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Russian Old-Timer's Society in the Socio-Ecosystem of Yenisei Siberia in the 18-19th Centuries

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We are conducting research on the mutual influence of natural and ecological, cultural and economic, socio-political and other components of the 18th -19th century Yenisei Siberia on the basis of introducing the term of "socio-ecosystem" into historical studies. The aim of this publication is to define the stages and general results of Russian old-timers' community formation in the Yenisei Siberia socio-ecosystem.

A stable hereditary old resident peasantry was formed by 1760. We came to the conclusion that the Russian old-timers' society in the Yenisei region is a historical reality in the ecosystem of the Yenisei Siberia in the period under study.

Keywords: socio-ecosystem, cultural and economic complex, developmental place, peasants-old residents, old residents' society.

Research area: History.

There is no doubt that system researches of the Siberian regions as a part of the Russian state in the 17th – 19th centuries are topical. We state a direction of interdisciplinary research into the mutual influence of natural and ecological, cultural and economic, socio-political and other components in the area of the Yenisei Siberia "socio-ecosystem". Introducing the notion of "socio-ecosystem" into historical studies lets us to integrate the development of community (societas), environment (oikos), culture and mentality in the historical time and dynamics.

Socio-ecosystems as "nature-social" systems are contradictory inside, but they are able to develop and organize themselves [1]. According to the classification, systems are complex, probabilistic and hierarchical on the global, regional and local levels. The scientists came to the conclusion that functioning of socio-ecosystems of the lower lever is determined by the development of the higher hierarchical level subsystems [2]. We can see that this is also true for historical studies: socio-cultural and political development of Siberia and its regions is

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determined by the dynamics of general processes proceeding in the Russian state.

First of all, socio-ecosystem includes socioeconomic and natural subsystems. The central component of the Yenisei socio-ecosystem is hereditary old-timers' society. On this basis we consider the definition of stages and general results of Russian old-timers' community formation in the Yenisei Siberia socio-ecosystem as the purpose of this publication. With the beginning of Siberian colonization political and fur-trading objectives were prevailing in the dynamics of reclaiming processes. As a result, the "sovereign" and "manufacturing" peoples were unsettled and fur animals' predatory extermination on "alien" lands predominated in the first half of the 17th century. The attempts of the region's agricultural reclaiming "to use customary ideas and confront the severe reality" did not succeed in Siberia while reproducing Russian agricultural technology. Agriculture became a key industry only in the second half of the 17th century. Adaptation of farming culture for Siberian conditions was made gradually: based on the analysis of dozens soil quality indexes, zoned climatic signs, grain and green crops testing and test plantings for "experiment" purposes. It can be considered that the process of mutual adaptation of farming culture and environmental factors led to formation of the first five agricultural areas.

Thus, it was agricultural reclaiming of the region and formation on this basis of the settled, multi-generation agricultural population that became the foundation of the whole Siberian Russian society. At the turn of the 18th century peasantry as the core of the old-timers population constituted 61 % of the Russian population in Western Siberia and 67 % in Eastern Siberia, according to the data by A.D. Kolesnikov and V.V. Vorobyev [3]. We have made additional calculations, and they show that the 1740s – 1760s were the epoch-making years in the numerical superiority of the peasant population in all the provinces of Siberia:

It was proved in the works of historian G.F. Bykonya that in the reference sources of the first half of the 18th century there was a frequently occurring term "Russian old-timer", used in relation to the hereditary peasants of Yenisei region.

Integrated cultural and economic complexes of proper interaction with the extreme factors (cultivated areas) were formed on the basis of agriculture. The first five agricultural areas became the "developmental place" for the forming socium of the Siberian Russian peasants old-timers, including Yenisei agricultural area, which became a basis for the socio-ecosystem formation of the whole Yenisei region.

Table 1

Revision	% of peasantry in relation to the whole Russian population					
	Tobolsk province	Irkutsk province				
I [1719 г.]	69,3	41,6	59,2			
II [1744 г.]	85,7	82	80			
III [1762 г.]	84,2	90,2	85,4			
IV [1782 г.]	80,4	85,2	79,5			
V [1795 г.]	78,8	85	84,6			

Reference. To make this table we used the data about the quantity of the Russian population in the provinces in the 18th century (See: The History of Siberia. – Vol.2. – p. 184). The indexes of population in the Yenisei region are not given separately while the Yenisei province was detached from Tomsk and Irkutsk provinces only in 1822.

Table 2

Region, province	Revision (year)					General increase between revisions I-V, in times
	I	II	III [1762] IV [1782]		V	
	[1719]	[1744]	111 [1702]	1 7 [1/02]	[1795]	
Western Siberia	129.1	139.8	190	266.8	327.8	2.54
Eastern Siberia	46.2	59.5	79.4	113	121	2.62
Yenisei region	18.2	22.9	27.6	41	43.2	2.30
whole Siberia	175.3	199.3	269.4	373.8	448.8	2.56

Reference. We used a part of statistic data of the table "The Dynamics of the Russian Population of Siberia in the 18th century, in thousands serfs of local settlement" (See: The Peasantry of Siberia in the Feudal Epoch. – Novosibirsk, 1982. – P. 167. Table 1).

Table 3

Years	1682 г.	1747 г.	1762 г.	1782 г.	1795 г.
Quantity in thousands serfs of local settlement	8448	10651	12489	12239	12160

Quantitative dynamics of the Russian population increase in Yenisei region was lower in comparison with Western Siberia.

If in 1722 there were 10.3 % of Russian Siberians living there, then by 1795 this index dropped to 9.6 % against the background of general density of the Russian population in the whole Siberia. However, in the indexes of the inner dynamics of increase in the 18th century the Russian population grew 2.3 times. Taking into account the dynamics of the birth rate for 75 years (i.e. three generations), the main increase was achieved due to the natural growth of the old residents population in the 18th century against the quantity of the new immigrants from the European Russia. Increase in Yenisei region was also caused by old-timers of Western Siberia: after the initial adaptation there, Russian population successfully reclaimed the more extreme areas on the banks of the Yenisei River.

In order to specify the chronological borders of the entire Yenisei socio-ecosystem formation we traced the formation stages of the local oldtimers' groups in certain areas. Here, the earliest reclaimed areas were Mangazei and Yenisei counties. The dynamics of the rural population quantity in Yenisei old-timers' district is shown in table 3 [4].

The unfavourable climatic factors and limited conditions for farming in taiga zone of the lower and middle course of the Yenisei made people reclaim southern districts of the region. That is why between 1703 and 1760s southern and highway districts were under active reclamation in the Yenisei region. The analysis of the peasant population formation in Khakassia-Minusinsk district by the middle of the 18th century proves the fact that the old residents prevailed among the members of the Yenisei migration, as well as within the county.

The statistic data prove that from the end of the 18th century there was a positive dynamics of inner growth due to the old residents. However, if the general increase of the population growth between I-V revisions in the 18th century was by 2.3 in the future Yenisei province, then in Yenisei old-timers' district the increase was only by 1.4. Thus, the drain of peasant population prevailed

Table 4

Category of population	Counted in the first revision, serves	Born after the first revision, serves (1722-1745 гг.)	Total	
			serfs	families
Old-residents recorded in the first revision				
in 1722 г.	30	37	67	18
Those among them who took part in				
migration within the county	16	21	37	10
Aliens, total	35	87	122	25
Who include:				
Those, from the other regions of				
Krasnoyarsk county	9	15	24	8
Those, from Yenisei county	26	72	98	17
Total:	65	124	189	43

Reference. Here the following selected data is used: Bykonya G.F. The Settlement of Russians in the Yenisei Region in the 18th Century. – Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1981. – P. 68. Table 2. The calculations and genelizations are done by the authors.

over the process of inner "densification" and displacement of population in the reclaimed territory.

By the first revision in 1722, old-timers constituted 85.7 % of the peasants. By 1722 53.3 % of old-timers continued taking part in migration within the county. The peasants of Yenisei county constituted 74.3 % and the peasants of Krasnoyarsk county - 25.7 % of the total aliens' number in Khakassia-Minusinsk district. Peasants old-timers of Yenisei county, who had initially adapted in Middle Siberia, became the carriers of the new culture in the rest of Yenisei region. By taking part in reclaiming the south of the region, they successfully adapted to the new environment. The evidence of this is high birth rate in their families - 276.9 % in the period of 1722-1745. The birth rate among the local old-timers was 123.3 %. The average local old-timers' family consisted of 3.7 serfs of the local settlement, a family of the immigrants from Yenisei county consisted of 5.7 serfs. By 1745 all the categories of peasants recorded in the 1720s were registered as local old residents in relation to the newly-arrived.

In the South of the Yenisei river by the 1760s peasants old-timers population constituted up to 75 % of the total number of registered peasants and commoners, or "almost two thirds of the taxed", and "formation of the backbone of Russian old-residents in Khakassko-Minusinskii district finished in the 60s of the 18th century"[5]. The population of southern Khakassko-Minusinskii district was growing from that time due to the high natural increase in old-timers' families. At that, the external inflow of migrant-peasants, most of who were, still, coming from Yenisei and Krasnoyarsk counties, constituted not more than 25-30 % of the annual population growth. By the 1860s, Minusinsky district was the most populous. 30.5 % of all peasants old residents of Yenisei province lived there [6].

Since 1734 the highway construction started in the Territory of Krasnoyarsk County. Population in the rural communities was formed both by farmers, who voluntarily moved from Yenisei county, and by violent uprooting from Central Russia and Western Siberia. The oncoming movement of the population from the west and from the east to Krasnoyarsk district was of specific importance. The references

analysis indicated that by the middle of the 18th century three quarters of the population were local old-timers and old-timers-migrants from Western Siberia [7].

Up to 30 % of migrants from the other parts of Yenisei basin were coming to the highway areas. At that, migration from European Russia constituted not more than 10 %.

By 1745 local old-timers constituted 62.6 % in relation to immigrants and exiles. Old-timers' family on average consisted of 4.4 serfs of local settlement, migrants' family on average consisted of 3.1 serfs of local settlement and exile's family of 1.7. Thus, during the first half of the 18th century there was an increase in the number of members in a local old-timers' patriarchal family. This was an important condition for the natural growth of the hereditary adapted old-timers population.

In the second half of the 18th century continuous settlement of the highway regions by Russians was over. In Krasnoyarsk old-timers region the 1750 – 1760s' increase in migration movements for the next three decades was finished with the population stabilization in the 1790s. By this time peasants-old-timers

constituted 67.9 % of all the county residents. [8] Taking into account public interest, population of the area increased due to **compulsive settlement** of the "settlers" and exiles. Therefore, to 1782, the number of old-timers decreased to 48.6 %, but in 1795 increased again to 62 % of the population in the highway area.

Our calculations show that, the number of the settlements grew from 29 to 90 over the second half of the 18th century, primarily due to central and eastern sections of the highway as a result of the internal resettlement of the residents.

Despite the fact that there were only 9 settlements in eastern section of the highway but they were quite large and the number of residents increased by 80 times for 50 years! Over 30-40 years of the second half the 18th century the cores of peasants-old-timers' hereditary groups were formed in the settlements to the west and the east of Krasnoyarsk that allowed to socialize the adapted achievements of the material and spiritual culture in the highway areas.

In the 70s - 80s of the 18^{th} century the migration processes stabilized and were expressed in the inter-county movements of

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Highway	1722 г	1745 -1747 гг.									
sections	Settlements	Settlements		Total		Old-t	imers	Migra	ants	Exi	led
			families	serfs	average serfs number in the settlement	families	serfs	families	serfs	families	serfs
Central	10	21	402	1485	70,7	251	1022	139	439	12	21
Eastern (without	1	6	78	404	67,3	21	180	57	223		1
Nizhneudinskii county).											
Western	1	2	?	29	14,5			?	29		
Total:	13	29	480+?	1918	66,1	272	1202	196+?	691	12	22

Reference. The reference used: Bykonya G.F. Settlement of the Yenisei District by Russians in the 18th Century. – Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1981. – P. 123. Table. 16. Additional calculations and generalizations were done by the authors.

Table 6

Highway section	1782	1895-1796					
	Peasants, serfs of local settlement	Peasants, serfs of local settlement	Settlements	Average amount of the settlers			
Central	3240	4094	57	71,8			
Eastern [without							
the Nizhneudinskii							
county]	1680	1491	24	62,1			
Westerm	1988	2345	9	260,5			
Total:	6908	7930	90	88,1			

Reference. In our table the church data were used (Bykonya G.F. Settlement of the Yenisei District by Russians in the 18th Century. – Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1981. – P. 157. table. 23.)

peasants-old-timers into villages and the hunters lodge settlements, which provided a quantitative increase in the number of settlements in central and southern parts of the territory.

Based on analysis of dynamics for formation of the resident population in the Yenisei territory during the 18th century, we came to conclusion that by the 1760s permanent hereditary old-timers' peasantry that constituted the backbone of the rural communities was formed. Movement of the old-timers peasants from Yenisei County into the highway and southern areas contributed to reproduction of the adapted forms of life activities in general throughout the Yenisei province.

During the first half of the 19th century Yenisei province population continued to grow at a significant pace. Thus, according to the Governor A.P. Stepanov, in 1830 there were 50235 state peasants registered. We can assume that there were up to 100 thousand peasants of both sexes. In the 1830s – 1860s (for the period of 30 years), the process of natural growth of rural old-timers constitutes not more than 120,000 people. Then,

taking into account old-timers' natural mortality rate the number of population constituted from 200 up to 220 thousand people of both sexes [9]. In 1863 249,986 peasants of both sexes dwelled in the territory of Yenisei province. Difference in the number of the peasants' class representatives, who came due to resettlement and the exiled, ranked as peasants, constituted about 30 thousand people of both sexes (12 %) [10].

Thus, from the 60s of the 18th century stable community of the peasants-old-timers was formed in the territory of the Yenisei area, and it mostly consisted of Russian ethnos. Migrants flow from European Russia was extremely small compared to the natural growth and internal migration of the old-timers. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that Russian peasants-old-timers as systemic taxonomic ethnic unit in the territory of Yenisei region is a historical reality in the period under study. The society of Russian hereditary old-timers in the process of adaptive interaction with the environment for half a century developed and transformed the ecosystem of Yenisei Siberia.

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Социум русских старожилов в социоэкосистеме Приенисейской Сибири XVII–XIX вв.

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Мы проводим исследование взаимовлияния природно-экологических, культурно-хозяйственных, социально-политических и иных компонентов Приенисейской Сибири XVII—XIX вв. на основе введения в историческую науку понятия «социоэкосистема». Целью публикации является определение этапов и общих итогов формирования русского старожильческого сообщества в социоэкосистеме Приенисейской Сибири.

К 1760-м гг. сложилось постоянное потомственное старожильческое крестьянство. Мы делаем вывод, что социум русских старожилов на территории Приенисейского края является исторической реальностью в исследуемый период в экосистеме Приенисейской Сибири.

Ключевые слова: социоэкосистема, культурно-хозяйственный комплекс, месторазвитие, крестьяне-старожилы, старожильческий социум.

Научная специальность: 07.00.00 – исторические науки.