PECULIARITIES OF THE FORMATION OF THE LAND OWNERSHIP SYSTEM OF THE MENNONITES (BERDYANSK AND MELITOPOL UEZD, TAVRIYSKA GUBERNIA)

Abstract. The article defines the peculiarities of the settlement of Mennonites in Tavriyska gubernia and the formation of their land tenure system. The object of the study is the territory of Berdyansky and Melitopol uezd, Tavriyska gubernia. The subject of the study is the peculiarities of the formation of the land tenure system. Chronological boundaries of the study – 19th - beginning of the 20th century. Territorially, the study covers Berdyanskyi and Melitopolskyi uezd of Tavriyska gubernia.

A study of the nature of Mennonite resettlement near Berdyansk and Melitopol counties of Tavriyska gubernia showed a significant place in this process belonged to small-settled forms of resettlement. The latter include: farms, farms, estates, industrial villages, shepherds' lodges and other types of settlements with a small population.

German colonists moved according to the rules of the well-known Manifesto of 1763. At the beginning of the 19th century, the government allocated a plot of
land with an area of 214 thousand des. on the right bank of the Molochnaya River. They received 60 des. each per family.

After allotment of land to the first settlers, the surplus that ended up in the colonies formed reserve plots, which were later allotted to the generation of colonists born in Southern Ukraine.

A peculiarity of the district, like the whole of Southern Ukraine, was the combination of three directions of settlement of its territory: peasant, colonist, and landlord.

The decree of April 11, 1806 on the distribution of land based, first of all, the profit of the state and the treasury, and only then the satisfaction of any private requests for land allocation.

The emergence of small-settled forms of settlement among the Molochna Mennonites should be dated to the beginning of the second decade of the 19th century.

Abolition of serfdom, development of capitalist relations, migration processes in the region (emigration of Nogais people and part of Bulgarians) determined the intensification of the resettlement process of Mennonites due to their acquisition of land plots.

After the departure of the Nogai people from the Azov region, part of the abandoned land was put up for sale. Among the buyers of these lands were Mennonites.

The end of the 19th - the beginning of the 20th century. are characterized by the spread of anti-German sentiments in society, which also affected the Mennonites. However, pre-war data, according to the Melitopol uezd, do not record significant changes in Mennonite land ownership.

The events of 1917 and the subsequent Civil War almost completed the process of liquidation of the village system of settlement of Mennonites in the region.

**Keywords:** land ownership, Tavriyska gubernia, Mennonites, peasants, colonists.
ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ФОРМУВАННЯ СИСТЕМИ РОЗСЕЛЕННЯ МЕНОНІТІВ (БЕРДЯНСЬКИЙ ТА МЕЛІТОПОЛЬСЬКИЙ ПОВІТИ, ТАВРІЙСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ)

Анотація. У статті визначаються особливості розселення менонітів в Таврійській губернії. Об’єктом дослідження є територія Бердянського та Мелітопольського повітів, Таврійської губернії. Предметом дослідження є особливості формування системи розселення. Хронологічні межі дослідження – 19 – початок 20 ст. Територіально дослідження охоплює два повіти Таврійської губернії – Бердянський та Мелітопольський.

Дослідження характеру розселення менонітів біля Бердянського і Мелітопольського повітів Таврійської губернії показало, що значне місце у цьому процесі належало мелоселенним формам розселення. До останніх належать: хутори, економії, маєтки, промислові селища, сторожки чабанів та інші типи поселень із невеликою чисельністю населення.

Німецькі колоністи переселялися за правилами загальновідомого Маніфесту 1763 року. Під поселення німців у Таврійській губернії урядом на початку 19 століття було виділено ділянку, площу 214 тис. дес. на правому березі на р. Молочній. Вони отримували по 60 дес. на сім’ю.

Після наділення землею першопоселенців, надлишки землі, що виникали при колоніях, склали запасні ділянки, які згодом відводилися в наділ новому поколінню колоністів.

Особливість повіту, як і всієї Південної України, було поєднання трьох напрямів заселення його території: селянського, колоністського та поміщицького.

Указ від 11 квітня 1806 р. про розподіл землі ставив за основу, перш за все, зиск держави і скарбниці, а лише потім задоволення будь-яких приватних прохань про наділення землею.

Поява мелоселенних форм розселення у молочанських менонітів слід захарувати до початку другого десятиліття 19 століття.

Складання кріпосного права, розвиток капіталістичних відносин, міграційні процеси в регіоні (еміграція ногайців та частини болгар) визначили інтенсифікацію процесу розселення менонітів за рахунок придбання ними земельних ділянок.
Після відходу ногайців із Приазов'я частина залишених земель була виставлена на продаж. Серед покупців цих земель були і меноніти.

Кінець XIX – початок XX ст. характеризуються поширенням антинімецьких настроїв у суспільстві, що торкнулося і менонітів. Однак передвоєнні дані, за Мелітопольським повітом, не фіксовують значних змін у землеволодінні та розселенні менонітів.

Майже завершили процес ліквідації хутірської системи розселення менонітів у регіоні події 1917 року та наступна Громадянська війна.

Ключові слова: землеволодіння, Таврійська губернія, меноніти, селяни, колоністи.

**Problem statement.** In the history of the economy of Ukraine, there were various forms of resettlement and land ownership of ethnic and social groups.

Their study makes it possible to better understand the history of the economy of a particular region, as well as to identify trends in the development of land relations.

The object of the study is the territory of Berdyansky and Melitopol uezd, Tavriyska gubernia. The subject of the study is the peculiarities of the formation of the land tenure system. Chronological boundaries of the study – 19th - beginning of the 20th century. Territorially, the study covers Berdyanskyi and Melitopolskyi uezd of Tavriyska gubernia.

A study of the nature of the settlement of Mennonites on the territory of the Berdyansk and Melitopol uezd of the Tavriyska gubernia showed that a significant place in this process belonged to small-scale settlement forms. The latter include farmsteads, economies, estates, industrial settlements, shepherds' lodges, and other types of settlements with a small population.

**Analysis of research and publications.** The historiography of the issue is quite extensive. Based on a wide range of sources, the authors reveal various aspects of land relations in Southern Ukraine [1; 2; 12; 13; 17; 38]. However, the need for a comprehensive study of the problem of land ownership, based on modern methodological positions, has come.

The first known generalizing studies that give a complete and dynamic picture of the development of land ownership in the county appeared in the second half of the 19th century. This was due to the increased interest of Russian society in the peculiarities of agrarian relations on the territory of the Russian Empire, with the need to improve the agrarian situation. Among such works, noteworthy is the study by V.E. Postnikov “South Russian Peasant Economy”, based on zemstvo statistics and personal observations. In this work, the most successful attempt was made to consistently trace the stages of economic development on the territory of the Tavriyska gubernia [17].
Among the works that highlight the history, forms, and features of land ownership in the Melitopol used is the “Collection of Statistical information on the Tavriyska gubernia (Peasant farming in the Melitopol used)”, compiled by K. Werner and S. Kharizomenov in 1887. The collection provides valuable information about the development of communal and household forms of ownership in the district, and data on the economic situation of peasant households, divided into groups according to the size and forms of land ownership [4].

“Essay on land relations in the Tavriyska gubernia” and “State land fund of the Tavriyska gubernia” – two works by M.V. Neruchev, published almost simultaneously, provide valuable information about the provision of peasants with allotment land at the beginning of the 20th century, and the forms of peasant lease. The source of data given by M.V. Neruchev, is based on information from volost boards and zemstvo councils. The author himself argued that the material he collected, as not obtained through expeditionary means, cannot claim unconditional accuracy. Nevertheless, he considered it sufficient to characterize the relationship between such quantities as population, on the one hand, and land, on the other. M.V. Neruchev provides tables on the number of peasant, allotment lands, as well as lands purchased by rural societies and individuals in the volosts and villages of the Melitopol uyezd [16].

The specific features of German land ownership are discussed in the work of A. Klaus “Our Colonies”. This work is fairly well covered in historiography, and we will allow ourselves to dwell on it briefly. A. Klaus was one of the first to study the problem of landlessness among colonists and substantiated the reasons for this through the prism of land relations among the colonists themselves [Klaus..., 1869].

The versatility of various aspects of land ownership by German and Mennonite villagers, the features of the liquidation laws of 1915-1916, and their consequences are quite skillfully outlined in the book by K.E. Lindeman “Cessation of land ownership and land use by village owners” [13].

The purpose of the article is to determine the features of Mennonite settlement in Tavrisky gubernia and the formation of their land tenure system

The object of the study is the territory of Berdyansky and Melitopol used, Tavriyska gubernia. The subject of the study is the peculiarities of the formation of the land tenure system. Chronological boundaries of the study – 19th - beginning of the 20th century. Territorially, the study covers Berdyanskyi and Melitopolskyi uyezd of Tavriyska gubernia.

Discussion. When considering the rules for the resettlement of colonists, it is necessary to take into account ethnicity, which often determines the conditions of settlement and the benefits that were provided.

German colonists resettled according to the rules of the well-known Manifesto of 1763. At the beginning of the 19th century, the government allocated a plot of
land with an area of 214 thousand dessiatines for the settlement of Germans in the Tauride province. on the right bank of the river. Dairy. They received 60 des. per family.

After the first settlers were allocated land, the surplus found in the colonies formed reserve plots, which were subsequently allotted to the generation of colonists born in Southern Ukraine [18].

A feature of the district, like the whole of Southern Ukraine, was the combination of three directions of settlement of its territory: peasant, colonist, and landowner.

The decree of April 11, 1806, on the distribution of land was based, first of all, on the benefit of the state and the treasury, and only then the satisfaction of any private requests for the allocation of land [19].

Features of settlement in the Melitopol district of foreign colonists and their cultural traditions, led to communal land tenure characteristics of this population group.

K. Werner and S. Harizomenov describing the farming Melitopol district, claimed that German colonists sharing their property used partly by the law, some practices that have developed during custody Popechytelskoho Committee [4]. Alienation of "economy" (knee portion with buildings) permitted only with the permission of the company. The colonists never allowed to sell land to outsiders, but in the second half of the 19th century this law partly neglected. Land sold nobles, burghers, peasants [4].

Colonists followed the rules do not share their land. In addition, land inherited by only one son. Therefore, in the second half of the 19th century changed the distribution of landowners in the area of land. In addition to gross-virtov (owners of the full allotment of 60-65 des.). Except the halb-virts (owners of half-allotment of land 30-32,5 des.) and the German colonists there was a significant number of landless.

If landless colonists received homestead, they automatically become "usadebnykamy" or anvoneramy. Measures taken against obezzemelennya brought to the fact that the colonists without land allotment received from 12 to 14 des. and became kleinvirts [17].

The appearance of small-scale settlement forms among the Molochansk Mennonites should be attributed to the beginning of the second decade of the 19th century. These were the Yushanly farm of I. Kornis and the Steinbach manor of K. Vince founded in 1811-1812 [15; 37].

At the turn of the 20-30s, privately owned farms appeared in the Tashchenak River basin. One of the confirmations of this dating is the fact that a plan and boundary book for the dacha were drawn up in 1828 A.E. Granobarsky [9], which in 1834 already belonged to I.I. Cornis. Comparison of materials from the General
Land Survey [20] gives grounds to assert that V.N. was the first to acquire land on Tashchenak. Martens. In 1834, there were three farms here that belonged to Mennonites: Iogan Ioganovich Kornis (3364 des. 2248 sazh.), Vasily Nikolaevich Martens and David Nazarovitch Schroeder [20].

From the first years of their existence, Mennonite farms in Tashchenak became noticeable producers of agricultural products. Johann Kornis, according to data from 1834, had 3,500 heads of Spanish sheep, from which they annually received 350 pounds of wool sold in Moscow. At the Mennonite public factory, located on the lands of Vasily Martens and David Schroeder, there were 6,000 heads of sheep, from which up to 500 pounds of wool were obtained [20].

The general survey recorded another privately owned plot of land located outside the Molochansky Mennonite uezd. This was mill land (3 dess., 422 sazh.) on the right bank of the river Tokmak, near the Petershagen colony, which belonged to Ivan Yants [20].

By 1838, a farmstead appeared on the Bolshoi Utlyuk River, owned by Thomas Wintz [3.]. In the same source, “Statistical information about the Melitopol uezd for 1838,” the existence of only two Mennonite farms is noted in Tashchenak: Tashchenaksky (I. Kornis) and Vershinotashchenaksky (D. Schroeder) [3].

The data requested by the First Department of the Ministry of State Property about Mennonites living on acquired lands makes it possible to find out the place of registration of the landowner by audit. Thus, in Halbstadt the following were attributed: David Schröder, Wilhelm, and Johann Martens, and in Altenau - Anganeta Schröder [24].

In the first half of the 19th century, the emergence of farmsteads occurred rather slowly. Thus, the lists of populated places of the Tavriyska gubernia, compiled in 1864, recorded four farms in the Berdyansk uezd: Yushanly, Steinbach (Schmidt), Fabrikerwiese, and Felsenthal (Reimer). In the Melitopol uezd there are five farms: Altagir (Kornisa), Rykopol (Vinsa), Vinsa (on the B. Utlyuk River), Schrader (on the Tashchenak River), Martensa (on the Tashchenak River). This figure seems to us to be underestimated, as evidenced by the absence of the I. Kornis farmstead on the Tashchenak River from the list [33]. In addition, farmsteads based on rented land were not included in the lists. The existence of such is evidenced by the “Atlas of state-owned lands, divided into societies in the Tavriyska gubernia” compiled in 1849. On the territory of the state-owned plot within the lands of the Novo-Vasilievsky rural society, the “farm of the Mennonite Intel” is shown [29].

The abolition of serfdom, the development of capitalist relations, and migration processes in the region (emigration of Nogais and part of the Bulgarians) determined the intensification of the process of settlement of Mennonites due to their purchase of land plots.

After the Nogais left the Azov region, part of the abandoned lands was put up for sale. Among the buyers of these lands were Mennonites. So, 572 des. near the
village of Yantsogur (modern Stepanovka Pervaya) acquired Fast, 500 dess. near the village Alshin-Boday (modern Raynovka) – Reimer [30]. Of course, a farm was not always found on the acquired lands, but still, the process of the emergence of settlements on the Nogai lands proceeded quite intensively, especially in the immediate vicinity of the main territory of settlement of the Mennonites. So, by the 80s, along the left bank of the river. Yushanls were located farm: Agnesovka, Heinrich Henrykhovich Reimer (2123 des. 2160 sazh.), Akkermen, settler Altenau Abram Abramovich Matis (311 dess. 80 soot), Gainrichstal, settler Altenau Henryhovich Derksen and Minsterberg Yakovlevich Nekiman (305 des. [21; 22].

The Mennonites also bought the lands of the Bulgarians leaving the Azov region. Thus, on the site of Elenovka, founded on the site of the Nogai village of Burkut-2, the farm of Shenborn of Gergard Gergardovich Ens (1355 des. 1320 fathoms) arose [22].

The development of the farm system of settlement among the Mennonites was also facilitated by the permission, by the law of 1871, for colonists to settle on state-owned lands to redeem their plots. As of July 1, 1886, 83,236 acres of land were purchased in the Tavriyska gubernia, of which 62,213 acres (74.7%) were purchased by Mennonites [25].

The noted processes, as can be seen from the data presented, led to an increase in the number of farmsteads and other types of settlements on privately owned Mennonite lands.

The accounting of settlements at the end of the 19th century gives a fairly complete picture of the settlement of Mennonites throughout the territory of Berdyansk and Melitopol counties. Preliminary calculations (taking into account the owner’s surname) showed that within the Berdyansk uezd in 1896, there were 33 farms and estates, as well as 17 settlements near brick factories belonging to Mennonites [26]. Significantly more Mennonite settlements existed on the territory of the Melitopol uezd. The Veselovskaya and Yuzkuyskaya volosts stood out, especially in this regard. Only within the first were located: 6 farms, 1 owner’s estate, and 28 economies [27].

The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries was characterized by the spread of anti-German sentiments in society, which also affected the Mennonites. However, pre-war data for the Melitopol uezd do not record significant changes in land ownership of the Mennonites. In the Veselovskaya volost we mentioned there were: 1 farm, 1 colony, and 31 estates that belonged to the Mennonites [1].

The social movement of 1905 had a dramatic impact on land ownership and the nature of its movement. Firstly, private land ownership passed through a wide swath of the agrarian movement, and secondly, the government put forward several new important principles and points: an increase in the total land fund, alienation of allotment land, increased purchase of estates at the expense of banks, organization
of farmsteads, etc. The agrarian movement of 1905-1906 gave a serious impetus to all developing processes in land ownership. Relations between peasants and landowners worsened, and rental prices fell. The desire of private landowners to sell their property has increased. A colossal number of privately owned estates entered the market [32].

One of the evidence of the gradual transition of the Tsarist government to limiting land ownership and land use of Mennonites and Germans is the correspondence in 1906-1908 of the Chief Administrator of Land Management and Agriculture, Prince Vasilchikov, with the Zemsky Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It discussed the issue of limiting German colonists in the acquisition of bank, appanage, and state-owned lands on the same basis as peasants, with the assistance of the Peasant Land Bank. It was argued that the German colonists cannot be classified as one of those groups of the rural population that need special assistance from the Government in their land structure, but represent the most prosperous class of the agricultural population. Prince Vasilchikov proposed that the German colonists in each province needed to sell the area intended for the liquidation of land, which would be no more than the percentage of the colonist population of the same province to the entire agricultural population of the latter. He also considered it necessary to explain to the land management commissions that the fact of landlessness of buyers cannot serve as a basis for providing them with preferential assistance in purchasing land, and that such assistance should be provided only taking into account the entire set of economic conditions of persons applying for the purchase of land.

On this occasion, the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs stated that the extension of the operations of the Peasant Land Bank to the village owners (former colonists), even in exceptional cases, is undesirable [28].

The adoption and implementation of liquidation laws marked the beginning of the process of reducing Mennonite land ownership in the region and their natural resettlement outside its borders, including emigration.

The extent of this process is evidenced by the materials of the Peasant Land Bank. The “Book of Estates Acquired by the Bank by Legitimation on February 2 and December 13, 1915” contains mostly Mennonite surnames. In the records for 1916, Mennonites in the Veselovskaya volost alone are mentioned 26 times. The total area of land they sold was 13,338 des. 2197 sazh. [31].

**Conclusions**

The process of eliminating the farm system of settlement of Mennonites in the region was practically completed by the events of 1917 and the subsequent Civil War. Three documents can indicate the scale of this process. In the list of estates registered by the Melitopol uyezd land department at the end of 1920 in the territory of the Veselovskaya volost there were 22 of them, of which 12 were Mennonite [5].
Two other documents are lists of populated places in Melitopol uyezd for 1921. In the first of them, the names of Mennonites are mentioned three times in the Pokrovskaya-Second volost (Penner Iv. Abr., Penner Y.A. and Penner V.A.) [14]. In the second, there are no settlements of the Penners, but the farms of Ensa and Dick (Astrakhan volost) and the farms of Varkentin and Vasily Yakovlevich Klassen (Novo-Grigorievsk volost) are mentioned [6]. In the two lists, not a single Mennonite farm is noted on the territory of the Veselovskaya volost. It should be noted here that when comparing land ownership in different periods, possible changes in volost boundaries were not taken into account.

The fate of Mennonite farms and estates that experienced social upheaval developed differently. A number of estates, such as I.I. Martens in the Veselovskaya volost, were recognized as unsuitable “for conducting cultural agriculture” and were destroyed [7], some were transferred to “collectives and communes” [34] and state farms were created based on some estates. State farm "Veseloye" – on the territory of the estates of Friesen-Reimer, Louise, Peter and Aron Martens and G.I. Friesen [36], “Ebengof” – Ivan Egorovich Ens and Zuderman [35], “Gokhfeld” - Neufeld, Vince, Klassen, Kornis, etc., “Akkemen” – Klassenov [2], “Artatash” - Willer, Klassen, Martens and Tews [8] etc. The territory of one of the first estates on the Tashchenak River (Shroeder) became the basis of a special economy of the NKVD.

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23. РДАДА, ф. 1355, оп. 1, стр. 1558.
24. РДАДА, бібліотека, 1 відділ, стр. 1, стр. 95.
25. Російський Державний Історичний Архів (РДІА), ф. 383, оп. 3, стр. 2421.
26. РДІА, бібліотека, 1 відділ, стр. 1, стр. 95.
27. РДІА, ф. 1290, оп. 11, стр. 2253.
28. РДІА, ф. 1290, оп. 11, стр. 2263.
29. РДІА, ф. 1291, оп. 54, д. 12 До питання про право німецьких колоністів на купівлю землі за сприяння Селянського поземельного Банку.
30. РДІА, ф. 380, оп. 30, стр. 75.
31. РДІА, ф. 384, оп. 8, стр. 1750.
32. РДІА, ф. 592, оп. 42, стр. 1786.
33. Світловський В.В. Мобілізація земельної власності (1861-1908 р.). 2-ге видання. СПб, 1911.
35. Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВО України), ф. 744, оп. 1, спр. 151.
36. ЦДАВОВ, ф. 27, оп. 6, спр. 1160.
37. ЦДАВОВ, ф. 744, оп. 1, спр. 149.