

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Dissertations, Theses, & Student Research,
Department of History

History, Department of

6-1-1909

The History of the German-Russian Colony in Lincoln

Hattie Plum Williams

University of Nebraska

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/historydiss>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Williams, Hattie Plum, "The History of the German-Russian Colony in Lincoln" (1909). *Dissertations, Theses, & Student Research, Department of History*. Paper 5.

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/historydiss/5>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the History, Department of at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, & Student Research, Department of History by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

5374
616
2nd

< THE HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN COLONY IN LINCOLN.

T H E S I S

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Nebraska
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

By

Mrs. Hattie (Plum) Williams.

Lincoln

1909.

23514 65

UNIVERSITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. INTRODUCTION - - - - - 1,2,3

II. GERMAN EMIGRATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. Germany after the Peace of Westphalia - - - - - 4

2. Political Effects of Thirty Year's War - - - - - 5

 a. Domestic Strife - - - - - 6

 b. The Rhenish Palatinate - - - - - 7

 c. Johann Wilhelm - - - - - 7

 d. Karl Phillip - - - - - 8

 e. Karl Theodor - - - - - 8

 f. Disunion Discourages Patriotism - - - - - 9

3. Religious Conditions in Palatinate - - - - - 10

4. Effect of Penn's Visit to Germany - - - - - 11,12

 a. Settlement of Germantown, Pennsyl-
 vania by Mennonites - - - - - 12,13

5. Emigration of Lutherans to Pennsylvania - - - - 14,15

6. Evils arising from German Emigration to
 America - - - - - 15

7. Mittleberger's Journey of 1750 - - - - - 16

8. French and Indian War - - - - - 17

9. European Checks to German Emigration to
 America - - - - - 17

 a. Counter-Pamphlets and Edicts - - - - - 18

 b. German Emigration to Denmark - - - - - 19

 c. To Austria-Hungary - - - - - 19

 d. To Spain - - - - - 20

 e. To Prussia - - - - - 21

 f. To Russia - - - - - 22

III. RUSSIAN EXPANSION PRIOR TO KATHERINE THE GREAT

1. Russia's Expansion and Settlement similar
 to America's - - - - - 23,24,25

2. Assimilation in America - - - - - 26

3. Russian Expansion Eastward - - - - - 26,27

4. Russian Expansion Westward - - - - - 28

5. Movement of Population in Russia - - - - - 29,30

6. Russia's Dependence upon Western Europe
 for Artisans - - - - - 31,32

7. Russia an "Ethnographic Museum" - - - - - 33

8. Effect of Russia's Policy - - - - - 34

1814 Hungary 97

IV. GERMANS ON THE VOLGA.

1. Agriculture in Russia in the Eighteenth Century - - - - -	35
2. Katherine's Manifestoes - - - - -	36,37
a. Katherine Desired Palatines for Colonists - - - - -	38,39
b. Her Advertising Schemes - - - - -	40
3. "Barbarous Russia" - - - - -	41,42
a. Katherine's Plans for Facilitating Travel - - - - -	42,43
b. Journey to Russia Compared with Voyage to America - - - - -	44,45
4. Number of Colonists who went to Russia - - - - -	46,47
a. Majority go to Saratov and Samara - - - - -	48,49
b. Three periods of Migration - - - - -	50,51
5. Germans found in three Groups in Russia - - - - -	52,53
6. The Volga Colonies - - - - -	54,55
a. Germans given title to their Land - - - - -	56
b. The Mir System - - - - -	57
c. The Village - - - - -	57,58
d. The Homes of the Colonists - - - - -	58,59
e. Industrial Life in the Village - - - - -	59,60
f. Educational and Religious Advantages - - - - -	60,61
7. Germans feel themselves superior to Russians - - - - -	62
8. German Exclusiveness - - - - -	63
a. Reasons for - - - - -	64
9. Characteristics suggesting historical Origin of German Colonists - - - - -	65

V. VOLGA COLONISTS IN AMERICA

1. American Immigration Records Incomplete - - - - -	66
2. Foreigners from Russia, 1872-1880 - - - - -	67
3. Mennonite Colonists first to leave Russia - - - - -	68
4. Regulations of Russian Army affecting Immigration - - - - -	69
a. Militia and Reserve - - - - -	70
b. Mennonites fear further Restriction - - - - -	71
c. Evangelical Colonists avoid Army Service - - - - -	72
(1). Caused partly by Hardships of Military Life - - - - -	73
d. Effect of Enforcing New Law - - - - -	74
5. Emigration from Russia, 1880-1890 - - - - -	74
a. Death of Czar Alexander II - - - - -	75
b. German Emigration Stimulated in 1884-1885 - - - - -	76
6. Economic Causes for German-Russian Emigration - - - - -	77,78

a. Industrial Conditions promoting	
Emigration - - - - -	79
b. Famine of 1892 - - - - -	80,81
7. Recent Political and Economic Conditions - - -	82,83
8. Distribution of Immigrants - - - - -	84
9. German-Russians in Middle West - - - - -	85
a. In the Dakotas - - - - -	86
b. In Kansas - - - - -	86,87
10. Demand for labor draws German-Russians - - -	88
a. Part played by Railroads - - - - -	88
11. Nebraska Colonies - - - - -	89
a. Influence of Beet-Sugar Industry - - - - -	90
(1). German-Russian Labor adapted	
to Beet Industry - - - - -	90
b. Lincoln becomes Center of Colonization - -	91
(1). The "South Colony" - - - - -	92
(2). The "North Colony" - - - - -	92
(3). Effect of hard Times of 90's	
on Lincoln Colony - - - - -	93
12. German-Russians do not mingle with Germans - -	94
13. Analysis of Population - - - - -	95,96,97

UNIVERSITY
OF NEBRASKA
LIBRARY

INTRODUCTION

Standing at the corner of Tenth and O streets in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, any week day morning between 7:30 and 8 o'clock, you may see pass by you from ten to twenty women with little black woolen shawls on their heads. Ask any citizen who they are, and ninety-nine times in one hundred he will tell you they are "Russians" who live down on the bottoms, that they are going out into the offices and homes to wash and scrub and clean house, and that their husbands are street laborers or work for the railroad. He may then grow confidential and tell you that he "has no use for these people", that "they are only half human", and that he "would just as soon see the Chinese come here as those people". As a matter of fact the greater part of his information is incorrect, partly through race prejudice but chiefly through ignorance of their history.

These people, of whom there are about 4,000 in the city (including "beet fielders"), are Germans, not Russians; they are Teutons, not Slavs; they are Lutheran and Reformed, not Greek Catholics. To be sure they and their ancestors lived in Russia for over one hundred years and they

came here directly from the realm of the Czar whose bona fide citizens they were - but they never spoke the Russian language, never embraced the Greek religion, never intermarried with the Russians, and many of their children never saw a Russian until they left their native village for the new home in America. They despise being called "Russians" just as an Italian resents "Dago"; a Jew, "Sheeny"; and a German, "Dutchman". Ask them where they came from and most of them children and not a few of the grown people will say, "Germany". If you pursue your questioning as to what part of Germany, they will tell you "Saratov" or "Samara" - two governments in the eastern part of Russia on the lower course of the Volga river.

The misconceptions concerning the desirability of these German-Russians as citizens arise from their unprogressiveness as compared with those Germans who come to us directly from the mother country. During their century's sojourn in Russia they have been out of the main current of civilization, a mere eddy in the stream of progress. They present a concrete example of arrested development. The characteristics which differentiate them from other Germans are not due to an inherent lack of capacity but to

different environment. Notwithstanding this, the German-Russians have some admirable qualities. They bring us large stores of physical energy and an almost unlimited capacity for work. The majority of them are literate although the amount of their education is limited. They are thrifty and independent, almost never applying for public aid. They are law abiding, their chief offenses being those which are traceable to their communal life in Russia. They are extremely religious, all their social as well as spiritual life being bound up in the church which they support right royally. To be sure, the saloon gets their vote (the prohibition vote among them is increasing); but "was not the first miracle that Christ performed the turning of water into wine? If they would shut up the shows (theaters), they wouldn't need to shut up the saloons".

The object of this paper is to give the historical setting in which the German-Russians have lived as one means to a better understanding and appreciation of them by our own citizens.

CHAPTER I.

GERMAN EMIGRATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The average citizen of the United States thinks of Germany today as a strongly centralized power of highly organized efficiency along all industrial lines, and as a country whose resources are made to weigh for every available ounce in them. It is difficult for him to understand the political and industrial conditions which prevailed two centuries ago in the territory now comprehended within the German Empire.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Germany was in a state of political, religious, and social unrest. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) had marked the beginning of a new epoch in her history. Previously she had been a part of the Holy Roman Empire under which most of Western Europe had been ruled for centuries. She was still nominally in the same position, but in reality the treaty Germany after : had shorn the emperor of his power, and sov- the Peace of : ereignty was now vested in the princes of Westphalia : the various states. To complete her seve- : rance, Lutheran and Calvinists were recog- nized as exempt from the jurisdiction of the Pope.

Germany thus became a confederation of the loosest sort, and for the next hundred and fifty years her history is the separate records of the three hundred petty kingdoms of which she was composed.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) had affected the Rhine country most severely and had left the provinces of southwest Germany in a lamentable state. Homes were broken up, and provinces almost depopulated. The Palatinate, which had a half million population before the war, was now reduced to less than one tenth of that number. All restraint, moral and religious was removed and robbery, pillage, arson, and torture were common. Before the succeeding generation could restore normal conditions, southwest Germany again suffered, this time at the hands of the French. Louis XIV desiring to extend his territory north-
Political Effects : ward, made war without warning or ex-
of Thirty Years' : cuse against the Rhine country. In 1674
War. : and again in 1688 his armies overran
..... the Palatinate leaving it almost a
desert.¹ "How well this horde of murderers did his bidding is a matter of history. Even to the present day after a lapse of two centuries, the line of march may be traced from

.....

¹In 1688, Würtemberg was included in the devastation.

the Drachenfels to Heidelberg. Crumbling walls, ruined battlements, and blown-up towns still remain as mementoes of French vandalism."¹

Domestic strife added to the distress which arose from foreign wars. "When we ask for an account of the political life of Germany in the eighteenth century we hear nothing but the scandals of buzzing courts, and the wrangling of diplomatists at never-ending congresses."² The small prin-
 cipalities of which Germany was at that
 Domestic : time composed were frequently at war
 :
 Strife : with each other. The rulers were sel-
 :
 fish, extravagant, and utterly regard-
 less of the welfare of their subjects. Their one consuming desire was to ape the larger courts of Europe. To do this they must squeeze from their subjects the necessary revenue. In case this source was not sufficient, they sold them-
 selves as tools for the French kings, and their Protestant subjects suffered the additional woes of religious persecu-
 tion. The story of one is typical of all.

The Rhenish Palatinate, one of the richest and most beautiful parts of Germany, was an irregular disconnected territory lying on both sides of the upper Rhine. It had

¹Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses, VII, 170.

²Cf Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 399ff.

been a Protestant stronghold since the time the Elector Frederick II (1544-1556) had embraced the Reformed faith.

..... In 1685 the line of Protestant princes
 The Rhenish : died out and was succeeded by the col-
 : lateral line of Catholic rulers. The
 Palatinate. : first of these latter was Johann Wil-
 helm who concerned himself not with the rehabilitation of
 his Kingdom but with petty persecutions of his Protestant
 subjects, playing Lutheran against re-
 : formed. Some were driven away,- among
 Johann : them the Huguenots, who had found an
 Wilhelm : asylum there from French persecutions but
 joined the refugees to America. Others had their churches
 confiscated and attempts were made forcibly to convert them
 to Catholicism. "The Reformed were made incapable of hold-
 ing office, the stipends were withdrawn from preachers and
 teachers, and following the illustrious example of Louis
 XIV, they were subjected to the dragonnade. But the Pro-
 testants stood firm and almost none became Catholics. The
 Elector meanwhile lived away from his country and spent
 his subjects' money gayly in private theatricals, buildings,
 and art collections".

Karl Phillip who succeeded him was one of the worst rulers the country ever had. In 1735 he remitted some of

2. Bitteringer, Germans in Colonial Times, 19.

the feudal services in order that the peasants might till their fields, but this they refused to accept for fear of losing their crops at the hands of French invaders. When the foreigners paid the indemnity the Elector pocketed the entire sum and left the people with neither their crop nor damages for its loss. Such injustices were necessitated by the extravagances of the royal court which maintained hundreds of servants, retainers, and officials at the expense of its poverty-stricken subjects.

The last Elector of the eighteenth century, Karl Theodor (1742-1801) was probably the worst of all the Palatinate's rulers. Subsidized by the French court, and influenced by the Jesuits, his subjects' foes, he showed no consideration for his own people. "Bribery was open in the government; in the court avarice, extravagance, and immorality. He forbade his loving subjects to leave his well governed land where he destroyed the peasants' crops and fields with his magnificent hunts. His court far exceeded in expense and extravagance that of his predecessor. This magnificent court, with innumerable fine rooms,

"The Rhenish and Bavarian electors were France's favorite tools": Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 343.

stables with hundreds of horses, gardens and orangeries, was the resort of countless adventurers who were fed by scores at the monarch's table. Meanwhile every nineteenth inhabitant was a beggar; and the result of the census was concealed for it showed a progressive diminution of population".

It is not strange that with such elements of disunion in both church and state there should be no national feeling - no patriotism for the Fatherland which might induce the slow-going, patient Germans to endure further for its sake. "Lessing who did more than any Disunion : one else to create the German literary Discourages : spirit says, 'Of the love of country I have Patriotism. : no conception; it appears to me at best a : heroic weakness which I am right glad to be without". Of political, social, and economic hardships there was no lack, but it remained for the religious impulse to move the masses in an attempt to better their conditions of life.

The religious situation in Germany was an unsettled as the political. The depressing economic conditions brought about by the Thirty Years' War finally affected the spiri-

1. Bittinger, Germans in Colonial Times, 20.
2. Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 357.

tual life of the people. The established churches lapsed into a state of indifference and formalism, and a spirit of unrest, especially in the Evangelical sections, was experienced. Sects were proclaiming the Religious wrongfulness of war, and with the history Conditions in back of their country, one cannot wonder Palatinate. at their protest. They advocated simplicity of church ordinances and church government, and carried the same thought into the personal life, opposing ornaments of dress. They repudiated the theological disputes into which the established churches had fallen and emphasized the "inner light", "feeling", and "works". Mennonites, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Dunkers, and numerous other sects included thousands who had fallen under the sway of the Pietist movement. The doctrines they preached "separated them from the world" and made them the target for religious persecutions. Driven from one place to another, they finally despaired of ever finding peace at home, and decided to accept at opportunity opened to them.

This decision started a stream of migration from Germany, which continued from various causes through two centuries, and which came chiefly from the unhappiest part, the Rhenish Palatinate and neighboring provinces.

It scattered thousands of German people through the American colonies and later through the United States, into various South American countries and also into Ireland, Spain, Denmark, Prussia, Hungary, and Russia. Only in the last decade has it showed signs of discontinuance.

The religious wave of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which was felt all over Europe, resulted in the Pietist movement in the Rhine country of Germany, Jansenism in Holland, Quakerism in England, and Quietism in France.¹ A sympathetic interest between these religious groups was brought about largely by the missionary Effect of :tours of William Penn through southern Ger- mPenn's Visit :many in the years 1671, 1674, and 1677.² to Germany. :These journeys of the English Quaker had a:deep and abiding influence. They were like the shout of the traveller in the mountains which starts the avalanche whose weight of snows had been gathering for years. Four years after Penn's last visit to the continent he received his grant of land in the New World, and immediately began casting about for colonists. Of a despised

¹ Penna. Germ. Sec. VII, 174.

² A record of these journeys found in Penn's Diary in his Select Works. II.

sect himself, he did not expect support from his countrymen, but turned his attention to the many excellent men and women of character, influence and similar religious beliefs whom he had met on his travels in Germany. The Mennonites in particular had been attracted to Penn since they held many principles in common, and were as unpopular in their home as the Quakers were in theirs. He, therefore, addressed a circular through his agent Benjamin Furly inviting them and all other persecuted sects to share his new home in Pennsylvania. Furly was stationed at Rotterdam where he carried out such an extensive advertising scheme for the new colony as would admit him into full fellowship in a present day "ad club".

The first response came from Mennonites who under their able leader, Francis Pastorius, founded the settlement of Germantown, 1683. Other sects followed each year and in 1709 there occurred a movement known as the "Massenauswanderung der Pfalzer", the great exodus of the Palatines. During this year some 15000 to 30000 Germans sailed down the Rhine, crossed over into England, and were there cared for until they could be shipped to

-
1. Fac simile copies of many of these pamphlets may be found in Penn. Germ. Soc., Proceedings and Addresses, XI.

Up to 1730 the immigrants were mostly sectarians; but after that year the Lutherans and Reformed began leaving for America,— the latter chiefly from Switzerland and the Palatinate, the former from Württemberg.¹ Writing of this period, Gordon in his History of Pennsylvania says:

The influence of foreigners had become so great as to alarm the assembly, who dreaded their settlement upon the frontier. Keith (the Governor) had turned the attention of the house to this subject in the first year of his administration but had prevailed upon them to postpone definite measures until the sense of the royal council could be obtained. In the meantime every attempt to naturalize foreigners was received with coldness. Even the Germans whose industry and utility were proverbial, could not remove the prevailing jealousy. Many Palatines, long resident in the colony, applied for naturalization in 1721. x x x Indeed the timidity of the assembly induced them to check the immigration of foreigners in the province and if there were any just cause to dread an increase of population, the number continually arriving might palliate the present policy.

In spite of a committee report containing satisfactory evidence of their good conduct, a head tax of forty shillings was imposed owing to the repeated arrival of a large contingent of Germans in 1729.² The measures of the assembly caused by this fear that Pennsylvania might become a German colony were not sufficient to counteract the work of steamship companies and immigration agents who had seen the pro-

¹ The records of the Lutheran and Reformed churches are valuable in this connection.

² The year following December, 1728, there were 6200 Germans and others imported. Gordon, History of Penn. 186, 207-8.

fit to be gained from such traffic in labor. Voluntary immigration from the Palatinate was turned into the solicited type which gave rise to the redemptioner system. According to this plan the passage money of poor immigrants was advanced for the repayment of which they agreed with the master of the vessel transporting them to "serve him or his assigns" for a certain number of years. On their arrival they were sold out to the highest bidder, whose servants they now remained until the debt was satisfied.

This system arising about the middle of the eighteenth century brought with it terrible evils. In 1755

"the assembly endeavored in vain to remodel the law regulating the importation of German passengers. The Germans now imported were of a more mixed character than before and gross abuses were practiced by the importers. The passengers were crowded on board the ships without regard to cleanliness or health, and the whole : were made responsible for the passage
Evils arising : money of each, and were frequently from
: this cause reduced to one level of want
from German : and misery. The baggage of the passeng-
: ers was put on board other ships, with
Immigration : the design of recuring to the merchants
: the property of those who died on the
To America. : voyage. Contagious diseases were engen-
..... dered, which spread rapidly on the ar-
rival of the vessels by their evasion of the quarantine.
The provisions introduced by the assembly to remedy these
evils were stricken from the bill by the governor's council,
many of whom, as the house averred, profited by this shame-
ful traffic."

.. 'See further, Geiser, Redemptioners and Indentured Servants; Fisher, The Making of Pennsylvania.

The attempt of the colonial authorities to lessen the stream of migration were augmented by the efforts of the better class of Germans to spare their countrymen the evils arising from the redemptioners system. In 1750, an organist, Mittelberger, came to Pennsylvania and remained four years. On his return he wrote a pamphlet called a "Journey to Pennsylvania in 1750" in which he described the horrors of the voyage, the hardships endured by the redemptioners, and advised his countrymen against emigrating to Pennsylvania. In 1768 Pastor Muhlenberg, one of the most prominent and influential Germans in the colonies, Mittelberger's wrote a letter for publication in which Journey. he warned his countrymen/ against the "Newlanders" or immigration agents who were drumming up settlers for Pennsylvania under all sorts of lurid promises and conscienceless tricks. Such sources of information influenced the better classes against immigration; but still great numbers of the poorer "simple-minded" people were spirited away.

A further check to immigration was given by the French and Indian War (1755+1763). Without foundation the Germans were suspected of being in sympathy with the French; while

..... in reality they suffered greatly from them.
 French and : On the outer edge of the settlement along
 Indian War. : the Blue Ridge they were killed and captur-
: ed in large numbers and their homes des-
 troyed. For a few years there was a complete suspension
 of German immigration, which however began again in spite
 of reported unrest in the colonies and the events of the
 Revolutionary struggle.

Two other factors, both in Europe, were also working to
 stem the current of German immigration to Pennsylvania.
 These were the counter-pamphlets and the "Auswanderungs
 Verbote" of the German princes, and the colonization schemes
 of various European governments, whose rulers with jealous
 eyes, were looking at the success with which the New World
 was drawing German settlers.

The counter-pamphlets were first issued by the German
 churches to counteract the Quaker doctrines that were being
 directly and indirectly promulgated
 European checks : through the Pennsylvania advertise-
 to German Immigra- : ments. Later they assumed the form of
 tion to America. : unfavorable reports concerning the new
 country, making the most of the hard-
 ships and dangers which the other writers carefully avoided.

1. Loher, Geschichte der Deutschen in Amerika, 109-112.

The first edict forbidding emigration to Pennsylvania was issued by Karl Theodor, Elector of the Palatinate, June 21, 1752. This "Auswanderungs Verbote" was less effective however than the war between France and England (1756-1763) during which time the Palatine immigration was entirely suspended, but as soon as peace was restored other edicts followed rapidly. In 1764, four edicts were issued, one on March 3, one on May 26 and again on May 29, and one November 27. In 1768, the Emperor, Joseph II, was appealed to and he issued an order reinforcing the Counter-pamphlets : edict of the Elector, though at the and Edicts. : same time he was successfully bidding for great numbers of the emigrants for his own kingdom. Frederick of Prussia through whose kingdom many of the colonists passed on their way to Russia published a manifesto forbidding their passage lest it affect the Palatine colonists recently settled in his own realm. Edicts against migration as late as February 23, 1779, January 19, 1785, and February 5, 1793, show the momentum which the "Auswanderung" had acquired.

Since 1760 these edicts had been directed not only against the North American colonies but against other European countries which were pursuing a colonization policy

..... similar to Penn's in Pennsylvania.
 German Emigration : The first bid for colonists by a Eur-
 to Denmark. : opean country came from Denmark which
 desired to settle the uninhabited
 parts of Jutland; and in 1759-1760 261 families, containing
 something less than 1000 persons, responded from the Middle
 Rhine country.'

About 1760, Maria Theresa, of Austria-Hungary, whose
 kingdom had received some stragglers from the Palatine emi-
 gration, set in motion a comprehensive plan for recuperating
 the lost strength of her Empire. She encouraged agricul-
 ture, and through the building up of her various industries
 increased the national revenue, while dedreasing the bur-
 dens of taxation. Especial attention was given to amelior-
 ating the condition of the peasants. These generally favor-
 able conditions would attract the overbur-
 To Austria- : dened Palatines, but she held out especial
 Hungary. : inducements at the close of the Seven Years'
 War (1763) to discharged soldiers and sent
 officers into southwest Germany to enlist them as settlers
 in her realm. On the border of the country she arranged
 immigrant stations in charge of inspectors who were to ad-

3. 'Häberle, Auswanderung, 139-144.

wise the colonists as they arrived, measure off the land for them, drain the swamps, and improve sanitary conditions. Her son, Joseph II continued her policy and further promised that, if possible, persons of the same speech and religion, should be located in the same settlement, and that under no circumstances should relatives and friends be separated.¹ Several hundred colonies containing thousands of settlers from southwestern Germany were the result of this well-organized and well-conducted scheme.^{2, 3}

A local historian of the Rhine Palatinate says that in 1768 "many hundreds allowed themselves to be lured to Spain where they were promised tolerance."⁴ These were mostly Catholics, driven away by the bad season of 1766-1767. Over
 6000 German and Flemish artisans and farmers un-
 To Spain : der the leadership of Baron Johann Kaspar Thur-
 riegel, were led into the province of Andalusia
 in southern Spain, which had been almost depopulated by
 the persecution of the Jews and Moors and by numerous for-

¹Probably the inception of the idea of the German village which was so completely developed by the colonists in Russia under the mir system.

²Haberle, Auswanderung, 161-181.

³There were three well-defined periods of immigration to Austria-Hungary; 1762-1765, 1768-1771, 1784-1785.

⁴Ludwig Hausser, Geschichte der Rhenischen Pfalz, quoted in Penn. Germ. Soc. Proceedings, XI, 94, Footnote.

eign wars.¹ This movement of the Catholic subjects called forth from the Elector, Karl Theodor two sharp orders against emigration.² As usual, they were quite ineffective and by 1775 the number of colonists in Spain had increased to 10,426.

Another competitor to enter the field of colonization was Prussia. At the close of the Seven Years' War (1763) Frederick the Great found his kingdom in a greatly reduced condition, owing to twenty years of almost constant warfare. He set about to restore it in much the same way that Maria Theresa had planned. In the past his realm had profitted
 from religious exiles ,as the Huguenots and
 To Prussia : the Salzburger, and his religious liberality
 led him to invite in all sects. Furthermore
 he offered to remit the taxes, build houses for the colonists, give them land stock, tools, and money for transportation. Such liberal inducements led to the pouring out, from various parts of Holland and Germany, especially the Palatinate, of 300,000 colonists and the establishment of 900 villages and towns.³

¹Häberle, *Auswanderung*, 153-161.

²These were issued October 31, 1761, and June 13, 1769.

³Henderson, History of Germany, II,199.

But measured by the extent of the concessions tendered, it was from Russia that the loudest call came to the distracted German peasant to leave the Fatherland and seek his fortunes under an alien flag. It was voiced in the successive manifestoes of one of the most unique rulers To Russia. : of her century, Katherine the Great, herself a German princess of Anhalt Zerbst. The thousands of German peasants who responded to her call are the ancestors of those who are the subject of this study. This chapter tells why the Germans were ready to go. The next will show why Katherine wished them to come.

¹Häberle, Auswanderung, 126-139.














Chapter II.

RUSSIAN EXPANSION PRIOR TO KATHERINE THE GREAT.

When in 1762 the German princess, Katherine the Great wrested the throne from her Russian husband, Peter III, she fell heir to an empire mighty in extent but weak in influence among the nations'. The westward current of civilization passing through Asia Minor into peninsular Europe had left the great barren plains to the Russian Ex- : north almost uninfluenced and uninhabit-
pansion and : ed and by the time the distribution of
Settlement Simi- : peoples in Western Europe was accomplish-
lar to American. : ed the movement of population in Russia
..... had only begun. This process was not un-
like the movement of population in America, and occurred

1. Katherine was the daughter of the Prince of Anhalt Zerbst, a general in the Prussian army. She was born in 1729 and at the age of sixteen was married to Peter III, heir-apparent to the Russian throne. In her private life she was grossly immoral. As a ruler she introduced numerous and varied reforms, many of which were impractical for the Russians of that day but which served to advertise her and her kingdom. The dismemberment of Poland occurred during her reign. America's chief interest in her centers in the doctrine promulgated and enforced by her of "freeships,

Key to map Following

	The muscovite Dukedom before John III	1462
	The acquisitions of John III	1462-1533
	The " " " IV & Theodore	1533-1598
	" " " Micheal	1613-1645
	" " " Alexis	1645-1676
	" " " Peter	1689-1725
	" " " Anna	1741-1761
	" " " Elizabeth II	1762-1796
	" " " Paul	1796-1801
	" " " Alexander	1801-1825
	" " " Nicholas	1825-1855
	" " " Alexander	1855-1881
	" " " Catherine	1762-1796

during much the same period of time.¹

The nucleus for the settlement of America was formed in a narrow strip along our Eastern coast, the "European side" of the continent. It was at first composed almost wholly of Englishmen. Foreign colonists, however, were solicited and a century after the first permanent settlement we find the British government engaged in the transportation from Germany of thousands of Palatines to whom strong inducements to emigrate had been offered.² With the union of the colonies and the expansion of their territory to the Mississippi River, vast opportunities were opened up to those who had the hardihood necessary American : for pioneering. Among the first to cross Expansion. : the Appalachians were the Scotch Irish and the German settlers of Pennsylvania.³ To this overflow from the original states there was added the immi-

free goods". Though a German, Katherine was more influenced by French philosophy and thought until the breaking out of the French Revolution with which she had no sympathy. She died in 1796.

2. For a most interesting comparison of the beginnings of Russia and the United States, see Milyoukov, Russia and its Crisis, 1-29.

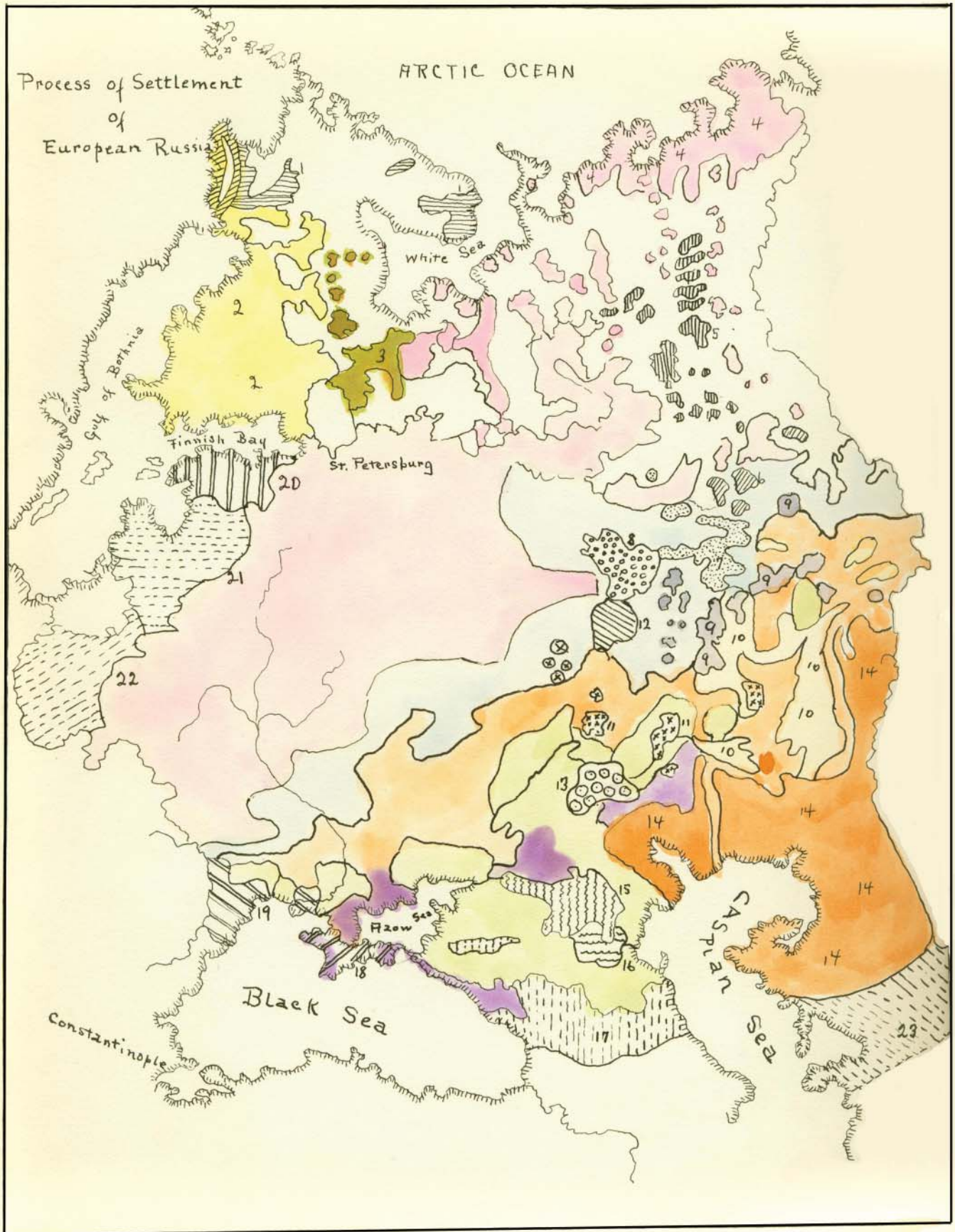
3. Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, II, 350 ff.; Cobb, Story of the Palatines.

gration from Europe which continued steadily though in what numbers it is uncertain until 1820. By that date the American type had become sufficiently differentiated to warrant classing the European settlers thereafter as "immigrants", and we now have the data for the beginning of statistics on immigration. But long before the Ohio and Tennessee valleys were filled, the Louisiana purchase had invited the settlers to another advance. A new frontier was established beyond the Mississippi and shortly after, the fortunes of war (it looked like the "mis"-fortunes to some men of that day) added the Mexican cession. To balance this southern acquisition, Great Britain was threatened and cajoled into dividing the disputed Pacific possessions by fixing definitely the Oregon boundary, and America now extended from coast to coast. In the meantime, population, instead of laboriously climbing the Rocky Mountains and as slowly spreading down the western slopes of the coast ranges, vaulted the heights, and established the mining and commercial centers of the coast leaving vast unsettled tracts between. At the northern extremity of this coast lay Alaska, the property of Russia, who from a small beginning on her western border had spread eastward to the ocean, half way across one continent, entirely across a second, and now held a good sized though apparently worth-

Key to map Following

- | | |
|--|---|
|  | 1---Laps |
|  | 2---Finns |
|  | 3---Karelian |
|  | 4---Samoieds |
|  | 5---Ziriane |
|  | 6--Permyzhkes |
|  | 7---KotiaKs |
|  | 8---Cheremesses |
| grey  | 9---Tartars |
|  | 10---BashKirs |
|  | 11---Mordos |
|  | 12--Tchurashes |
|  | 13---German colonies |
|  | 14---Kirghiz |
|  | 15---Kalmucks |
|  | 16---Nogais |
|  | 17--Caucasian |
|  | 18--Crimean |
|  | 19--Rumanians |
|  | 20--Baltic Finns |
|  | 21--Lithuanians |
|  | 22---Poles |
|  | 23---Turk Romans |
|  | Part of Russia settled before the middle of XVI Century |
|  | Russian colonization from 1550-1650 |
|  | Russian colonization " 1650-1750 |
|  | " " " 1750-1850 |
|  | " " " 1850-1900 |
|  | |

Process of Settlement
of
European Russia



less corner of a third.

Beyond the similarity in expansion and settlement, America and Russia part company. Almost without exception the inhabitants of the United States are "Americans". Seldom beyond the first generation of native born foreigners is a distinction made. The ethnological varieties, numerous as they are, have been of sufficient likeness to invite cross-breeding, and peaceable assimilation has gone on under the impetus of favorable educational and political conditions. Not so in Russia as we shall see.

The nucleus of the Russian Empire was also formed on the "European side" by the Slavs of southwestern Russia. Until the fifteenth century her history was the story of small rival principalities struggling against each other and succumbing to the Tartar invasions which from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries swept over the country. Evidences of these invasions are found in the Mongol settlements scattered all through eastern and southern Russia, showing thus early the lack of assimilation between the native Slavs and the incoming races.

1. See map showing process of settlements and ethnography of European Russia.

That the Mongols powerfully influenced the Russian people is evidenced however, by the familiar saying, "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar". The history of Russia proper begins with the union of states into the Muscovite government during the reign of John III (1462-1505 and the extension of territory to the Arctic Ocean. The geographical unity of Eastern Europe invited, almost forced, a policy of indefinite expansion which to the present day Russia has not abandoned. Natural boundaries of sea, ocean, and mountain range were sought. It was the era of mighty conquests when to secure clear title a small group of men under a bold leader need only plant their country's flag upon a new found land and lay claim to it in the name of Jehovah and their Sovereign. Spain, France, and England were thus taking possession of the new land across the sea. Russia was also taking possession of a new world - the one at her front door. The first acquisition in the latter half of the sixteenth century included all southeastern Russia to the Ural river, the Caucasus Mountains, and Caspian sea. The conquest of Siberia during this same period forms an episode in history as interesting as Pizarro's

conquest of Peru or the story of Cortez in Mexico.¹

Up to the eighteenth century Russia had turned her back on western Europe. Cut off from the rest of the continent by a wide stretch of territory, and occupied with conquest to the east, she had been more an oriental than an occidental power.² The eighteenth century added further Asiatic territory across the Ural River, but the acquisitions on the western frontier were of far more importance.

..... The two chief monarchs of the century were
 Russian Expan- : Peter the Great during the early years of
 sion Westward. : its first half and Katherine the Great dur-
 : ing its second half. The former sought
 in a large way to Europeanize Russia, and one of his first

1. Ivan the terrible in 1558 made a grant of ninety-two miles of desert land along the Kama River to Gregory Strogonof, an enterprising merchant. The states of the Strogonofs were established, commercial colonies were formed a la Astoria, and exploration of the mineral wealth of the Urals was begun, then Spaniard like the merchant prince began to dream of the conquest of the Tartar Kingdom to the east, and having obtained permission from the Czar to assume the offensive, he began preparations. An "army" of 850 men was raised and put under the command of a Cossack outlaw. In 1582, this "general" sent word to Moscow that he had "conquered Siberia". It was not until the following century that the eastern shore was reached and the southern boundary defined, but western fire-arms and disorganized native tribes made Siberia as easy a prey to Russia as was America to Spain.

²Until the European tour of Peter the Great it is said the Russian people scarcely knew a Turk from a German and were totally ignorant of France and England.

steps was to open a way for commerce on the Baltic sea. With the conquest of the Baltic provinces came the creation of St. Petersburg, and the removal thereto of the capital from Moscow. A port was established on the sea of Azof and the countries on the southwestern border of Russia, viz., the Ukraine and Poland, were subdued by Peter though they did not become an integral part of the empire until the reign of Katherine II.

These conquests proceeded far more rapidly than the natural increase of the population would support, and Russia like America looked to populous Western Europe for Colonists. The movement of population occurred from west to east and southeast in contrast with the opposite order in the United States. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the native Slavs had spread over the northwestern half of Russia and along the Arctic Rivers to the ocean. All the, richer better part of the country was rendered unsafe by frequent incursions of Asiatic tribes more terrible in their results than our Indian wars. During the following century (1550-1650) the Muscovite government threw

The map of European Russia was concluded in the first half of the nineteenth century by the conquests of Finland on the northwest, Little Poland on the west, Bessarabia on the southwest and Transcaucasia between the Black and Caspian Seas.

out a line of blockhouses and fortified posts on the rivers some distance beyond the border of its settled territory and the intervening space was rapidly filled up by the Slavic element. As Forts Duquesne and William Henry on the Ohio, Vincennes on the Wabash, and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi represent an advancing frontier for American civilization, so Voronysh on the Don, Samara and Saratov on the Volga, and Orenburg on the Ural were constructed as outposts to protect the Muscovite settlers against the Tartar raids. During the century following 1650, a second zone to the southeast was settled but by this time the Slavic population had spread out so thinly that it failed sufficiently to cover the territory. In 1724 the most thickly settled portion of Russia had only ten to thirty-five inhabitants per square kilometer, while the great fertile plains to the east had less than five inhabitants per square kilometer. The desirability of filling up the step-pes as the best means of protecting Russia against Tartar raids and of introducing foreign arts and industries for the benefit of the Russian people, led to artificial colonization and large numbers of foreigners were brought in.

1. Milyoukov, Essais sur l' Histoire de la Civilization Russe. See map in appendix.

Since the beginning of a united Empire under Ivan III, Russia had looked to western Europe for trades and tradesmen. Ivan III sought architects, military engineers and metal workers from Italy, and artists and handicraftsmen from Germany. Ivan the Terrible had sent the Saxon Schlitte into Germany (about 1547) to engage for him a certain number of engineers and artisans. A colony of one hundred people was collected, but jealous of the awakening of Russia, the Germans obtained permission from their emperor to stop the emigrants and none of them ever reached Moscow. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, un-

.....	:	ginning of the seventeenth century, un-
Russia depends	:	assisted immigration began to seek op-
Upon Western Eur-	:	enings in Russia as in America. Foun-
ope for Tradesmen.	:	deries were established by the Dutch
.....	:	and Germans and special privileges

granted foreign merchants and artisans, with only one condition imposed; viz., that they should not conceal the secrets of their industries from the inhabitants. Foreign influence was felt in political as well as commercial and industrial circles. German and Italian residents became ambassadors to neighboring states. Members of the royal

1. Rambaud, History of Russia, II, 191.

family married foreign princesses. One of the great reform projects of Peter I by which Russia was brought into closer contact with western Europe was the marriage of his daughter Anne to Prince Charles Frederick of Holstein_Gottorp, from whose house the male line of the present reigning family is descended.¹ In military education and organization Russia was especially dependent upon outside influence. As early as 1614, foreign soldiers began to enter the Russian service and in 1624, 445 of them were found in the Czar's army-168 being Poles, 113 Germans, and 64 Irish.² Thus the century furnished a liberal sprinkling of western Europeans for every phase of Russian life except the agricultural. The demand to colonize the steppes was first answered by Peter the Great who sought immigrants from those of the same race and religion in Austria and Turkey. But it remained for the German-Russian, Katherine II, by ignoring race and religion to settle thousands of foreigners, chiefly her countrymen, upon the black soil belt of the steppe.³ Before further discussing the German element in Russia, a

¹German rulers of Russia began with Peter III (1762). Since then every Czar has married into a German family.

²Bain, Slavonic Europe, 194.

³The Jews were excepted.

glance at the ethnographic map will be profitable.

A Russian writer has called his country an "ethnographic museum" where every specimen is deposited upon its separate shelf and carefully labelled. And the map before us bears out this statement. Such a map of the United States would be impossible in spite of the similarity noted in the settlement of the two countries. The foreign accessions to our population have as a rule entered the same door as did the colonial fathers and have filtered westward through our native population becoming part and parcel of it. On the other hand Russia has Russia an kept intact the native Slavic race "Ethnographic Museum" in its original habitation and has added to its borders various foreign groups either by conquest or solicited migration. These "states within a state" of which the map shows twenty-three distinct ones including millions of people, have remained for generations separated in language, religion, and institutions. While these groups might have been difficult to break up because of their size, compactness, and diversity, yet the earliest immigrants who came, apparently ready to

3. See map P. 34 taken from Milyonkov, Russia and its Crisis.

lose their indentity in the Russian people, were just as religiously rejected and forced to maintain their separate existence.¹ Of them Milyoukov writes:

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the strangers came in crowds to Moscow. They entered Russia as commissioned officers, wholesale merchants or trade agents, petty craftsmen, or skilled artisans in the Czar's personal service. Their number doubled in Moscow within the first half of the seventeenth century, increasing from about five hundred to one thousand- a great many for the Moscow of that time; they bought houses in the city and estates in the provinces; they conversed freely with Russian people, wore Russian clothes, engaged Russian servants, and spoke the Russian language. Then the Muscovite clergy became alarmed. The patriarch requested the Czar to enjoin the strangers from endangering further the Russian natives habits and creed. This request was granted; the foreigners were ordered (1652-1653) to sell their houses and estates and thenceforth to inhabit a single quarter in the Moscow suburbs, since called the "German" quarter.²

Thus early did Russia err in her attitude toward foreigners upon whom circumstances forced her to depend to a large degree for her development. Her recent attempts at :::::::::::::: forcible assimilation have resulted in Effect of :: the emigration of thousands of her sub- Russia's Policy.: jects whom she can as ill afford to lose: as could France the Huguenots or Germany the Palatines.³

¹ In early years, all foreigners in Russia were called "Germans".

² Milyoukov, Russia and its Crisis, 35-6.

³ This was most strikingly true of the Russian Jews but also of the Poles, Esthonians, Finns, and Germans.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANS ON THE VOLGA.

When Katherine II came to the throne, one of her first official acts was the proclamation of a manifesto inviting foreigners and raskolniks "who had been abroad" to settle along the course of the Volga to the south of the Irghiz River in Samara.^{1, 2} Other ukases offering most tempting inducements revealed her organized plan of colonization to which Agriculture in Russia : ized plan of colonization to which in the : she had been led chiefly by the Eighteenth Century. : success of Frederick the Great. While : the commerce and industry of Russia had been largely influenced by western thought, agriculture remained in a most backward state. There was no lack of land; but as the peasants were bound to the soil their methods of agriculture remained most primitive.

¹The Raskolniks were the dissidents of Russia bearing the same relation to the Greek church as the Lutherans bore to the Catholic church. Until the time of Katherine, persecution had driven them from the country. One of her first acts was to invite their return.

Milyoukov, Essais de l'Histoire de la Civilisation Russe, 81.

An English official at St. Petersburg in 1768, wrote:

The soil in this province seems tolerably good; in some places a deep clay and in others sandy. It is as you may suppose very little improved. A Russian plow is indeed a ridiculous object - so light that you may lift it in your hand; it is drawn by one small horse; the ploughshare is no bigger than a large carving knife and serves no other purpose than to loosen the surface of the earth. Yet in some places you see tolerable crops of barley, rye, and buck-ity wheat; and in many places extensive meadows luxuriant with natural grass.'

It was an appreciation of such conditions that led Katherine to issue her ukases.

The first manifesto of December 4, 1762, opened Russia for settlement to all foreigners except Jews;"partly in order to help the peasants of the land and to be an example in many ways to the neighboring Russians, especially in good methods of agriculture and horticulture, partly in order to provide settlers for waste land and to furnish good Manifestoes. and useful subjects for the Kingdom".² Tobacco growers and vine dressers were especially invited. To hasten the interest in colonization 200,000 rubles annually were voted to be spent under the direction of Count Orlov.

¹ Richardson, Anecdotes of the Russian Empire, 69.

² Quoted from ukase in Häberle, Auswanderung und Kolonisationsgründungen der Pfälzer, 145.

A second ukase of July 25, 1763, offered the following liberal terms to colonists:

1. The cost of transportation to be provided.
2. Free accommodations to be assured for six months after reaching their destination.
3. Money to be advanced without interest for ten years, to be used for the building of a house and the purchase of cattle, farming utensils and tools.¹
4. Farmers to have thirty years, and tradespeople five to ten years, exemption; after which they were obliged to enter the service of the army and state, and could then receive a perpetual and hereditary cession of sixty dessiatines of land.²
5. Religious freedom.
6. The right of establishing other colonies having complete self rule in administrative and political affairs.

A third ukase, December 8, 1763, provided for the establishment in the colonies of their own pastors, physicians,³

¹ Tradition says a "three-room house" probably because that was as large as their desires demanded.

² One dessiatine is 2.7 acres.

³ "Decreed that state language be used in public schools and that religious teaching be a part of the work in all public schools and that instruction be given in their various religions by teachers engaged and paid by the state"; Leroy-Beaulieu, The Empire of the Tzars and Russians, I, 136, Footnote.

apothecaries, etc; also for the endowment of the parishes with church lands, and the guarantee of contributions for church buildings. For all these privileges the new colonists were asked to grant but one favor; viz, that they take the oath of subjection to the crown.

While these conditions were open to all foreigners, Katherine had in mind especially the "Palatines".² Hundreds of pamphlets containing the very favorable Katherine de- : terms of the ukases and glowing descrip- sired Palatines: tions of the new country were distributed for Colonists. : everywhere and a systematic canvas for : the spreading of this "colonization prop- aganda" was begun. Southwest Germany particularly was

¹The Annual Register for February 26, 1763, says; "An edict has been lately published in Russia permitting foreigners of all nationalities and religions, the Jews excepted, to settle freely, wherever they think fit, in that empire. They are not only to receive money and materials for building and carrying on their several trades and be exempt from all burdens for a certain number of years, but have full liberty of conscience; and, if they chose, to associate and build towns for themselves in the country, have steeples and bells to their churches and even be governed by municipal laws of their own making.

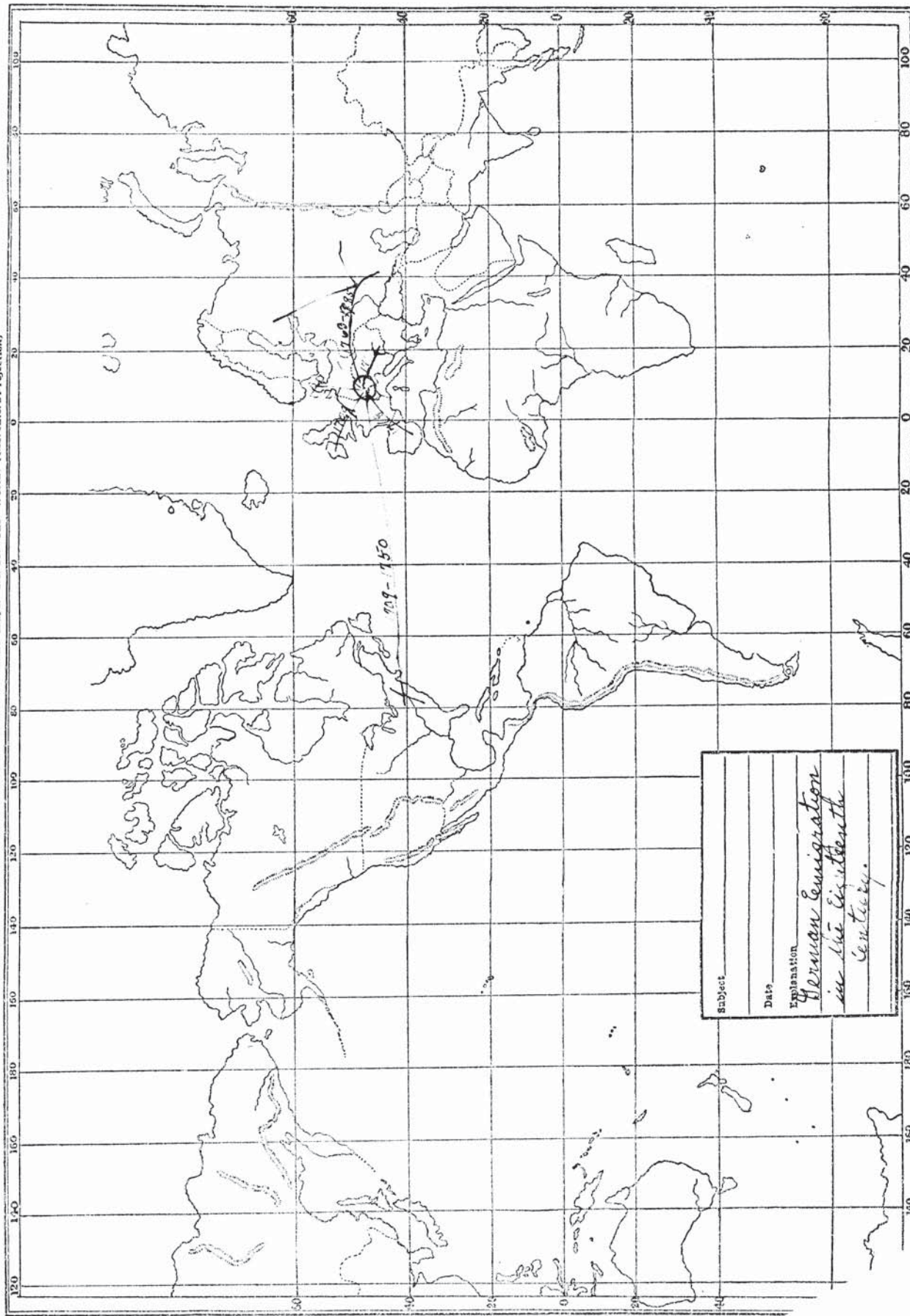
² This name belonged originally to the inhabitants of the Kurpfalz on the Lower Rhine where the "Masseswanderung" began in the first part of the century. As the movement was joined by emigrants from the neighboring principalities of Wurtemberg, Baden, Schwabia, and north Switzerland, the term came to be applied to all emigrants from the country of the Lower Rhine.

flooded, and even the pulpits were pressed into service. The blessings of religious freedom were emphasized. Attention was called to the fact that the region on the Volga to which settlers were invited was near "the new German city Katherinenburg" and that "the region resembles the Lower Rhine, as regards moderateness of temperature, fertility of soil, whether for wine, grain, meadow or timber land, and rivers full of fish.-- He who has nothing here may yonder become rich. Let all who desire to avail themselves of the above mentioned splendid offer and settle in Russia, where there is already a colony of more than 1000 German families, appear at Worms from which, on March 13, 1766, ships will sail, and where the daily allowance promised will be distributed to them".

In response to these offers people began to flock by the thousands from southwestern Germany to Russia, the exodus assuming so great proportions that the rulers of the

During her reign Katherine succeeded in establishing nearly 200 new towns many of which, as Ekaterineburg and Ekaterinoslaf (glory of Katherine) bore her name. Many of these towns were abandoned at the close of her reign though her name is still preserved in several.

On the map the circle includes the Palatinate, Baden, Hesse, Alsace-Lorraine, Württemberg, Schwabia and northern Switzerland.



affected states issued orders forbidding the people to leave their homes. Immigration agents were employed to advance the cause of colonization. A contemporary magazine tells of one "Gen Horworth, governor of St. Elizabeth, who was empowered to give them suitable encouragement, but that general, more intent upon his own interests, than that of his royal mistress, has converted the Her Schemes : sums remitted to enable him to proceed for Advertising. : with zeal in the establishment of this: new colony, to his own private use, by which the poor settlers have been miserably distressed and her Imperial Majesty's gracious intentions frustrated. His conduct, however, has been properly represented, and there is no doubt but that he will be called to account".¹ As in all her schemes Katherine spent money with a lavish hand and in 1803 it was reported that \$6,008,948 had been spent in supporting the colonists, of which sum only \$1,957,490 had been returned at that date. For 3000 colonists in 1803 the government paid out 70,000 rubbles over and above travelling expenses.^{2,3} Such vast sums were necessitated by the

¹Gentlemen's Magazine, 1763, 197.

²Pinkerton, Geography, I. 216-217.

³Katherine died in 1796, but the bulk of this immigration occurred during her reign.

cost of organization and by the large bid Russia must make to attract settlers from her competitors.

The terms offered by Katherine were extremely favorable, but a century before they would have received little notice in western Europe. Even at that time, because of competition from other countries, means of extensive advertising and effective state aid were necessary to attract a large stream toward Russia. It had not been many years since Katherine's kingdom had begun to be considered a European state. "Barbarous Russia" was as much a reality as "Bar-
 barous America". Not only were the Tartar
 "Barbarous : raids the terror of civilization but central
 Russia". : Russia was, and still is, inhabited by abor-
 : iginal tribes known to the present dwellers
 along the Volga as "wild men". While conditions were no more attractive there than in America, they were probably not less so.

Throughout western Europe there was a growing appreciation of Katherine and her empire. A contemporary writer says:

"Russia is making rapid progress to the highest state of greatness. Her commerce, population, and opulence are daily increasing x x x x The increase of people in

¹Annual Register, II, 186.

central and cultivated provinces has held a reasonable proportion to that of commerce and wealth. X X X A continuance of settled government and the blessing of a wise administration will in a few years place her power and greatness beyond all competition".

Katherine's attempt to recodify the laws of Russia, her efforts in behalf of the peasantry, and her educational schemes all made a good impression on foreign nations even though modern historical criticism claims they were undertaken largely for effect.

One of the most influential plans in inducing foreign colonization was her scheme of internal improvements by which all parts of her empire could be easily and quickly reached. Peter the Great had begun a system of canals connecting the navigable rivers and thereby Katherine's the seas. The canal, Vishnei Voloshok, Plans for Facilitating Travel. completed communication between St Petersburg and the Volga province of Astrakhan by which the journey could be performed, according to the season of the year, in from a fortnight to a month. It was estimated that nearly 4000

/ Whether or not this opinion is historically correct or misleading to the popular mind, the fact remains that western journals often expressed it and influenced their readers to believe it. Cf. Ann. Reg. XIX; 189. Gent. Mag. for 1767. 575.

vessels passed that way annually. To facilitate further travel Katherine established roads to the east, especially looking toward the opening up of trade with China, and "planted several villages along the way in order to render the long journey there less dangerous, dreary, and uncomfortable".¹ Again, "in order to facilitate the commerce and communication with China and to prevent the great expense attending caravans, no less endeavors have been used to form a cultivated tract along the course of the road through those wide and void regions which separate the two empires. Towns and villages have been founded at proper distances for this purpose and as a rampart at the head of the line, several colonies of Polish farmers were established x x x".² As a further protection to the new colonists of the Volga region against Tartar invasions, a line of forts was established by the government along the frontier of Samara.³ Compared with America's fabled wild beasts and her "real" red Indians, against whom at this time there was no adequate government protection, foreign settlers would see little to choose between America and Russia.

¹Ann. Reg. XIX; 191.

²Ann. Reg. XIX; 189.

³Milyoukov, Essais sur l' Histoire de la Civilization Russe, 81.

The journey to Russia would be as easy or even better than the voyage to America. For a long time the city of Worms on the Rhine was designated as a gathering place for German colonists bound for Russia. From this place the majority were carried in ships down the Rhine and around Gibraltar to the Black Sea. Those destined for the Baltic provinces and the interior shipped from Lubeck to Riga where they were distributed with little difficulty. Others sailed down the Danube and were met at the Russian border by Katherine's agents who guided them to their destination in the Volga provinces of Saratov and Samara. Hard as these journeys, especially the latter, must have been, the voyage to America was a more dangerous and wearisome trip. The time required for the ocean voyage varied from five weeks to six months. On 1754 the journey of some Palatines lasted "fully half a year and such hardships as no one is able to describe adequately with their misery". The coast of America was infested by pirate ships which preyed upon legitimate traffic. As late as 1742 a vessel containing German immigrants was attacked by three French privateers. The average cost of transportation was \$50 per capita and this was no longer prepaid as in the beginning of the mi-

gration.¹ Added to the inconvenience arising from the policy of the various and numerous customs house officials in Holland and England was also the lack of all sanitation and care in loading the vessels. As the immigration traffic became more profitable, less accommodations were given passengers. Over crowding gave rise to disease, and sometimes as high as seventy-five per cent of the passengers died on the way over. The pamphlet of Mittleberger and the reports of other Germans who had made the voyage must have informed their countrymen to some extent of the horrors of the voyage. At least Russia was not so far away; the trials of the journey were unknown and hope "that springs eternal" kept them from hesitating on the way when the offer at the end of the road was so favorable.

It is difficult to say, except in a general way, how many German colonists emigrated to Russia. Even in America where the records concerning the Pennsylvania Germans are being so carefully gathered, the same question is much disputed. Up to 1775 it is estimated that 110,000 Germans had come to Pennsylvania. Franklin claimed that one third of its **population** at the time of the Revolution was German.

¹Cf. Letter of Washington in 1774 in which he seeks information concerning the importation of Palatines to his Ohio lands; Hart, Contemporaries, II, 310.

Others, figuring on the high birth-rate among the Germans, claim 332,000. Estimates for Russia are as unsatisfactory. The first census for the government of Saratov, to which most of the German colonists went, Number of Colonists: was taken 1793-1796; the estimated population was 897,895. In 1808 it was given as 996,700. But the first and largest immigration had occurred before 1800. In 1776 there were said to be twelve foreign colonies settled on the Volga "which all together made 6091 families of different religions." Counting six persons to a family (a conservative estimate for German families) the Volga colonies alone would thus contain 36,546 persons. Another writer says: "In the province of Saratov alone, she (Katherine) induced twelve thousand families to take up their abode. x x x In the single year of 1771 as many as twenty-six thousand people answered her appeal." The following table was published for 1803.

		Males	Females
Saratov	Colonists in general	19,800	18,925
	Evangelical Brethren (called Brotherhood of Sarepta)	253	254
		<hr/> 39,232	

¹ Ann. Reg., XIX, 177, 189.

² Rambaud, History of Russia, II, 164.

³ Pinkerton, Modern Geography, I, 216-217.

		Males	Females
New Russia	Menonists	869	812
	Colonists of Josephsthal	195	180
	_____ of Yamburgi	108	131
	Swedish	78	79
	Dantzickers	65	61
	Swabians	46	44
	Bulgarians and Greeks	396	370
Lesser Russia	Colonists	639	588
	Menonists	99	103
Voronish	_____	211	173
Livonia	_____	265	301
St Petersburg	Srednerogatski	105	100
	Ishori	126	117
	Novo-Saratov	276	267
	Yam burgi	98	70
		23,629	22,575
		46,204	

In this estimate it will be seen that nearly 90 per cent of the colonies then established were in the province

/ "A few versts from this city there is a settlement of Germans consisting of about 1000 people and the following

of Saratov. This proportion is further substantiated by
 Haberle (pp.148-9) who finds sixty Protes-
 Majority go to: tants and sixty-seven Catholic families set-
 Saratov and : tled near St. Petersburg in 1765-67; eigh-
 Samara. : ty families in Livonia; in Saratov and
 Samara, 25000 in 1765 and 50000 by 1770.

The efforts of the German princes to stop the emigration is a good indication of its size. Tradition says that "when the edict of Katherine became known to the Germans they all wanted to go and so many left that the King issued a command that no more were to leave. This was enforced so suddenly and so effectively that when they came to the river families were (Acadia-like) separated never to be reunited".^{1,2}

I have been informed, is the manner and terms of their establishment: - One of the colonies receives from the Empire a horse, an ox, a cow, and four or five hundred rubbles and a portion of crown lands. These lands he must cultivate, and at the end of ten years, he must repay the crown the sum of money which he has received. He is then at liberty to leave his farm and settle wherever he pleases. If he remain, the farm, on paying a small annual rent to the crown becomes his property forever. There are several of these colonies in different parts of Russia; they consist chiefly of German Lutherans and are indulged in the free exercise of their religion": Richardson, Anecdotes of the Russian Empire, 20-21.

¹ Probably the Danube, where a large number embarked for the Russian border.

² Reported to the writer by George Knopp, a prominent and well-informed German-Russian of Lincoln.

These edicts against emigrants were now issued in rapid succession by the Electors who regretted the loss of their subjects, chiefly because it meant the loss of the royal income. Even the Emperors at one time joined them because the superior advantages offered by Russia was drawing away Palatines who had settled in various other parts of Germany. From Lubeck in 1766, 4000 persons had shipped to Russia hence Prussia was asked to forbid colonists to go through her territory. The city of Frankfort also forbade its people to leave and an order of similar content was published through all the states of the Rhenish Circle. In spite of these orders, the numbers migrating to Russia increased.

The people were seized with "Wanderlust". The sorrows they had endured were more real to them than the possible dangers of the journey. Their rulers promised no relief from present conditions. In the new land there was hope of peace and plenty.

Katherine wisely saw to it that those who first went should be satisfied and letters from colonists were scattered broadcast telling of the delights and advantages of the new home. During her reign colonization falls into three fairly distinct periods. The migration during the

..... first period (1763-1765) is largely ac-
 Three Periods : counted for by the suspension of immi-
 of Migration. : gration to America during the French and
 : Indian War, together with the effect upon
 the peasants' minds of such excellent terms as Katherine
 offered in her ukases of 1763. During this period about
 25,000 Protestant and Catholic colonists from Schwabia,
 Hesse, and the Palatinate settled in the governments of
 Saratov and Samara. The second period (1768-1771) was due
 to a series of disasters in Germany from which the people
 suffered greatly. In 1766-1767 there was a drought so
 terrible that the Rhine was forded in many places and a
 rock was found in the Neckar River inscribed with the date
 1476 as a memorandum of a similar drought at that time.
 This drought was followed by great floods in 1769-1770.

At the beginning of 1771 a magazine writer says:

Notwithstanding the blessings of peace the year x x x has
 been productive of uncommon calamities in Germany. A course
 of inclement or irregular seasons in some countries and the
 miseries of war in others had occasioned a general scarcity
 of corn, which was more or less felt in every part of Eur-
 ope. In most parts of Germany and Bohemia the scarcity
 was so great that a severe famine prevailed and great num-
 bers of people unhappily perished for want of food. The

¹Häberle, Auswanderung, 149.

²Annual Register, XIV: 84, 85.

extreme severity of the winter added much to the distresses of the people, who were obliged in many parts to strip the thatch off the houses and endeavor to keep their cattle alive by feeding them with it. The spring was not more favorable. The unusual quantity of snow which lay on the mountains, being then melted, fell down in torrents on the level country and swept everything before it, and the great rivers burst their ancient boundaries; scenes of confusion, terror and distress were spread on every side. The summer had still greater evils in store. The continual rains, which fell in the latter end of May, through the whole month of June and part of July, presented in the level countries the appearance of a second deluge. The inundations of the Elbe were particularly dreadful and the damage incredible. Many parts of the lower Saxony, of the old Marche of Brandenburg and of the other countries that border upon that river, particularly on the lower part of its course toward the sea, were totally ruined. Hamburg was in a most critical and distressed situation. X X X The different princes and states did everything in their power to alleviate the distresses of the people but as corn was also scarce in other countries, the supplies they could secure were very disproportionable to their wants. Whatever apprehension or intention of war had operated upon the King of Prussia in the beginning of the year, he at that time purchased prodigious quantities of corn to supply his magazines and had afterwards upon the same account prevented or impeded the conveyance of corn by the Vistula from Poland to Dantzic. Both these circumstances contributed much to the general distress of Germany.

The third period (1783-1785) was marked by the removal of great numbers of Mennonites from Prussia to avoid the conscription. In the Rhine country another cold winter, as in 1708 had occurred when trees, birds, animals, and men froze. This was followed by an extremely hot summer in which an epidemic broke out and many people died. In their efforts to get relief, great numbers went to Russia where many of their friends then were.

The colonists settled in three groups in as many parts of Russia: (1) in the Baltic Provinces and about St. Petersburg; (2) in south Russia along the lower course of the Dnieper; (3) in the provinces of Saratov and Samara along the Volga. They were led to the Baltic Provinces by the fact that the population there was largely German, composed of the nobility descended from the old Teutonic Order to whom that part of Russia formerly belonged. This nucleus had been added to from time to time by German conquests, and even when taken over by Russia retained its native characteristics. Of all the Germans in Russia, this group has influenced it most. They have entered largely into state and military service, into commerce and trade, and are as a rule highly educated.

The colonies in "Sud Russland" in the government of Cherson were established by Alexander I, beginning in 1813. The colonists were chiefly Wurtembergers who had lived in Prussian Poland and Bessarabia, but were dissatisfied there and accepted the Czar's offer to settle in South Russia. It is interesting the names of some of their colonies: Worms, Munchen, New Dantzic, Heidelberg, Water-

loo, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, Blumenthal, Waldorf, and Rohrbach.

An interesting account of the colony of Rohrbach is found in the Dakota Freie Presse, den 8 April, 1909. It is appended in full because it is doubtless typical of all the German colonies.

The Colony Rohrbach.

This colony was founded in the Zerigol valley upon a level, fertile steppe. The soil is good black ground with an under layer of loam and gravel and with favorable culture is very rich and productive.

The first settlement was made in the fall of 1816 by twenty-six families; in the early part of 1816 sixty-nine families came, and still later five families. These one hundred families originally came as follows: from Baden, 33; from Wurtemberg, 4; from Prussian Poland, 7; from Alsace, 56. The population was composed of 248 males and 227 females. In 1813 there came 22 families from Prussian Poland, 4 from Wurtemberg; and in 1817 and 1819, 16 families from Baden, and from other overcrowded colonies 6 families, - 48 families in all with 119 males and 89 females. In 1838 the number of families had increased to 148 with 367 males and 316 females.

In 1818 ten families migrated to the Caucasus; in 1823, eleven families went to Odessa and other colonies; in 1843, ten families moved to Bessarabia, 7 to the colony of New Dantzic, and 4 back to the homeland. In 1825, George Ehli was sent to Siberia and Karl Newdorf was sent out of the colony for being a drunkard and an idler. In the first thirty-eight years the colony increased 720.

The majority of the colonists came by way of the border town Radziwilow under the leadership of Michael Kuhn who became the first mayor of Rohrbach. The colony received the name Rohrbach from the two immigrants who first arrived - Peter Nuss and Peter Schmitt - who came from the village of Rohrbach in the Bayrischen Pfalz.

According to the terms of contract, the colony had received in 1820 for building houses and for preliminary settlement, 28,117 roubles or 54 1/4 Kopecks per head (called Banko Money). The majority of the first settlers were poor; there were only a few wealthy families who brought from the homeland about 50,000 roubles Bankmoney. Yet the latter understood the least how to make their money go the farthest. So it happened that many of the rich became poor while the poor, but industrious and sober people, grew prosperous during the good years.

In the first eighteen years, agriculture developed rapid-

The Volga Colonies, with which we are most concerned lie on both sides of the Volga River, south of the Irghiz River and the city of Wolsk, extending as far as Sarepta.

ly because even the poorest emigrants had the knowledge necessary for this work. Besides, piety and good habits were practiced by the community and various "Lasten waren eingeburgert" by the settlers. After this period things improved. In 1812 the parish had its first minister, Hnbner, but he died after two years service. In 1824 the colony called the well-known Johannes Bonekemper as pastor, who labored till April 6, 1848 in Rohrbach and surrounding evangelical parishes. In 1826 also, the schoolmaster, Wilhelm Eberhard began serving the parish.

Before 1848 the individual colonists of Rohrbach alone had acquired from the neighboring lord of the manor 1640 dessiatines of land, and individual landlords leased from eight thousand to nine thousand dessiatines. Most of the settlers sowed from forty to sixty dessiatines annually. Sheep breeding was also engaged in at that time, so largely that in 1847 the colony netted 24,000 roubles from it.

At present Rohrbach numbers 340 households with 2600 inhabitants of both sects; three churches, -one Lutheran, one Reformed, and one Baptist(probably Mennonite); three schools, - one Lutheran with two teachers and one hundred pupils, and two Reformed with five teachers and 345 pupils.

Rohrbach owns 8528 $\frac{3}{4}$ dessiatines of mir land which is divided as follows: village area, 127 d., vegetable gardens, 14d., vineyards, 170d., timber and creek land 10d., quarries, 5d., roads, 20d., cultivated land 5293d., hayland, 520d., meadow, 2504d. In Rohrbach are found two staem mills, two oil mills, 16 forges, 11 wagon makers, 3 coopers, 2 cabinet makers, a "consumlafka" and various Jewish "lafkas".

'Saratov and Samara would compare with Pennsylvania in the numbers received; while New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina might be compared with other parts of Russia.

This was the territory which Katherine most desired to colonize, and to which the largest number of Germans went. On the "Bergseite" in the Saratov Government, the colonies lie in a narrow strip between the Medweditzko and Volga Rivers.¹ On the "Weisenseite der Volga" in the Samara Government, they spread over a much larger territory. The majority of the colonists are Lutherans and Reformed, though the colony of Sarepta is composed of Moravians while in Samara are ten Mennonite communities.² From the Friedensboten-Kalender, we learn that the Evangelical colonies are divided into parishes roughly corresponding to the volost boundaries, there being fifteen on the west side of the Volga and nineteen on the east side.³ The movement of population appears to be eastward in Samara because the Russian people have settled up to the Medweditzko, thus they

¹ So called because the western bank of the Volga is steep and terraced by hills, while the eastern side is level prairie land.

² Sarepta, where are located the famous mineral springs discovered in 1775, is at the south extremity of the Saratov Government on the Volga River. It was founded in 1765 (according to Häberle p. 150) by Moravian colonists who had previously settled in Denmark. It was prosperous from the first and is today one of the most thriving of all the settlements in that part of Russia.

³ A year book published at Talovka, Saratov, for the benefit of two benevolent institutions of the churches.

would not only be a lack of land to the west but the Germans

would avoid going there since they do not wish to settle among the native Russians. In each parish is from one to ten villages ranging in population from 100 to over 13,000—with an average size of 2000 to 3000. The number of German Evangelical colonists in Saratov in 1909 was 220,320, and Samara 230,774 making a total population in the Volga colonies of 451,094 as against 451,280 in 1908.

By the edict of Katherine the German colonists received complete control of their land, a privilege which only the crown and the nobles enjoyed. However, they adopted the Russian land system known as the mir, under which they have ever since lived.

This system is only the second of five stages through which the absolute right in property has evolved. The unit

¹Häberle quotes the following figures from H. Pokorny, Die Deutschen an der Wolga;

No. Colonies	94, in which live
	443,458 Evangelical colonists
	110,219 Catholic colonists.
Mennonite colonies	10, containing 1141 inhabitants.

²As given by Lavaleye in his Primitive Property, 3-4, these stages are (1) Under pastoral conditions, the arable, pasturage and forest were farmed together, (2) Later, the cultivated land is divided into parcels and distributed among different families, the right of occupation being merely temporary. (3) Parcels remain in the hands of groups

is the mir which consists of the village and a fixed quantity of surrounding lands. A certain amount of the mir is set aside for various minor purposes which are enjoyed in common, e. g. the village area vegetable and fruit gardens, and forest and meadow land. The cultivated land is divided into strips of equal area and apportioned by lot among the various families of the community. This apportionment usually occurs every five years and is based upon the number of male members in the family, at the last census, irrespective of age. If a man has five sons, he receives six strips; if he has two sons and three daughters he receives three strips; while with no sons and five daughters, he gets but one strip. These strips are not located contiguously, but in various parts of the mir in order that the good and bad land may be fairly distributed.

The village usually consisted of one long street, the bordering land of which is divided into equal lots. Each household occupies a lot. The house is built directly upon the street, is usually a long one story building with two or three

of patriarchal families dwelling in the same house and working together for the benefit of the association, as Italy and France in the Middle Ages and Servia at present. (4) Individual hereditary property appears under certain conditions as seignorial rights, hereditary leases, compulsory system of rotation, etc. (5) Finally, becomes absolute, sovereign, and personal right.

large rooms, other rooms being added as the family increases.¹ A summer kitchen is located not far away which is used as a storehouse in winter and a cook house in summer. Between the two is a large iron gate, the chief ornament of the place, one side of which is used for horses and wagons, and the other for persons to pass through. At night this gate is securely locked on the inside and the household thus protected from intruders. At the rear in one corner of the lot is the vegetable garden; in the other corner is located the barns and sheds for stock, which ordinarily consists of fifteen horses, twenty-five to fifty head of cattle and ten to twenty sheep and goats. The remainder of the court yard is given over to grass and flowers. Order, system, and economy of arrangement characterize the homes of the German colonists in great contrast with the Russian peasants.

The houses of most of the Germans are built of wood, though the poorer follow the custom of the
 The Homes of : "moujiks" and build of mud. The roofs are
 the Colonists. : invariably thatched as they were in Ger-
 : many at the close of the eighteenth cen-
 tury and as they now are all over Russia. This makes dan-

¹The Patriarchal family system exists, three generations usually living under one roof and the family containing from ten to thirty people.

ger from fire very great and each village has an amateur fire department. The floor is of white sand pounded down, regularly scrubbed and frequently replenished. The furnishings are very simple, usually benches instead of chairs, a huge stove, built of brick and cemented together with mud, upon which the house-father takes his nap during his winter leisure, or the sick child is laid as the best protection against the cold. A table and beds, and formerly a spinning wheel completed the list of furnishings. Pictures were few, usually one of the grandparents or "house-father", the "military members" of the family, or some "army" scene.

Each household formed an almost complete industrial unit. Until recently even the cloth was spun and woven by the women. The daughters and the mother were their own dressmakers. All the stockings were knit by the women. Shoes were repaired by the father and usually made by him. Each village had its own cooper, cabinetmaker and blacksmith. The herder was also a regular member of the community. The stock were all driven to one place in the village each morning, from which the herders drove it out to the common meadow, cared for it through the day and returned it to the same place in the

evening where some member of each family came and got their own property. Until recent years the most primitive home-made implements were used for agriculture and now, only where some villager returning from abroad has brought new ideas in tools and utensils, have modern inventions been utilized. Even the furniture in the homes and the dishes on the tables have been manufactured within the limits of the village. Huge wooden spoons, well varnished and sometimes decorated with a conventional flower design, and little wooden bowls of various size but similarly finished - both sold widely to unsuspecting Tourists as real Japanese ware- are the handiwork of the ingenious colonists.

Not the least in importance to the village were those who looked after the educational and spiritual welfare of

.....	:	its members. Each parish included from
Educational and	:	one to ten villages and numbered some-
Religious Advan-	:	times several thousand souls. For in-
tages in the	:	stance, the parish of Medweditzko- Kres-
Colonies.	:	towoi- Bujerak included four villages
.....	:	and two suburbs having a total of 28,

520 inhabitants. Since one pastor could not regularly minister to such a large fold, he is assisted by one or two schoolteachers located in each village. Since the schools

are largely connected with the church, the masters act in the capacity of assistant pastors. They superintend the religious instruction of the children and dispense advice when sought, but they cannot administer the sacraments or officiate at public occasions. A wedding ceremony or a funeral sermon, a christening or a confirmation demands the presence of the pastor and must be timed to correspond with his itineracy. A list of the school masters with the dates of their admission to service show the reverence among them which age inspires. In a certain parish one master was appointed in 1865 and the other in 1875, in another parish, one master has served since 1851. The pastors also do not serve the short term accorded such professions in America. The longest pastorate given began in 1864 and the average term for all the parishes is about twenty years. This disposition of the German people to take with them in their wanderings preacher and teacher is everywhere seen. When immigration toward America slackened, the agents, taking advantage of this characteristic, were accustomed to advertise that a pastor and teacher had been secured to accompany the colony. They were of course not particular

'For further information see J. Erbes, Deutsche Volksschulen in unceren Wolga-Kolonien. Saratov.

as to the character of these men and frequently picked up all sorts of adventurers willing to act in this capacity. This fact accounts for the large number of disreputable German ministers and school teachers found in Pennsylvania during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Katherine also took cognizance of this characteristic and in her ukase of December 8, 1763 provided for teachers and preachers.¹

The German colonists in Russia have received greater concessions in many ways than the native Slavs. First invited because of their recognized superiority whether as nobility, soldiers, commercialists, or agriculturalists, the German naturally feels himself superior to the Russian.

.....	Poor as the German peasant may be (and
Germans feel Them-	: he remains poor only under extraordi-
.....	: narily adverse circumstances) his vil-
selves Superior	: to Russians.
.....	: + lage shows signs of order, economy,
.....	: cleanliness, and slow but steady work.

On the other hand the Russian peasant is ordinarily lazy and dirty, and remains so except under the most auspicious circumstances. The German professional man is also favored. All the drug stores in Russia are in the hands of the Ger-

¹Cf. p. 37 above.

mans by Government decree, because the Russian could not be trusted to sell his goods according to its labels. The commercial enterprises are in the hands of foreign capital, mostly German. One enterprising Teuton by the very plebian name of Schmidt, who went to Russia "poor as a church mouse" now owns five big flour mills in the city of Saratov. The officers in the army are chiefly German citizens "because the German can read and write and Russians cannot".

While the Germans are scattered in every town and village in Russia, the Russians cannot live in German towns. There is probably no legal restriction but the Germans dislike them and shut them out of their villages through the system of self government practiced in the German mir. In this way the Germans have kept to Exclusiveness. themselves, neither influencing nor being influenced by Russian civilization. Not only have the colonists preserved the German language but even the dialect peculiar to the district or village from which they came in southern Germany. As usual in dialects, the names for common utensils vary most, abstract ideas being preserved in similar phrase.² Each is able to under-

¹ Illiteracy in Russia is very high, not one half the children of school age actually attending school: The upper classes are well provided for but the lower classes were entirely neglected until the Emancipation (1861).

² As, skillet and spider; grip, satchel and bag.

stand the other and they are familiar with pure German through their pastors, teachers, and church books. Their language and its history is similar in many ways to Pennsylvania Dutch which some call "abominable jargon" but those who know its history claim it to be a legitimate dialect identical with the one spoken in the districts or villages from which they came.¹

The adoption of the mir system has had much to do with the retention of the exclusiveness of the German Colonists. They were somewhat familiar with it through the old Mark

..... system of Germany, and the more recent
 Reasons for : feudal organization. The mir appealed
 Exclusiveness. : to them as desirable because it was the
 : best way of preserving their social peculiarities and prejudices. With no system of popular education, there was no check given and they remained unassimilated - a state within a state- neither influencing Russia nor being influenced by it.²

The German colonists bear certain inherent characteristics by which their origin may be traced if one does not know it historically. Few of them have any traditions con-

¹Stahr, in Penn. German Soc. Proceedings and Addresses, V, 61-67.

²The mir differs in various provinces of Russia, and doubtless the system as practiced by the German colonists shows peculiarities not found in the native institution.

cerning the fatherland though some insist so strongly upon their birth there, but those who have some knowledge of family history claim Swabia, the Palatinate, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria as their former homes. Their method of cooking re-

.....: veals a South German origin. Noodles,
 Characteristics : and "Schmeer Kase", dishes common ~~among~~
 explaining the : among the Pennsylvania Dutch, are char-
 Historical Origin: acteristic of the German Russian.-
 of German Colonists : Their dialects are distinctly South
: German, as seen in such peculiarities
 as "zell cou", for "jene cou" and the use of "p" for "b",
 "t" for "d", and "k" for "g". The constant wearing of the
 shawl by the women of South Germany suggests that the head
 gear may be a relic of their old home there instead of be-
 ing borrowed from the Russians. Finally many of the sur-
 names among the German Russians are identical with the
 Pennsylvania German names. The identity among the more
 common names such as Schmidt, Jung, Muller, Wolff, ~~and~~ Koch,
 Schafer, Bauer, and Schnell, is not particularly convinc-
 ing, though the names Dietz, Weckesser, Weigandt,
 Schaff, Ernst, Heiser, Wambold, Eckert, Davis (Debus) and
 Gabel bear some weight of authority.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VOLGA COLONISTS IN AMERICA.

It is a difficult thing to try to trace any particular stream of immigration to America from the official records because they have not been in the habit of distinguishing different races emigrating from the same country. Russia is the home of many nationalities
 American Immigration : yet when they first began coming
 Records Incomplete. : to America they were all recorded
 : as Russians; hence one cannot separate Teuton or Celt from Slav to say nothing of distinguishing between Austrian, Bulgarian, and bona fide Russian. It is necessary therefore to know the history of various migrations in order to rightly interpret the statistics.'

'The official sources of information are inconsistent even of late years in their tabulation of statistics; e.g. the monthly summary of Commerce and Finance quotes figures in one place for Russia except Poland, in another, for Russia including Finland. Up to 1902-3 when the Bureau of Immigration was placed under the Department of Commerce and Labor (the reports had been given through the Treasury Department), no distinction was made in the various nationalities coming from the same country. One of the more recent reports shows how very unfortunate such a plan was, e.g. the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1907 shows the total immigration from Russia to have been composed of the following nationalities:

Armenian	341	East Indian	2
Bohemian and Moravian	31	English	8
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	12	Finnish	14,311
Dutch and Flemish	7	French	10
		Greek	46

The number of foreigners in Nebraska who were born in Russia climbed from 27 in 1870 to 3,281 in 1880.¹ The foreign born from Russia in the United States during the same decade was as follows:

1872 -	994	1877 -	6579
1873 -	1560	1878 -	3037
1874 -	3960	1879 -	4434
1875 -	7982	1880 -	4854
1876 -	4765		

This immigration was probably not Russian at all except in a few instances, but rather a move-
 Foreigners : ment of the German Colonists in Russia
 from Russia : to America. In 1884 Consul General Young
 1872 - 1880. : reported that there was little emigration
: from Russia because the government forbade
 all its subjects, except Poles and Jews, leaving the country,
 but that "the Mennonites have emigrated more extensively

German	13,480	Ruthenian	150
Hebrew	114,932	Scandinavian	1,416
Italian	5	Slovak	10
Japanese	1	Syrian	10
Lithuanian	24,811	Turkish	65
Magyan	3	Others	75
Polish	73,122		
Roumanian	7		
Russian	16,085		

This same report shows Nebraska as the destination of 32 Russians and 2,446 Germans. Most of the latter were Germans from Russia but all the information the report gives leads naturally to the inference that they were from Germany.

¹In 1860, there were 21 Russian immigrants recorded in Nebraska.

than any other class of Russian subjects." This emigration was brought about primarily through the reorganization of the Russian army from 1871 to 1874 by which the Germans were forced into military service. It has been continued with the usual fluctuations due to political and economic considerations but has extended more widely to the German Evangelical colonies of the Volga.

The Mennonites were the first to show their discontent by removal. Naturally of a peace-loving disposition, they were especially aggrieved by the attitude of the government. They had gone to Russia with the same motives that had led other Mennonites to join Mennonite : their religious relatives in Pennsylvan- colonists first : ia, viz, freedom of worship and exemption to leave Russia.: from military duty. To these privileges : they claimed an eternal right. Tradition said that they had had a "distinct understanding" that they should have "freedom from army service forever"; but the czar now said "forever" meant only for the first generation so he drafted them into the army but gave them the privilege of leaving the country if they desired.²

¹Immigration and Emigration, 1885-1886, 324.

²This same tradition is held by the Evangelical Colonists, hence seems to relate to all Germans and not an especial privilege of the Mennonites.

The fact that they had escaped military service thus far was probably due more to the peculiar organization of the Russian army than to any agreement with Katherine II, tho' the latter erroneous idea might easily become current.

In 1870 the regular army of Russia was recruited in three ways,- partly by voluntary enlistment, partly by the adoption of the sons of soldiers, chiefly by conscription. A levy was made upon the nobility for a certain number of men and each noble nominated the required Regulations of : number from among his tenants between the Russian Army : ages of 18-40 years. Exemption by purchase Affecting : or by providing substitutes was permissible. Emmigration : Since the German colonists were tenants of : neither the Crown nor the nobility but owned their own land, they had naturally escaped military service. The defeat of Russia in the Crimean war led to a number of drastic reforms by the new emperor Alexander II. Among these was the reorganization of the army based upon universal military service.²

¹The terms of the ukase relating to military service are quoted by Häberle, Auswanderung, 146, in the following words: "Bauern sollten 30, Kaufleute 5-10 Freizahre haben und erst dann zum Kriege - und Civildienst sein und endlich Überlassung von 60 Dessjatinen Land als ewiges und erbliches Eigentum".

²France had reorganized her army on the same basis in 1872. In 1813 Prussia introduced the same system which was made more exacting by Germany in 1887.

After the Emancipation of the serfs in 1861 the government was gradually losing its source of supply for the army. Voluntary enlistment was one means of recruiting the army but this could not be depended upon for free peasants would not voluntarily choose the hardships and dangers of army life which under the system of serfage they had been forced to endure.

By order of the Ukase of January 13, 1874 every male inhabitant on reaching the age of twenty years was required to go to the recruiting station and take an examination. Unless physically incapacitated he became a candidate for the army. An annual levy having been fixed by the government and the required number of men at each station determined, the candidates form in groups and proceeded,..... ed to draw lots. The successful men were enrolled in the Militia and: rolled in the army for a period of active service. : vice of from three to seven years after which: they entered the "reserve" for the remainder of their fifteen years of service. While in the reserve they were allowed to go home but were the first to be recalled in case of need. The men exempted by lot-drawing were enrolled in the Militia and were next in order after the Reserve in time of war. The only males exempted from service were the physically incapable, and the only son of

a widowed mother.

If before this decree the German colonists had not been legally excused from military duty, they were now clearly liable by royal edict. The resentment of the Mennonites was not due merely to this order but to a feeling that this was only one of a series of reforms by which the government was seeking to Russianize the foreign communities. This meant the giving up of their religious life and views which could not be maintained Mennonites : if the bars which separated them from the fear further : world were once broken down. The loss of restrictions : military exemption led them to fear the: loss of religious freedom and the result was a sudden and extensive emigration. In 1876 a traveler through the government of Saratov writes: "Though the government was disposed to make important concessions, hundreds of families have already sold their property and emigrated to America, and the exodus still continues. When visiting the Mennonites colonies in 1872 and 1873, I was informed that one-half of the Mennonite population would leave the country and seek a new home in the "Far West". " This anticipation was apparently realized for but ten Mennonite colonies remain in Saratov with only 1141 in-

¹For further detail, of F.V. Greene, The Russian Army and its Campaigns in Turkey in 1877-1878.

²Wallace, Russia, 376.

habitants.¹

The Evangelical colonists were similarly affected, not from any religious scruples against military service but from an inherited dislike for the business such as a child sometimes experiences for tobacco when he has been soaked and steeped in it all his youthful days.

..... Their unwillingness to bear the burdens of Russian citizenship would seem Evangelical :
: dens of Russian citizenship would seem
: Colonists Avoid : like ingratitude from a people who had
: Army Service. : been so singularly favored by a foreign
: :
.....: friend if we did not remember that the Fatherland experienced the same treatment for many years, the chief motive being avoidance of compulsory military service.²

It is quite probable, moreover, that the uncivilized treatment accorded the Russian soldiery up to that time was in part responsible for the desire of the Germans to avoid military service. Flogging was the punishment meted out for crimes great and small. For

¹ Friedensboten Kalender, 155, published in Tolovka, Saratov Government, Russia.

² From 1850 to 1900 a surprisingly large number of immigrants from Germany came to America to avoid military service. Between 1850-60 the number of native born Germans increased from 583, 774 to 1,276,075. From 1880-1890 when the movement was at its height, German immigration averaged 145,297 annually. In 1909 the entire German emmigration to all countries had fallen to 19,883.

falling asleep at one's post, or vexing an officer, or failing to answer to roll-call, the beating was administered in the form of "running the ranks" in which the culprit, stripped to the waist, was led at the point of the bayonet down between the two long lines into which his company had been arranged. Each soldier was provided with a newly cut rod and struck the victim as hard as his mood prompted him. The prisons in which the army incarcerated its offenders were models
 Caused partly : for the Dark Ages. The soldiers were
 by hardships : badly clothed and so poorly fed that
 of military life.: they gave themselves up to excessive
: drink. Sickness was so prevalent that
 a third of the army was in the hospital the whole year around, and little more than half the men could ever be returned as fit to march". No books nor manazines were provided the soldiers for they could neither read nor write. It is small wonder that when the Czar attempted to reorganize the army by first enlarging the "suffrage" instead of reforming the ranks his German subjects should become unmanageable and leave his realm.

The first drawing made under the new military law was in October, 1874, and the following year immigration from Russia to the United States increased from 3960 to

¹For a detailed description of the treatment of the Russian soldiers see Dixon, Free Russia, 346 ff.

to 7982. Just how many of these were German Russians it
 would be interesting to know but it is safe
 Effect of : to say that the majority of the increase were
 Enforcing : Germans. In 1877 war with Turkey broke out
 New Law : and again Russian immigration exceeded the
: preceeding year by almost 2000.

It is noticable that at this stage of migration,
 the financial depression in the United States (1873-1878)
 was not considered a deterrent influence, while the num-
 bers now (1909) coming are influenced very largely by
 slight financial variations. In the decade from 1880-
 1890 immigration from Russia (except Poland) was as
 follows:

.....	1880 -	4,854	1885 -	16,603
Emigration :	1881 -	4,865	1886 -	17,309
from Russia :	1882 -	16,321	1887 -	28,944
1880-1890 :	1883 -	9,186	1888 -	31,256
.....:	1884 -	11,854	1889 -	31,889

The number of foreigners in Nebraska born in Russia
 increased from 3,281 in 1880 to 5454 in 1890.

In 1881 the violent death of Czar Alexander II,
 killed by a bomb from the hands of revolutionists,
 threatened a general upheaval in Russia and immigration
 from Russia the following year reached the high-water
 mark 16,321 as against 4865 the preceding year. These

were however not German-Russians but chiefly Poles and
 Jews against whom measures were being taken
 Death of : to force them out of the empire.¹ This was an
 :
 Czar Alex-: exceedingly prosperous year in America and
 :
 ander 11. : showed the highest general immigration up
 :
: to that time; but again prosperity failed to
 draw the Germans just as it had failed to deter them
 from coming during the hard times of the preceding de-
 cade. Another proof that the bulk of these were not
 German-Russians is the discrepancy between the number
 of male and female immigrants, the former being 11,154
 the latter 5,167. The German-Russians always come by
 families and present a more even proportion of sexes.
 In 1875, for example out of 7,982 immigrants from Russ-
 ia, (most of whom were German as before stated) the pro-

¹ Consul General Young says in his report of 1884 that when the Mennonites refused to serve in the army "the Czar issued a ukase that all Mennonites should leave Russia within ten years and many of them left under this ukase; since then they have been relieved from serving in the army but prohibited from leaving the empire." No other mention of this order has been found but if it was issued it must have referred only to the Mennonites and not to the other German colonists. Only a few of the latter came from 1876 to 1884, but since that time a steadily increasing number have arrived. Moreover there is no suggestion found of the Evangelical colonists ever having been relieved, even temporarily, of military service.

portion was 4,371 male and 3,611 female. The family relations may also be seen by noting the ages of the immigrants. In 1875, Russia including Poland sent us 8,981 of whom 3,838 were under fifteen years of age, 3993 were between fifteen and forty years and 1150 were over forty.

In 1884-5 war was threatened between Russia and England and as might be expected immigration increased. While this war scare doubtless had some effect, a less public, tho' not less potent, influence German : reached the German colonists. This was the Emigration : return to the villages of two of their num- Stimulated : ber who had gone to the United States in the 1884-1885 : first colony eight years before. Their re-: port of the new country, its wonders and especially its financial opportunities fired the imagination of the villages and stimulated immediate emigration.

Thus far German Emigration had been influenced solely by political conditions in Russia; but with the following decade economic reasons began to appear. Tho' the colonists were located in the famous black soil belt, "the richest wheat land on earth", famine was becoming increasingly common. The rainfall never large, but just about sufficient usually to ensure crops, sometimes failed. This in itself is never sufficient to produce famine but is

merely the occasion for famine, the real causes for which
 lie farther back in the economic life of a
 Economics : people. In general, it is chronic poverty -
 :
 causes for : a state in which the majority of the pop-
 :
 German : ulation regularly make only a bare living,
 :
 Emigration : so that when some unexpected, not otherwise
 :
: fatal, disaster occurs, there is no surplus
 to fall back upon and the community becomes dependent.
 General agricultural conditions in Russia are such as to
 invite famine, and even in the German colonies where the
 best conditions prevail it is often "hard to get bread".
 Since the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 there has been
 a steady deterioration in the prosperity of the peasants.
 The communal allotments have decreased from one-half to
 one-third their former size on account of the increase in
 population. In the German colonies where the birth rate
 is very high, the lack of land has been particularly felt.
 To meet this condition some of the sons frequently get
 permission from the commune to go to the cities and enter
 the trades. Others with their families swarm from the
 parent hive into some "promised land" - frequently into
 Siberia.² Near the city of Omsk are ten newly formed Ger-

¹ A reason frequently given by German-Russian children for leaving.

² Omsk is on the Trans-Siberian Railroad which runs through the city of Samara.

man colonies containing 3663 inhabitants and at Akmolinsk are two others with 1711 inhabitants.^{1,2} Crops have diminished from five-eighths to one-eighth their former value, due to overcropping, out-of-date machinery and poor methods of agriculture. Even the German colonists have not advanced in agricultural methods. Normally a decrease in the size of the allotments would not work an especial hardship upon the Germans for they, of all people, are especially fitted for intensive agriculture. It is everywhere recognized that Pennsylvania Germans and the German-Russians can succeed on farms much smaller than the average American cares to handle. But out of the current of progress, and out of contact with new methods and new machinery, they tilled the soil as their fathers had done a hundred years before. The first modern plow seen in the colonies was brought there by one of their number who had returned from the United States, in 1884. Quick to see the advantage of it every enterprising bauer was soon provided with one.

The transition from the agricultural to the industrial stage in Russia is also working a hardship on the peasant. Formerly each village was a complete industri-

¹Friedensboten Kalender, 1909, 174.

²Several of these Siberian German colonists are now living in Lincoln.

al unit. The simple wants of the family,-food, clothing,

.....and light, were supplied by each household.

Industrial : Now factory products have replaced those of
 Conditions : the peasant's own making and tariff-protect-
 promoting : ed calico at 18 cents (we pay 6 cents and
 Emigration.: 7 cents for the same goods) has succeeded
: his home grown and home made wool and linen.

Flour which he used to have ground at his own village mill
 is now sold at \$2.45 per 40 lbs. Such extravagances are
 not of his own choosing; he no longer has raw material
 for his home industry and he must use his family's work
 to raise the grain which he must sell to pay his taxes.

"This," says Milyoukov, the Russian writer, "is the most important item of the peasants' expenditure, the one which conditions all others. If the Russian peasant has no time to work for himself; if he is fatally underfed and underclothed; if he needs money badly, it is, first and foremost, because he is compelled to perform his functions as a taxpayer. He does his best to pay his taxes; and if, in spite of all his exertions, he accumulates arrears upon arrears, it is not because he will not, but because he cannot pay. In the decade 1883-92, while the population increased 16%, taxation increased 29 per cent; i.e, nearly twice as much; and in the following decade, 1893-1902, while the growth of the exhausted population still further fell off, the increase being only 13 per cent, taxation took an unheard-of upward leap, showing an increase of 49 per cent, or nearly four times as much. No wonder then that while in 1871-80 every dessyatin (2-7 acres) of the land owned by the peasants owed to the state 19 cents in arrears, in 1881-90 the debt had increased to 24 cents, and in 1891-1900 to 54 cents. We must add that ordinarily the authorities collect the taxes by compulsory sales before allowing the arrears to accumulate."

¹ Milyoukov, Russia and its Crisis, 442-3.

Such is the condition among the Russian peasantry and while the German-Russians fared better because they started with an advantage and because of their natural thrift and industry, nevertheless the prospects were not bright for them. Simple as were their wants, compared with the desires of those in the midst of complex modern life, they were far more numerous than the desires of the Russian peasant. A glimpse of the world beyond brought discontent. With low wages and 1892 : high prices for living, heavy taxes and poor: agricultural returns, it is not surprising that between 1886 and 1900 emigration should increase 546 per cent, not that a terrible famine such as occurred in 1891-2 should drive hundreds of even the better-provided colonists into new territory.^{1,2} To add to the horrors of famine an epidemic of cholera broke out; and, of especial import to certain German colonists, was another threatened war in 1891. Men who had al-

¹Instances of graft in times of great distress are known in Russia also. During this famine an official M. Densentieff collected 300,000 roubles on pretext of relieving the suffering in his district and left the country with the entire sum.

²One is at first puzzled to know why the Germans who had their own land should leave it and come to America. In reply they tell you "There are just two kinds of people in Russia: the very rich, they got everything, and the very poor, they got nothing, "or they say "it was too hard to get bread."

ready served through the Turkish war and who were now at home in the Reserve dropped everything at the first note of alarm, gathered together enough money to pay their passage, and within five days, were on the way to America with their families.

One of the most prominent of the German-Russian Families in Lincoln, came under such circumstances. They were well-to-do, influential members of their village of Frank, one of the oldest and largest of the German colonies in Russia. (The Present population of Frank is 11,999). Mrs. H-'s father had been starosta of their mir. Mr. H- served in the Turkish war and though at home at that time was among the first liable for active service. When word came that war was imminent, they immediately started for America with their only child, a daughter of ten years. They landed in New York with \$5.00 in money. They were met there by a labor agent to whom they hired out. That night they were taken out to their place of work and when they awoke the next morning they found themselves at an isolated farm house surrounded by woods. Their employers were a man and his wife, who put the father and daughter to work helping gather and market strawberries, while Mrs. H- was assigned to the kitchen. The man was subject to crazy spells at which time he would threaten to kill any one who came near him. The woman was an intimate friend of "His Satanic Majesty". She first fed her employees on dry bread and rye coffee; when this gave out she provided wormy flour with which to bake new bread. A protest was raised and she was asked for a sieve but refused to provide one. Finally Mrs. H- secured a piece of window screening and cleaned the flour as best she could. The woman made her husband eat with the German family but she evidently boarded at the village where she marketed the berries for she never ate at home with them. After four weeks of mental and physical anguish the immigrants decided to "run away". But where should they run? They had not been allowed to leave the place since they came, nor had they seen a soul except the farmer and his wife. On Saturday, the daughter was instructed to watch which way the woman went when she marketed the berries, and then find the road to the vill-

A famine in 1898, though less severe than the former, caused another rise in the tide.

The last decade has brought increasingly larger numbers. The first impetus was given
 numbers. The first impetus was given
 Recent Political : by the growing apprehension of con-
 and Economic : conflict between Russia and Japan and
 Conditions in- : many left at the first note of war,
 ducing Emigration: fearing that after it had begun the
: government might forbid their going.
 The unprecedented prosperity in this country threw into

age. She did so and on Sunday morning the family made their escape. They walked eight miles to the village, and not knowing where to go or what to do, they boarded the train as it came through. When they were seated in the train, Mrs. H- began to cry; a man leaned over and said to her, "Was fehls du, frau?" It was the first familiar word they had heard for a month, and it brought a speedy explanation. He was an inn keeper in the next village, and suggested that they get off with him and he would help them. Before he had found work for them, they had an opportunity to go to another farm. He warned them against the place, but told them to try it and if they were not satisfied to return. They came back the next day, their new friend had secured work for Mr. H- at Fleischmanns' Yeast Factory at \$40.00 a month. Before this Mrs. H- had pawned his silver watch to pay for a telegram to relatives at Friend, Nebraska, but no answer was received because the message was sent to the wrong address. After eleven months work in the East, the family had saved enough money to buy tickets to Friend, Nebraska. As they came through Lincoln they saw old acquaintances on the platform who advised them to stop here as they were again without money and there was more work to be secured here than in the smaller places.

relief the hard conditions brought about by another famine in the Volga government in 1907. The Friedensboten Kalender for 1908 says "A bad year lies back of us, reminding us in many ways of the last Famine Year of 1892. In many places both people and stock suffered greatly on account of the bad harvests." Again in 1909 the same editor writes: "What is the outlook in our German colonies? Just about the same as last year. We are living in a period of bad harvests. The last season was such an one. But the need was not felt so greatly since the price of grain was **seldom** high. x x x x Lack of fodder for the cattle in many villages attracted especial attention." Hard times such as would have been weathered in the old days could not be endured when relatives in America wrote of their prosperity, - plenty of work at 20 cents an hour for men and women. \$400 to \$1200 (depending on the number of children) for a summer's work in the beet fields, and a whole winter of leisure or indoor work if desired. "Pigs running around dead with a knife stuck in them all ready to carve up" was the message which brought one family to Lincoln, and when it is considered that meat was a luxury in good years in Russia, it is easy to understand what a drawing card **such** a promising situation would present.

The following figures are available from the Immigration Reports showing the Total German emmigration from Russia, and for purposes of comparisons, the number of Russians now coming.

	German- Russians.	Russians.
1903-4	10,485	3565
1904-5	7,128	3907
1905-6	6,722	3269
1906-7	13,480	16085
1907-8	10,009	16234

The distribution of immigrants is one of the hardest problems confronting our government. The question is not one of too many immigrants, for while the actual numbers have recently gone beyond all previous records, the proportion of immigration to the Distribution of; total population has decreased. Al- Immigrants : most 90 per cent of the immigrants enter: through Ellis Island, and lack of funds for further travel, lack of information concerning industrial opportunities and "consciousness of kind" are causes which operate to collect them in large agglomerations in the Eastern states. Hence the authorities are

In 1906-7, the total immigration to the United States from all countries was 1,285,349; in 1907-8, 782,870.

constantly put on their mettle to devise ways and means for distributing the immigrants into the proper industrial channels in order that some may not be clogged while others are empty. The German-Russians present no such problem, partly due to the manner in which the first migration occurred, and partly due to the character of the people.

Tradition says that "when the German-Russians decided to come to America, like the people of olden times they sent, Joshua and Caleb' to spy out the land; that after looking about for some time they settled down in Nebraska because it furnished the best farm land and most resembled the country from which they came. These men then sent for their families, two of which still live in the city. Eight years later some of this colony returned to Russia and told the people of the opportunities in the new country, then everybody wanted to go just as they did when they heard of Katherine's offer a hundred years before."

While the first immigrants probably came to Nebraska, others went to various western states, chiefly North and South Dakota and Kansas. The German-Russians began coming to the United States at a time German- : when the first railroads were being pushed Russians in : west of the Missouri River. Those especially Middle West. : active were the Minneapolis and St. Paul, the : Northern Pacific, and the Northwestern roads in the Dakotas, and the Union Pacific, Santa Fe and Burl-

¹In 1907, 30 per cent of the entire number of foreigners stopped in New York, chiefly New York City; 17 per cent went to Pa.; 8 per cent to Illinois; 7 per cent to Mass.; and 5 per cent to New Jersey.

ington Roads in Kansas and Nebraska.

In the Dakotas are found large settlements of foreigners, chiefly English Canadians, Germans, Norwegians, and German Russians, most of whom have been settled there since 1890.¹ Before the Dakotas were divided the
 "Northwestern" settled a number of Ger-
 In the Dakotas : man Russians in the very heart of the
 : state; and there are now six con-
 tiguous counties, four South and two North of the division line, which have large German-Russian settlements. Two other counties in North Dakota having a large German-Russian population are located on the Northern Pacific. Such names as Menno, Wittenburg, Worms and Leipsic suggest their municipal ancestry.

In Kansas the Union Pacific road had great
 quantities of land for sale, much of which
 In Kansas : has been disposed of to German-Russians.
 : Their land commissioner reports "The sales
 to natives of foreign countries are usually made to them after they have spent some years in this country, and have gained a considerable insight into the methods of life and farming in the United States." In Barton and

¹The population of North Dakota increased 70 per cent from 1890-1900; of South Dakota, 16.8 per cent.

Ellis counties in western Kansas, they are located for a distance of thirty or forty miles along the Union Pacific, and in the latter county, over half the population is German-Russian. Two other counties in central Kansas have each over 1000 German-Russian population.

Here as elsewhere there are no reliable statistics but the following figures are useful for comparison.

The Census for 1900 gives the total number white persons having either or both parents born in Russia (except Poland):

	Fathers	Mothers
Nebraska	14,812	14,767
Kansas	25,534	25,329
North Dakota	24,257	24,445
South Dakota	25,918	26,057

With the exception of a few Finns in South Dakota, and the possibility of a small scattering of Russians in the cities, all the rest of these are German-Russians. These figures do not include the native children whose grandparents were born in Russia, hence the figures would be a somewhat increased since the people have been here long enough to have started a third generation.

The scarcity of labor at the close of the war led the government to encourage immigration, not so much by

distinct legislation as by refraining from imposing restrictions upon immigrants.¹ The first restriction was the Act of 1875 excluding coolies. Demand for : Not until 1882 was another law passed, Labor draws : when the excessive immigration of that German-Russians.: year resulted in the first attempt to: limit the European tide; but the excluded classes did not affect German-Russian immigration to any appreciable degree. Later laws however are returning many at the expense of the steamship Companies who exercise numerous, ingenious devices to secure their admission.

The German-Russians were originally aided in their search for a home by the land ag- Part played by : ents of the Railroads who were interest- Railroads : ed in building up the west and in dis-: posing of their land to colonists. The Assistant Land Commissioner of the B & M. road writes: "When this railroad company had a large amount of land of its own to sell we maintained an agency at the New York

¹ The first direct legislation concerning immigration was an Act of 1864 to encourage immigration by the collection and dissemination of literature in different languages by the Commissioner of Immigration. This was repealed in 1868 but the same methods have been ever since employed by private enterprises.

port; also at one time in Liverpool, and we scattered the literature abroad in almost every European tongue."

One of the first Lutheran colonies to come (in 1876) was brought as far as Red Oak, Iowa. Another, or perhaps the same one, for it was about the same time and Lutheran also, landed in Hastings. Peter Nebraska: Jansen, later a member of the Legislature, led Colonies: a Mennonite colony which now forms the town of: Jansen. At Grand Island, Norfolk, McCook, Sutton, Friend, Edgar, Harvard, Chester, York, Beatrice, in fact all through southern Nebraska along the Burlington Railroad settlements of German-Russians are found, some Mennonites but mostly Evangelical.²

Another factor that entered into the demand for German-Russians in the western states and especially in Nebraska was the rise of the beet sugar industry, which

¹ C.J. Ernst in the Report of the Industrial Commission for 1901, XV, 547.

² The following countries with their county seats as listed each have over one hundred foreign born German-Russians:

Adams	(Hastings)	565	Hamilton	(Aurora)	324
Buffalo	(Kearney)	106	Hitchcock	(Trenton)	315
Boyd	(Butte)	470	Jefferson	(Fairbury)	301
Clay	(Clay Center)	870	Lancaster	(Lincoln)	1200
Dodge	(Fremont)	325	Red Willow	(McCook)	240
Douglas	(Omaha)	1143	Saline	(Wilber)	128
Fillmore	(Geneva)	277	York	(York)	584

Originated about Grand Island and Norfolk in the late
 80's. It was introduced from Germany where
 Influence of: it had been discovered and largely developed
 Beet Sugar : under state aid for over half a century.
 Industry : Cheap labor made it profitable in Europe
: and it was expected that cheap land would
 perform the same function in American. But the peculiar
 type of labor demanded was not available here and an ef-
 fort was made to secure from Germany peasant labor which
 was familiar with the industry. The immigrants who came
 from Germany at that time however did not take kindly to it,
 and the contractors turned their attention to the large
 numbers of German-Russians coming in.

While they were not familiar with the sugar
 beet industry, they possessed other characteristics which
 made them especially desirable for the work. They had
 large families of which every woman
 German-Russian : and child down to three years of age
 labor adapted : was a valuable asset, for their labor
 to Beet Industry.: could be obtained cheaply and was as
: effective as that of the strongest man.
 They lacked the social and educational ambition of their
 brethern from Germany who had not been out of the current
 of progress. They were willing that their children should
 be out of school except just long enough for them to re-

ceive religious instruction and be confirmed. They were accustomed to leave their homes during the summer, the whole family working in the fields and living in the most primitive style, - then return to the village and put in the winter in a round of simple household duties and pleasures. Isolated farm life as we have it in America was distasteful to them; the loneliness of it was not attractive and they were (and still are) impressed with a fear of "black men" and "wild men" brought from their home in Russia, where life outside the villages even today is not safe on account of roving bands of gypsies, robbers, and aboriginal tribes in the interior. They possessed the German thrift and industry; their steady, almost unlimited capacity for work, which made them a most valuable contribution to the growth of the sugar beet industry.

Lincoln early became the "village" from which the annual exodus "to the beets" occurred.
 :
 Lincoln, Nebr.: The first settlement had been made here how-
 :
 becomes the : ever before this time and Lincoln was simply
 :
 center of : the center to which they gravitated chiefly
 :
 colonization : because it was available through railroad
 :
: connections and was sufficiently large to
 provide work through the winter to those who wished it.

It was about 1879 that six families came to Lincoln and "squatted" on railroad land near First and K streets in what is now called the "South bottoms". The heads of these households were Peter Gross, Paul Bernhardt, Chris Schörden, Chris Betz, Georhe Eisen, and Conrad Stumpf; and they formed a nucleus around which other colonists to the number of fifteen or twenty families soon gathered.

..... At that time there were no houses south of
 The "South : O nor west of Sixth streets, and thus more
 Colony" : than a half mile lay between them and the
: city. Some who had gone to Hastings and
 other places in the state were drawn here by promise
 or work, and by the opportunities offered for starting
 small stores in the community. A neighborhood store was
 first run by a Norwegian, named Stokke and later by a
 Swedish family; but in 1887, it was bought by one of
 the German-Russians and since then no other nationality
 has started in business among them.

When the Burlington roundhouse began to attract labor in great numbers, and "the south" settlement was

..... growing rapidly, several families from the
 The North: colony of Norka who had previously lived in
 Colony- : the South moved over and squatted on govern-
: ment land just north of the roundhouse at
 Sixth and Y streets. The desire to be closer to their

work was no greater than the desire to gather into settlements corresponding to the colonies in Russia. Thus the territory about the two churches at Sixth and D streets and Fourth and F streets is known as the "Frank bottom" and they are the "Frank churches" because the majority of the people came from the colony of Frank. The neighborhood at First and J streets is the "Beideck bottoms" and the church the "Beideck church". In the north settlement is the "Norka church" and the "Kukkus church".

The hard times of the 90's was another factor leading to the concentration of the German-Russians in Lincoln. Many of the first immigrants who came had
 enough ready money to buy farms out
 Effect of "hard : in the state which the drought render-
 times" on : ed practically valueless. They became
 Lincoln Colony. : discouraged and traded their farms for a
: house and lot down on the bottoms because
 here they could get work while they were not able to make
 a living on the farms.

The same general causes that lead to the concentration of foreigners in the large eastern cities account for the process here in Lincoln. They like to be near people of their own race but there is too little congeniality between the Germans and the German-Russians to

attract them to each other. The former scatter out among the native population, and although there are twice as many foreign born Germans as German-Russian in Lincoln there is no distinctive German quarter. A few Germans may be found living in the colonies, but they are anxious to impress one with the fact that they are not "Russians" toward whom they are apt to assume a very superior air. The German-Russian moreover prefer to live in colonies in order that they may have their own churches which form such an important part of their lives. As we have seen, these churches are based less upon theological differences than upon social lines, e.g. the Lutheran and Reformed members from the colony of Kukkus form one church, while those from the colony of Norka form another, and even persons of the Lutheran and Reformed faith belong to a Congregational church most of whose members came from the colony of Grimm.

An analysis of the population in the two settlements reveal the following facts:

This analysis is based upon the school census taken by the writer in June, 1908. It is authentic as far as it goes but it does not include the beet field population which had all left the city by the first of May. Great care was taken to locate all the German-Russians, a task by no means easy because of the change of names. Henrich soon becomes Henry, Johannes has developed into Johnson before the German accent has disappeared, and a family

.....	South Colony	North Colony
Analysis of :	318 families	257 families
Population :	1418 inhabitants	1325 inhabitants
.....:	4.5 average family	5.1 average family.

named Green would not be suspected of their ancestry if we had not known that they had spent the preceding summer in the beetfields. Another difficulty is met with in the fact that so many deny that they were born in Russia because they dislike being called "Russians". This will be referred to again but the following incident will show how easily one might be misled in their nationality unless familiar with the details in the German colonies in Russia.

A laborer called at the door one day this spring and in a peculiar German brogue asked for work. The housewife hesitated a moment to think how she could supply the demand and meanwhile this conversation took place:

"How long have you been in this country?

"Ein Jahr.

Where did you come from?

Ah, me German, me no Russian.

Yes, yes, I know. But where did you come from?

From Germany.

What gubernia in Germany? (The Russian word for government).

At sound of this word he again said, Me no Russian, me German.

Yes, I know, but did you come from Saratov or Samara? Saratov what colony - Frank or Norka or

--? (naming over several German colonies on the Volga)

From Huck, Splaunucha (Now Huck is the German name and Splaunucha the Russian name of a German colony in Saratov on the Volga)".

And this is by no means an unusual incident.

South Colony

North Colony

Source of Migration.

Unknown	96	
Saratov Gov't	<u>107</u>	Saratov Gov't.
Frank	58	
Norka	17	
Walter	19	
Beideck	18	
Baltzer	15	
Tolovka	3	
Saratov Cy.	14	
Kamyschin	3	
Anton	1	
Schilling	3	
Grimm	1	
Kolb	1	
Atkarsk	2	
Hiltman	1	
Dietel	2	
Saratov		
(village not stated)	46	
Samara Gov't	17	
Warenburg	9	
Stahl	1	

South Colony	North Colony
Brünnenthal	1
Mohr	1
Weisemüller	2
Michalf Sibrakova	2
Odessa	5
Baku	2
Omsk	4
St. Stavropol	
Foreign born	
Native born of both foreign parents	
Native born of one foreign parent	
Native born of Native parents.	

Classified according to age

1-5 years
5-16 "
16-21 "
21- "

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Bain, R. Nisbet. Slavonic Europe. A Political
History of Poland and Russia from
1447 to 1796. University Press.
Cambridge, 1908.
- Bittinger, Lucy Forney. The Germans in Colonial Times.
J.B.Lippincott Co. Philadelphia, 1901.
- Bryce, James. The Holy Roman Empire. Rev.ed.
A.L.Burt N.Y., 1886
- Cobb, Sanford H. Story of the Palatines. An
Episode in Colonial History. G.P.
Putnam's Sons. N.Y., 1897.
- Dixon, Wm. Hepworth Free Russia. Harper & Bros.
N.Y., 1870.
- Fisher, Sydney George. The Making of Pennsylvania.
J.B.Lippincott. Philadelphia, 1896.
- Former Siberian Exile, A. "The Russian Crisis".
Contemporary Review, LXII, 34-47.

- Geffcken, F. Heinrich. "The Germans as Emigrants
and Colonists". Forum, XLIII, 200-211.
- Geiser, Karl Frederick. Redemptioners and Indentured
Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of
Pennsylvania. The Tuttle, Morehouse and
Taylor Co. New Haven, 1901.
- Glenn, Sam H. Directory of the City of Lincoln
for 1881-1882 . Globe Steam Printing
House. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1881.
- Goebel, Julius. Das. Deutschtum in den Verein-
igten Staaten von Nord-Amerika.
J.F.Lehmanns Verlag. München, 1904.
- Gordon, Thomas F. History of Pennsylvania, from its
Discovery by Europeans to the Declaration
of Independence in 1776.
Carey, Lea & Carey. Phila., 1829.
- Greene, F.V. The Russian Army and its Campaigns in
Turkey in 1877-1878. D. Appleton
& Co. N.Y., 1879.

- Griffin A.P.C. Bibliography of American Histor-
ical Societies. Published from the
Annual Report of the American Historical
Association, 1895.
- Gunther, P.H. Friedensboten-kalender auf das
Jahr nach Christi Geburt, 1908. Buch-
handlung "Eben-Ezer" in Talovka bei Saratov.
- , Friedensboten Kalender xxxxxxxx 1909.
- Häeberle, Daniel. Auswanderung und Koloniegründungen
der Pfälzer im 18 Jahrhundert.
Kaiserslautern. H. Kayser, 1909.
- Hapgood, Isabel F. "Up the Volga",
Chautauquan, XXXVI, 370-388.
- Harold, Frederick. The New Exodus. A Study of Israel.
in Russia. Putnam's. N.Y., 1892.
- Häusser, Ludwig. Geschichte der Rhenischen Pfalz,
nach ihren politischen, kirchlichen, und
literarischen Verhältnissen. J.C.B. Mohr.
Heidelberg, 1856.

Haxthausen, August. Die Ländliche Verfassung Ruslands
Brockhaus. Leipzig, 1866.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster. A History of the Evangelical
 Lutheran Church in the United States.
3rd edition. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
N.Y., 1900.

Kennan, George. "Poverty and Discontent in Russia
McClure's Magazine, XXXI, 74-81.

----- "The Economic and Financial Con-
dition of Russia". Outlook, LXXVI, 211

Kovalevsky, Maxime. Modern Customs and Ancient Laws
 of Russia. David Nutt. London, 1891.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole. The Empire of the Tzars and
 the Russians. Trans. by Ragozin. 3 vols
N.Y., 1893-1894.

Library of Congress. List of Works relating to the
 Germans in the United States. Govt.
Printing Office. Washington, 1904.

- Loher, Franz. Geschichte und Zustände der Deut-
schen in Amerika. K.F.Kohler.
 Leipzig, 1847.
- Long, R.E.C. "The Colonization of Siberia".
Forum, Oct., 1901.
- Lavaleye, Emile Louis Victor, de Primitive Property.
 Trans. from the French by G.R.L.Mariott.
 London, 1878.
- Letourneau, C.H. Property, its Origin and Develop-
ment. Chas Scribner's Sons N.Y., 1901.
- McLaughlin, Allan. "The Bright Side of Russian Immi-
 gration". Pop. Science Monthly, LXIV, 66
- Milyoukov, P. Essais sur l'Histoire de la Civ-
ilization Russe. V.Giard & E. Briere.
 Paris, 1901.
- Russia and its Crisis.

Mott, T. Bentley.

"Three Days on the Volga".

Scribner's Magazine, XXXVII, 297-308.

Munroe, Kirk.

"Some Americans from Oversea".

Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XCVI, 429-440.

Pennsylvania German Society.

Proceedings and Addresses.

15 vols. Pub. by the Society.

Lebanon, Pa.

Pinkerton, John.

Modern Geography, A Description
of the Empires, Kingdoms, States and
Colonies. New ed. 2 vols. Printed
for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand.
London, 1817.

Rimbaud, Alfred.

Russia. Translated by Lenora B.
Lang. 2 vols. Peter Fenlon Collier.
N.Y., 1898.

Richardson, W.

Anecdotes of the Russian Empire.
Printed for W. Strahan & T. Cadell in the
Strand. London, 1784.

Smith, Charles Emory. "The Famine in Russia". North
American Review, CLIV, 541-551.

Stadling and Reason. In the Land of Tolstoi. Thos.
Whittaker. N.Y., 1897.

Wallace, D. Mackenzie. Russia. Henry Holt
& Co. N.Y., 1881.

Williams, S.M. "Siberia - The NEW California".
Munsey, Mch., 1902.

United States. Annual Reports of the Commission-
er of Immigration. Government Print-
ing Office. Washington.

----- Twelfth Census of the United
States, 1900. Vol.1. Part 1.

----- Report of the Industrial Commis-
sion for 1901. Vol XV. Govern-
ment Printing Office. Washington, 1901.

----- Immigration and Emigration, 1885-1886.
Washington,

The Annual Register, or a View of
the History, Politics, and Literature,
for the years, 1758-1780. Printed
for J. Dodsley. London, 1783.

Urban, Sylvanus, Pub. The Gentleman's Magazine. And
Historical Chronicle. London, 1760-1780.

FIELD WORK.

School Census of German-Russian Colonies. Taken by
the writer. Lincoln, June 1908.

Experience as teacher in "Beet-Field" Room. Lincoln,
December, 1907- May 1908.

Personal Interviews:

with German-Russians.

George Knopp.
Mrs. Andrew Wambold
Mrs. Henry Hefft
Henry Oxenhardt

with Lincoln citizens.

Judge P.S. Cosgrave.
A. E. Hargreaves
C.E. Prevey, Sec'y., C.O.S.
L. L. Randall, Immigration Agent for
B. & M. R. R., 1872-1892.