

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN WESTERN SIBERIA: ADAPTION AND INTEGRATION FEATURES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

This article is intended to look at certain aspects of the Polish adaptation in Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century and define the extent of their integration into the regional economy. Office records uncovered at central and regional archives made it possible to determine the attitude of regional authorities to Siberian Poles and their influence on the efficient adaptation of Poles in Siberia. An examination of archival and published statistical documents provided an answer to the question which sectors of the Western Siberian economy had Polish representation.

Keywords: Polish community, Western Siberia, Poles in Siberia, 19th century, economic activities, adaptation

LA COMUNITÀ POLACCA IN SIBERIA: PARTICOLARITÀ DELL'ADATTAMENTO E INTEGRAZIONE NELLA SECONDA PARTE DEL SECOLO XIX

SINTESI

Nel presente articolo vengono presi in esame alcuni aspetti dell'adattamento dei polacchi nella Siberia Occidentale nel periodo della seconda parte del secolo XIX per determinare il grado della loro integrazione nell'economia della regione. Lo studio dei documenti conservati negli archivi centrali e regionali ha permesso di definire l'atteggiamento delle autorità regionali nei confronti dei polacchi siberiani e il loro impatto sul proficuo adattamento dei polacchi in Siberia. L'analisi dei documenti statistici d'archivio e di quelli pubblicati ha dato la risposta alla domanda quali settori economici della Siberia Occidentale furono rappresentati dai polacchi.

Parole chiave: comunità polacca, Siberia Occidentale, polacchi in Siberia, secolo XIX, attività economiche, adattamento

INTRODUCTION

The partition of Poland in the second half of the 18th–early 19th century made Poles remain one of the many ethnic minorities in the Russian Empire until the early 20th century. The turn of the 18th–19th centuries marked the progressive formation of the Polish community in Russian provincial regions, such as the Northern Caucasus, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga region, European North of Russia. The “Polish question”, which arose in the second half of the 18th century, was addressed by society and government in opposite ways at different periods, which accordingly meant implementation of liberal or repressive measures. Poles themselves provoked the authorities to move away from liberal and democratic principles to conservatism. At the turn of the 18th–19th century, a national policy, which replaced the Russian ethnocentrism, began to take shape in Russia. Despite all the difficulties, Poles, along with Jews, Germans, Ukrainians and other ethnic groups, constituted one of the forces, which was behind the country’s historical development (Kappeler, 1992).

The Siberian Polonia¹ has a history of around 200 years. Its development was linked to the eviction of Poles to Siberia. They were members of the national liberation movement, who campaigned for the restoration of the Polish statehood, as well as common criminals.

In the first half of the 19th century, the Polish community was composed of criminals and participants of the Polish-Russian War of 1830–1831, exiled to Siberia. The 1857 amnesty gave many of them an opportunity to return to European Russia. In 1862, Siberia was inhabited by approx. 1 thousand Poles, most in Western Siberia (Tobol’sk and Tomsk governorates).

In 1864–1867, Siberia was the place of exile for approx. 20 thousand Poles. Western Siberia received approx. 8 thousand. In 1897, there were over 13 thousand Poles living in the region, with only part of the exiled supported with money from their relatives or the state. The majority of the Poles were forced to seek their livelihood.

This article is intended to look at how Poles progressed in their adaptation in Siberia in the second half of the 19th century and define the extent of their integration into the regional economy.

The study of the history of the Polish community in Siberia started with the appearance of memoirs of Poles who had returned from exile. Russia banned this issue for a long time. It was not until the revolution of 1917 that the situation changed. Before the end of the 20th century, Russian historiography focused mainly on the history of the Polish exile (Mitina, 1966). It was not until the early 21st century that historians began to look at the problems related to the adaptation of Poles in Siberia (Mulina, 2012). A new line was the study of the Polish peasant resettlement to Siberia in the late 19th–early 20th century. Another area was the study of the Polish entrepreneurship in Siberia in the 19th–early 20th century (Skubnevskii, 2008, 2009; Shaidurov, 2016a, 2016b). A closer look at these problems allows us to represent a complete picture of the life of the Siberian Polonia.

The Polish historiography has shaped its own research traditions with regard to the Polish community that existed in Siberia in the 19th–early 20th century (Librowicz, 1884;

1 Polonia (from Latin: Polonia – Poland) – a Polish diaspora outside Poland.

Janik, 1928). The scientific analysis of the Siberian Polonia was based on the recollections left by the Poles, who were sent to Siberia at that time to serve exile or penal labor sentences. Being under their strong influence, the Polish historiography throughout the 1860s – 1970s predominantly relied on the martyrological approach in its studies of the Polish diaspora in Russia (Kijas, 2000). This long-lasting and persistently dominating personification of the history with its partial mythologization can be explained by the pathos in the views Polish society held about the victims of the national liberation and revolutionary movement of the 19th – early 20th century. It was not until the last quarter of the 20th century that the Polish historical literature showed the dominant civilizing approach (Kuczynski, 1993). The new approach enabled a significant expansion of the research field. Making use of both Polish and Russian sources, Polish historians are now exploring the issues of the peasant resettlement in Siberia, and the role of Poles in labor migration in the context of entire Russia at the turn of the 19th–20th century (Leończyk, 2012). They have raised the question of the position that the Siberian Polonia occupied in the economic, social, and cultural life of Siberia in the 19th – early 20th century. This has made it possible for the Polish historical science not only to avoid further biased development, but also to obtain new perspectives in the study of Polish communities in Russian provincial regions.

A study into publications on the history of Poles in Siberia in the 19th century allowed us to arrive at the following conclusions. The central subject for research both in Poland and Russia highlights the history of political exile. Studies provide detailed information on the events that triggered repression by the tsarist government (Russo-Polish war of 1830–1831, January Uprising of 1863, anti-government activities of underground organizations) and on the mechanism of the repression. They also reconstructed the quantitative data on different categories of the repressed as well as reviewed their social composition. However, the adaptation and integration of Poles in their new place of residence received no adequate examination.

In this article, we will answer the question of the nature pertaining to the adaptation of Poles in Siberia in the second half of the 19th century. It was at that time when the Polish community was large (more than 20 thousand people). The absence or lack of funds, which Poles received from the state or relatives, placed them in the position of having to deal with the need to seek additional sources of income. Using empirical materials, we should identify those economic areas which were available for Poles, and determine their role in the regional economy.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

Study of diasporas raises the question of the degree they were integrated or isolated in the host society and the state. The most complete answer is provided by the adaptation theory which considers the ability of a group to adjust to new climatic, social and economic conditions, retaining or losing their own identities.

Adaptation can achieve varying degrees: from complete dissolution in the host society with being included in the economic, political, social and cultural life to genuine cultural pluralism.

Russia in the 19th–early 20th century in the context of feudalism and rising capitalism demonstrated a gradual transition from the state of “separate pluralism” which suggested the exclusion of certain diasporas and ethnic minorities, including at the legislative level, each of them is recognized as legitimate, to “ethnographic multiculturalism” which is characterized by the economic integration with individual ethnic elements preserved in social relations and culture.

The main sources for the article were documents from archives in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tobol’sk, and Tomsk. Published sources were also used.

The use of different sources enables an objective solution for the research goal set above. Documents issued by central and regional authorities are also very important. Correspondence between ministers and governors helps understand the nature of the state policy towards repressed Poles (RGIA-1263; GATO-3; GUTO GAT-152). But the implementation of laws was region-specific in the Russian Empire. The correspondence between officials and exiles suggests an explanation for permissive or prohibitive regulations which Poles faced in Siberia (GATO-3; GUTO GAT-152). Various documents spotlight financial sources available to Polish exiles (GARF-109; GATO-3; GUTO GAT-152). The central and regional archives preserved documents in their funds, which describe economic activities carried on by Poles in Siberia (RGIA-574; GAAK-4; GATO-234; GUTO GAT-417). They give us an opportunity of identifying enterprises that were owned by Polish entrepreneurs by 1886–1887 (GATO-234) and delivering a description of Polish farming in Western Siberia in the late 19th century. (GUTO GAT-417). Published materials helped us more thoroughly reconstruct the adaptation and integration of Poles in Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Adrianov, 1890; Filimonov, 1892; Stankevich, 1895; Orlov, 1900).

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 evolvement. 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.

RESULTS

In the second half of the 19th century, the Western Siberian Polonia still consisted of two parts, namely a small number of volunteers who came to Siberia to live or do military service and those who came there by force.

Public service remained one of the most stable sources of income. For this reason, many tried their hardest to take at least a minor position in the local administrative apparatus. Already in the early 1880s, after most of amnestied participants in the January Uprising, who were willing to return to European Russia, left Siberia, Poles gained the right to access the civil and public service.

The largest number of Poles was employed in the departments which were included in the structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, such as the medical unit (15), post office and telegraph (10). In total, the Ministry's divisions had 38 Poles on the staff. They occupied various positions at the Office of Excise Taxes in Western Siberia and the offices of the State Treasury, which were run by the Ministry of Finance (only 13 people). Two Poles were employed in the Ministry of Education, one in the Ministry of Justice. In total, 54 Poles were registered (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 8, f. 354, 24–25). More than half of them (31), being in the service, had no civil service ranks and took full-time positions; as of the time of data collection, 9 were senior civilian officials (from collegiate assessor to state councilor); 14 had junior civil ranks (from collegiate registrar to court counselor) (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 8, f. 354, 26–28). We can confidently say that it was those employees, who had senior official ranks (no more than 20%), were in Western Siberia on duty. Others were former exiles who thanks to personal connections managed to get to a particular department.

The post-reform period witnessed the progressive growth of large agricultural entrepreneurship represented by Alfons Poklewski-Koziell who by the mid-1860s had key functions in the distilling sector and liquor trade. The 1850s became an extremely successful period of initial capital accumulation for him as his income came from various business areas, such as distilling, freight and passenger operations, beer trade, etc. The enterprise's development was clearly demonstrated by the opening in Tyumen and Tomsk of two trading houses which controlled the whole river route between the Tomsk and Tobol'sk governorates. At the same time he concluded contracts to supply provisions to the army, carrying them on his own barges. After 1863, he provided free transportation on his steamships for participants in the 1863 January Uprising, sent to Siberia. Later, many Poles were employed at the enterprises owned by A. Poklewski-Koziell, which gave them an opportunity to survive the harsh conditions of exile (Fil', 1995, 117–118).

The concentration of production and capital turned Poklewski-Koziell into the central figure in the liquor production and sale market in Siberia. In the mid-1860s, the share of the liquor distilled by the plants, he owned in the Tobol'sk governorate and Semipalatinsk region, amounted to almost 40% (RGIA-574, inv. 2, f. 146, 586).

New competitors put significant pressure on Poklewski's position on the distilling market (N. M. Davydovskaya, D. I. Smolin, Zlokazov brothers). According to the Department of Commerce and Manufactures, by the end of the 1890s, his share accounted for only 20% of distilled liquor in the Tobol'sk governorate (approx. 140 thousand pails) (Torgovo-promyshlennaia Rossiia, 1899, 110). Despite this shift in the market, Poklewski-Koziell's enterprise in terms of its annual production output continues to be among large businesses (the average distilling volume in the industry amounted to 37 thousand pails of Russian rye distillate) (Shaidurov, 2016b).

The processing industry became a way to get rich for many Poles. This is totally true both to former exiles and settlers who chose to live in Siberia, and nobles who left public service in the 1860s – 1880s.

A person standing out among Polish entrepreneurs (people originally from exiled nobles) was Kazimierz Zieleniewski who started his business in the mid-1880s. Earlier, he was exiled to the Tomsk governorate for his involvement in the January Uprising. By 1883, he was already added to the Tomsk petty-bourgeois society, which allowed him to move freely within the governorate and opened up broad opportunities for putting business plans into practice.

In September 1883, he filed a petition for permission to start a steam tallow and yeast plants. For these needs, Zieleniewski on the occasion bought to own a plot of land for 1.6 thousand rubles in the Haymarket district on the outskirts of Tomsk (GATO-3, inv. 2, f. 2275, 7). The provincial authorities did not object to the petition and Zieleniewski obtained the right to build the enterprises. However, he was not a very successful entrepreneur and both businesses went bust.

However, K. Zieleniewski left no hope to get rich. January 1, 1887 saw the launch of his own brewery in Tomsk. The first information on this industrial establishment appeared in a departmental survey of 1887, which allows us to get some idea about the enterprise and compare it with similar establishments in Tomsk.

Analysis of statements suggests a significant lag of Zieleniewski by the growth and volume of his production from that of Fuksman, Reikhszeligman, Kruger and Vakano. Over 1887, he brewed only 2 thousand pails of beer to the amount of 2.5 thousand rubles, which was 1.5 times less than the volume of Roman Vakano and 5 times less than that of Mikhail Reikhszeligman for the same period (GATO-234, inv. 1, f. 116, 40). The product cost ranged from 1.2 to 1.6 rubles per pail, which was significantly higher than that of competitors, Zieleniewski himself pointed out. Additionally, the consumption of raw materials needed to brew beer was very high – 0.6 poods of domestic barley and 64 g of Bavarian hops per 1 pail (GATO-234, inv. 1, f. 116, 40).

The brewery operations, together with the brewer who was educated in Germany, were carried out by 3 workers who lived at the plant in the working season. The working day lasted from 10 to 12 hours. All, except the master, were day laborers and received, depending on the qualifications, from 50 kopecks to 1 ruble 50 kopecks per day (GATO-234, inv. 1, f. 116, 40).

The enterprise was based on manual labor and operated only one mechanism in the production – a manual malt crusher. Undoubtedly, this was the effect of the absence of the initial capital required to purchase modern brewing equipment. It was the brewing operations that Zieleniewski made use of as a method of primary capital accumulation. Like other enterprises at this time, the plant was seasonal and operated from September 15 to May 15 (GATO-234, inv. 1, f. 116, 40).

Another example of the Siberian entrepreneurship by Polish nobility is provided by the operations of I. I. Andronovsky. In the late the 19th century, he launched his own brewery in Barnaul. Andronovsky had to face competition from Barnaul merchant A.F. Vorsin. In 1890, he opened a distillery in Tomsk, which was considerably inferior in the volume of alcohol produced compared to that of the rest manufacturers (6 thousand pails) (Orlov, 1900, 205).

It was distilling and brewing which were key business interests pursued by Polish entrepreneurs in the last third of the 19th century. In addition to Andronovsky, we should also mention the activity by Viktor Yasevich, a nobleman who resided in Ishim and owned a brewery (since 1882). In the Tarski district, active operations were run by M. M. Manusovich who opened his own distillery production in 1876.

Poles contributed to the development of brick, milling, and match production sectors in the Tobol'sk and Tomsk governorates and in the Akmola region. For example, in 1860, a flour mill of nobleman Julian Malevsky started production in the Baimskaya volost (volost – a peasant community), Mariinsky District, Tomsk governorate (Orlov, 1900, 203). Since 1865, a local tradesman, Ludvig Terlikovsky, operated a match production facility in Tobol'sk (Orlov, 1900, 209). In 1890, a local merchant, Mikhail Yuklyaevsky, opened his own soap factory in Omsk, which annually produced about 1 thousand poods of soap and 500 poods of tallow candles (Orlov, 1900, 217).

In the 1860s – 1880s, some Poles turned to the agricultural business. One of the best examples is the farming carried on by F. Yu. Matkevich. For a long time, he was an inspector in the Tomsk medical municipal council (uprava). Being a medical practitioner, he studied medicinal properties of the Altai climate and natural resources. For example, he was one of the first who discovered therapeutic properties of the Belokurikha mineral springs. This area attracted his attention due to its resort opportunities which could be beneficial for medical purposes. But his most well-known achievement in history was a dairy farm opened by him near the Cherga village in 1876. Initially, 300 dessiatines of land were rented from the Cabinet. Cattle of the Dutch and Kholmogorskaya breeds were bought for the farm. The enterprise was rather successful, and in 1888, the rented plot was doubled at the request of Matkevich. The economic activities by the Tomsk doctor won support from the Altai mining authorities, as evidenced by a review written by the Chief of the District, who pointed out that, “with the stated aim of breeding a dairy strain of cattle, Mr. Matkevich notched marked success. He bred more than 200 heads of dairy cattle by first mating Kholmogorskaya cows with local breeds, and then their crossbreeds with the Dutch breeds and again with Kholmogorskaya breeds” (GAAK-4, inv. 1, f. 2242, 2). In his farm, the report emphasized, the breeder first conducted experiments on ensilage of green fodder. His technology was quite simple: mown grass was piled into pits and salted (Pustogacheva, 2008, 101). Despite considerable waste, the new fodder helped get fairly good milk yield in winter.

By the end of the 19th century, provincial authorities received a large number of petitions from Polish peasants who could not carry on successful economic activity due to the lack of land in their homeland. Some quantitative data on migrants from the Privislinsky Krai (Vistula Land) governorates are contained in the annual Reviews of Siberian governorates. For example, in 1897, Siberia became a destination for 251 settlers, of which 235 traveled at their own expense. The total weight of this group was not high and accounted for only 0.3% of the total number of migrants (Tobol'skaia gubernia, 1899, 90). In 1898, there were 15 peasants who came to live in the Tobol'sk governorate from the Sedletskaya, Plotskaya and Kalishskaya governo-

rates (Tobol'skaia gubernia, 1899, 30). The migration level reached its peak in 1899 when the Tobol'sk governorate received 70 new families consisting of 375 people. The largest number of migrants of this party came from the Sedletskaia and Lublinskaya governorates – 13 families (56 people) and 42 families (234 people) (Tobol'skaia gubernia, 1899, 39). A specific feature of the Polish agricultural migration of this period was the prevalence of migrants who went to Siberia having passports but without resettlement certificates. For this reason, Siberian governors had to consider from time to time and satisfy the petitions of the peasants for resettlement (Hanevich, 1998, 243–244).

In 1893, a sample survey of migrant settlements in the Tobol'sk governorate covered a number of villages in which Poles lived. Comparative analysis provides an overview of their economic life (Filimonov, 1892).

Settlements located on the designated lands had a substantial land surplus at the time. This enabled peasants to exist in conditions of the land tenure based on the *zaimka* principle, i.e. on the right of first possession. However, some villages “strictly monitored that fellow villagers did not plow too much land” (Stankevich, 1895, 448). Polish peasants, who migrated from Grodno governorate and other provinces, noted that in their previous places of residence they had household land ownership. Despot-Zenovicha villagers suggested that the household division of land should be conducted in about 10 years (Stankevich, 1895, 380). Villages divided hayfields per household and forests per capita.

By the time of the survey (summer 1893), peasant settlers only lived in Siberia for a short time (approx. 5 years). Compared to migrants from Despot-Zenovicha, their level of economic well-being left much to be desired (see Tab. 1).

Table 1: Availability of livestock per 1 household, 1893 (Stankevich, 1895, 73, 381, 434, 449).

	Despot-Zenovicha village	Matveevsky village	Ivanovsky village	Voznesensky village
Horses	3.6	1.5	1.5	1.5
Cows	4.3	1.4	0.8	1.4
Young stock	3.5	0.9	0.4	0.7

The above tabulated data clearly confirm that the household's well-being depended on the period of its existence. By the time of the survey, peasants of Despot-Zenovicha lived in the Tobol'sk governorate for almost 3 decades and were engaged in agriculture over 2 decades. Over this period, they managed to set up fairly large households which were transported to a new location after the land plot was allocated to them. Poles ensured stability of their households in other villages by using funds they brought with them and through the help they received from local Poles. For example, settlers in the Voznesensky village took advantage of the support from exiled Poles who lived in the

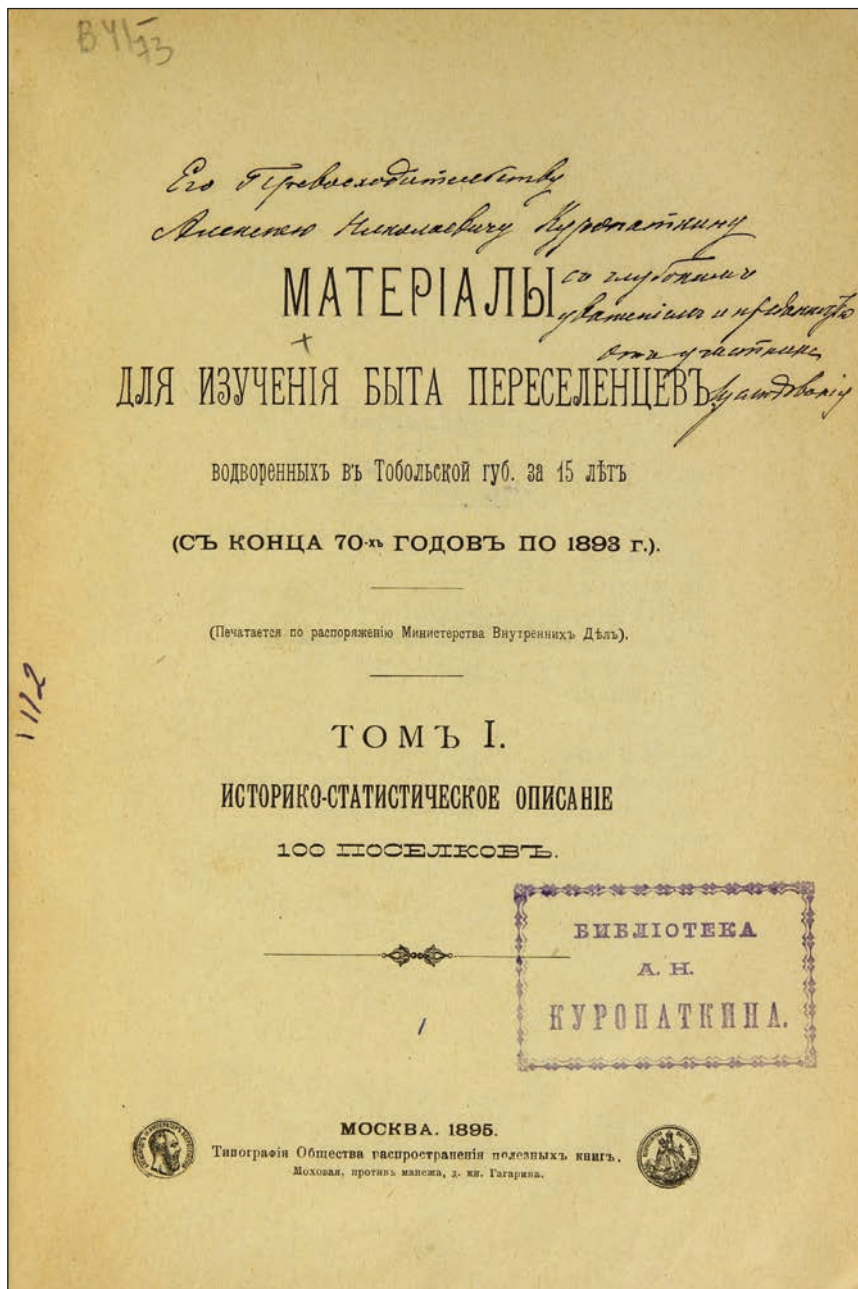


Fig. 1: The cover of the important book for the study of life of migrants installed in the Tobol'sk governorate from the end of 1870 until 1893 (Stankevich, 1895).

Sedelnikovo village. They received bread, money, and agricultural implements from them on an interest-free basis (Stankevich, 1895, 71).

Capitalist relations in villages were still in their infancy. Abundance of land excluded situations of land commodification. Hired labor in villages was not common. Despot-Zenovicha, for example, registered only few cases of annual farm work for 25 rubles for fellow villagers (Stankevich, 1895, 382). However, Poles were active users of the local employment market. As noted by contemporaries, “they work very hard in spring, summer, and autumn” (Stankevich, 1895, 71). Their annual earnings averaged 16 rubles (Stankevich, 1895, 382).

This situation continued in the subsequent years. Thus, the 1897 population census recorded 5 cases of labor recruitment in the Despot-Zenovich village (GUTO GAT-417, inv. 2, f. 2820, 1–35). The fact that as of the statistical records (January 1897) workers were accommodated by their masters, suggests that these were long-term employments when the worker not only received money for his work, but also was on full board terms in the house of his employer. In most cases, employees were men aged from 26 to 63. Their labor was primarily used in agriculture. Young women were hired mainly for domestic work. It is noteworthy, that the hired workforce included both Catholics and Orthodox Christians. The former, of course, dominated. The relations between old residents and migrants from Belarus and Polish governorates were quite strained. Contemporaries spoke of the sentiments that prevailed among the local population: “There are no worse people than Poles” (Stankevich, 1895, 71).

Unfortunately, the questionnaire provided very little information about the well-being of the families. One of such indicators was the number and quality of residential facilities. It should be noted that more than one quarter of families (28%), which lived in Despot-Zenovicha, had 2 residential buildings – a house and an izba, a peasant’s log hut, which differed in size. The izba was often rented out in such cases to lodgers among exiles or it was accommodated by parents of the master of mistress. The most common residential building was a wooden house with the turf roofing (67%) (GUTO GAT-417, inv. 2, f. 2820, 1–35). Only one case was identified, in which there was a house in a village, roofed with planks. This indicates the economic well-being of the family which lived there because woods, although abundant in the area, were state-owned and timber, therefore, was an expensive building material.

Economic surveys carried out in the 1890s allow us to depict some aspects of the Polish arable farming. For example, at the turn of the 1880s – 1890s, 64 Polish families were engaged in agriculture in the Spasskaya volost, Kainski district, Tomsk governorate. This represented 2.3% of the households in the volost. They accounted for 1.7% of the total crop (Filimonov, 1892, XIV–XV). For comparison: new settlers amounted to 6.8% of the volost’s agricultural farms which processed 3.9% of the total arable land (Filimonov, 1892, XIV–XV).

The crop structure can be inferred from the data shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The structure of field crop in the Spasskaya volost, Kainski district, Tomsk governorate, % (Filimonov, 1892, XIV–XV).

Population category	Field crops						
	rye	wheat	barley	oats	spring crops	other	total
Old residents	27.1	31.3	4.5	21.9	11.8	3.4	100.0
New settlers	26,3	17.5	11.7	31.0	6.9	6.6	100.0
Polish settlers	29.6	24.3	3.9	31.0	6.4	4.8	100.0
Exiles	31.7	33.4	3.7	17.2	8.4	5.6	100.0
Average	27.5	31.1	4.8	21.9	11.1	3.6	100.0

Polish migrants and exiles indicated a roughly equal ratio of major crops – wheat and rye. At the same time, old residents and new settlers, we can see, demonstrate the dominance of a particular crop. This situation may be explained through the fact of the available agricultural experience or its lack. For example, the latter had their own experience of growing these crops, which was made use of in Siberia. As exiles and Polish migrants had little knowledge of the local environment and climate, they seeded their fields with both types of crops. As for the vegetable crops which we referred here to the category “Other”, the most important cultures for Poles were potatoes and peas, which amounted in its group to 43.6% and 31% respectively. Old residents and new settlers predominantly grew peas (almost 40%), whereas potatoes accounted for 21.6% and 20.3% respectively.

Thus, peasants who came to Western Siberia retained the structure of their traditional economy. The core of their agricultural activity was grain farming. In addition, they had to breed cattle. But these activities were not marketable in the period under consideration. The relative paucity of Polish farming households and their subsistence nature in Siberia by the end of the 19th century limited their impact on the growth of the agricultural sector in the region.

The inclusion of Poles in trade is evidenced by the data from the Tomsk Provincial Treasury Chamber as of 1889. For example, of five traders selling Asian goods four were Tatars and one Pole (J. Bereznitsky) who had the annual turnover of at least 5 thousand rubles (Adrianov, 1890, 134). Grocery, colonial products and tobacco were sold in their stores by brothers M. V. and T. V. Yuklyaevsky who belonged to Tomsk 2nd guild merchants. The turnover of their stores amounted to 40 thousand and 35 thousand respectively (Adrianov, 1890, 136). Sausage business was carried on based on trade certificates by Dragomiretsky and Matskevich, whose turnover reached 5 thousand and 15 thousand respectively.

Liquor and beer trade was conducted by Poles of various backgrounds. For example, a public house and a beer house were owned by the 2nd guild merchant K. Y.

Zieleniewski, where he sold beer of own production. This enabled him to significantly reduce costs and improve the profitability of his enterprise. This is evidenced by the fact that the average earnings of Tomsk taverns were within 1.5 thousand rubles while Zieleniewski's public house generated at least 2 thousand rubles of annual income for its owner (Adrianov, 1890, 141, 143). He received almost the same amount from his beer house. Another representative of the Polish community in this area was some Gerello – a wife of a Polish migrant, who had 3 taverns and a wholesale warehouse, registered in her name (Adrianov, 1890, 141–142).

By the end of the 19th century, Poles succeeded in achieving a strong position in hotel and restaurant business. According to the materials from the Department of Manufactures and Commerce at the Ministry of Finance, of 21 hotels, bars and restaurants in the Tobol'sk governorate, 7 belonged to Poles and the turnovers of 6 of them were higher than 10 thousand rubles (Torgovo-promyshlennaia Rossiia, 1899, 782). Vikenty A. Poklewski-Koziell alone owned 4 inns (Torgovo-promyshlennaia Rossiia, 1899, 677).

In 1899, the proportion of Poles in this area was not so great in the Tomsk governorate. Kazimir Shilkevich's establishment alone had an average annual turnover of more than 10 thousand rubles, while the rest enterprises (2 inns) had a lower turnover (Torgovo-promyshlennaia Rossiia, 1899, 678). One reason for the situation may be the tough competition in the market.

The Omsk part of the Akmoła region stood out against this background. For example, there were 5 establishments of this kind registered in the region, of which 1 hotel and 2 inns, located in Omsk, belonged to Poles. However, the earning capacity of these establishments was inferior to that of similar enterprises in the Tobol'sk and Tomsk governorates and amounted to an average annual turnover of only 4 thousand turnover (Torgovo-promyshlennaia Rossiia, 1899, 673).

Russians willingly resorted to the help of Polish engineers. Baron Johann Aminov first took part in suppressing the uprising of 1863, and later as he became the head of the construction of the canal that connected the Ob and the Yenisei, he built a team of Polish experts: Balitsky, Mitskevich, and Stratonovich (Pototskii, 2003).

The arrival of a large number of Polish engineers and railway experts in Siberia was also marked by B. Pilsudsky, who wrote at the time that the "railroad experts and engineers ... each in his field of activity showed examples of good faith and diligence, which, unfortunately, they had no chance to apply in their native land" (Pilsudskii, 1918).

As we can see, Poles who lived in Siberia, without being restricted in or deprived of their civil rights, had a variety of opportunities to launch and develop their own business. The 1860s – 1880s already witnessed a boom in the Polish entrepreneurship which played an important role in the Siberian economy. There were many state military and civil servants, natives of Polish governorates, in the region.

However, the Polish community at that time was mainly composed of exiles who were deprived of their civil rights. For example, Polish exiles were forbidden by law to hold any positions in the civil and public services. Actual breaches of these regulations

were noted in all regions that received Polish exiles. Documents issued by the Tretie Otdeleniye (Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery) retained multiple mentions of the direct or indirect support that was given to Polish exiles by other senior officials in provincial administrations. For example, despite the prohibitions imposed by law, all government offices and public institutions in the Tobol'sk governorate were secretly given the right to employ exiled Poles (Mitina, 1966, 21).

This was the case in the Tomsk governorate as well. By order of Governor G.G. Lerkhe, exiled Poles might hold positions of volost and village clerks.

Polish exiles, cast adrift in matters of financial security, were compelled to seek their own earnings. Many became home teachers and taught various subjects to children of local officials and merchants. It was easier to get teaching positions in mathematics, foreign languages and music. Some of them formerly were high school teachers or students at Vilna, Warsaw, and Kiev universities (Shchukina & Egorenkova, 2017, 378). They had a higher educational and professional level than teachers at local schools, who had, at best, high-school certificates, and certainly took advantage of the fact. Already by the end of the 19th century, Poles occupied their niche in the educational sphere. According the 1897 data, their share accounted for about 2% of educational services in the Tobol'sk and Tomsk governorates (Troinitskii, 1905, 39). This figure was higher in the Irkutsk governorate (3.7% – of 764 teachers 29 were Poles: Troinitskii, 1905, 39), as the concentration of Poles was higher in Eastern Siberia and in Irkutsk in particular.

Such violations were regularly reported to St. Petersburg by Corps of Gendarmes officers. Provincial centers received official letters on behalf of the Chief of Gendarmes, General of Infantry Muraviev, which listed unacceptable exemptions. Local authorities replied to such instructions that “earning fairly own piece of bread without doing harm to others may be permitted”; additionally, according to the Governor of Orenburg G.S. Aksakov, “the enforced prohibition of contacts between the exiled and the local community is more likely to aggravate the bitterness of the latter” (GARF-109, inv. 2a, f. 777, 1).

Governor-General of Western Siberia A. P. Khrushchov and senior provincial officials kept up active correspondence already in March 1867 and the role of political exiles (primarily represented by Poles at the time) the liquor trade was a key topic of letters. This determined one important point: Poles exiled under police supervision had no right to become employees in drinking establishments (GATO-3, inv. 2, f. 1198, 1). This step, of course, was again aimed at minimizing contacts between exiles and the local population. This blocked one of the sources of livelihood for Poles.

At the same time Khrushchev in no way prohibited operating such establishments. But due to the lack of the required funds and travel restrictions (exiles were not allowed to leave their place of residence before their exile or penal settlement terms expire (GATO-3, inv. 2, f. 1198, 7), exiles from the Kingdom of Poland and Western Krai had no opportunity to start their own inns.

However, already in 1868, Governor General of Western Siberia A.P. Khrushchev granted a permission to Polish exiles to carry on wholesale liquor trade. This permis-

sion was a reaction to a case of the representative of “one of the distillery owners” (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 4, f. 33, 1). Probably, this distiller was Poklewski-Koziell who was actively engaged in liquor trade in the Urals and Siberia. Anyway, this circular letter enabled Siberian merchants to employ exiled Poles as assistants in their wholesale liquor business. For example, in the same 1868, Maltseva, a merchant’s wife from Turinsk, hired for this purpose Aleksandr Sachkovsky who subsequently received a corresponding certificate (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 4, f. 33, 3).

In their letters to relatives, some Poles cited information that they were helped with their craft and trading businesses by the Siberian authorities. For example, Severin Vidavsky, sent to the Yenisei governorate to serve the penal settlement term, wrote to A. F. Vidavskaya in 1868 that “he was reluctant to return to Russia in view of decent living conditions in Siberia” (GARF-109, inv. 2a, f. 845, 1). He noted that “many prior to this [permission to resettle in the governorates of European Russia, as determined by the Russia authorities] set up farms and do not think of going back” (GARF-109, inv. 2a, f. 845, 1). Moreover, each of them, Vidavsky wrote, “enjoys patronage on the part of the higher authorities. None of our requests are rejected, and our trade and crafts business methods are facilitate, despite the strict rules initially issued” (GARF-109, inv. 2a, f. 845, 1). The letter referred to interest-free loans in the amount of 50 rubles in silver which were given on farming, crafts and trade activities. Such a measure was, in fact, in place. But it was not good deed of the authorities towards Polish exiles, but nothing more than the implementation of the decisions by the Committee of Ministers dated 8 and 22 February 1866, which equated settlers to state migrants and made them eligible to non-repayable subsidies from a special capital formed by the Ministry of State Property (RGIA-1263, inv. 3, f. 77, 6–7).

It should be noted that the issue of allotting land to Polish migrants in Western Siberia received ambiguous solutions. For example, Minsk governor P.N. Shelgunov in his official letter to the Tomsk provincial authorities in February 1868 requested information on the allotment of land to 33 exiled nobles (GATO-3, inv. 4, f. 403, 2). All of them were resettled in the Tomsky, Kainski and Mariinsky districts of the Tomsk governorate. According to district police captains, by the early 1869, the exiled never received any land allotments and money allowances due to them to establish homes (GATO-3, inv. 4, f. 403, 8, 11, 13).

At the same time Polish exiles often had to face opposition from the authorities, when the former tried to organize various enterprises. For example, a political exile Ksaveriy Aleksandrovich, who lived in Tobol’sk, filed a request to the Tobol’sk provincial government in 1868 to issue him certificates to obtain a license from the City Duma to open a hotel. By this time the petitioner had agreed with Skirienkova, an official’s wife, to rent her house for the hotel (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 4, f. 20, 1). However, officials rejected this “venture”, and the reasoning provided by the Tobol’sk police chief was quite convincing: First, the servants will be recruited from the same title; secondly, the hotel’s clients will be mostly Polish political exiles, which will be a violation of the order of the Tobol’sk Governor dated February 2, 1867, which stipulated that exiles may gather in groups of no more than five persons (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 4, f. 20, 1).

This prohibition was extended to the photographic business as well. It was imposed by the order of Minister of the Interior Valuev dated July 14, 1865 (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 4, f. 506, 3). In 1868, the exiled were granted amnesty and began to submit petition for permission to open their photographic workshops in Siberian cities. But all their petitions were still dismissed (GUTO GAT-152, inv. 4, f. 506, 4). At the same time, the authorities did not hinder Jews, exiled to Siberia for administrative offences, from opening such establishments.

Once in Siberian exile, Poles discovered another area of activity, in which they occupied a dominant position. This was social and political journalism. For example, they were correspondents not only for Siberian newspapers, but also for a number of foreign and metropolitan editions. The education they received in the early years made it possible for them to describe local events and write analytical articles in the periodical press.

Siberian newspaper publishers, according to S. Shevtsov and political exiles who “previously had nothing to do with the printing press and especially with the print media” (Shvetsov, 1928, 90), started to show mutual interest. In the context of the scant local intelligentsia, “editions could only rely on political exile if their publishers wanted to have at least some social significance” (Shvetsov, 1928, 90). In Western Siberian newspapers, political exiles, including Poles, were members of editorial boards and worked as reporters. For example, one of the Polish journalists in Tomsk was Artur Stanislavsky who was specialized in gold and mining. He published his materials on these and related topics in the gold mining edition *Vestnik zolotopromyshlennosti*, newspaper *Sibirski vestnik*, some Polish newspapers and in the Paris daily *Le Figaro*. But this activity did not give any large income to journalists. It only allowed them to make ends meet. After death, as the Tomsk newspaper wrote, Stanislavsky left “no money, and the situation of his life, in general, was very poor” (Shvetsov, 1928, 91).

Thus, Poles in Western Siberia in the 1860s – 1870s were able to make good use of their skills and talents. Despite the existing legal restrictions, they enjoyed the right to occupy lower administrative and elected positions. Those of them, who had the opportunity to receive money from relatives, were well accommodated in the new place of residence. They joined in the liquor excise system (*vinnyi otkup* – a right to sell wine and liquor sold by the government), and resale of goods such as firewood. But most at the same time were forced to subsist on the day labor.

In the 1870s – 1880s, Siberian polonium achieved certain stability those who felt like and had the opportunity to leave Siberia left for the provinces of European Russia or to the Kingdom of Poland. Those who were able to adapt to the local conditions remained beyond the Urals.

Amnesties resulted in part of the exiles and settlers going away from Siberia. However, in the 1870s – 1880s the most entrepreneurially-inclined chose to stay in the new place of residence and continued their activities. Much of this was due to the fact that former exiled Poles were allowed to become members in merchant guilds and be engaged in gold mining and other lines of business. Those, who were not under the police supervision, were admitted into state and public service (Gerasimov, 1918, 13–14).

CONCLUSION

Hence, the Poles who turned up in Siberia in the second half of the 19th century faced the problem of adaptation and integration into the local community. Despite the existing legal prohibitions (e.g. a ban on holding positions in civil and public services, carrying on liquor production and trade, etc.), Poles managed to secure their own economic niches and became influential players in various sectors.

The administrative service was available to a narrow circle of people, but at the end of the 19th century, all legal restrictions for Poles to hold public and elected civil offices were abolished.

A high level of education helped Poles to occupy an important place in the education system where they were represented from primary school to the Tomsk University. Technical education, which was widespread among Poles, ensured their active participation in the construction and operation of railways in Siberia.

With no external sources of livelihood, many Poles sought to set up their own business. Not all of these attempts were successful. This period saw the initial growth of the Polish industrial entrepreneurship in the Tomsk and Tobol'sk governorates and Akmola region. One of the areas where Poles became important players was the production and sale of alcohol products (Poklewski-Koziell, Zieleniewski, Andronovsky). They successfully competed with Jewish and German businessmen in this area. Already at that time, the population at the household level highly appreciated the contribution by polonia to the economic development of the region (P. N., 1885, 3).

POLJSKA SKUPNOST V SIBIRIJI: ZNAČILNOSTI PRILAGAJANJA IN INTEGRACIJE V DRUGI POLOVICI 19. STOLETJA

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POVZETEK

V drugi polovici 19. stoletja je v Zahodni Sibiriji, na račun izgnanih članov protidvladnih protestov in uradnikov, bila ustanovljena velika poljska skupnost. Ko so se znašli v Sibiriji, so se Poljaki morali prilagoditi novim življenjskim razmeram. Z uporabo upravnih virov so poljski uradniki lahko izkoristili gospodarske niše v trgovinski, prometni in živilski industriji pod pogoji industrijske revolucije, ki se je začela. Gospodarske pravice izgnanih Poljakov so bile omejene z zakonodajnimi akti. To je znatno zožilo obseg razpoložljivih poklicev in gospodarskih dejavnosti. Veliko poljskih izgnancev je imelo višje klasično ali tehnično izobrazbo, kar jim je omogočilo, da so delali kot učitelji, mlajši uradniki in inženirji. Proti koncu 19. stoletja je v Sibirijo prišlo do ponovne naselitve kmetov iz pokrajine evropske Rusije, vključno s poljskimi. Od leta 1890 so Poljaki začeli igrati pomembno vlogo v kmetijstvu Zahodne Sibirije. Večina Poljakov se je lahko prilagodila novim družbeno-gospodarskim razmeram in tako postala del sibirske družbe.

Ključne besede: poljska skupnost, Zahodna Sibirija, Poljaki v Sibiriji, 19. stoletje, gospodarske dejavnosti, prilagajanje

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