
Economic and Political Fundamentals for the Establishment of the Cabinet-Owned Metallurgical Complex in Siberia in the 18th Century

A.V. Kontev¹, O.E. Konteva², A.V. Kremneva³,
O.Yu. Voronkova⁴, A.L. Poltarykhin⁵, P.V. Zhuravlev⁶

Abstract:

Economic and political fundamentals for the development of mining and metallurgical production in Siberia in the 18th century are discussed in this paper. The principal type of ownership of large enterprises at that time was serf manufactory, the development of which took place in the conditions of absolutism based on forced labor. Based on a comprehensive set of archive documents, the authors have studied the problem of the transfer under the authority of the Imperial Cabinet of the private Kolyvano-Voskresensk enterprises owned by Demidov, which were established in the 1720s in the south area of Western Siberia. The status change of industrial enterprises is discussed in the context of accidental events (the death of Akinfiy Demidov and the controversy of his heirs) and the consistent processes of development of silver smelting production in the country.

The quick development of the metallurgical industry in Russia in the 18th century was caused by a number of domestic and external factors. The Crown extensively attracted private sector capital for the search and development of ore deposits, especially in remote Uralian and Siberian areas. In the 1720s-1740s, the Kolyvano-Voskresensk industrial-territorial complex privately owned by Akinfiy Demidov was established in the south area of Western Siberia.

In the middle of the 1740s, the events happened, as a result of which the possessory belonging of the enterprises was changed and these enterprises were transferred under the control and management of the governmental institution – that is, the Imperial Cabinet. Thus, the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants became the basis of the Cabinet production unit which existed in the 18th-19th centuries.

Keywords: Mining and metallurgical production, "Crown property", Imperial Cabinet, Western Siberia, Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants, Demidov, Baer.

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¹Altai State Pedagogical University, Barnaul, Russia, arkkont@mail.ru

²Polzunov Altai State Technical University, Barnaul, Russia, o.konteva@mail.ru

³Polzunov Altai State Technical University, Barnaul, Russia, annakremneva@mail.ru

⁴Altai state University, Barnaul, Russia, olka2004@vandex.ru

⁵Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, Moscow, Russia, poltarykhin@mail.ru

⁶Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, Moscow, Russia, poltarykhin@mail.ru

1. Introduction

This paper, which is based on a wide range of references, is aimed at the reconstruction and analysis of the events that happened in the 1740s, as a result of which the largest in Russia Cabinet's industrial-territorial complex was established, which became the main source of Russian silver. The significance of this study is that it will contribute for a more precise perception of the essence of the Cabinet-owned property as one of the forms of the state-owned property, as well as reveal the methods of its establishing and legal implementation, which were used by the public Imperial authority in Russia during the Modern Age period. Chronologically, the study covers the period from the appearance of silver smelting production in Altai up to establishing of the Cabinet's regional management system.

2. Methods

The investigation methodology was based on the historicism principle that involves considering the event in the process and in the context of the studied period. Despite the fundamental character and significance of this principle in the historical studies, while considering the problem being the subject of this article, the investigators most often unreasonably resort to the modernization of the process characteristics, refer to the estimations of the contemporaries, without regard to the period of position building in respect of the studied events themselves. The violation of the historicism principle results in considering the economic and political causes, which have exerted an effect on the change of the possessory belonging of the Altai enterprises, outside the context of the real events that happened in the 1740s.

Therefore, an alternative interpretation of the events in the process, which is of vital importance, passes away. At the early stage of the establishment of absolutism and Crown property as its basis, the consistent processes depended largely on the elements of chance and probability. The methodological task of this article involved the necessity to demonstrate the absence of the strict cause-effect relationship (strict determinism) between the discovery of Altai precious metals (Aleksandrova *et al.*, 2014; Talovina *et al.*, 2016; Nikolaeva *et al.*, 2018; Aleksandrova *et al.*, 2017) and the transfer of the industrial complex under the Crown property.

3. Results

3.1 Activities of A.V. Baer's Commission and the establishment of the Cabinet administration in Altai

In historical literature, the establishment of the Cabinet-owned property in Altai is commonly connected with signing by the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna of the Decree dated May 1, 1747. Pursuant to this Decree, the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants formerly owned by Demidov were transferred under the Imperial Cabinet management and the Chancellery of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk mining authority

was established. However, this Decree was some kind of the final document of the initial stage of Cabinet administration establishment. By this time, both the Cabinet-owned property and the elements of the Cabinet management system had already existed in Altai.

Since the 1720s, Kolyvano-Voskresensk enterprises were in private ownership of A.N. Demidov. The administrative mining system was developed in the Urals and was applied in local enterprises. During the first half of the 18th century, the management of the enterprises was carried out by the owners themselves (Kafengauz, 1949, p. 274). The management of Demidov's plants and mines in Altai was performed by the plant divisions headed by the clerks. The principle of collective leadership was not typical for the plant divisions of Demidov's enterprises (Kontev, 1997; Borodaev *et al.*, 1999).

Plants operating in the south area of Western Siberia, just as the rest of private enterprises in Russia, were under the supervision of the Berg Board. The audit commissions visited the far region on very rare occasions. There is information only on two such commissions in 1732 and 1735, when Kolyvano-Voskresensk enterprises were transferred under the Crown management for the first time. Just at that time, Empress Anna Ioannovna on March 23, 1734 gave a direction to Vasiliy Tatishchev, who was the chief of the Uralian plants, "to take upon us" Demidov's enterprises (Complete collection of laws..., 1830. Vol. IX. No. 6559, p. 290-296). However, in the 1730s, Akinfiy Demidov managed to return his Altai enterprises, which were in Crown property only for two years (till May 1737).

For the second time, the transfer of Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants under the Crown property related to the discovery of silver ores in Altai. Silver was discovered in winter of 1743, as early as in February of 1744, Akinfiy Demidov, while presenting the ingot of the first Altai silver to Elizaveta Petrovna, applied with the request "for me to stay with all plants, children, craftsmen, and workers, apart from other places and the Berg board, under the supervision of the supreme Cabinet" (RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 1. Sheets 5-5 back; Spassky, 1877).

Since Demidov applied with the request personally to Elizaveta Petrovna, the Imperial Cabinet took up the problem of the organization of silver smelting production in the south area of Western Siberia. It related to the responsibility of the personal monarch chancellery to consider all the requests, which were addressed to the monarch (Konteva, 2016). In order to verify information submitted by the Uralian manufacturer, on May 17, 1744, the special commission headed by A.V. Baer, the Chief of the Tula and Sestroretsk ordnance plants, was directed to Altai (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 1. Sheets 50-50 back). The arrangement of this commission was realized by the Imperial Cabinet directly, rather than the mining department. The head of this commission was to submit the reports on the results of this trip to the Empress personally.

Among the tasks imposed on the commission, there were verifying Demidov's information on silver, exploration of the silver deposits stated by him, and determining the possibility of construction of the Crown-owned enterprises for Altai ores remelting (Nigamaev *et al.*, 2018). After information was obtained by the government in June on the discovery of the Zmeinogorsk deposit of gold and silver ores, the Decree was signed on July 2, 1744, following which Baer was authorized to inspect Demidov's Zmeinogorsk deposit (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 3. Sheets 332-332 back).

Already among the USSR investigators, the disputes arose on the role of Baer's commission in further predestination of the Altai enterprises. B.B. Kafengauz considered that Demidov, who applied with the request to Elizaveta, himself initiated the transfer of his plants to the Crown. Z.G. Karpenko for a good reason disagreed with such opinion and noticed that it was just the question of obtaining new privileges and transfer of the enterprises under supervision of the Imperial Cabinet, while the manufacturer was not going to lose his property (Kafengauz, 1949; Karpenko, 1963). In the article of T.I. Agapova was noticed that Demidov strived to run out of control of the state officials represented by the Berg board, for which purpose he used silver discovery. In the opinion of this investigator, A. Baer's commission was directed to Altai plants for the exact determination of the deposit capacity and of the silver content in the ores (Agapova, 1962).

Really, no documents pertinent to the creation of the commission stipulated the forfeiture to the Crown of Demidov's Altai plants, and these plants were still considered as the private property. Moreover, on July 24, 1744, the Empress signed the Decree following which Demidov's business was transferred under the auspice of the Elizavet (Complete collection of laws..., 1830. Vol. XII, No. 8998).

The primary work location of the commission was the Zmeinogorsk deposit, the development of which demonstrated good results with great prospects for future profits. It was the Zmeinogorsk deposit with which the establishment of the Cabinet property in Altai was connected. In February of 1745, Baer seized in Crown property Demidov's principal silver mine. On August 5 of the same year, this seizure was legally executed and while leaving the region, the head of commission ordered to seal the mines, to evaluate the enterprise and to buy it out from the manufacturer (RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 47. Sheet 7 back). Thus, in 1745, the first Cabinet-owned enterprise appeared within the possession of Akinfiy Demidov.

The mine foreman Johan Georg Gerih from Demidov's staff was appointed as the first chief of the Zmeinogorsk mine, with whom the contract was signed on the Cabinet's behalf already on July 1, 1745. Additionally, two specialists – the surveyor trainee Dmitriy Popov and a mining employee – were attracted in his team. The dragoon squadron from the border troops for the security and guard duties, which came under command of Gerih, was attached to the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants department (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 8. Sheets 28-28 back). Thus, by August of

1745, the temporary Cabinet administration was formed at Demidov's Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants, which realized its activities collaterally with the plant divisions.

3.2 Conception of Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants seizure into the Crown property

Upon arrival in Saint Petersburg on December 17, 1745, the brigadier A. Baer submitted to the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty the report on the commission's activities (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 6. Sheet 119-146 back). The principal conclusion made by A. Baer was that the ore of the Zmeinogorsk deposit is sufficiently rich for production organization and Crown-owned plant construction. A. Baer stated that the expenditures would be repaid for one year, and considering the new plant construction expenditures, the repayment period would be ten years.

According to the commission head, in order to develop mining production in this region, it was necessary to construct plants nearby the Tara or Uya Rivers (nowadays the Omsk Region), where there was enough timber for metal smelting. In his report, A. Baer recommended construction of the Crown-owned enterprises without closing of Demidov's plants.

In a fortnight, A. Baer submitted to Elizaveta Petrovna a detailed report, in which he proposed the development program of silver smelting production in the south area of Western Siberia. This document is characterized by the scale of the problem and its forethought in respect of the sources necessary for establishing the Cabinet-owned complex. Demidov's Kolyvano-Voskresensk and Barnaul plants served as the basis for this complex. A. Baer began his report as follows: "If Her Imperial Majesty will be pleased now to fulfill the works by powerful hand pertinent to silver smelting and silver ores extraction at the Kolyvansk and Barnaul plants ..." The concept, following which Demidov's plants together with the designated peasants and craftsmen was to be seized into the Crown-owned property, was realized in the December report. However, it should be noted that the author of this report recommended realizing this concept only temporarily, until the Crown-owned plants nearby the Uya and Tara Rivers were constructed. It is important to notice that the problem of the possessory belonging did not interest the author of the report at all, for the good of the cause he also proposed to withdraw Nerchinsk enterprises from the control of the Berg board (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 3. Sheets 5-18).

Thus, the concept of the seizure of Demidov's Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants in the Crown property and establishing on their basis of the complex under the Cabinet management was proposed to the Empress on December 30, 1745. The brigadier A. Baer acted in this case as the public official and he proposed the large-scale development program of the mining and metallurgical industry scheduled for decades. While realizing the strategic importance of the silver smelting industry, he contemplated using all available public funds in order to provide the future complex with material and technical facilities and staff.

The question that must be answered is why less than one and a half years after Elizaveta accepted A. Demidov under her auspices, the brigadier Baer directly raises an issue of the Kolyvansk and Barnaul plants seizure into the "Crown property"? One can see the following reasons for such a change. Firstly, on August 5, 1745, Akinfiy Nikitich Demidov died, while he never managed to use privileges granted to him to the full extent. Disagreement of his sons with the father's will brought to the revocation of this will by the Empress in September of the same year and appointment of the plant's external management by the Berg board. Thus, by December of 1745, the question of the owner of the enterprises remained unsolved. Secondly, the availability of the vast resources of gold-containing silver-lead ores explored in 1745 seriously affected the change in the authorities' attitude towards the status of Altai enterprises. Thirdly, the active stand of A. Baer, who considered the Rudny Altai as the principal source of silver for Russia, was not insignificant.

After meeting with the Empress, while staying in Saint Petersburg and even after departure to the Sestroretsk plants (in 1746-1747), Baer continuously applied to Elizaveta and to the Cabinet's head I.A. Cherkasov with the requests to accelerate the solution to a problem pertinent to the seizure of the plants (RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 39. Sheet 2 back). Thus, as early as three months after the completion of the commission work, on March 26, 1746, Andrey Venediktovich asked the Empress to take measures in respect of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants. Before that he considered necessary to direct the Cabinet's representative to Demidov's enterprises, who would set up the conditions for arrangement of the Crown-owned silver smelting (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 16. Sheet 3 back).

In accordance with the proposals of A. Baer, on March 27, 1746, the Cabinet signed the contract with lieutenant Christiani, who was employed by the mining department of Her Imperial Majesty. He was invested with rather sweeping powers and was to take the post of the head of the Cabinet administration in Altai. The team of vice-surveyor Gerih was placed under his orders and Demidov's administration was also to obey to him (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 12. Sheets 14–21; No. 16. Sheets 1-2 back; RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 41. Sheet 2).

The documents dated by March of 1746 are indicative of the fact that the necessity of seizure of Demidov's Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants in the Crown property was not the debating point already. A. Baer uses the following phrasing: "If Her Imperial Majesty will order to seizure those Demidov's plants in the Crown-owned property", and at the same time, he authorizes Christiani to make up an inventory of all Demidov's property in Altai. All the works were to be fulfilled "before the arrival of the mining administration".

Samuel Christiani arrived at the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants in the early August of 1746 and immediately accepted enterprises under his management. Later, he informed the Uralian mining administration that after his arrival in Altai, "the following plants are now accepted in the Crown content: Kolyvansk plant –

beginning from August 6, Barnaul plant – beginning from August 22, 1746" (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 25. Sheets 134, 167-171 back). However, even though Demidov's clerks beginning from August of 1746 obeyed to Christiani, the plants still remained in Demidov's ownership. Christiani himself noted that "the local plants before the all-merciful Her Imperial Majesty resolution are not yet accepted in the Crown content". This adjustment demonstrates that the Cabinet's representative made difference between the terms "Crown content" and "Crown property".

The situation, which existed at the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants in autumn of 1746, was somewhat similar to the one, which existed at Altai enterprises in spring-summer of 1735, after the arrival of L. Ugrimov, when it was prohibited for Demidov's clerks to dispose with products at own discretion, the new construction was performed at the Crown's account, while the lawful heirs of the deceased Akinfiy Demidov were still considered as the owners of enterprises. However, the problem of the transfer of the enterprises in the Crown property was already solved, and a delay in legal implementation, in the authors' opinion, was connected not with doubts of the Empress, but with slow activities of the bureaucratic apparatus.

In early December of 1746, the brigadier Baer, who stayed at the Sestroretsk plants at that time, again applied to the Cabinet with the request to direct Captain Johann Ulikh, an expert of the Berg Board, together with a small team for supporting Christiani's activities (RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 45. Sheets 1-4 back; SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 3. Sheets 81-85). It should be noted that it was Ulikh, who in June of 1744 discovered gold impurities in the Zmeinogorsk ore; therefore, his Altai appointment was fully justified. At the same time, on December 8, Andrey Baer, acting as per the Cabinet's assignment, developed the annual estimate of expenses for the operation of Crown-owned Kolyvano-Voskresensk enterprises. In this document, he presented the staff specifications of the future Kolyvano-Voskresensk mining administration. The total amount of annual costs of the Cabinet-owned enterprises was determined by him as equal to 60,000 rubles (RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 41. Sheets 6-7 back). Thus, by the end of 1746, the mining administration staff and the amount being necessary for the operation of the plants were already determined.

On January 1, 1747, the Cabinet signed the contract with Johann Gotlib Ulikh, who was ordered to arrive in Priobye and to start production of the silver semi-finished products. However, he left for Altai only in the late February. With the purpose of better production control, Ulikh was to stay at the Kolyvansk plant and Christiani was to stay at the Barnaul plant. The managers were prescribed "to meet at the Kolyvansk plant", if necessary (RSHA. F. 468. Inv. 18. No. 43. Sheets 370-371 back). The principle of collective leadership in mining production management, as distinct from the principle of individual responsibility of Demidov's plant administration, was implemented already before the seizure of the plants in the Crown property (Urasova *et al.*, 2017).

3.3 Legal implementation of the new status of Kolyvano-Voskresensk enterprises

The Decree on the change of the possessory belonging of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants and mines was signed by the Empress on May 1, 1747 (SAAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. No. 1. Sheets 64-70 back). The regulatory document presented to brigadier Baer was executed in the form of an instruction given to the chief commanding officer of the plants and involved the fulfillment of those tasks, which were formulated by him in December of 1745. In the first item of this Decree, Baer was charged "to arrive ... to the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plant of the deceased ... Demidov and to seize in Our property all buildings and constructions located at the territories of Kolyvano-Voskresensk, Barnaul, Shulbinsk and other territories, nearby Irtysh and Ob Rivers and between them..." The abovementioned enterprises and people were excluded from Demidovs' property, while for settlements with the heirs it was ordered to Baer to make up an inventory of all movable and real property located in Altai.

The Barnaul plant was determined as the principal enterprise of the newly arranged mining department, since the final smelting of the golden silver was to be performed at this plant. For the same reason, the mining administration was to be located at this plant (Akhmetshin *et al.*, 2018a). The document did not contain the direct order in respect of the Baer's residency location; however, since following the regulations, the plants' chief was to be present on the spot during the acceptance of the precious metal, it was the Barnaul enterprise which became "the principal place" of the new vast department.

The Decree stipulated the large-scale measures pertinent to the search and development of the new deposits. The former Demidov's enterprise was to form the basis for mining and metallurgical production. From the Decree, it follows that Elizaveta Petrovna did not dismiss the idea of the construction of plants nearby the Uya and Tara Rivers (as it was proposed in the report of 1745). However, now the problem involved the construction of the additional enterprises only in case "when the quantity of ores will be such, that its smelting at the Kolyvansk, Shulbinsk, and Barnaul plants will become impossible".

The administrative staff arrangement is rather briefly discussed in the Decree dated May 1, 1747. The Chancellery of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk mining administration was appointed as the principal administration institution (Gallyamova, 2018; Sycheva *et al.*, 2018). The procedures of its operation were to correspond to the Admiralty regulations and the Imperial Decrees. The principle of the collective leadership in the Chancellery operation ("by common consent and against signatures of all mining officers") also was confirmed in this Decree.

Another administrative authority, the powers of which pursuant to the Decree were extended to the whole plant complex, was to become the Territorial Court Office. Its responsibilities included "court session and punishment" in respect of minor cases of mining officers, employees, craftsmen, and designated peasants.

Substantially greater attention in the Decree dated May 1, 1747 was devoted to staffing of the industrial complex. Brigadier Baer was appointed as the chief commanding officer of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants, whose candidacy for this post was probably determined long before the Decree date. Soon after this Altai appointment, A.V. Baer was awarded the rank of general-major.

Pursuant to the Decree, the mining officers' staff was formed from the military men of the Imperial Guard regiments and mining experts. For this purpose, the soldiers of the Preobrazhensky regiment and the Izmaylovsky regiment, one corporal and twelve soldiers of the Imperial Guard were appointed as the shift masters (whose responsibilities included production control at the plants and mines) (Akhmetshin et al., 2018b). Pursuant to the Decree, such mining experts were transferred from the Ekaterinburg plants as the assessor Andrey Poroshin, the geodesist Pimen Startsov, and the trainee Ivan Denisov. Additionally, it was ordered to A. Baer to select from the foreigners who arrived in Russia those of them, who were experienced in the mining profession, and to sign contracts with them. Pursuant to the Decree, the staff of mandatory employees was also to be selected from the Ekaterinburg enterprises. According to the Decree dated May 1, 1747, the vast program of organization and development of the Cabinet-owned metallurgical complex in Western Siberia was scheduled, the implementation of which related to multiple state agencies. Therefore, on May 12, 1747, the Imperial Decrees in package addressing the Senate, the Berg Board, the Military Division, the Imperial Guard regiments, the Medical Chancellery, and the Siberian border authorities were issued (Complete collection of laws..., 1830. Vol. XII. No. 9403; Baranov, 1787, Vol. 3).

4. Discussion

The history of the organization and development of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk metallurgical complex in the 18th century has been studied both in the works of Soviet investigators and in the works of contemporary historians. In the writings by B.B. Kafengauz, Z.G. Karpenko, T.I. Agapova, A.D. Sergeyev, A.N. Zheravina, V.B. Borodaev, A.V. Kontev, O.E. Konteva, T.N. Soboleva, and A.E. Kukharenko, definite problems of the appearance of mining and metallurgical production in Altai, the change of the possessory belonging of the enterprises, the organization of the management system of the Cabinet-owned complex are considered.

The investigators actively discuss the problem who became the owner of Altai plants after the death of A. Demidov. Pursuant to one of different points of view, the former Demidov's private plants were transferred in private ownership of the Russian Emperors (Zheravina, 2005; Zheravina, 2013). The other authors consider that the former Demidov's enterprises became the special type of the state-owned (Crown-owned) property under the management of the personal monarch chancellery (Borodaev, *et al.*, 1999; Soboleva, *et al.*, 2012; Konteva, 2014). At the same time, all investigators connect the change in the possessory status of Altai enterprises with the discovery of precious metals ores in Altai.

However, as it has been shown in this article, the discovery of the largest domestic deposits of golden silver ores alone should not be considered as the sole reason for the seizure of Demidov's enterprises in the Crown property. Akinfiy Demidov himself intended legally to continue smelting of the precious metals in Altai and to sell silver to the Crown treasury. His request related to the desire to obtain the exclusive status and to get out of the control of the Berg Board. In such a case, the state anyway could receive the reliable source of precious metals.

The mere fact of the appearance in the highest quarters of the idea to seize the private enterprises from their owners (heirs of the founder of the plants) clearly demonstrates attitude toward the private property of the Russian monarchy. Beginning from Peter the Great, the public authority, on the one hand, actively supported the development of the private initiative in the industry, while on the other hand, it reserved the right at any time to seize enterprises in state property. It was the case during Peter the Great's reign; the same approach can be seen in the case of Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants during the reign of Anna Ioannovna and Elizaveta Petrovna. In the authors' opinion, the transfer of the sole in Siberia mining-and-metallurgical private enterprises into the Crown property may become the basis for more global discussion of the Russian authorities' attitude toward the private property in different periods of the national history.

5. Conclusion

Thus, 1744 became the critical year in the history of the Kolyvano-Voskresensk mining complex. Just at this time, silver smelting was commenced. Still being the private plants belonging to A. Demidov, these enterprises were transferred from the Berg Board management under the Imperial Cabinet supervision. It was the substantial privilege granted to the Uralian manufacturer, who gave encouragement to Elizaveta Petrovna through the promise of silver receiving in large quantities. Since the manufacturer applied personally to the Empress, the future of Altai enterprises became connected with the Imperial Cabinet. Even though this governmental body never realized mining management, just this body was charged with responsibilities connected with the arrangement of A. Baer's inspection visit.

Just during the period of the commission activities in Altai, the Cabinet property appeared – the Zmeinogorsk mine under the management of the special administrative board. The government intended to establish in Western Siberia a complex of the Crown-owned enterprises under the Cabinet management along with Demidov's property. However, the death of A. Demidov, disagreements between his heirs, as well as the active stand of A. Baer and prospects of precious metals mining led in 1746 to prevailing of the point of view on the necessity of a change in the possessory belonging of the enterprises.

The legal implementation of the new status of the mining area, which took place on May 1, 1747, finalized the long period of determining the possessory status of

Kolyvano-Voskresensk industrial complex. As in 1734, the Empress used the term "seize in Our property", which meant the transfer of the enterprises in Crown property. As in the 1730s, the chief of the newly established governmental mining agency was charged with the responsibility to make up inventory and to evaluate the whole Demidov's property "in order to know, what should be paid to his heirs from Our treasury". The name of the game was a compulsory purchase, but not forfeit. As in the case of previous seizure, the Kolyvano-Voskresensk plants were considered exclusively as the state property, but not as the personal property of the Empress.

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