

The Mennonite Colonies of Siberia: From the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century

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Before settling in Russia, Mennonites—followers of a Protestant movement founded in the 1530s in the Netherlands by Menno Simons—lived for an extended period of time in Prussia in the area of Danzig, to which they had moved from northwestern Germany and Holland. They moved to Russia because of the threat of military conscription in Prussia which contravened Mennonite religious convictions. They settled primarily in Novorossia (New Russia). Here Mennonites were granted significant privileges including exemption from military service. Also, being successful and thrifty farmers Mennonites attracted the attention of the tsarist government which resulted in preferential treatment. For example, Mennonites received financial assistance and twice as much land as Lutherans. All this contributed to the rapid growth of the Mennonite colonies.

Mennonites differed from other colonists not only in their religious teaching, but also in everyday life, language and the level of cultural

and economic development. The intertwining of these specific ethnic and religious factors resulted in the formation of a special ethno-confessional community. Mennonite colonies were closed to the surrounding population including German colonists of other churches and marriage to a member of any other church was prohibited.

The first attempts of Russian Mennonites to establish daughter colonies in Siberia date back to the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1859 Mennonite representatives from the Berdiansk uezd of Taurida gubernia went to the Amur River area. They examined sites located thirty versts (32 kms) from Blagoveshchensk, upstream on the Zeya River. Here they hoped to settle more than 1,000 Mennonite families over a ten year period. To this end they requested an allocation of 120 dessiatins (131 ha) of land per family, a tax privilege for ten years and an interest-free loan in the amount of six hundred rubles for the same term. Having considered and discussed this question, the Siberian committee rejected the Mennonite petition. In 1864 South Russian Mennonites received permission to settle in the Amur and Primorskaya regions and were promised travel subsidies. In exchange they were obligated to agree in writing that they and their descendants would relinquish their claim to the privileges granted to them when they first moved to Russia. Mennonites, naturally, rejected such an offer and did not move to Siberia. It was only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that several dozen daughter colonies were founded in Western Siberia by settlers from Taurida, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson and other gubernias of European Russia.

Most Mennonites who voluntarily moved to Siberia did so mainly because of a land shortage (whether an actual land shortage or an aspiration for land) brought on by the existing majority order of inheritance. Prosperous Mennonites from the same gubernias, attracted by cheap Siberian land, also moved. Late nineteenth-century researchers have ably indicated the effects of land shortage. A. Bogdanovskiy noted that peasants did not have enough land which meant first, that without additional earnings or an opportunity to lease land, they could not generate sufficient income for the maintenance of a family; secondly, a family often had more hands than were required for work on a plot; thirdly, a peasant could not invest saved up capital in a business on his own plot.¹ These same circumstances were also present in the Mennonite colonies in Russia.

Mennonite resettlement was carried out as a rule with the support of mother colonies and mainly to land purchased or rented from the state but also to Siberian Cossack army sites. The main areas of their settlement were Tomsk and Tobol'sk gubernias, and also Akmolinsk region. The largest Mennonite colonization centres appeared in the Kulunda steppe of the Barnaul uezd where Mennonites settled on state land

designated for settlers, as well as along the Trans-Siberian Railway and around Omsk, where they settled on privately owned or rented land that in most cases had previously belonged to the Siberian Cossack army. In 1913 four Mennonite colonies were established in Minusinsk uезд of the Yenisei gubernia including Rosovka and Krasnovka but during WWI and the Revolution they “underwent so much suffering that they soon ceased to exist,” according to Mennonite historians.²

One of the first Mennonite colonies in Siberia, Kir’yanovka, was established in 1899 in Krutoluchinskaya volost, Tyukalinskiy uезд, Tobol’sk gubernia, on the right bank of the Om’ River near the Trans-Siberian Railway, where Mennonites H. A. Brown and an Esau bought a plot of land from a Kir’yanov. In addition to these two landowners, another group of Mennonite renters/sharecroppers later settled in this colony. As a result, by 1916 the settlement numbered seventy seven people. Mennonites who founded Kir’yanovka were members of the so-called “Peters’ community,” one of several mid-nineteenth century Mennonite religious movements.

The total area of this privately owned land equaled 2,525 dessiatins (2,752 ha) including 1,500 (1,653 ha) that belonged to Heinrich Abram Brown. H. A. Brown’s estate, according to data from 1913, had a creamery with a stationary oil engine which was also used to power a threshing machine. In addition, he had a creamery that was horse powered and a separator with a fifty five bucket per hour capacity.³ Butter produced in Kir’yanovka was of first-rate quality. It was sold through exporters such as the Siberian Company in London, Hamburg and Copenhagen.

In Kulachinskaya volost of Tyukalinskiy uезд in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, more than ten privately owned Mennonite estates were established, many of which subsequently developed into large settlements: Kremlevka, Devyatirikovka, Khaldeyevka, Trusovka, etc. Like Kir’yanovka, Devyatirikovka, Khaldeyevka and Trusovka were also established by members of the “Peters’ community.” Trusovka was established in 1900 when Mennonites K. K. Esau, I. K. Esau, I. I. Simens and others bought an estate of 1,400 dessiatins (1,526 ha) for 24,000 rubles. Here they organized their own association. In addition Mennonites of this colony rented another 404 dessiatins (440 ha) of state land. By 1913 seven house owners lived in Trusovka. It had a flour mill with an oil engine costing 10,000 rubles that belonged to I. F. Friesen. The entire village was connected to an electrical grid powered by the flour mill, which was rare at that time in Siberia. It also had a creamery with a separator that processed fifty seven buckets of milk per hour. Butter was exported. The farm had 400 dessiatins (436 ha) of arable land. Advanced agricultural machinery and implements were used. Mennonites owned one hundred work horses, one hundred cows and thirty pigs. The cattle were kept in warm sheds.⁴

One of the largest private Mennonite land holdings in Siberia was located in Krasnoyarsk volost, Ishimskiy uезд, Tobol'sk gubernia. It was owned by Ivan Phillip Wiebe. In 1909 his father Ph. Wiebe, who lived in the village of Orlovo, Halbstadt volost, Berdiansk uезд, Taurida gubernia bought him a plot of land of 6,000 dessiatins (6,540 ha) (other sources say 6,400), located sixty five versts (sixty nine kms) from Petropavlovsk. This land had previously been owned by L. D. Smolin from Kurgan, a well-known landowner and entrepreneur in Siberia. The same year Ph. Wiebe settled on his land. By 1913 the farm had thirty six Charolais cows and two Shorthorn bulls brought from the Kampenhausen estate in Taurida gubernia. Altogether there were 450-500 head of cattle on the estate. Later Wiebe also began breeding horses. In the same volost, Ivan Jacob Enns, a former settler of Halbstadt volost, Berdyansk uезд, Taurida gubernia owned another Mennonite estate. In 1909 his brother, J. J. Enns, purchased five hundred dessiatins (545 ha) of land also from L. D. Smolin and rented it out.⁵

Mennonites established several dozen settlements and khutors on land purchased or rented from the Siberian Cossack army along the Trans-Siberian Railway in Akmolinsk region. Later many of them developed into large settlements: Alexandrovka, Alexanderkrone, Nikolaipol', Waldheim, Wiesenfeld, Ivanovka, Korneyevka, Sharapovka, Chunayevka, etc.

In Tomsk gubernia, Mennonite settlements were established on land formerly privately owned by Sukachev and Mikhailov and were located in Tatarsk volost, Kainskiy uезд near the railway station of Karatkan. The settlements were Neudachinskiy, Berezovski, and Chistopol'ye, with khutors of Cornies, Friesen, Klaus, Schroeder, Pankratz, Dyck, Huebner, Wiens and Koop. They were founded by Mennonites who came from Taurida and Ekaterinoslav gubernias in 1905-14 and who bought plots of land averaging one hundred dessiatins (109 ha). Some had more land, for example, Jacob Heinrich Cornies owned 493 dessiatins (537 ha) of land. Some extended families (father and sons-in-law) owned as much as seven hundred dessiatins (763 ha).⁶

During the years of the Stolypin agrarian reforms (1906-14) Mennonites actively settled state settlement plots in the Altai Kulunda steppe. As a result, they soon fully settled Orlovskaya volost of Barnaul uезд, Tomsk gubernia, where they founded the settlements of Orlovskiy, Schoenwiese, Gruenfeld, Halbstadt, Alexanderkrone, Rosenwald, etc. Altogether Mennonites established fifty nine colonies occupying 60,000 dessiatins (65,400 ha) of land.⁷ The total number of Mennonites settled in Siberia was about 21,000 people.⁸

The main occupation of Mennonites in Siberia was agriculture. During the first years of settlement in Siberia, they invested their

efforts in grain production. Mennonites, who arrived from the southern gubernias of Russia and settled on the land of the Siberian Cossack army, almost immediately introduced the four-field crop rotation system. They sowed wheat two years in a row, the third year they sowed oats or barley and the fourth year the field lay fallow. In summer it underwent surface ploughing two or three times, and before winter it was ploughed deeply. This destroyed the weeds and allowed the moisture to accumulate which was a guarantee of a future good crop.⁹ In addition to establishing grain farms, Mennonites also planted fruit and vegetable gardens. Each peasant had a large vegetable garden with potatoes, cabbages, cucumbers, sugar beets, table beets, carrots and many other vegetables. Apple trees, Canadian plum trees, cherry trees, raspberries and currants were grown in orchards.

Agricultural implements were purchased in Omsk, Kolomzino and Isil'kul'. A. Wiens was the owner of one such agricultural implement store; he began business in 1897. Nearly every village had a blacksmith shop where these implements were repaired. Flour mills used for coarse grain milling were widespread and there were also flour mills which milled white flour in Isil'kul' (owned by A. Hildebrandt), on the Bekker khutor, in Sharapovka (A. Dyck) and in Smolyanovka (Rempel). A large flour mill was built by a Lepp family in Kulomzino. According to contemporaries, processing industries located to the north of Omsk in Mennonite colonies established by the Peters' community were especially progressive. These villages had steam powered flour mills, milk processing plants and other enterprises.¹⁰

Mennonite settlements in the Kulunda steppe had several unique features that distinguished them from other settler villages. By 1914 these Mennonites managed to acquire from authorities an equal allotment of land for families, regardless of family size. In this way the land was equally allotted to all families, irrespective of whether it was a family of one, five or ten people. Also, all public taxes remained in the villages, and income from them was to be used for granting loans to landless peasants for settlement, purchase of new land and beginning farming operations.¹¹

Within a few years of the beginning of settlements in Orlovskaya volost, Mennonites were seeding on average 14.16 dessiatins (15.5 ha) per farm, whereas in Lutheran settlements of neighboring Novoromanovskaya volost, the average was 9.75 dessiatins (10.6 ha). From the beginning of their settlement in Siberia, Mennonites sought to diversify their economic activities. One of the diversifications with the most potential was the processing of agricultural produce. According to a 1911 census, there were already thirteen flour mills, including three with engines in Orlovskaya volost. In comparison, Novoromanovskaya volost had five flour mills and only one had an engine. In Novoroma-

novskaya volost there was one separator for every thirty seven farms, whereas in Orlovskaya there was one for every four to five farms.¹²

Contemporaries who specialized in the economy and the everyday life of Siberian settlers paid special attention to Mennonites. V. J. Nagnibeda, a well-known Siberian statistician who was well acquainted with local agriculture, visited Mennonite settlements in 1911 and described them in the following way:

In Mennonite settlements everything is clean and orderly. Houses are full of light and spacious, often with [corrugated] iron roofs. They are built in a straight line, often painted the same color; usually houses are recessed about ten sazhen (21 m) from the street leaving the area in front for future fruit orchards. This area is fenced in and planted with fragrant flowers (petunias, carnations, gilliflowers). When one rides through the steppe at night the fragrance of flowers lets you know unmistakably that you are riding through a Mennonite settlement. Trees have been planted in many of settlements. Yards and streets are swept and watered daily during dry spells.

... Almost all Mennonite settlements have schools built with public money. In many there are meeting houses and grain stores; there are flour mills with oil engines. They maintain school teachers, doctor's assistants and midwives with public money.

In Mennonite settlements we came across an institute for sanitary inspection which monitors the cleanliness in settlements, informs the doctor about occurrences of highly infectious diseases and takes measures to quarantine houses where such diseases appear.¹³

A similar description of Mennonite settlements of Orlovskaya volost was written by V. P. Voshchinin, another expert of settler life: "If an amazing order reigns in the north Kulunda, and one is impressed with the prosperity and contentment of residents, in Orlovo all this reaches the apex of being exemplary."¹⁴

The relative prosperity of Mennonite settlers' farms was explained by a number of factors. Nagnibeda noted the presence of individuals who instructed others in field work and also "their literacy, cultural level, capability to adapt to new life conditions with intention, [ability to] read a book, agricultural newspaper or brochure or even simply a seed catalogue." Unlike Russian settlers, Mennonites did not complain

endlessly about “the climate” or “salty soil” and by way of experiments achieved the best results in field crops cultivation.¹⁵ On the whole they were more prosperous than Russians, had stocks of grain, sophisticated agricultural tools and cattle of improved breeds.¹⁶

The Mennonite ethos played a significant role in Mennonite economic success. Rooted in the Protestant ethic, it was infused with a spirit of entrepreneurship. This psychology of economic industriousness made Mennonites focused and enterprising. The Mennonite ethos found its expression in a number of unique features. Mennonites were distinguished by their religiosity and strict observance of Christian precepts, a high educational level, a focused diligence, rationalism, a sense of pride in their property and a respectful attitude toward the property of neighbors, mutual assistance and sobriety. All this enhanced the colonization opportunities of Mennonites as compared to other settlers and facilitated their adaptation to new conditions. It is necessary to note the high degree of social and economic motivation among Mennonites. It was manifested in the most rational way through their use of labour and monetary resources, most of which were used when they first arrived, not for the construction of expensive houses, but for development of arable land and the increase of livestock.

And finally a significant reason for the prosperity of Mennonite farms was the ethno-confessional communal features already mentioned, i.e. Mennonite readiness for mutual assistance. The Mennonite colonies in the Kulunda steppes received loans from their mother colonies of Gnadenfeld and Halbstadt volosts of Taurida gubernia and from Kherson volost of Ekaterinoslav gubernia. According to Nagnibeda, Mennonites from Taurida gubernia could get interest free loans for a nineteen year period. In addition many settlers from Taurida gubernia had already received five year loans of 275 rubles per household at five percent interest. Mennonites who came from Ekaterinoslav gubernia got 118 rubles as a grant and fifteen ruble loans that had to be repaid. During the first year they also received fifty rubles each for seeds, upon the condition that the loan would be repaid with grain which was to be deposited in the grain storage operated by the settler’s society. They themselves could use it in case of crop failures.¹⁷ This wise and well-thought out policy on the part of the Mennonite mother colonies definitely played a significant role in the establishment of the Siberian daughter colonies. In new settlements of peasants in which communities were not developed or were still not solidified, peasant mutual assistance was a rare phenomenon according to researchers. Unlike these other settlers Mennonites, according to Nagnibeda, could “look into the future without fear, as they knew that in case of need they would always find support, if not here, then from the motherland.”¹⁸ In general the dynamics of economic development of Mennonite Siberian colonies in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were positive and the nature of economic and social-cultural transformation an evolutionary one.

Having settled in new places Mennonites petitioned to open their churches. As a result, they established a branch of the Rueckenau congregation of Berdiansk uezd; a Siberian Mennonite Kirchliche congregation in Alexandrovka, Omsk uezd; a Kulunda Mennonite Brethren congregation in Altai, etc. New Mennonite colonies in Siberia experienced an acute shortage of preachers. In order to educate more preachers, they organized regular courses which were taught by experienced preachers who came especially from the southern Russian gubernias.¹⁹

In 1913 a forestry unit was organized at Isil'kul' station so that Mennonites could do their alternative service there. Attempts were also made to create a similar forestry unit in Altai, but they failed.

During the First World War the so-called liquidation laws were extended to Siberian Mennonites and many private farms were liquidated. But Mennonites still did not consider themselves outcast in Russia. In fact in Barnaul uezd at the request of a manager of the settler's department, Mennonites gathered several dozens puds of wheat²⁰ for the army and shipped it at their own expense.

In spite of the ethno-confessional isolationism inherent to Mennonites, and being in a foreign language environment in Siberia, they were inevitably drawn into new economic, cultural and social relations. In 1917-19 a change in context, forms and scale of the social life of the Siberian German diaspora took place and the level of ethnic consolidation of Germans increased. Germans became active in the movement for the creation of their own administrative-territorial unit in Tobol'sk gubernia, Borodinskaya volost, with an objective to protect themselves from attacks of the local volost committee. At a meeting of citizens of German nationality that took place in May-June, 1917 in Slavgorod and Omsk, a foundation was laid for national self-organization in the region and a number of concrete measures were outlined conforming to the objectives of national-cultural autonomy; Germans defended their interests during the election of the city дума (council) and constituent assembly as well as in the work of the Siberian oblast дума. Aspiring to preserve cultural, linguistic, confessional and economic identity, the process had led to the realization of the need for self-government through institutionalization of cultural-national (national-personal) autonomy. During the rule of anti-Bolshevik governments in Siberia, the apogee of the movement for autonomy became an attempt to create an All-Siberian Union of Citizens of German Nationality. Mennonites took an active part in all these developments.

When the Red Army forced the retreat of the Kolchak Army, Mennonite farms located along the Trans-Siberian Railway suffered

greatly at the hands of both armies. When Soviet power was restored, requisitions continued, carried out by food requisition teams. As a result, these "Omsk" Mennonite colonies, at one time the richest in Siberia, became even poorer than the "Kulunda" colonies.

Events of 1917-19 disrupted the evolutionary development of the Mennonite colonies in Siberia. But in spite of losses incurred during these years, their prospects for development under peaceful conditions remained strong. The factor that contributed to this was their economic stability in spite of various misfortunes and a more favorable demographic situation as compared to other Siberian populations.

But agrarian measures carried out by the Soviets in the period of "military communism" brought them to the brink of complete devastation. In 1919-21 former large privately-owned Mennonite farms were nationalized. The Soviets attempted to organize Soviet farms that would not only produce agricultural products but also serve as cultural-agronomic centers. Food requisition violated regular normal economic ties with city markets and led to the end of trade and bartering with colonist farms.

Nevertheless, new economic conditions allowed enterprising Mennonite farmers, for a short time, not only to recover but also to achieve significant results. Mennonite colonies transformed their economies and substantially strengthened them. The revival of economic life in Mennonite colonies was connected to the activity of the Omsk and Slavgorod branches of the All-Russian Mennonite Agricultural Union. Considerable support was rendered to Mennonites by "American Mennonite Relief" and other charitable organizations.

In a short time, Mennonite co-ops which involved a majority of the population, achieved significant results. Of particular note were the Omsk Mennonites. Available statistical material of agronomist A. G. Protopopov documents that in the 1920s Mennonite farms of the Omsk uezd and members of the Agricultural Union had an average size of arable land two to four times larger than the average farm of the uezd in terms of the main economic indices: size of arable land, number of horses and cows. For example, Mennonites annually cultivated 82.8% of their arable land whereas Protopopov's index shows that only 17.2% of arable land was cultivated in the uezd. One third of arable land was left fallow (33.8%) by Mennonites, and the same index for the uezd was 16.4%.²¹ This is not accidental. Before the Revolution, the majority of Mennonites of Omsk uezd lived on their own or rented land. In spite of wars and revolutionary upheavals, they managed to preserve not only the basic elements of their farms for future reconstruction, but also their enterprising mentality.

The assistance that the Agricultural Union rendered to its members was also of great importance, and resulted in a dynamic development of

farms for members of the Union. The cultivated area expanded from 512 dessiatins (558 ha) in 1924 to 2,235 (2,436 ha) in 1925 and 6,941 (7,565 ha) in 1926. Thus, the cultivated area increased by 1,256%. Seed production increased from 35,740 puds (585 t) in 1924 to 136,972 (2,244 t) in 1925 and 412,390 (6,755 t) in 1926, an increase of 1,054%.²²

The Omsk branch of the Agricultural Union carried out much work in the breeding of German Red cows and their adaptation to Siberian conditions. According to scholars who inspected their farms in the autumn of 1924 "... Mennonites of Omsk uezd had carried out a huge cultural experiment; they not only introduced their milk cow into Western Siberia but, having preserved its characteristic features, improved it as compared to its South Russian sister."²³ The German Red cow wonderfully survived the Siberian climate, produced a good yield and reproduced well. Mennonites P. P. Froese, K. A. Neufeld, G.[H?] Dahl, I. I. Warkentin and others played a significant role in reproducing this breed in Western Siberia.

Achievements of the Slavgorod branch of the Agricultural Union were more modest, but according to the Union leader P. F. Froese, in 1925 the Slavgorod Mennonite association became an important economic factor and nearly achieved its main objective of becoming producers of selection seed and pedigree cattle. Thanks to them German Red cows were widespread in the Altai colonies, and some settlements of Slavgorod uezd were successfully selling cattle to neighboring populations. Such interest in dairy cows can be explained by market demand and the high price of butter.

In 1925 the Slavgorod branch of the Agricultural Union bought on credit 43,000 puds of seed in order to expand its seed production, produced and sold 200,000 puds (704 t) of grain, 1,274 puds (21 t) of meat, 437 puds (7 t) of butter and 1.5 railway cars of eggs. Mennonites planned to expand a network of associations, establish control points, hire an agronomist and livestock specialist and pay special attention to breeding German Red cows and English pigs. In early 1926, the Slavgorod branch of the Agricultural Union already included twenty three seed and pedigree associations, two agricultural associations and five work artels (cooperatives). They united 1,470 members, which comprised seventy percent of the Mennonite farming population in the okrug.²⁴

Its track record proved that the Mennonite Agricultural Union was moving in the right direction. Its members were becoming more prosperous and the state received increasing amounts of good quality agricultural produce. In 1924-26 the Omsk and Slavgorod branches of the Agricultural Union achieved significant results in recovery and development of agriculture in Siberian colonies. A positive example of Mennonite associations, their seed development and cattle breeding

were of enormous significance for neighboring populations. The Union branches, being one form of the self-organization of Siberian Germans, had economic, national-cultural and political significance. They were a real alternative to imported Soviet forms of organizing agricultural production. But the communists were nervous about the authority of the Agricultural Union. Hoping to subsume all co-ops under the state, the communist leadership of the country on October 15, 1926 decided to reorganize Mennonite co-op organizations and include them as part of the general agricultural co-op network. In 1928 the Agricultural Union was finally dissolved.

By dismantling the Agricultural Union as well as denying Mennonites freedom of religion and exemption from military service and through dekulakization and forced collectivization, the Soviet authorities caused a powerful emigration backlash. In the autumn of 1929, thousands of people came to the Moscow region expecting permission to emigrate to Canada or Germany. In late November to early December, 5,886 people including 4,100 Mennonites, were sent to Germany.²⁵ Later many of them established colonies in Brazil, Paraguay and Canada. But the majority of people who hoped to leave the country were forced to return to the places of their former residence.

Emigration was the most common form of resistance of Siberian Mennonites to measures of Soviet power. But there were also cases when Mennonites actively rose up against Soviet power in order to protect their socio-economic and ethno-confessional interests. A mass uprising against the Soviet power comprised of Mennonites and people who sympathized with Mennonites took place on July 2, 1930 in Halbstadt. The Halbstadt uprising is evidence that measures imposed by Stalin in the late 1920s such as the severe limitation of entrepreneurship of well-to-do peasants and “favoritism” toward the poor and an increase of administrative control and various extraordinary measures that grew into actual dekulakization and de-peasantization were absurd from a considered point of view. They were not understood by peasants; even Mennonites, traditionally loyal, were forced to use not only passive forms of resistance to defend their interests but open struggle against Soviet power. One can only agree with N. A. Ivniitskiy that “the Stalinist policy in the village put the country on the verge of civil war which actually started in the winter-spring of 1930.”²⁶

By the early 1930s, German colonies of Siberia had been economically devastated, morally suppressed and humiliated by the Soviets. Moreover, during the dekulakization, according to A. G. Vishnevskiy, they, as well as Russian villages, lost their “relatively modernized elite.”²⁷ An unsuccessful attempt of mass emigration of Germans from the country and connected to it the impoverishment of a significant portion of them, religious persecutions and other “measures” of the

“extraordinary” period all brought Siberian Germans to a point of apathy. The Stalin regime achieved its goal. Having lost such a powerful trump card as emigration by their anti-communist opposition, Siberian Germans put up with collectivization. Their survival depended on joining collective farms. Having become elements of the “socialist sector,” German colonies to a large extent had lost their original economic features. Thus, collectivization ended the history of German colonies in Siberia as self-regulated socio-economic capitalist units.

Translated by Olga Shmakina

Notes

- ¹ A. Bogdanovskii, “Obshchestvo i zakon o pereseleniakh,” *Severnyi vestnik* 5 (1892), 73.
- ² *Mennonitisches Lexicon* IV (1967), 158; H. Gerlach, *Dir Russlandmennoniten. Ein Volk unterwegs* (Kirchheimbolanden, Pfalz: 1992), 49.
- ³ *Zemli dlia konevodstva i skotovodstva v Aziatskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: 1913), 217-20.
- ⁴ State institution of Tyumen oblast State Archive of Tobol’sk (GUTO GAT) F. 580, O. 1, D. 294, p. 239 reverse; F. 335, O. 1 (607), D. 30, p. 17-17 reverse; *Zemli dlia konevodstva i skotovodstva...* p. 221-22; Gerlach, *Dir Russlandmennonite*, 46; V. F. Krest’ianonov, *Mennonity* (Moscow: 1967), 34-35.
- ⁵ *Zemli dlia konevodstva i skotovodstva...*, 210-11; P. Rahn, *Mennoniten in der Umgebung von Omsk* (Winnipeg MB: 1975), 125.
- ⁶ Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), F. 1291, O. 84, D. 131, p. 36-36 reverse.
- ⁷ Gerlach, *Dir Russlandmennonite*, 48.
- ⁸ J. J. Hildebrandt, *Sibirien* (Winnipeg MB: 1952), 21.
- ⁹ Rahn, *Mennoniten*, 34.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 37-38.
- ¹¹ L. V. Malinovskii, *Nemtsy v Rossii i na Altae* (Barnaul: 1995), 94-95; State Archive of Tomsk Oblast (GATO), F. 3, O. 44, D. 4204, p. 196.
- ¹² *Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenii ob ekonomicheskom polozenii pereselentsev v Tomskoi gubernii: Uezdy Barnaul’skii, Kainskii, Tomskii I Mariinskii* (Tomsk: 1913) Issue 1, 3, 7.
- ¹³ V. Ia. Nagnibeda, “Kulundinskaia step’ Barnaul’skogo uезда i kul’turno-ekonomicheskii tsentr ee selo Slavgorodskoe,” *Trudy Zapadno-Sibirskogo obshchestva sel’skogo khoziaistva za 1913, 1914 i 1915 gg.* (Tomsk: 1917), Book 4, 168-69.
- ¹⁴ V. Voshchanin, *Na sibirskom prostore. Kartiny pereseleniia* (St. Petersburg: 1912), 47.
- ¹⁵ Nagnibeda, “Kulundinskaia step’,” 170-72.
- ¹⁶ GATO, F. 3, O. 44, D. 4204, p. 196.
- ¹⁷ Nagnibeda, “Kulundinskaia step’,” 170.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 171.
- ¹⁹ Rahn, *Mennoniten*, 71-72.
- ²⁰ One pud equals approximately 16.4 kgs.
- ²¹ A. P. Sokolov, *Krasnyi nemetskii skot v Omskoi gubernii* (Omsk: 1926), 87.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 88.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 44.

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- ²⁴ Centre for Preservation of Archival collections of Altai krai (TsKhAFAK), F. R-38, O. 1, D. 74, p. 128.
- ²⁵ L. P. Belkovets, "Bolshoi terror" i sud'by nemetskoj derevni v Sibiri (konets 20kh-30e gg.) (Moscow: 1995), 64.
- ²⁶ N. A. Ivnickii, "Stalinskaia "revoliutsiia sverkhu" i krest'ianstvo" Mentalitet i agrarnoe razvitie Rossii (XIX-XX vv.) (Moscow: 1996), 259.
- ²⁷ A. G. Vishnevskii, *Serp i rubl': Konservativnaia modernizatsiia v SSSR* (Moscow: 1998), 43.