

Migrations And Their Influence On The Ethnic Composition Of The Northern Asian Population In The Second Half Of The 19th Century

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Abstract: The 19-20th century period witnessed active migrations between populations in many countries. Internal migrations were determined by specific political, economic, social and cultural development of the states. Those were particularly active in multinational empires. Migration specificity in the Russian Empire was that they had both compulsory and voluntary nature. They directly affected the ethnic composition of regions. This article will focus on the correlation between voluntary and compulsory migrations in the formation process of specific ethnic groups, and analyze their influence on changes in the national composition of people living in a certain region.

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1. Introduction

Post-reform migrations to Western Siberia is an controversial phenomenon. Above all, it should be noted that they had not only voluntary but compulsory nature as well. Certain migration flows were dominated by various ethnic groups, which was related to specific features of their political and economic development in European Russia. These factors determined key scientific areas in Russian and foreign historiography.

Exile and voluntary replacement of significant masses of people to Siberia and Far East generated much interest among contemporaries, which contributed to numerous articles being published in newspapers and journals. It was not rare that were politicized, and an explanation was a situation that developed regarding different demographic groups. An instance was the exile beyond the Urals of people involved in the January 1863 uprising that led to the emergence of the large Polish community. Since the early 20th century, this fact became a basis for the study of the Polish community. In the imperial period, few scholars wished to reconstruct both the picture of the uprising itself [Sidorov 1903], and track further life of its participants [Maximov 1900; Gerasimov 1918]. Naturalization of Jews in Siberia caused numerous legal problems that were described in certain research works [Ostrovskii 1911]. Some studies of that period looked at the internal life of separate communities [Voitinskii and Gornshtein 1915].

The Soviet science mainly concentrated on the government's repressive policies on some national minorities, for instance Poles, who took part

in the national liberation movement, and its consequences [Smirnov 1963; Mitina 1966; Shostakovich 1974]. For instance, in the works, Poles were represented as victims of the czarist regime that oppressed the strivings of the Polish people for independence. However, already in this time, scholars paid their attention not only to exiles, but to those members of national communities who were voluntarily replaced to Siberia and Far East in the post-reform period [Malinovskii 1980].

The modern period in historiography rejected old ideological platitudes and research methodology. The main focus was on research into the formed communities using the regionalism perspective. This resulted into a large number of articles and monographs on history of German [ed. Stricker 1997], Polish [Shostakovich 1995; Libowicz 1993; Slivovska 2005; Shaidurov 2014], Jewish [Kalmina and Kuras 2001; Norkina 2013], Estonian [Must 2012], and other communities in the Asian parts of the Russian Empire. But there are very scarce works against this background, based on the comparative method, which would make a comparison of the same political, social, economic, cultural, religious phenomena between different ethnic groups [Karich 2004; Nam 2009; Shaidurov 2013].

2. Material and Methods

This article will define key features of migration flows to the Asian parts of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, and analyze the influence of the political situation in the country on the correlation between voluntary and

compulsory replacement illustrating the case of specific ethnic groups.

Thus, on the one hand I will use some 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 Poles in Siberia. On the other hand, I will also apply some features 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 (A. Miller et. al.) (2006).

The work is mainly based on archival documents and published sources (legislative and recordkeeping materials). These resources will allow to offer a complex solution of the tasks set above.

3. Results

Thus, over the 1860-s and 1890-s, voluntary and compulsory migrations continued to have a considerable impact on the demographic growth in specific regions of the Russian Empire. Members of various ethnic groups (Poles, Jews, Estonians, Finns and other) that were present in the general migration flow led to the further formation of ethnic communities in Asian Russia. At the same time, the balance between the main confessional groups changed as well: in Northern Asia, in the 18th and first half of the 19th century, the largest religious communities were Orthodox Christians and Muslims, while in the second half of the 19th century, the region witnessed the rapid emergence of the Catholic, Lutheran and Jewish communities, each of which had its individual characteristics.

The reforms conducted by the Alexander II government somewhat affected the correlation between different community sources. Increasing importance was arising from the voluntary migration to the region, predominantly in the form of labour migration. The role of the criminal and administrative exile was gradually declining, as offenders now served their terms in European Russia, and various fines was implemented. At the same time, against the background of liberalism, the political exile became an increasingly important part if the ethnic diversity in the region, which resulted from the rise of the national liberation and revolutionary movement in the Russian Empire.

4. Discussion

In the 1860-s – 1880-s, the forming national communities in Western Siberia underwent some transformations. First of all, this found expression in the shifting balance of main sources, which was related to the transformation in the main areas of domestic politics.

Liberalized domestic policies in the early period of Alexander II's reign were shown in changing approaches to the settlement of the national question. 1856 already saw an amnesty granted to Decembrists and participants of the Polish 1830-1831 uprising. As a result, Poles who had financial means left Western Siberia.

In the late 1850-s and first half of the 1860-s, the major source replenishing the small Polish diaspora was Poles sentenced to *katorga* (penal labour) and settlement and transported to Siberia for criminal and administrative offences. Subsequently, this source started to loose its importance, as the government reviewed its attitude to this type of punishment for crimes.

The January 1863 uprising and its failure led to significant masses of political exiles and convicts, who were distributed throughout different Siberian *gubernias* (provinces). Assigning the exiles to penal labour settlements largely depended on the information about free plots of land that was given to the Tyumen and Tomsk *Prikazes* (Orders, administrative departments in the 18th century Russia) for Exiles by the local Directorates of State Property. It was the political exile that become a principal but not exclusive source of replenishing the Polish diaspora in Western Siberia. The number and settlements of Polish political exiles will be described below.

Besides, the Polish community continued to accept criminal exiles. When analyzing numerous articles by V. Slivovskaya, P. Glushkovskii noted that according to her, “not all Polish exiles were insurgents. Many Poles, transported to the Siberian exile, are criminal offender” [Glushkovskii 2011]. For this reason, it is also necessary to take into account this forming component in the Siberian Polish diaspora in the 1860-s – 1880-s.

In addition to the compulsory migration, we deal with a voluntary replacement to Siberia, and it is important to break several constituent parts in it.

Firstly, according to the existing laws, direct and indirect participants in the 1863 uprising were accompanied to the Tobolsk and Tomsk provinces in the second half of the 1860-s by their wives, some – by little children. A similar situation was unlikely to occur in the first half of the 19th century when Siberia was viewed by the Polish public opinion (rather than a geographical concept, it was a total combination of all that had been lived through, V. Slivovskaya wrote [Glushkovskii 2011]) as an image of hell on earth. But to a certain extend, exiles of the 1830-s – 1840-s who came back contributed to breaking the stereotype through their oral or narrative memories. At the same time there were other cases as well. For instance, there were mentions of some Roman

Sangushko whom French pictures portrayed as a prisoner put in shackles but serving and living in exile in a flat [Glushkovskii 2011].

In this period, the voluntary migration still was in the form of labour. There was a manor flow of Poles retaining in the post-reform time who were civil servants. Still, there were some changes under way. The 1880-s witness Siberia receiving a significant number of Poles who integrated the system of public health care and education. For many of them, the launch of the Imperial University (1888) and Technological Institute (1896) in Tomsk was a real opportunity to pursue or resume their scientific career. Moreover, developing manufacturing industry in Siberia led to the growing demand for highly qualified technical experts. Providing private and state enterprises with skilled work force was the issue that was also addressed through the labour migration from western provinces. Poles amounted to a considerable percentage in this flow.

Bourgeois and democratic reforms in the epoch of Alexander II were shown in the life of the Jewish in Western Siberia. While in the first half of the 19th century main sources, that formed the community, was the compulsory replacement, either criminal or administrative exile, or sending young Jews to be trained as *cantonists* (boys liable for future military service). The second half of the century saw the increasing voluntary migration to the Tobolsk and Tomsk provinces. In the early 1860-s, a number of legislative acts was adopted that made it possible for some categories of Jews to move from the pale of settlement into the interior provinces of the Russian Empire. The number also included Siberian provinces. This allowed people with higher education, academic degrees, apothecaries, craftsmen and others, to initially move to provinces adjacent to the pale of settlement (the Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk provinces and other) on a massive scale. An instance was represented by the towns of the Novgorod province that in 1880 had 1 Jew, who had a diploma of scientific degree, 4 merchants of the 1st guild, 89 mechanics, distillers and, in general, masters and craftsmen, 12 Jews who learned crafts [RGIA. F. 821. Inv. 9. f. 122, folios 44–44]. In the same 1880, based on the above mentioned permissions, the Pskov province had 1 Jew with a scientific degree, 2 who completed their studies in the university, 4 merchants of the 1st guild, 360 craftsmen, 46 apprentices [RGIA. F. 821. Inv. 9. f. 122, folios 87–87]. Gradually, the migration flow reached the Urals and Siberia. For instance, in 1880 the Orenburg province had 2 Jew merchants of the 1st guild and 75 craftsmen [RGIA. F. 821. Inv. 9. f. 122, folio 68].

It should be noted that the Siberian Jewish communities, that artificially emerged in provincial and *uezd* (district) towns, were not isolated from the rest world of the Mosaic law. Evidence is found, for example in the fact that quite many Jews, who had complete knowledge of the Tanakh and Torah and were authorities on interpretations of various Halakha laws and ordinances, actively tried to secure positions of rabbis in the Siberian towns that had the vacancies available. And often the efforts received support from the local religious community wishing to live in accordance with the Jewish norms and rules.

Both desires were promoted by the government that made attempts to regulate religious life of Jewish society. It was in the 1850-s – 1860-s when a more important role was performed by so called public rabbis approved by the local authorities. To take this quite profitable position in Siberia required a certificate confirming the graduation from any state rabbi college where would-be rabbis studied under the supervision from the Ministry of National Education. Certainly, these colleges were concentrated within the pale of settlement.

Siberian Jews had to take great efforts to attract a rabbi authority to Tomsk, Tobolsk or Omsk. And it was a common case when a governor received a petition from the economic administration of an oratory or synagogue that requested him to approve as a rabbi a Jew who had no such a certificate. To avoid discord and confusion in the religious life of the local Jewish community, governors supported these petitions in their relations addressed to the Interior Minister. And it should be noted, that it was not seldom when these questions were decided positively. Thus, the clergy became a constituent part of its kind in the labour migration directed from provinces within the pale of settlement to Western and Eastern Siberias.

Another group of labour migrants included Jews who had higher education and after the 1864 judicial reform swelled the ranks of private attorneys (lawyers).

It did not take much time and Siberia became home for doctors and other medical workers from the Jews (see tab. 1).

Thus, the partially liberalized Russian legislature on Jews had a great impact on a whole number of regions, including Siberia. The relatively large number of people with university or vocational education brought about the beginning of modernization in the economic, social and cultural life. Jews who voluntarily came to Siberia changed the face of the Jewish community that became more organized, developed a structure, and started some inner life.

Table 1 [RGIA. F. 821. Inv. 9. f. 216.]. Number of doctors and other medical Jew workers in some provinces of Siberia, 1886

Province	Doctors	Veterinarians	Dentists	Midwives	Medical doctor's assistants	Apothecaries
Yeniseisk	1	0	0	0	1	2
Irkutsk	2	0	0	0	1	5
Tobolsk	1	0	0	2	0	1
Tomsk	2	0	1	0	0	0
Akmolinsk	4	0	0	0	2	0
Zabaikalsk	7	0	0	1	5	1
Total number in Siberia	17	0	1	3	9	9

Despite this, the Jews who migrated very often could not find work. Together with Siberian Jews they formed a flow of the Jewish migration inside Siberia, that had both economic and legal character. The economic aspect involved the search for sources of financial benefits and the legal one with attempts to return Jews to the places where they were assigned related to the police registration.

However, there were criminal and administrative offenders sent to the region alongside numerous voluntary migrants in the 1860-s – 1880-s. They were transported to exile beyond the Urals both through court decisions and public sentences.

It was already in the 1850-s when the Siberian Committee started heated debates over the exile of Jews to Siberian provinces. Eastern Siberian Governor General Nikolai Muraviev-Amurskii insisted that the stream of convicts, sentenced to penal labour and exile settlements, should be uniformly distributed between Western and Eastern Siberia, archival documents reveal. It should be reminded that earlier a decision was approved to exile Jews to only to the region east of Baikal lake and Yakutsk region. The discussion sparked off by the statistics indicating that the Jewish population had significantly grown in the Eastern Siberian provinces. The authorities had to face the fact that the Siberian Jewish community did not become smaller, as it was planned since 1837, but on the contrary, it showed a stable tendency to increase. To avoid establishing a new pale of settlement, it was necessary to settle Jews everywhere. The appropriate decision was taken in 1860.

The social portrait of the Jew sent to the Siberian exile in the second half of the 19th century did not differ much from the one done by Anuchin in

the first half. Nevertheless, the number of Jews who arrived in Asian Russia for criminal and administrative offences (larceny, smuggling, document forgery, counterfeiting money, etc.) gradually went down. According to researchers, this was the consequence of new criminal laws, as well as the debates on the expediency of Siberian exile for petty crimes because the punishment was expensive. The early 20th century reduction in criminal and administrative exile did signal the end of exile as it was. There was a shift in accents. Now, most settlers and penal labour convicts were sent to Siberia for political crimes: “for their involvement in the criminal association that plotted the overthrow of the order existing in Russia” [Kuras 2010].

Jewish communities that formed in the Tobolsk and Tomsk provinces developed quite dynamically in the post-reform period. Their role in the economic life led to the differentiation and discrimination of a marginal group that gave birth to the local criminal society. In Siberian conditions, the only punishment was the exile to a province further to the east. As a result, another component formed in the internal Siberian migration that affected the community size by increasing or reducing it.

Thus, in the post-reform period a key source of the Jewish community in Western Siberia, that retained its significance, was penal settlement in the region. At the same time more and more voluntary settlers came to the Tomsk and Tobolsk provinces for economic purposes.

Unlike the active processes in the Jewish and Polish communities in the post-reform period, the German community appeared to be relatively stable. It still was rather small and grew by means of those few servicemen and officials who arrived in Siberia to perform their duty. Some of them came of Siberia with families and some got married in the new place of residence. In fact, this part of the German population in the region was highly mobile due to their abilities and to some extent it served as a basis for the intraregional migration of the German element.

A minor inflow of people convicted on criminal and administrative charges continued to retain. But as it was the case earlier, the number of Germans sentenced to penal settlement in exile was very limited. This is proved, for instance, by statistics. For example, according to S. Kuras, people convicted in 1889 by district courts included: 3093 Jews, 1447 Poles, and only 286 Germans [Kuras 2010].

The 1870-s reforms of German colonies in the Volga region and Novorossiia (an area north of the Black Sea) failed to cause a mass exodus of former colonists from the places where they

previously lived. Between the 1870-s and 1880-s they inclined to remain in their new homeland. Rapid development of capitalist relations in the agricultural sector of the colonies facilitated their active involvement in the economic life of the regions and, as a consequence, their prosperity. Actually, the “Gründerzeit rash” (speculative promotion) quickly subsided, and the colonies started undergoing the process of social and property differentiation that led to the society stratification and formulation of marginal groups, which had to seek income sources outside the former colonies. As a result, part of settlers, owing property, left them for towns joining the ranks of paid workers, and beyond the Urals, trying to preserve connection with the agrarian sector.

Nevertheless, the German community in the Tomsk and Tobolsk provinces continued to retain its importance. It was small but compared to the Polish and Jewish communities, it was extremely influential since represented part of the regional military and civil elite. By 1897, Western Siberia was home to only 2480 Germans (approx. 0.14% of the country’s German population) who considered the German language to be their native tongue [Patkanov 1911].

Unfortunately, there were no full censuses conducted in Russia before 1897, hence we have to reconstruct the picture using fragmentary data, including the use of one-day censuses and statistical materials of “Pamyatnaya knizhkas” (Memorial Book, official reference books of regions and towns). For instance, there were 6516 Catholics (Poles amounted to approx. 5.2 thousand people) living in the Tomsk province in 1869 [Memorial Book 1871].

The lack of proper census records according to the national parameter prevents us from naming a particular number of Poles in Western Siberia. We can only sketch some tendencies that developed at that time. For example, if in the mid-1860-s a significant inflow of Poles is revealed, at the turn of the 1860-s – 1870-s the size of the Polish community started reducing, which related to the fact that the government provided some categories of exiles with an opportunity to move into provinces of European Russia.

At the same time the approximate number of Poles in Western Siberia can be retrieved from church documents. Already in 1868, the vice-curate in the Tobolsk Catholic parish filed a request to the Tobolsk governor for help in collecting information about people of Roman Catholic denomination. The request was based on the order of the Catholic archbishop of Mogilev (1867). The information should include not only data on the Catholic population, but on the number of men and women with indication of their age, as well as data on the number of marriages, legitimate and illegitimate

children, etc. [GUTO GAT. F. 152. Inv. 4. F. 3, folio 1]. It is no exaggeration to say that we would define the request as an attempt to conduct a census within one province.

That orders from the Catholic authorities were of a systematic nature is revealed in documents sent to Mogilev from Tomsk. For instance, a report dated December 12, 1872 to Archbishop of Mogilev and Metropolitan of all Roman Catholic Churches Anthony Fialkovsky by the Tomsk curate suggests that only “the Tomsk parish numbers approximately about 6.5 thousand Catholics. Including about 5550 males, up to 950 females. People living in the Tomsk province 5405 males, 945 females, in the Semipalatinsk region 145 males, 5 females” [RGIA. F. 826. Inv. 3. F. 76, folio 26]. Moreover the curate indicated in the report that Catholics of his parish were “Poles”. The curate appears to have had incomplete information on his congregation. “The 1872 statistical overview of the Tomsk province” contains different data showing that the Catholic population in the province amounted to 7323 people [Slovtsov 1880].

Priests quite often had a very hazy notion of their parishioners. To acquire reliable data, they often asked the local authorities for help. For instance, to prepare reports to the Metropolitan of Mogilev, the curate of the Tobolsk Roman Catholic church, Lyudovich, had to request help from the Tobolsk governor in 1884. In particular, he wrote in his letter to the governor that “he had no accurate information about his parishioners ..., living in the Tobolsk province” [GUTO GAT. F. 152. Inv. 10. F. 150, folio 1]. Reports by district *istpravnikis* (police officers), sent to the Governor General, may suggest that the information provided by Lyudovich was received in the late 1884 and early 1885.

One day municipal censuses carried out in the 1870-s and 1880-s allow to define the Polish population in major cities. For instance, according to I.Ya. Slovtsev, there were 656 Poles of both genders living in Omsk in 1877, while 97% were Catholics but some of them were Orthodox Christians (13 people) and even Protestants (4 people) [Slovtsov 1880]. In 1881, a one day Tobolsk census was conducted that showed that there were 521 Poles of both genders there [Memorial Book 1884].

In general, separate sources make it possible to determine tendencies in the numerical composition of specific ethnic and confessional demographic groups in the first half of the 1880-s (see tab. 2).

Figures given in the table above demonstrate the status of the three communities in the late 1860-s and middle of the 1880-s. As we can see, the greatest stability was characteristic of the Polish Catholic community. The fall in the Polish population by almost 500 people (approx. 7%) was caused by their

outflow to European provinces in the course of the political amnesty granted to participants of the January 1863 uprising. The annual increment of the Catholic community amounted to about 1.8% in this period, which indicated the predominance of the natural growth compared to other sources. Subsequently, no dramatic variation in the size of the Polish community in Tomsk was observed till the early 20th century – by 1897 in the Tomsk province 6328 Catholics were registered, mostly Poles.

Table 2. Size of specific confessional groups in the Tomsk province (people)

Year	Catholics	Jews	Lutherans and Protestants
1869	6516	2560	262
1881	6075	4149	105
1882	6506	4397	198
1883	6659	4501	201
1884	6392	6578	311
1885	6561	6723	289

In the post-reform period the size of the Lutheran and Protestant community was subject to variation, which related to its sources.

The general background outlined the standing out Jewish community that displayed a clear tendency towards growth. Since 1869 to 1885, it increased by 262%. In the first half of the 1880-s, the annual increment averaged out at 2 to 5%, which showed the growth in the Jewish population of the Tomsk province through natural change. Particular interest is attracted by the 1883-1884 period that featured a sharp rise of 46%. The latter may be explained as Jews flooded the region coming from other provinces.

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