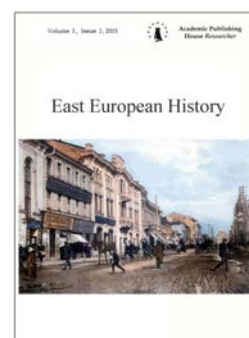


Copyright © 2015 by Academic Publishing House *Researcher*

Published in the Russian Federation
East European History
Has been issued since 2015.
E-ISSN: 2500-1310
Vol. 1, Is. 1, pp. 13-23, 2015

DOI: 10.13187/eeh.2015.1.13

www.ejournal49.com

Russian Germans in Russian Historiography from the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Vladimir N. Shaidurov ^{a, *}^a Saint-Petersburg Mining University (Mining University), Russian Federation

Abstract

Russia and Germany have centuries-old cultural, economic, and dynastic ties. Until the end of the 17th century, the German diaspora in Muscovy was small and concentrated in the German Quarter in Moscow. In the reign of Emperor Peter the Great (1682–1725), the Russian service was joined by many Germans, who made their careers in the army, administration and science. Until the middle of the 18th century, there was no state policy on the German population in the Russian Empire, as the ethnic group was an integral part of the Russian nobility and highest aristocracy. The reign of Catherine the Great (1762–1796) featured an active campaign carried out in Russia to engage foreign colonists in the economic development of vacant lands on the outskirts of the state. The greatest dynamism was demonstrated by the subjects of the German principalities, which at that time were ruined by the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and the policy of Prussian King Frederick the Great (1740–1786). In Russia, the colonist districts emerged in the Volga region and New Russia, which were home to dozens of thousands of Germans in the early 19th century. Resettlement processes in Russia were predisposed by different factors based on various groups of colonists. German colonies in the Volga region were founded by settlers from an array of German principalities. They were Catholics and Lutherans, whose dream was to build a prosperous life in their new homeland. The 1780s Novorossiia saw numerous new colonies of Mennonites who emigrated from Gdansk to protect their way of life and religion from harassment by Prussian King Frederick the Great. The isolation of German colonies in Russia helped them preserve their German identity and prevented their assimilation in the Russian and Ukrainian population. Protectionism on the part of the tsarist administration contributed to an economic boom in German colonies, which became a full-fledged process in the late 19th and early 20th century. German colonies became a driver behind Russian agrarian capitalism in the Volga Region and South Russia. Germans' active engagement in the Russian economy raised the issue of the historical investigation into the German colonization in Russia, the nature of the development of the colonies from their start until the end of the 19th century. The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the growing scientific interest to the past course of the German colonization and German colonies in Russia. At the same time, a large number of journalistic works appeared, which dealt with various aspects of life of the German population in the Russian Empire. These published works will form the basis for various research areas in historiography. They have retained their major scientific and historical value so far. Many of these works are also historical sources, since they contain abundant statistical information on Russian Germans. This article will analyze only

* Corresponding author

E-mail address: s-w-n@mail.ru (V.N. Shaidurov)

one of the subjects in historiography – the German colonization in the second half of the 18th century. This article is based on the material published in the Russian language in Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Keywords: Russian Germans, Russian Historiography, Russian empire, Prussia, German principalities, Mennonites, German colonies, German colonisation in Russia.

1. Introduction

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) inflicted enormous damage to the economy of Central Europe. People living in many German principalities suffered from abject poverty. Many towns and villages became deserted. In the second half of the 17th and early 18th century, Prussian kings pursued active policies to attract artisans and peasants from neighboring principalities to their lands. Hence, they carried out an efficient colonization campaign to populate unoccupied lands over again and restore the national economy ruined by the War. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763), which had devastated Central Europe, again intensified migration activity in the German principalities. In the mid-18th century, the most commonly accepted philosophy in political economy was the Physiocratic doctrine which stated that the national wealth of any country was based on agriculture. It was this area which should be primarily developed by the country's rulers. These three factors (foreign practical experiences, migration activity, and the economic theory) created favorable conditions for a colonization campaign in the Russian Empire in the reign of Empress Catherine the Great (1762–1796).

Researching the history of Russian Germans generates several challenges, one of which involves our understanding of the key term 'Russian Germans'. One should, of course, examine this term with due regard for the conditions in which it came into being. On the one hand, this term can encompass all Germans living within the territory of the Russian Empire from the second half of the eighteenth century to the start of the twentieth. In this case it is necessary to address the history of Germans living or arriving in the country prior to the 1760s, and colonists who migrated under the ruling circles' internal colonisation policy, as well as their descendants; here the term "Germans from Russia" is more appropriate. On the other hand, a narrower interpretation of the term under consideration can be allowed which only covers immigrants arriving in Russia from German principalities within the aforementioned internal colonisation activities from the 1760s to the 1830s, as well as their descendants. In other words, the term 'Russian Germans' applies exclusively to colonists or settler-property owners (from 1874 onwards). For the purposes of this paper we will be using a narrow interpretation of the term under consideration. However, one disclaimer needs to be made. In this publication the author will only refer to those German migrants and their descendants who settled in rural areas and who were originally under the jurisdiction of the Bureau for the Guardianship of Foreign Colonists - later known as the Office for the Guardianship of Foreigners – as well as the offices of the Ministry of State Property.

The authors writing from the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries touched on various topics. However, in general they focused on the migration of Germans to Russia from the 1760s to the 1800s, the founding settlements which became known as colonies, and the socio-economic developments of the colonies, although some works address the cultural life of the colonists. Interest in any given aspect of the lives of the German colonists was determined to a large extent by the situation in the region or country. In other words, one can recognise that some publications were biased in nature. This applies in particular to the period at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries when interest in Germans stemmed from various political forces.

The basic territorial groupings which formed the German subnational group in the Russian Empire had been formed by the beginning of the twentieth century. The most numerous were the Volga, Novorossiysk or Black Sea, Volhynian, Siberian and Baltic groups. These groups included both migrant colonists and Germans who happened to be living on the same territory up to the eighteenth century. Proceeding from these definitions, this article will focus on all the enumerated groups, with the exception of the last.

The new period begins in the 1860s and, by our reckoning, lasts until the 1910s. Around this time both monographs and articles published in various national and regional periodicals began to be published. Another feature of this period is the duality of the materials' content. On the one hand, one can speak about the appearance of a whole range of research publications, notable for

the wide variety of sources used, their critical analysis and attempts at objectivity. On the other hand, there continued to be a number of popular scientific works, some of which were quite biased. One of the features of this period is the 'specialisation' of researchers in the study of German colonists in any given region.

A further issue remains; it is necessary to determine the nature of the texts we use. They can, from one perspective, act as sources, but from another, as independent research. The texts selected for historiographic analysis contain not only information, but also show the author's position on any given issue.

As far as this issue is concerned, the texts deal with the history of colonial migration to Russia, the foundation of colonies in the aforementioned regions, and the socio-economic development of the colonies in various periods from the last third of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth.

2. Material and Methods

In the period between 1760s and 1870s, the German colonies existed in Russia in isolation from the rest of the population that lived in Russian regions (Volga region, New Russia, Volyn and others). But the colonists were regarded by the tsarist administration as an integral part of the population in the empire. The liberal paternalistic approach to Russian Germans adopted by Russian rulers in the late 18th and early 19th century was an essential element in the multi-ethnic policies which replaced the Russian ethnocentrism. Despite being isolated, the German colonists were one of the forces that according to Andreas Kappeler, determined the country's historical development (Kappeler, 1992).

This article focuses on the publications describing the German colonies in Russia in the late 18th and first half of the 19th century. The paper uses various methods of historical research. The chronological approach has given us the opportunity to study the problems which represented the essence of the research subject, by arranging them in the chronological sequence and identifying quantitative and qualitative changes that took place in them. Making use of the retrospective method has allowed us to turn to the past for a deeper understanding of historical processes and see them from a certain distance, when it became clear what historical results they produced. The genetic technique has enabled us to look from the historical perspective at how the research subject evolved in a specific area in a particular time period. The comparative method is based on a comparative analysis of the views expressed by authors in their publications on the issues linked to the emergence and growth of the German colonies in the Russian Empire.

This article is based on the material published in the Russian language in Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century. By their nature, these are travel essays, monographs, and journal articles.

3. Discussion

One of the first specialised monographs dedicated to the various aspects of the history of German colonisation was A. Klaus's "Our Colonies" (St Petersburg, 1869). It had been expected that this would be published in two volumes, although the essays on foreign colonisation appeared in only one volume. It contained materials published in various issues of the "Journal of the Herald of Europe" from 1868, but also included new articles. Klaus addresses various issues in his work. One of the most discussed topics concerns the goals of the Russian government, having invited Germans and, admittedly, other foreigners, and the consequences of colonisation measures in the second half of the eighteenth century. Adhering to the official position, Klaus indicates that the Russian authorities' colonisation policy within the prescribed period was in pursuit of certain goals. However, he emphasises that "the settlement among us of foreign farmers en masse was not undertaken with the unilateral aim of settling "vacant" land and the fringes of the Empire" (Klaus, 1869: VI). Another cultural and educational task preceded these events, although the government only spoke openly about this for the first time in 1804. How successfully were these tasks resolved? Klaus says without hesitation that the first goal was achieved and paints a clear picture of "the colonies providing for themselves and the more or less flourishing situation within them" (Klaus, 1869: VI). However, this process proved difficult and painful, as much for the Germans as for the surrounding populations. Klaus sides with the colonists, attempting to explain their insularity with a whole variety of reasons. Among those he indicates their lack of familiarity with the Russian

language. He notes that "Russian society and the representatives of its economic interests" did not make an effort to "sensibly and comprehensively familiarise themselves with the way of life of our colonists; with the conditions or, more accurately, with the system of initial settlement and the colonies' further developments" (Klaus, 1869: VIII).

In his work Klaus comes to a conclusion which he guides his reader to throughout: great successes in economic and social development could be achieved in Russian villages, as occurred in the German colonies. However, he indicates that this does not require any kind of "eternal privileges"; it is enough to grant temporary allowances, to develop a prudent fiscal policy and agricultural judicial statutes, to grant land allotments, and, above all, to organise communities at "the very beginning of settlement". All of this should be a prerequisite for "any normally developing state" (Klaus, 1869: XII).

Nonetheless, the significance of this work is great. It became the basis for interpreting the history of German colonisation in various regions of the Russian Empire. For example, the question of colonising Kamyshinskiy uyezd was examined in "A Collection of Statistical Information on Saratov Province" (Saratov, 1891). The author of this historical retrospective recognises that the Germans played "an extremely important role" in this process (N.P. 1891: 44). At the same time an authorial position is lacking, instead substituting extensive quotation from Klaus's aforementioned monograph.

However, interest in German settlers and property owners (former colonists) obliged specialists to address the history of their appearance in Russia. It is fitting to refer to the words of Warsaw University professor D.V. Tsvetayev, who indicated that "faithful disclosure of foreigners' cultural activities is, of course, only possible after the closest acquaintance with them. Just as one cannot accurately judge consequences without knowing causes, it is acutely difficult to speak of activities without knowing the agents beforehand. The question should thus emerge in Russian historical research of these very foreigners and the conditions under which they acted. There was a need to know who these aliens who lived and ended up in the Russian State were; to study the capabilities and qualities which gave them a place among us; their ways of life both communal and private, spiritual and civic; their interests, and their mutual relations and spheres of contact with the local Orthodox Russian population. It was necessary to take a look at their government and the different classes of Russian society, as well as why advantage was given to Protestants above Catholics and among those Protestants to any given group of them; to trace the extent to which these foreigners were subject to local influence, and what changes were made in the lives of the Russian people with whom they came into contact" (Tsvetayev, 1891: 4).

In Russia, since the turn of the twentieth century, a research basis on the study of the history of Russian Germans has emerged in opposition to the amateur interpretation and distortion of facts. This prompted the publication of works by authors who happened to be historians, lawyers and specialists in other fields of knowledge.

One of the most quoted authors, whose works cover the topic of colonisation in Russia from the second half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, is G.G. Pisarevskiy. Some of his works are referred to or discussed in historical articles or monographs by various authors (Dietz, 1997: 14; Malinovskiy, 1997: 17-18; Chebotareva, 1997: 32; Pleve, 1998: 19). At the same time, some of them tolerated serious mistakes. For example, L.V. Malinovskiy notes in one of his articles that "in so far as his (Pisarevskiy's – V.S.) work ("From the History of Foreign Colonisation in Russia in the Eighteenth Century" – V.S.) is devoted to the eighteenth century alone, he does not at all describe the migration to Russia of the southern colonists" (Malinovskiy, 1997: 18). In order to accept this statement, it is not possible to have a detailed acquaintance with the work. At the same time, despite the interest in Pisarevskiy's works, they have still not received a comprehensive historiographical assessment.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Pisarevskiy published a whole series of works dedicated to the history of foreign colonisation and German colonies in Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the first journal articles, he addresses certain episodes related to the migration of Lutheran immigrants from the Danzig (Gdansk) region and Mennonites to the southern regions of Russia. The author's undoubted merit is in his utilisation of a wide range of historical sources on the topic of foreign colonisation in Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century. A considerable number of the sources were initially introduced for academic use. Detailed investigation of the state archives, primarily the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, allowed the Moscow University professor to elucidate certain episodes in the history of foreign colonisation in some detail, including von Trappe's mission in Danzig in 1786 and others.

In his first work Pisarevskiy examines the economic and social situation in Danzig after the first partition of the Rzeczpospolita in some detail. This event, Prussian policy towards Danzig, and natural disasters paved the way for the relatively productive activities of Russian agents.

One of the most active professional enrollers in 1786 was von Trappe, recommended to Prince Potemkin by Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna. Von Trappe's mission became the object of Pisarevskiy's assiduous research.

Pisarevskiy's works constantly refer to von Trappe's letters to Prince Potemkin or quote extracts from the reports of S. Sokolovskiy, the Russian diplomatic agent in Danzig. In this case the author purposefully evades historiographic analysis of these sources, which present entirely subjective information to their readers. On the one hand, von Trappe, as a party interested in the success of his own enterprises, presents Potemkin with a purely positive account of his activities. Difficulties arising on his trip are explained either as opposition from the authorities of Danzig or Prussia, or as a position occupied by Sokolovskiy. Von Trappe thus for a long time completely abdicated responsibility for any problems which arose. Only at the end of his mission, when it was understood that the enterprise was nevertheless being concluded more or less successfully, did he acknowledge that he initially took the wrong stance on Russia's representative in Danzig and foreign affairs colleagues in St Petersburg, insisting on their exclusive discretion. "I infinitely regret", he wrote to Potemkin on 8 (19) October 1786, "that I arrived here without a letter from Count Osterman. Shielded by such a letter, I would have had remarkable success in my commission" (Pisarevskiy, 1902: 89). On the other hand, Sokolovskiy, being unaware of Potemkin's plans, tried to justify his actions regarding von Trappe in every possible way and in plenty of time in his letters to St Petersburg Vice Chancellor Osterman. In other words, in both cases we encounter the authorial subjectivity of sources on which Pisarevskiy's analytical work is based. Nonetheless, the analysis of documents allowed the author to identify discrepancies in the treatment of colonisation by the initiators and direct executors of enrolment measures. Potemkin and von Trappe's differing interpretations of the task of the latter's "commission" are clearly demonstrated in this work. If Potemkin unequivocally spoke of enlisting peasants from the Danzig region, then von Trappe, for his part, de facto reserved the right to "recruit" representatives of different classes in various regions of the former Rzeczpospolita to the colonists' ranks. Which is to say, by this time the authorities were already trying to draw a lesson from colonisation measures in the Volga Region and approached the invitation of foreigners to Russia with greater caution. On taking not only peasants but also artisans to Russia to settle in Novorossiia, Pisarevskiy cites as evidence the fact that a proportion of colonists (13 families) was settled in Sevastopol (Pisarevskiy, 1902: 94). In this way, the authorities attempted to bring into effect peasant colonisation of marginal lands, while professional enrollers, pursuing their own vested interests, sought to bring within the bounds of the Empire all those who were desirous to come.

In his article "Calling Mennonites to Russia" Pisarevskiy continues to develop the theme of foreign colonisation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In his preceding work, Pisarevskiy only refers to the negotiations led by von Trappe in Danzig with representatives of the Mennonite community (Pisarevskiy, 1902: 81-82). Mennonite migration to Russia had thereby become the object of his specialised research.

Pisarevskiy, drawing on archive documents, notes that the migration from Danzig "of the Proletariat, Lutherans by faith, not belonging to a unified religious community" happened differently than with the Mennonites (Pisarevskiy, 1903: 52-53). The Mennonites first addressed the Russian authorities represented by von Trappe with a proposal to conclude a collective agreement, which would include all of the Mennonites exclusive rights and privileges and accurate information about the land allocated for settlement. In other words, the idea of its conclusion came from the representatives of the Mennonite community, who led the negotiations with von Trappe.

In their supplicatory articles to Prince Potemkin, the Mennonites defined the conditions of their migration, which were established by deputies who had visited the site of the future settlement. These articles established the size of the land allotment to be divided among the Mennonite families, the tax breaks, the conditions of using forest and water resources, and so on. The seventeenth article, in which the Mennonites asked the Russian authorities to charge von

Trappe with organising their migration to Russia, was believed to be particularly important by Pisarevskiy.

In his work Pisarevskiy indicates with good reason that the enlistment of colonists in Polish and other lands did not go entirely smoothly. In this case numerous deportations followed the resistance of the Prussian and Danzig authorities. The author draws the reader's attention to the 1784 publication in Amsterdam of Baron de Tott's memoirs, which described their authors meeting with colonists fleeing Russia (Pisarevskiy, 1903: 67). Members of the Danzig bourgeoisie, who Pisarevskiy believed sought to "undermine the people's trust in the Russian Government's colonisation policy", tried to use extracts from these memoirs to further their interests (Pisarevskiy, 1903).

Pisarevskiy subjected this topic to detailed analysis. For this purpose he used excerpts from von Trappe's written statements as well as his own deductions. As a result the author came to the conclusion that "in all places where colonies appear, there are ... parasites, scoundrels and drunkards who do not want to work, ultimately turn to theft and, in the end, when they can no longer be allowed to go unpunished, run away" (Pisarevskiy, 1903: 68).

Von Trappe's activity as a professional enroller from 1787 to 1792 is examined by Pisarevskiy in some detail in this work. Analysis of Russian diplomatic correspondence written by von Trappe himself leads to the conclusion that the latter's resettlement projects amounted, in his own words, to "a large-scale swindle". Activities in Potemkin's name long allowed him to realise his intentions, not agreeing his plans with St Petersburg, but placing himself, as a rule, before the fact. However, Potemkin's death changed the situation. Vice Chancellor Osterman demanded that von Trappe cease his travels around Europe and present a report, inter alia financial, on the work done. However, how this story concluded is "not clear from archive documents" (Pisarevskiy, 1903: 97).

Pisarevskiy describes the first years of Mennonite life in Novorossiia in general terms. He links this period's economic hardships with the death of Potemkin, who was "the main organiser in matters of settling the Novorossiysk territory and the benefactor of foreign colonists", and with the financial difficulties which the Russian Treasury suffered after the Second Russo-Turkish War. Mennonites in the first wave of settlement received the sums promised to them in instalments which were immediately spent on pressing needs. As they had practically no means of their own, they were not permitted to invest capital in establishing and developing the economy. Mennonites of the second settlement, arriving between 1793 and 1796, brought significant financial resources and a sufficient quantity of draft animals with them. The sums paid by the government were invested in agriculture, which significantly strengthened it. It was the Mennonites who laid the foundations of the successful foreign colonisation of southern Russia, "which yielded handsome rewards down the line" (Pisarevskiy, 1903: 102).

The accumulated empirical material was summarised by Pisarevskiy in his work *From the History of Foreign Colonisation in Russia in the Eighteenth Century* (Moscow, 1909), which became, in point of fact, the first research study on the history of foreign, inter alia, German colonisation in Russia.

In his foreword the author presents a review of the publications in which the topic of colonisation is raised. In Pisarevskiy's view, the shortcomings of previous works are that they "either give a physiogeographic description of the colonies or report statistics about them" (Pisarevskiy, 1909: V-VI). The first primarily relates to the aforementioned accounts by Russian and foreign travellers in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the second to publications in institutional journals. Klaus's work particularly stands out and had, in Pisarevskiy's opinion, an advantage over his predecessors as he used a wide range of sources, although all in insufficient depth.

Examining the history of German colonisation, Pisarevskiy divides it into two successive stages: the colonisations of the Volga Region and of southern Russia. For this purpose he actively uses various historical sources: legislation, management and clerical documentation, epistolary sources and so on, the overwhelming majority of which were used in research for the first time. Pisarevskiy's undeniable merit is in his study of a large body of archive materials. The legal basis for foreign colonisation in the second half of the eighteenth century is analysed in some detail. For this he not only uses legal texts, but also involves a set of parallel sources, such as institutional correspondence, and so on. Individual documents are reproduced in the work in full with specific

commentaries. Above all, this relates to those acts which were not included in the "Complete Collection of Laws".

Examining German colonisation along the Volga, he notes the fact that at the initial stage it had a great degree of negative consequences. There was discord in the observations of German colonisation in southern Russia. In this case, colonisation of the region by Mennonites and Germans of other denominations, primarily Lutherans, particularly stands out. On the whole those thoughts expressed in the publications of 1902–1903, analysis of which is presented above, repeat themselves.

The value of "From the History of Foreign Colonisation ..." is in the merits valued by the author's contemporaries. This manifested itself in, for example, its nomination for the G. F. Karpov prize.

P. A. Shafranov's review, which was published in a separate leaflet, presented in depth analysis and highlighted the strengths of the work. In particular, it indicated that Pisarevskiy "establishes as a fact the dependence of Russian colonisation policy in Catherine's reign on the expansionist theory predominant in Europe at the time, and the successive connection of Catherine's colonisation activities with preceding reigns" (Shafranov, 1909: 5). Against this backdrop, he reveals a picture of intense activity by a range of individuals close to the Empress.

At the same time, the work was not lacking in certain shortcomings. One of the work's most significant deficiencies is the author's primary focus on documents from the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This limitation of sources did not permit Pisarevskiy to present material of an additional or specialised nature on a range of important issues.

For quite a long time the "German question" did not appear in Pisarevskiy's oeuvre. To all appearances, the author engages in gathering new documents to correct the shortcomings upon which his colleagues had remarked.

1914 saw the publication of his new work "Internal Regulations in the Volga Colonies under Catherine II", in which Pisarevskiy's relationship with the colonists changed dramatically.

The work consists of two parts, which the author does not particularly emphasise, but such a division of the text suggests itself to the reader. In the first section, the author concentrates on presenting the colonists' moral values and, in this instance, a primarily negative assessment of the migrants becomes evident. It should be noted that the negative appraisal of the colonists at the start of their residence in the Volga Region is heard clearly for the first time in his works.

On the first pages of this piece Pisarevskiy already indicates that neither the colonists nor the authorities were satisfied with the results of the resettlement.

Pisarevskiy sees the principal reason for this failure in the disorderly enlistment of colonists by recruiters in Europe. This led to the arrival in Russia for farming of those who were "little suited to farming culture" (Pisarevskiy, 1914: 2). The settlers who had arrived in their new place of residence encountered conditions they had not expected. This situation became possible, in the author's opinion, as a consequence of a lack of control on the part of Russian diplomats over the activities of recruiters and professional enrollers. Low quality publicity in the form of broadcast advertisements and short stories misled Germans, Scots, French people and others aspiring to settle in Russia.

Drawing on sources, Pisarevskiy characterises the colonists as unable or unwilling to work, increasing the immoderate demands of the authorities. As a matter of fact, he takes the position of civil servants from the 1760s to the 1780s.

Such a situation can be explained, in our view, by the author's one-sided approach to source selection. He relies in his work primarily on documents from the official documentation of the Bureau for the Guardianship of Foreigners, although he himself recognises that "official statistics in these reports (Count Orlov's – V. Sh.) should be approached with great caution" (Pisarevskiy, 1914: 4). It is entirely possible that the author came away with this unfavourable impression of the first German colonists in the Volga Region from dealings with documents - letters from Orlov to the colonists and reports from Astrakhan Governor Krechetnikov. Thus recognising the necessity for criticism of the sources used, he does not use them in any way that significantly reduces the quality of the work.

In the second section of his leaflet Pisarevskiy draws on the Bureau for the Guardianship of Foreigners' statement on their position in "Instructions ..." in 1769. They presented general guidelines, but there was an absence of information on how to apply the instructions in the Volga

colonies. In other words, the document is analysed exclusively from the perspective of the history of colonists' rights.

Pisarevskiy raises issues of German colonisation in the context of a particular region in his work "Economy and Land Tenure in the Volga Colonies from the Eighteenth Century to the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" (Rostov-on-Don, 1916). Here the problems which settlers from German lands encountered in their new place of residence are examined in even greater detail. In particular, the reasons for their disastrous state in the second half of the eighteenth century are determined. Among those, the author emphasises the random recruitment of colonists, their ignorance of the overwhelming majority of basic agricultural practices, their settlement in strictly defined lands which deprived them of room to manoeuvre, their ignorance of the local environmental and climatic conditions, and so on (Pisarevskiy, 1916: 6, 8-9, 13). He places particular emphasis on the problems of a high death rate and frequent epizootic diseases in the colonies in the first decade of their existence (Pisarevskiy, 1916: 18-19, 21-23). In Pisarevskiy's opinion, another reason for the colonies' poor economic position was the constant material support from the authorities, which led to the colonists' growing indebtedness to the Treasury. The work appeared against a backdrop of anti-German campaigns in Russia, although it does not contain any ideological motives.

On the whole, in this work Pisarevskiy repeats the ingrained conclusion that "the original plan of Catherine's government concerning the means and aims of Volga colonisation by foreigners collapsed" (Pisarevskiy, 1916: 65).

One of those researching into the history of German colonies in Russia was J. Dietz. By 1914, when Russia marked 150 years of German colonies in the Volga Region, he had prepared the manuscript "A History of Volga German Colonists". A whole range of factors lead to this work lying around on museum shelves for 80 years and only being published for the first time in 1997.

By the time Dietz started work there had already been a significant amount of popular articles published in the local press and serious research on the history of the issue under consideration. Specialised legal education allowed Dietz to approach anew the initial stages of German colonisation in the Volga Region in the second half of the eighteenth century. He engages a body of legal documents of that time for his work. In-depth legal analysis of legislation and management and clerical documentation, which no researcher had previously used, allowed him to preserve different chapters of the history of Volga Germans for his successors. Furthermore, the author draws upon the collected memories of former employees of the Saratov Office for the Guardianship of Foreign Colonists in his work. At the same time, Dietz prioritises the documents of government institutions. This is done quite deliberately, as "for a historian it is important to receive the cold, hard facts, without any extraneous features or inexorable statistics and figures", just as "memoir material in itself cannot sustain the researcher, as every communication, even by an extremely educated and responsible contemporary, is unwittingly subjective, whereas facts are exposed under an author's individual impression" (Dietz, 1997: 4).

In the introductory section of his work Dietz not only presents an analysis using his sources, but also calls attention to the most salient publications by his predecessors and contemporaries on the matter in question. Although, in this manner he confines himself to listing works and indicating the main themes they present.

This work primarily examines German colonisation of the Volga. Much attention is paid to analysis of the reasons explaining, in the author's opinion, the disastrous state of the Volga colonies. Dietz sets aside the random nature of migrant enlistment in German lands, which his contemporaries had emphasised. He focuses on the situation which arose after settlement in Russia had already occurred. One of the main reasons is that bureaucrats "completely ignored the laws by virtue of which the colonists had established themselves" (Dietz, 1997: 130) and, in this case, such a situation occurred throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. This resulted in the forced settlement of migrants on the Volga's unoccupied lands and the persistent failure to secure loan money, livestock, seed grain and timber. Additionally, he indicates that in 1782 economic director Ogarev illegally carried out "a breakage in the colonists' lives and economic culture", which was reflected in the dissolution of household land ownership and its replacement with capitation (Dietz, 1997). The last aspect is examined from different positions by Dietz and Pisarevskiy, and the latter indicates that Ogarev moved "the goals of fiscal and successful recovery of Treasury debt" in the first place (Pisarevskiy, 1916: 67-68).

Drawing on the memories of the first settlers, Dietz highlights the negative impact of the colonist neighbourhood on the places of the nomadic Kyrgyz-Kaysaks and Kalmyks. "Everything was ransacked and devastated: doors and windows battered and hewn asunder, possessions scattered, corpses were strewn about the streets, there where yesterday there had been perfect order, today chaos reigned, ruins around which survivors fruitlessly called their fathers, wives, children; everyone cried over a relative, a lost piece of bread and small property" (Pisarevskiy, 1916: 116). The colonies found themselves in such a state after a series of raids by nomads between 1775 and 1776.

In Dietz's opinion, the visitation of E. Pugachev's troops to a number of colonies exercised a negative effect on the colonists' economic condition. Pugachev's rebellion is examined with a key typical of that time: anti-government demonstrations which brought destruction to the majority of the country's population.

J. Stach brought a notable contribution to the study of the history of German colonies in Russia. His first work was published in Russian and was devoted to the southern Russian colonies (Stach, 1916). The main focus was concentrated on the colonisation of southern Russia by Germans. However, the author failed to overlook colonisation arrangements on the Volga. In this manner Stach is in line with existing traditions: with a negative attitude to the activities of the first stage. The author thereby confines himself to discussing the text of the 22 July 1763 manifesto and the main positions of the "agrarian" code of 19 April 1764. Rather than examining the resettlement process of Germans in this region or its rationale, Stach refers the reader to Pisarevskiy's work "From the History of Foreign Colonisation ...", skipping straight to the history of German colonies in southern Russia.

Stach determines that the main reason that the Russian authorities turned to colonisation of remote regions by foreigners was that "in Russia herself there was not the possibility of settling these regions with our own forces" (Stach, 1916: 7-8). The German colonies arising in southern Russia over this long period were isolated from the Russians. First and foremost, this accounts for the difficulties the migrants encountered "during settlement in a land foreign to them" (Stach, 1916: 98). They were forced to navigate a desperate struggle for survival. In due course the German colonists destroyed the barrier separating them from the rest of the region's population, but, predominantly, the initial contacts had a material basis. In his work Stach somewhat exaggerates the influence of German Colonists on the nomadic peoples of the Black Sea; in particular the Nogais, whom he calls merely "wild nomads" (Stach, 1916: 100). It is impossible to completely agree that only the Germans facilitated the transition of various peoples from a nomadic to a non-migratory way of life. This process was developed by a range of objective factors.

Therefore, interest in the history of German colonies in Russia became stable in Russian historiography from the 1860s onwards. Various aspects were actively developed, including the initial phase of German colonisation from the 1760s to the 1880s. Works were published in which this topic is examined in the context of the general history of the colonisation process (Pisarevskiy) or the colonisation of specific regions: the Volga (Dietz) and southern Russia (Skalkovskiy, Klaus, Pisarevskiy, Stach).

Conclusion

To summarize the above, we have reviewed the most prominent works on the history of the studies into the German colonization and German colonies in different regions of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century. The research we have accomplished has allowed us to draw the following conclusions.

The second half of the 19th century marked a new period in the study of the history of Russian Germans. In the late 18th – early 19th century, the authors who produced the publications mainly belonged to government officials who traveled across Russia and visited the German colonies. From the 1880s, works by professional historians began to appear. Starting from the 1860s, the authors chose various kinds of historical sources as materials for their publications. The most telling example is the use of archival materials by professor Pisarevskiy. The period between the 1770s and 1850s was dominated by descriptive works, while the second half of the 19th and early 20th century indicated publications of first analytical studies. The works at the turn of the 19th – 20th century contained a wealth of factual material that was first introduced in the scientific use. Researchers focused on statistical data and correspondence of public figures in the

second half of the 18th century. The result was a shift in the studies on the history of the German colonization in Russia to a qualitatively new level. Publications, generated in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century, have retained their historic value to the present and are now widely employed to by historians who are looking at the history of Germans in Russia.

Литература

Без автора, 1891 – *Без автора*. Сборник статистических сведений по Саратовской губернии. Т. XI. Камышинский уезд. Саратов, 1891.

Дитц, 1997 – *Дитц Я.* История поволжских немцев-колонистов. Москва: Изд-во "Готика", 1997.

Клаус, 1869 – *Клаус А.* Наши колонии. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Нусвальта, 1869.

Малиновский, 1997 – *Малиновский Л.В.* Обзор историографии сельского немецкого населения в России (1762–1917 гг.) // Российские немцы. Историография и источниковедение. Москва: Изд-во МСНК, 1997. С. 13–20.

Писаревский, 1902 – *Писаревский Г.* Вызов в Россию колонистов из Данцига. Эпизод из истории иностранной колонизации в России (по неизданным архивным документам) // *Русская мысль*. 1902. Кн. IX. С. 71–94.

Писаревский, 1903 – *Писаревский Г.* Вызов меннонитов в Россию (по неизданным архивным документам) // *Русская мысль*. 1903. Кн. X. С. 49–102.

Писаревский, 1909 – *Писаревский Г.* Из истории иностранной колонизации в России в XVIII в. (по неизданным архивным документам). Москва: печатня А.И. Снегиревой, 1909.

Писаревский, 1914 – *Писаревский Г.* Внутренний распорядок в колониях Поволжья при Екатерине II. Варшава: Типография Варшавского учебного округа, 1914.

Писаревский, 1916 – *Писаревский Г.* Хозяйство и форма землевладения в колониях Поволжья в XVIII – первой четверти XIX века. Ростов-на-Дону: Типография А.И. Тер-Абрамиан, 1916.

Плеве, 2000 – *Плеве И.Р.* Немецкие колонии на Волге во второй половине XVIII века. Москва: Изд-во МСНК, 2000.

Цветков, 1891 – *Цветаев Д.В.* К истории изучения вопроса об иностранцах в России. Варшава, 1891.

Чеботарева, 1997 – *Чеботарева В.Г.* Социально-экономические аспекты жизни немецких колоний в российской историографии // Российские немцы. Историография и источниковедение. Москва: Изд-во МСНК, 1997. С. 21–43.

Шафранов, 1909 – *Шафранов П.А.* Отзыв о книге Г.Г. Писаревского «Из истории иностранной колонизации в России...». Издание Императорского Общества истории и Древностей Российских при Московском Университете. М., 1909. 21 с.

Штах, 1916 – *Штах Я.* Очерки из истории и современной жизни южнорусских колонистов. Москва: Типография А.И. Мамонтова, 1916.

Deutsche Geschichte, 1997 – *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Russland.* Herausgegeben von Gerd Stricker. Siedler Verlag, Berlin, 1997. 672 s.

Kappeler, 1992 – *Kappeler A.* Russland als Vielvoelkerreich. Muenchen: Verlag C.H. Beck., 1992.

References

Chebotareva, 1997 – *Chebotareva V.G.* Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie aspekty zhizni nemetskikh kolonii v rossiiskoi istoriografii [Socio-Economic Aspects of Life in German Colonies in Russian Historiography]. In A. German & I. Pleve (Eds.), *Russian Germans. Historiography and Source Studies*, Moscow, IVDK Press, 1997. pp. 21–43. [in Russian].

Dietz, 1997 – *Dietz J.* Istoriia povolzhskikh nemtsev-kolonistov [The History of Volga German Colonists]. 495 p. Moscow, Gotika Press, 1997. [in Russian].

Kappeler, 1992 – *Kappeler A.* Russland als Vielvoelkerreich [Russia as a multinational country]. Muenchen, C.H. Beck Publ, 1992. [in Germany].

Klaus, 1869 – *Klaus A.* Nashi kolonii [Our Colonies]. 456 p. St Petersburg. Nusvalt Publ., 1869. [in Russian].

Malinovskiy, 1997 – *Malinovskiy L.V.* Obzor istoriografii sel'skogo nemetskogo naseleniia v Rossii (1762–1917 gg.) [A Review of the Historiography of the Agricultural German Populations in

Russia (1762–1917)]. In A. German & I. Pleve (Eds.), *Russian Germans. Historiography and Source Studies*, Moscow: IVDK Press, 1997. pp. 13–20. [in Russian].

N.P., 1891 – *N.P. Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenii po Saratovskoi gubernii* [A Collection of Statistical Information on Saratov Province], Vol. XI Kamyshinskiy uyezd, Saratov, 1891. [in Russian].

Pisarevskiy, 1902 – *Pisarevskiy G. Vyzov v Rossiiu kolonistov iz Dantsiga. Epizod iz istorii inostrannoi kolonizatsii v Rossii (po neizdannym arkhivnym dokumentam)* [Calling Colonists from Danzig to Russia. An Episode from the History of Foreign Colonisation in Russia (according to unpublished archive documents)] // *Russian Thought*. 1902. Volume IX. pp. 71–94. [in Russian].

Pisarevskiy, 1903 – *Pisarevskiy G. Vyzov mennonitov v Rossiiu (po neizdannym arkhivnym dokumentam)* [Calling Mennonites to Russia (according to unpublished archive documents)]. // *Russian Thought*. 1903. Volume X. pp. 49–102. [in Russian].

Pisarevskiy, 1909 – *Pisarevskiy G. Iz istorii inostrannoi kolonizatsii v Rossii v XVIII v. (po neizdannym arkhivnym dokumentam)* [From the History of Foreign Colonisation in Russia in the Eighteenth Century (according to unpublished archive documents)]. Moscow, A. Snegireva Publ., 1909. [in Russian].

Pisarevskiy, 1914 – *Pisarevskiy G. Vnutrennii rasporiadok v koloniiakh Povolzh'ia pri Ekaterine II* [Internal Regulations in the Volga Colonies under Catherine II]. Warsaw. Warsaw University Press, 1914. [in Russian].

Pisarevskiy, 1916 – *Pisarevskiy G. Khoziaistvo i forma zemlevladieniia v koloniiakh Povolzh'ia v XVIII – pervoi chetverti XIX veka* [Economy and Land Tenure in the Volga Colonies from the Eighteenth Century to the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century]. 116 p. Rostov-on-Don. A. Ter-Abramian Publ., 1916. [in Russian].

Pleve, 2000 – *Pleve I.R. Nemetskie kolonii na Volge vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka* [German Colonies on the Volga in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century]. Moscow, IVDK Press, 2000. [in Russian].

Shafranov, 1909 – *Shafranov P.A. Otzyv o knige G.G. Pisarevskogo «Iz istorii inostrannoi kolonizatsii v Rossii v XVIII v. (po neizdannym arkhivnym dokumentam)»* [Review of the book Pisarevskiy, G.G. "From the History of Foreign Colonisation in Russia in the Eighteenth Century (according to unpublished archive documents)". Moscow, 1909. [in Russian].

Stach, 1916 – *Stach J. Ocherki iz istorii i sovremennoi zhizni iuzhnorusskikh kolonistov* [Essays on the History and Contemporary Life of the Southern Russian Colonists]. Moscow. A.I. Mamontov Publ., 1916. [in Russian].

Stricker, 1997 – *Stricker G. (Ed.). Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Russland*. [German history in Eastern Europe. Russia]. Berlin. Siedler Publ., 1997. [in Germany].

Tsvetaev, 1891 – *Tsvetaev D.V. K istorii izucheniia voprosa ob inostrantsakh v Rossii* [On the History of Inquiry into Foreigners in Russia]. 9 p. Warsaw. Warsaw University Press, 1891. [in Russian].