TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editor’s Preface........................................................................................................... xi
Foreword and Acknowledgements............................................................................... xiii

A. Introduction............................................................................................................. 1

B. Preconditions.......................................................................................................... 5
   I. The Settlement of German Colonists in Russia.................................................. 5
   II. Main Features of Colonial Development in the Nineteenth Century............... 8

C. German Colonists in the Black Sea and the Southwest Region
   as Subjects of Public Opinion, Politics and Diplomacy....................................... 12

   I. Effects of the Reforms Following the Abolition of Serfdom
      on Attitudes Towards the Colonists.................................................................. 12
   II. National and Security Policy as New Dimensions in the
       Colonization Question...................................................................................... 48
   III. Attacks Transferred to the Black Sea Germans. The Combining of
       Economical, National, and Religious Arguments......................................... 86
   IV. Interlude: The Objectification of the Debate (1895-1907)............................... 135
   V. Renewed Debate over the Colonist Question (1907-1914)............................... 141
   VI. Interest in the Colonists by Reich and Baltic Germans................................. 185
   VII. Ukrainian National Movement and the German Colonists........................... 226

D. Background in the Black Sea Region.................................................................... 230

   I. Population Growth and Land Ownership of the German Colonists................. 230
   II. Relationship of the Colonists to Russia and Germany........................................ 272
   III. Relationship to the Russian and German Languages:
       Group Consciousness and Insularity.............................................................. 316
   IV. Co-existence of Germans with Ukrainians and Russians in
       Every Day Living Situations............................................................................. 373

E. Outlook: Attempts at a Solution to the “German Question” in WWI.................. 419

F. Conclusion.............................................................................................................. 424

G. Illustrations............................................................................................................ 431

H. List of Sources and Literature............................................................................. 440

I. Index...................................................................................................................... 468
# DETAILED TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editor’s Preface</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreword and Acknowledgements</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Introduction</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Research Subject Matter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Sources</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Technological Directives</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Preconditions</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Settlement of German Colonists in Russia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Main Features of Colonial Development in the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. German Colonists in the Black Sea and the Southwest Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as Subjects of Public Opinion, Politics and Diplomacy</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Effects of the Reforms Following the Abolition of Serfdom</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Attitudes Towards the Colonists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Foreign Colonization in Transition</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Government Policy</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Public Discussions</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Colonial Reform, Colonist Reactions</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Integration into the General Administration</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Adoption of a Universal Military Obligation</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Traditional Critiques of Colonization until the Mid-1880s</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. National and Security Policy Levels as New Dimensions in the</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization Question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. German Immigration to Volhynia as an Impediment to</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russification of the Borderlands. Implications for Foreign and Polish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Goals of Russian Policies in the Western Borderlands after the</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Revolt of 1863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Notes on the Consequences for German Immigration:</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity of the German Question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Measures Taken by the Russian Government</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Discussing the Problem (1872-1876)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Inventories of Foreign Colonization in the Southwest Region (1881)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Discussion of Suitable Measures (1882-1886)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Laws promulgated March 14, 1887 and June 15, 1888</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. The Role of Public Opinion .................................................. 65
4. Position of the German Government ........................................ 70
   a) Guidelines for a German Policy ........................................ 70
   b) Consequences of the Deportation of Russian Subjects from
      Prussia for the Germans in Russia (1885 and 1886) .................. 76
5. Reactions to the Laws of 1887 and 1888 in Germany and Russia .... 79
6. The Situation in the Southwest Region, 1887-1891 .......................... 82

III. Attacks Transferred to the Black Sea Germans. The Combining of
      Economical, National, and Religious Arguments ....................... 86
1. Voices against the Growth of German Property in the
   Black Sea Region, 1887-1888 ........................................ 86
2. The Ekaterinoslav Zemstvo and the Press, 1888/1889 ...................... 89
3. Sweeping Attacks Against the Colonists, 1889-1891 ....................... 93
4. Voices of Dissent .................................................. 101
5. Measures to be taken by the Government .................................. 105
   a) Dispatching Inspectors to the Black Sea Region.
      Russification Measures ........................................ 105
   b) Limiting the Acquisition of Land in Volhynia.
      The Law of March 14, 1892 ..................................... 107
   c) The Question of Limiting German Land Acquisition
      in the Black Sea Region, 1891-1893 ................................ 109
   d) The Question of further Measures in the Southwest.
      The Law of March 19, 1895 ..................................... 112
6. The Problem of Stundism ........................................ 115
7. Public Opinion 1892-1895 ........................................ 121
8. Reaction of German Colonists to the Attacks ............................. 126
9. Position of the German Government ....................................... 133

IV. Interlude: The Objectification of the Debate (1895-1907) ................ 135
1. Public Opinion .................................................. 135
2. Position of the Government and Officials on the Question
   of Limiting German Land Acquisition .................................. 138
   a) The Southwest Region ........................................ 138
   b) The Black Sea Region ........................................ 139

V. Renewed Debate over the Colonist Question (1907-1914) .................. 141
1. Attempt by the Governor General of Kiev to Tighten the Laws ...... 141
2. Revival of Public Debate ........................................ 144
3. Minister of the Interior Stolypin’s Proposed Bill ....................... 146
   a) Origins .................................................. 146
   b) Reaction of the German Colonists and the Russian Nationalists;
      Treatment of the Proposal in the State Duma ...................... 149
   c) Position of the German Government ............................... 162
4. Law Proposed by Minister of the Interior Makarov ........................................ 167
   a) Its Origins ......................................................................................... 167
   b) Reaction of the German Colonists and the Russian Nationalists:
      Deliberation of the Proposal in the State Duma ..................................... 170
5. The Question of Support for the German Colonists
   by the Peasant Land Bank ..................................................................... 181

VI. Interest in the Colonists by Reich and Baltic Germans ............................. 185
1. Precursors of the Pan-Germans ............................................................ 185
2. The Pan-German League and Its Sympathizers .................................... 191
3. The General German School Society/Society for Deutschum
   Abroad .................................................................................................. 209
   a) Colonization Efforts in the Imperial German Colonies ....................... 211
   b) The Re-settlement of Returned Emigrants from Russia ..................... 214
5. Aktion Baltikumsiedlung, Baltic Resettlement:
   Relationship Between the Colonists and the Baltic Germans ................. 221

VII. Ukrainian National Movement and the German Colonists ....................... 226

D. Background in the Black Sea Region ...................................................... 230

I. Population Growth and Land Ownership of the German Colonists ............... 230
   1. Population and Land Ownership up to 1858 ....................................... 230
   2. Land Acquisition and Emigration as a Solution to the
      Landless Question ............................................................................. 236
   3. Population and Land Ownership up to the First World War ................. 241
      a) Population Growth ...................................................................... 241
      b) Land Ownership ......................................................................... 247
      c) German Colonists and Ukrainian / Russian Peasants as
         Competitors in Land Acquisition .................................................. 265
   4. Critique of “Land Hunger” from Some Colonists:
      Alternatives to Land Acquisition ........................................................ 270

II. Relationship of the Colonists to Russia and Germany ............................... 272
   1. Declarations of Loyalty to the Tsar ..................................................... 272
   2. Inner Feelings About Russia and Germany ......................................... 275
   3. Political Interests, Newspaper Reading .............................................. 287
   4. Views About the Foreign Policies of Germany And Russia ................. 294
   5. Behavior in War and in Crises ............................................................ 300
   6. German Colonists As Russian Soldiers .............................................. 307
   7. Political Orientation 1905-1914 ......................................................... 312
III. Relationship to the Russian and German Languages:
   Group Consciousness and Insularity.................................................. 316
   1. Teaching in Russian and School Policy up to 1890.......................... 316
      a) The School System in the Colonies up to 1870............................. 316
      b) Efforts to Promote the Russian Language, 1871-1890....................... 318
      c) Judgment of the Inspectors Concerning Russian Language
         Education, 1890............................................................................. 323
   2. Period of Russification, 1891-1905.................................................. 327
      a) Introduction of Russian Language Instruction:
         Reform of the School System by the Authorities............................... 327
      b) Reaction of the German Colonists.................................................. 330
      a) Initiatives for a National School Restructuring.................................. 336
      b) Position of the School Authorities and the Government
         1905-1907.................................................................................... 341
      c) Comments on the School Question, 1907-1914................................. 343
   4. Insularity, Denominational, and Group Consciousness......................... 350
      a) Insularity ..................................................................................... 350
      b) Discussion of the Effects of the Stolypin Agricultural
         Reforms on Colonist Insularity......................................................... 357
      c) Confession and National Consciousness in the
         German Colonies............................................................................. 359
   5. Assimilation....................................................................................... 369

IV. Co-existence of Germans with Ukrainians and Russians in
   Everyday Living Situations..................................................................... 373
   1. Self-evaluation as “Model Farmers” and “Instructors.”
      Relationship to the Ukrainian and Russian People in General................. 373
   2. Relationship of the Colonists to Their Agricultural Workers .................. 380
      a) Work Requirements, Salary.............................................................. 380
      b) Treatment of the Workers................................................................. 386
   3. Relationship of the Colonists to Their Rural Neighbors.......................... 396
   4. Relationship of the Colonists to Their Employees
      in the Crafts and Industry................................................................... 406
   5. Relationship of the Colonists to Government Officials............................ 408
   6. Vigilantism......................................................................................... 412
   7. Germans and Ukrainians or Russians in
      Self Governance Organizations and in Duma Elections.......................... 414

E. Outlook: Attempts at a Solution to the “German Question” in WWI........... 419

F. Conclusion............................................................................................ 424

G. Illustrations.......................................................................................... 431
H. List of Sources and Literature ................................................................. 440

I. Archival Sources ................................................................................. 440
   1. Russian State Historical Archives, St. Petersburg (RGIA) ............ 440
   2. Political Archives of the Foreign Office, Berlin (PA AA) ......... 441
   3. Federal Archive, Berlin (Bundesarchiv Berlin) ....................... 442

II. Official Published Sources .............................................................. 443

III. Periodicals .................................................................................... 447

IV. Contemporary Writings and Secondary Literature ................. 449

V. Bibliographies .............................................................................. 467

I. Index ................................................................................................ 468

   Name Index ................................................................................... 468
   Topographic Index ...................................................................... 473
   Subject Index ........................................................................... 477
List of Tables, Graphs and Maps

A. Tables

1. Settlers of Foreign Ancestry in the Southwest in 1882 ........................................ 56
2. Property Ownership of Settlers of Foreign Ancestry in 1871 and 1882 .................. 75
3. Share of Settlers of Foreign Ancestry in the Border Districts and in Districts Adjoining Them (1882) .......................................................... 57
4. The Course of Immigration into Volhynia, 1871-1881 ........................................ 58
5. Land Ownership of German Colonists in the Black Sea Area, 1890 and 1902 ...... 140
6. German Colonists in the Southwest Region, 1909 .............................................. 142
7. Land Ownership of Germans in the Southwest Region, 1909 ............................. 143
8. Land Ownership of Germans in the Southwest Region, 1909, in Figures of the Ministry of the Interior ................................................................. 146
9. Number and Land Ownership of Non-Russian Settlers in the Southwest Region, 1909 ................................................................. 167
10. Accommodation of Return Migrants through the Welfare Society, October, 1 1908 – January 1, 1909 ................................................................. 220
12. German Colonists in the Black Sea Region and their Land Ownership, 1841 ...... 231
13. German Colonists in the Black Sea Region and their Land Ownership, 1858 ...... 232
14. German Share of the Population in the Black Sea Region, 1858 ........................... 234
15. Germans in the Black Sea Region, 1858-1912, by Province, and their Share of the Total Population ................................................................. 242
16. Average Number of Children per Family in the Districts of Kronau-Orloff and Khortitsa, 1890-1914 ................................................................. 244
17. Germans in the Black Sea Region in 1897, by District ........................................ 245
18. Land Ownership of the Black Sea Germans in 1890, by District ........................ 247
19. Land Ownership of the Black Sea Germans in 1890, according to Velitsyn ........ 249
20. Land Ownership of the Black Sea Germans, c.1914, by District ......................... 250
21. Land Ownership of the Black Sea Germans, c.1914, by Province ....................... 252
22. Land Ownership of the Black Sea Germans, 1890 and 1902 ............................ 254
22a. Evolution of German Land Ownership Before and After 1890 .......................... 255
23. Origin of Land Acquired by Germans in Kherson province, 1839-1890 ............. 265
25. Allotment Land of Peasants and Colonists in desiatinas per Farmstead, 1877 and 1905 ................................................................. 268
26. Newspapers and Magazines Read by the Molochna Mennonites as of January 1, 1904 ................................................................. 289
27. Newspapers and Magazines Read in the Community of Großliebenthal in 1905 ... 291
28. Newspapers and Magazines Read in the Parish of Klöstitz in 1904 ....................... 291
29. Newspapers and Magazines Read in the Parish of Josefstal in 1904 ...................... 292
30. Newspapers and Magazines Read in the Parish of Novo-Sofievka in 1913 .......... 293
31. National Composition of Volosts in Perekop District in 1900 ................................ 354
32. National Composition of 146 Villages with German Inhabitants in Perekop District .......................................................... 354
33. Breakdown of 146 Villages with German Inhabitants, by the Degree of their National Exclusivity ........................................ 355
34. Mother Tongue and Confession in the Provinces of Bessarabia, Kherson, Tauria, Ekaterinoslav, and the Don Region ............... 372
35. Average 1904 Monthly Wage for Adult Workers in Berdiansk District ................................................................. 381
36. Number of Delegates and Officeholders in Tauria Zemstvos in 1915 ................................................................. 415

B. Graphs
1. Population Growth of the Molochna Mennonites, 1812-1864 ................................................................. 230
2. Population Growth of the Molochna Mennonites, 1812-1915 ................................................................. 238
3. Germans in the Black Sea Region, 1834-1917 ................................................................. 242
4. Land Ownership of the Black Sea Germans, 1841-1914 ................................................................. 253
5. Growth of German-owned Land in Selected Districts ................................................................. 257
6. Distribution of German Land Ownership into Ten Categories of Size at the Province Level
   a) Tauria ................................................................. 258
   b) Ekaterinoslav ................................................................. 259
   c) Don Region ................................................................. 260
7. Distribution of German Land Ownership into Ten Categories of Size at the District Level
   a) Berdiansk ................................................................. 262
   b) Perekop ................................................................. 263
   c) Ekaterinoslav ................................................................. 264
8. Ownership Shifts in Ekaterinoslav District, 1861-1915 ................................................................. 267

C. Maps
1. German Colonist Areas in the Black Sea Region, 1858 ................................................................. 234
2. Provinces and Districts in the Black Sea Region, 1897
   Share of Germans in Total Population ................................................................. 245