ostsee Germans (Zinoviyev, 2007: 102).

In the second half of the 19th century, Germans still held key positions in the administrative and economic apparatus of the Tomsk and Tobolsk provinces and the Akmola region. The system of mining and metallurgical production persisted until 1896, which allowed Germans to influence this sector by working as mining engineers and managers at various levels. They held positions in Treasury Chambers, judicial apparatus, postal, telegraph and medical services. Germans retained their roles as gymnasium teachers in the system of public education. With the opening of the Tomsk University, they became part of the system of higher education. But compared to the first half of the 19th century, there was a reduced number of Germans (originating from Baltic provinces) in the Russian military service. Some researchers attribute this fact to the attack by the tsarist administration on the Baltic-German autonomy in the 1870s – 1880s, which led to a decreasing number of those wishing to serve in Russia, and even more so in Siberia (Katin-Yartsev, 2000: 159).

The second half of the 19th century brought about a rise in the Siberian economy as traditional and new industries developed. One of the characteristics featuring this period was the formed national entrepreneurship of the capitalist type in industry and agriculture.

Southern territories of Western Siberia with their mineral wealth and fertile land became the center of German entrepreneurship in the 1860s. The key factor here was high educational levels of German officials and mining engineers who were trained at the Mining Institute and military schools in St. Petersburg and abroad, and therefore had the high potential for starting modern production. With the availability of family and other ties, this contributed to first large-scale enterprises.

One of the first private factories in the Altai in the second half of the 19th century became the Prang soda factory opened in 1864. The importance of soda in industry can not be overestimated. At one time,

prominent chemist D.I. Mendeleev, making a review of the Paris World Exhibition, pointed to the need to organize industrial production of soda in Russia ([Mendeleev, 1868](#)).

The Russian government had realized the need for soda production already by the end of the 1850s. This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that a retired lieutenant, Benardaki, was granted a 10 year right to extract bitter salt from the Astrakhan lakes to produce sodium. The covering letter from the Finance Minister to this provision by the Committee of Ministers indicated that “Most soda used in Russia, one of the most important products in factory business, especially in glass manufacturing, is imported from abroad at a very considerable sum, whereas we have in abundance all basic materials to manufacture the above-mentioned, and the indigenous production of soda, in excess of the benefit for our factories, could constitute a new item of trade, create a separate source of earnings, relieve manufacturers from foreign dependence on the acquisition of the above-mentioned, and keep capital designated for this in the state” ([Complete code of laws of the Russian empire. Ed. II. Vol. 33. Sec. 1. No. 33339](#)).

Such *carte blanche* gave prospective entrepreneurs in some regions tremendous opportunities. There is no doubt that brothers Prang as mining engineers kept track of all technological innovations. A favorable combination of circumstances enabled them to actually establish their own monopolistic soda production in Siberia.

The center of bitter salt production became Marmyshanskies lakes in the Kulunda steppe of the Altai mining district. Brothers Ivan and Yegor Prang obtained a right to excise free salt extraction, similar to the above one of Benardaki ([Skubnevsky, 2010: 199](#)).

In 1863, Matvey Prang made an attempt to open his own glass and soap production facility with soda supplies the plant of his brothers ([RGIA. F. 468. Op. 23. D. 529. L. 1-2](#)). However, getting such business work required the use of steam engines. But in 1802 there was a ban in place in the Altai mining district, which prohibited opening private plants based on the steam engine technology. The reason was in the policy implemented by the Cabinet to conserve forests which were a source of fuel and charcoal for metallurgical plants. As a result, Prang's request was rejected ([RGIA. F. 468. Op. 23. D. 529. L. 3-4](#)).

In 1870 the brothers sold the enterprise to their brother Matvey. The 1870 – 1872 period witnessed the struggle with the excise department which made the new owner pay the excise tax motivating by giving a reason that the excise free right covered the former owners, rather than the enterprise. For this reason, Yegor Prang had to take the lead in the production facility over again. It was not until 1875 that Matvey Prang gained a right to extract salt excise free over the next 10 years ([RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 3767. L. 156-160](#)). It was he who managed the factory until his death in 1890, after which the factory was taken over by his widow Yu. Prang. In 1907, it was bought out by a firm, “Lyubimov, Solve i K^o”, that owned a larger similar facility in the Urals. In 1912, the Barnaul soda factory was closed down.

Initially, there were hand furnaces installed at the facility. There were no steam engines there as their installation was prohibited in private factory located in the lands of the Cabinet. The ban had valid since 1828 and it was not until the late 1870s – early 1880s that the facility equipment was updated. However, despite the ongoing ban, the director of the Altai mining district, A. Freze, permitted the installation of steam engines. This allowed M. Prang to boost production levels.

According to statistics, the enterprise operated quite successfully from the very beginning. Already in 1866, the factory produced 3 thousand *poods* (pood – a Russian unit of weight equivalent to about 16.4 kilograms) of soda, and in the 1870s the annual production capacity already was approx. 6.2 thousand *poods* ([Skubnevsky, 2010: 199](#)). According to Orlov, as of the end of the 1890s the “Prang i K^o” soda factory produced 14.2 thousand *poods* of caustic soda and 4 thousand *poods* of refined soda ([Orlov, 1895: 185](#)). By the end of the 19th century, the enterprise had been a major soda supplier for tanneries, glass and soap factories in Siberia and the Far East ([Zavidovsky, 1894: 390](#)). The Prangs had only one rival beyond the Urals at that time – K. Zanevsky's factory in the Trans-Baikal oblast, which produced at that time only 450 *poods* of caustic soda.

Early 20th century studies into the work organization at private factories in the Altai mining district preserved information on the organization of production and workers' life at the “Prang i K^o” factory. For instance, S.P. Shvetsov noted that as to the plat buildings, they were in a terrible state: “The first section of the factory, which has a number of so-called sulphate furnaces, is nothing but the quite an old log barn with no windows and ceiling; gates instead of the door, earthen floor.” That there were no basic security measures on the production floor in indicated by the quotation that “without assistance it was impossible to take a single step, without risking to fall somewhere in a boiler or furnace” ([Shvetsov, 1897: 161](#)).

Despite a significant workforce (there were over 60 workers at the end of the 1890s), the soda factory had no physician or *feldsher* (feldsher – a medical doctor's assistant). The lack of medical personnel at such a dangerous production facility was compensated with an available first aid kit from which workers received free medications. If necessary, they were sent for treatment at the Red Cross Hospital in Barnaul. In this case, expenses were covered by the owner of the enterprise. The soda factory was one of the few enterprises in the Altai, that maintained its own school for workers' children. Shvetsov pointed out that children were taught for a long time by Matvey Prang's wife Julia Prang. In 1890, after her husband's death, she assumed control over the company and had to take for the vacant position of teacher a graduate from the Barnaul pre-gymnasium. Since the factory was located near Barnaul, the school had children of workers and clerks at the factory office.

According to the production organization, production volumes, and number of employees, Prang's soda factory can be characterized as a factory type enterprise. It was the first production of this type in the Altai. In addition, the value of the factory is that it was Russia's first enterprise in the industrial production of soda. At the 1882 Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition, M. Prang was awarded a gold medal inscribed "For the foundation of the first and sole active soda factory in Russia to date, as well as for the contribution made by the exhibitor in the development of Siberia's soap and other manufacturing sectors" (Zavidovsky, 1894: 389).

Another example of the German industrial entrepreneurship in the post-reform period can be provided by M. Funk. Before his retirement, he served as chief of the Barnaul post and telegraph office. In 1869, he partnered with B. Shmurygin and opened a buckshot manufacturing plant in Barnaul. Such cooperation was mutually beneficial for partners: the first one had contacts needed to obtain approvals, and the second one the initial capital to establish a business. The tandem of this kind was not unique to that time, on the contrary, it was typical in the situation when economic interests of the military, bureaucratic nobility and the merchant class converged.

In conditions of high demand on buckshot in Siberia, the enterprise turned profitable. By the end of the 1890s, it had returned its owners 12 thousand rubles annually (Orlov, 1895: 185). Modern researchers, who study the history of Funk's business activity, suggest that until the 1880s lead to produce buckshot was purchased at Altai silver producing plants of the Cabinet. In the 1880s, raw materials were purchased in England and Germany. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, it once again became of Russian origin.

Until the early 20th century, it was the only factory in the region that specifically offered these products.

Like many other entrepreneurs in the post-reform period, Funk tried to occupy niches in several industry sectors. In the first case, as we can see, he achieved spectacular results. His other activity was a shipping company which focused on the Northern Sea Route and trade in Altai products with Nordic countries. By joining forces with Tara merchant A. Shcherbakov, he built a few steamships that transported goods to the Gulf of Ob. But this venture was not successful. In addition, Funk and his brother gained a right to extract salt in lake Burlinskoye in the Barnaul district of the Tomsk province in the late 1880s (RGIA. F. 468. Op. 23. D. 1046. L. 74). At the same time he was engaged in the bread trade.

The fate of Funk's enterprises was to a large extent typical for their time. After the death of the owner, his heirs were not interested in commercial affairs and sold their shares to third parties.

In the post-reform period, Germans flocked not only into the commercial and industrial sectors. They made attempts to organize updated agricultural production in Western Siberia. In particular, they took first steps in establishing commercial production of industrial crops in the Altai.

In the middle of the 19th century, Western Siberia was a place of work of a number of Germans who went to Russia from German states to conduct commercial affairs. Without taking Russian citizenship, they remained Prussian, Hamburg, Bavarian, and other subjects. One of such "immigrants" was a native of the free city of Hamburg, August Brokmiller, who settled in the Altai. He was so firmly entrenched in the District that was temporarily a Barnaul merchant and father-in-law of the manager at the Pavlovsk silver factory, Fialkovsky, historians note (Ivanchenko, 1993: 46).

In 1857, the Cabinet of His Majesty acknowledged the benefits of the sugar beet farming in the south of Western Siberia. According to officials, this would provide the population with cheap refined cube sugar (sugar was brought from European Russia until the middle of the 19th century), enable peasants who would supply the raw material for the plant to earn additional income and would help set up businesses in the new promising sector (RGIA. F. 468. Op. 23. D. 520. L. 8 ob.).

In 1858, Brokmiller was granted 100 *dessiatines* of land (*dessiatine* – a Russian unit of area equal to approximately 2.7 acres or 10 800 square metres) near the Malyshevskoe village, Barnaul district, and a permission to grow sugar beets and build a plant for the beet refined cube sugar production – the first venture of its kind in Siberia. In the first years, Brokmiller invested some 10 thousand rubles to arrange the production. However, the businessman did not take into account that the South of Western Siberia was an area of risk farming and cultivating non-recognized varieties here could lead to the loss of crops. He had to face this already in the first few years. To overcome the financial problems, he had to take out several loans.

In 1862, he already rented from the Cabinet 300 *dessiatines* of land. The factory began operating in 1862 and produced in the period between 1862 and 1865 2400 *poods* of sugar. The enterprise operated using horse engines that were set in motion by 16 horses; the enterprise employed 2 foremen and 70 workers.

Sale of sugar in the Siberian market did not allow Brokmiller to quickly pay back the loans. enterprising German who had by then joined the Barnaul merchantry, decided to set up the liquor production from beet-sugar refining production waste. In 1863, with the permission of the Minister of Finance, he launched a distillery (RGIA. F. 468. Op. 23. D. 521. L. 154 ob.). In 1864, it returned 44.5 thousand rubles and employed 22 workers. It remained the only distilling plant in the Altai mining district until 1868.

In 1868, by order of the Cabinet, Brokmiller's factories were shut down and the owner was charged with illegal alcohol production. The plant was completely closed down in the spring of 1870. The reason for the closure of the plant was the failure of the plant owner to pay rent for the land he used (486 rubles) (RGIA. F. 468. Op. 23. D. 521. L. 343). According to N. Ivanchenko, a significant role in the case of Brokmiller was

played by K. Platonov who opened in cooperation with merchant Badiin the Itkul distillery in the village of Sokolovo in the Biysk District in 1868 and sought to defeat his competitor (Ivanchenko, 1993: 46).

By the end of the 19th century, German commoners of foreign origin were also actively involved in various sectors of the food industry. They launched the greatest activity in their traditional sectors, such as the flour-milling industry, distilling, and brewing. Although their presence in these areas were noticeably inferior to that of Jews and Poles. Nevertheless, there are several large enterprises that are worth mentioning. For instance, a distillery operated in the Tyukalinsk district of the Tobolsk province since 1883, owned by a colonist, Albert Fischer. Certainly, this enterprise could not compete with such “heavyweights” as N. Davydovskaya and heirs of Poklewski-Koziell. Still, the factory can be classified as a medium-sized enterprise. In the late 1890s, it annually gave about 8 thousand pails of vodka to the amount of 100 thousand rubles. At the time, the factory employed 20 people (Orlov, 1895: 205). Like other distillery owners, Fischer located his enterprise in one of the major centers of commercial grain production.

The late 1880s were a period of the booming yeast production in Western Siberia, which was associated with development of related sectors in the food industry. Its centers became Tomsk and Omsk. In 1887, a Prussian subject, Gustav Goltzgoter opened his factory in Tomsk. After 10 years, it annually produced up to 250 *poods* of dry yeast to the amount of three thousand rubles (Orlov, 1895: 208). In 1888, a yeast factory was opened in Omsk by Alexander Fischer, which, unlike the above enterprise, was oriented to the production of compressed yeast. The factory output amounted to 200 *poods*/year. Both factories were comparable through the use of artisanal production methods. The evidence is the number of workers employed in the production: there were only two workers employed at each factory. But while Goltzgoter faced completion from Franz Kaminsky’s factory in the Tomsk province, Fisher was spared such trouble in the Akmola region, as his factory was the only producer there.

The strongest presence of Germans in the post-reform period was in Western Siberian brewing. Each province had its own German brewer. Germans were very often invited as subject matter specialists by Russian and Jewish owners of beer mead breweries. For example, since the early 1880s, the Akmola region was the principal place of business of breweries owned by court counselor Hans Schpringbach. One of his factories was located in Omsk, and its annual production amounted to over 10 thousand pails to the amount of 8 thousand rubles (Orlov, 1895: 230). His other beer and mead production facility was located in Petropavlovsk; its output was smaller (6 thousand pails), but to 9 thousand rubles (Orlov, 1895: 229). This was due largely to the product range offered by the enterprises. Both factories were artisanal; they employed only 5 employees and 3, respectively.

But Western Siberia’s largest German family business belonged to Tomsk brewers of Prussian origin – the Kruegers.

Information on the start of Karl Krueger’s business activities refers to the summer of 1876. August 11, a meeting of the Tomsk municipal дума read out a document as follows: “A subject of the North German Confederation, Karl Krueger, in an application to the administrative board of the city, requests that he should be granted a lease of a land plot for 10 years, under the authority of the Yurtochnaya Community, in the newly designed street behind the city hospital, with the area 913 and a half square *sazhens* (*sazhen* – an old Russian measure of distance equal to 2.13 m) to establish a brewery for the price, which will be fixed by mutual agreement; a plan for the requested land plot was submitted attached thereto.

As a consequence of this, the administrative board of the city has found no reasons preventing a lease of the land plot in the specified area, and by mutual agreement fixed one hundred rubles per year as a lease payment and determined to submit the applicant’s application to the discretion of the дума. Having considered the area plan attached to the board’s register, with the plan marking the land plot requested by Krueger, and found that the terms are beneficial, the Tomsk municipal дума has resolved: to grant a 10 year lease on the requested land plot to master brewer Karl Krueger, from September 1, 1876, with an annual payment to the city income of 100 rubles.”

Constructing a brewery and installing equipment took about a year. In 1877, the Register of General Inspection of Industrial and Commercial Establishments already contained an entry on K. Krueger’s brewery as an operating facility. It was a small enterprise of the artisanal type.

In 1880, construction of a university began in Tomsk, and the land plot where Krueger’s operating enterprise was located, was transferred to the construction committee. As K. Krueger realized that the interests of the Imperial University would prevail, he chose to start new construction. This happened at the beginning of 1884. On a land plot, that was at the corner of Tyuremnyy vvoz and Moskovski trakt, October 27 (November 9, new style) 1884, an excise officer in the presence of the brewery owner, Karl Krueger, measured new vessels, thereby giving a legal permission to launch the enterprise (GATO. F. 234. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 38 ob.).

In September 1890, Karl Krueger leased out the brewery to his nephew Robert Krueger for a period of 5 years. And in August 1895, Tomsk brewery No. 8 owned by a Prussian subject, Karl Krueger, became the property of a Prussian subject, Robert Krueger.

Between 1897 and 1898, the facility was retrofitted. In addition to the restructuring of the premises themselves, modernization of the enterprise was primarily expressed in the installation of a 25 hp steam engine. The wooden mash mixing vessel with a capacity of 123 pails were replaced with an iron one rated for 199 pails. The 80-pail iron tun for mash decoction was supplanted with a 132-pail one, and the 296-pail iron

wort boiling tun with a 487-pail one. The facility's capacity was increased to 50 thousand pails per year, while it was no more than 10 thousand pails until 1887. According to industry statistics, in the late 1890s, the share of Krueger's brewery amounted to more than 27% of the total output or 31% in the ruble equivalent. But production processed remained largely semi-artisanal – in this period, it employed 4 workers (GATO. F. 234. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 38). It should be noted that brewery No. 8 by the nature of its production did not differ from other enterprises in the industry: Reichseligman's brewery had 6 workers (GATO. F. 234. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 39), Fuksman's and Vokano's 3 each (GATO. F. 234. Op. 1. D. 116. L. 37, 41).

This was not the last role of Germans in the development of Siberian industry. They did not only own enterprises. By the end of the 19th century, a widespread practice was to invite engineers, technicians and technologists from Central Europe. Austria-Hungary and Germany became a source of highly qualified personnel for Russia, including Siberia.

As they lived up to the end of the 19th century in large cities, Germans were incorporated into the city economic life. They were owners of meat and sausage shops in Tomsk, Tobolsk, Omsk, and Barnaul. They owned furniture stores and shops selling musical instruments. As the resettlement process intensified and the demand for improved agricultural equipment sharply increased, they became sales representatives of leading manufacturers (McCormick, Erlanger and others). Advertisements of these establishments were continuously posted on pages of Siberian newspapers.

A very small part of the German community had lived in rural areas by the end of the 19th century. They were predominantly former colonists who came to Tobolsk and Tomsk provinces from the Middle Volga region. Once at the new place of residence, they tried to adapt to local conditions, which they successfully managed. Their economic activity was traditionally based on agriculture. Cattle breeding was of an auxiliary nature. Inadequate knowledge of local environmental conditions hampered the process of establishing farming enterprises. As the settlements were located in areas remote from big cities and major trade routes, they were unable to integrate into the commodity exchange process, and for this reason the farming business was primarily self-sustaining for a long time.

5. Conclusion

Thus, the second half of the 19th century marked the start of economic modernization in Western Siberia. The development of capitalism in the regional economy was contributed to by European ethnic groups, such as Jews, Poles and Germans, who brought bourgeois practices to industry, commerce, transport and banking. This crystallized into a growing number of ethnicity-based enterprises in Western Siberia.

Proximity of Germans to the government institutions and strong family ties facilitated the rise of capitalist entrepreneurs from their group, who managed to become monopolists (Prang, Funk) or take leading positions in various sectors (Krueger). At the same time they had to face fierce competition in the most profitable sectors (e.g. distilling) and they were not always triumphant.

References

- Bush, 1995** – *Bush M.* (1995). *Deutsche un St. Petersburg 1865–1914: Identität und Integration*. Essen: Klartext. 288 p. [in Germany].
- GATO** – Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Tomskoy oblasti [State Archives of the Tomsk region].
- Ivanchenko, 1993** – *Ivanchenko N.V.* (1993). *Selskiye predprinimateli Altaya v poreformennoye vremiya* [Rural entrepreneurs of the Altai in the post-reform time] // *Predprinimatelstvo na Altaye: XVIII v. – 1920-ye gg.* Barnaul, Altai University Press, pp. 44-49. [in Russian].
- Kalmina and Kuras, 2001** – *Kalmina L. and Kuras L.* (2001). *A History of exiles: The Jews of Buryatia. East European Jewish Affairs*. Vol. 31. Is. 1. pp. 49-60.
- Kappeler, 1992** – *Kappeler A.* (1992). *Russland als Vielvoelkerreich*. Muenchen: Verlag C.H. Beck. [in Germany].
- Karikh, 2004** – *Karikh Ye.V.* (2004). *Mezhetnicheskije otnosheniia v Zapadnoi Sibiri v protsesse ee khoziaistvennogo osvoeniia. XIX – nachalo XX v.* [Interethnic relations in Western Siberia in the process of its economic reclamation. The 19th – early 20th century]. Tomsk: Tomsk University Press. 233 p. [in Russian].
- Katin-Yartsev, 2000** – *Katin-Yartsev M.Yu.* (2000). *Baltiysko-nemetskoye dvorianstvo na rossiyskoy sluzhbe. Konets XVIII – nachalo XX vv.* [Baltic-German nobility in the Russian service. Late 18th – early 20th centuries]. Moscow. 296 p. [in Russian].
- Mendelev, 1868** – *Mendelev D.I.* (1868). *Obzor Parizhskoy vseмирnoy vystavki* [An Overview of the Paris World Exhibition]. St. Petersburg. 179 p. [in Russian].
- Miller, 2006** – *Miller A.* (2006). *Imperiya Romanovykh i natsionalizm: Esse po metodologii istoricheskogo issledovaniya* [The Romanovs Empire and nationalism: An essay on the methodology of historic research]. Moscow, Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye Publ. 248 p. [in Russian].
- Nam, 2009** – *Nam I.V.* (2009). *Natsionalnyey menshinstva Sibiri i Dalnego Vostoka na inistoricheskome perelome. (1917–1922)* [Ethnic minorities of Siberia and Far East at the historic crucial point. (1917–1922)]. Tomsk, Tomsk University Press. 500 p. [in Russian].
- Norkina, 2013** – *Norkina E.* (2013). *The origins of anti-Jewish policy in the Cossack regions of the Russian Empire, late nineteenth and early 20th century.* *East European Jewish Affairs*. Vol. 43. Is. 1, pp. 62-72.

Orlov, 1895 – *Orlov P.A.* (1895). Ukazatel fabrik i zavodov okrain Rossii: Tsarstva Polskogo, Kavkaza, Sibiri i Sredneaziatskikh vladeniy: Materialy dliya fabrichno-zavodskoy statistiki [Guide to factories and plants in border regions of Russia: the Kingdom of Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia and the Central Asian lands: Materials for factory statistics]. St. Petersburg, V. Kirschbaum's Printing house. 261 p. [in Russian].

PSZ – Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii [Complete code of laws of the Russian empire].

Rashin, 1956 – *Rashin A.G.* (1956). Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1811–1913 gg.). Statisticheskie ocherki [The population of Russia for 100 years (1813–1913). Statistical essays]. Moscow: Gosstatizdat. 352 p. [in Russian].

RGIA – Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive].

Shaidurov, 2013 – *Shaidurov V.N.* (2013). Evrei, nemtsy, poliaki v Zapadnoi Sibiri 19 - nachala 20 v. [Jews, Germans, Poles in Western Siberia in the 19th – 20th century]. St. Petersburg: Nevsky Institute of Language and Culture Press. 260 p. [in Russian].

Shaidurov, 2014 – *Shaidurov V.N.* (2014). Evrei i ikh mesto v khoziaistvennoi zhizni Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine 19 veka [The Jews and their Place in the Economic Life of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century]. *Novyj Istoricheskij Vestnik*. Vol. 39. pp. 21-34. [in Russian].

Shaidurov, 2015 – *Shaidurov V.N.* (2015). Russian Germans in Russian Historiography from the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries. *East European History*, Vol. (1), Is. 1, pp. 13-23.

Shvetsov, 1897 – *Shvetsov S.P.* (1897). Polozhenie truda na chastnykh zavodakh Altayskogo okruga [The situation in labor in private factories of the Altai district]. *Sbornik pravovedeniya i obshchestvennykh znaniy: Trudy yuridicheskogo obshchestva, sostoyashchem pri Imperatorskom Moskovskom universitete*. Vol. VII. Moscow. pp. 130–180. [in Russian].

Skubnevskiy, 2010 – *Skubnevskiy V.A.* (2010). Nemetskoe predprinimatel'stvo na Altae vo vtoroi polovine 19 – nachale 20 v. [German Free Entrepreneurship in Altai in the Second Half of 19th – the Beginning of 20th Centuries]. *The News of Altai State University*. 2010. Vol. 4. Is. 3. pp. 198-202. [in Russian].

Zavidovskiy, 1894 – *Zavidovskiy N.* (1894). Sodovoye proizvodstvo v Sibiri [Soda production in Siberia]. *Gornyi zhurnal*. Vol. 9. St. Petersburg. pp. 383-391. [in Russian].

Zinoviyeu, 2007 – *Zinoviyeu V.P.* (2007). Industrialnye kadry staroy Sibiri [Industrial personnel of old Siberia]. Tomsk, Tomsk University Press. 255 p. [in Russian].

УДК 940

Немецкое промышленное предпринимательство в Западной Сибири во второй половине XIX в.

Владимир Николаевич Шайдуров ^{a, *}

^a Санкт-Петербургский горный университет (Горный университет), Российская Федерация

Аннотация. Экономическая модернизация проходила в России неравномерно. Только во второй половине XIX в. она началась в Сибири. Новыми буржуа стали бывшие чиновники, которые имели необходимые связи для устройства заводов, и торговцы, накопившие большие капиталы. Специфика национального развития Сибири способствовала формированию немецкого национального предпринимательства в разных отраслях экономики. Цель статьи – характеристика немецкого предпринимательства и 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 регионального подхода.

Ключевые слова: экономическая модернизация, российские немцы, Западная Сибирь, национальное предпринимательство.

* Корреспондирующий автор

Адреса электронной почты: s-w-n@mail.ru (В.Н. Шайдуров)