On the cover: Home of the colonist Ernst Allmendinger, Katharinenfeld, South Caucasus (Transcaucasia). (Photo courtesy of the Institut fur Auslandsbeziehungen.)

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Map of the South Caucasus (Transcaucasia) as drawn by Dr. Karl Stumpff. All place names are spelled in German.
I. The Caucasus

The Caucasus, under Russian dominion, was known as the Caucasian Governorship, which is halfway between a province and a colony. The Caucasus was comprised of twelve Gouvernements [provinces] and militarily controlled regions: The Province Stavropol; the Kuban, Terek and Dagestan Regions; the Provinces Elisavetpol [Kirovabad], Erivan [Yerevan], Kutaisi and the Black Sea [Coast], including the Kars and Batumi Regions. The entire Caucasus is approximately the size of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Baden and Wurttemberg combined, of which three-fifths constitutes the North Caucasus and two-fifths Transcaucasia. The North Caucasus [Ciscaucasia] and Transcaucasia contain approximately six million inhabitants each. The Caucasus reaches from both sides of the great Caucasus Mountain Range to the valleys of the Kuma, Manych and Yeya Rivers in the north, and as far south as the Araks River and Ararat, and extends some distance into the Armenian high country.

The Stavropol Province has been a part of Russia in name for 350 years. Nevertheless, actual Russian administration of this region is, in fact, more recent. Not until Catherine II did the greater part of the present-day Kuban Region (on the Sea of Azov) become Russian. And not until the beginning of the nineteenth century did Russia acquire a firm foothold in Transcaucasia, after the Christian kingdoms of Georgia and Imeritia (the Provinces of Tiflis [Tbilisi] and Kutaisi) and the Khanate Karabakh, a Persian vassal state, (the Provinces of Elisavetpol and Baku) were annexed. At the same time, the occupation of Dagestan, the Terek Region and other parts of the Kuban Region was underway. Not until 1828 did the Persians give up Erivan and the Turks Abkhazia, Poti and the Black Sea Coast. During the nineteenth century, it took several decades of bitter conflicts to subjugate the mountain folk of the Caucasus. Eventually, in 1878, Turkey was forced to give up Kars and Batumi also. Nevertheless, Russia was not content to stay within these boundaries. Prior to 1914 she was already in the process of extending her influence in commercial and military efforts towards Persia and was desirous of bringing under her control those Turkish areas adjacent to Transcaucasia that were inhabited by Armenians. By the year 1912 the advance into Armenia had been planned to the most minute detail.

Otherwise, Russian control of the Caucasus was essentially never very firm. Geographically and ethnologically the Caucasus is a part of Asia and, in both these contexts, is only loosely connected with European Russia. The North Caucasus, for the most part, is inhabited by nomadic Mongolian races. Only into the western portions, in the Kuban Region and partially in the Stavropol Province, has there been any immigration and settlement of larger groups of Russians (such as the Kuban Cossacks and others). Probably no more than four million Russians live within the entire Caucasus area. Not until recent times has the sparsely populated Terek Region, occupied by a colorful mixture of peoples, become important as an area of resettlement and attracted especially a number of Germans from South Russia and the Volga Colonies. The indigenous peoples of the North Caucasus, numbering some two million, are almost totally Mohammedan.

Likewise, the most important trade routes of the North Caucasus are confined to its western portion, such as the railway from Rostov to Baku. Even more limited are the travel connections between Russia proper and Transcaucasia, for the high mountains are an insurmountable barrier that permits only one major thoroughfare, while the railroad makes a large curve around the mountains.

The population of Transcaucasia is of diverse composition. The majority of the native peoples forms approximately three major groups, each totaling one and one-half million people. These are about equally divided between Georgians and their Mingrelian and Imeritian kinfolk, among others, of the Provinces and Regions Tiflis, Kutaisi, Batumi and the Black Sea; the Armenians of Erivan, Kars, Elisavetpol and Tiflis; and, finally, the Tatars of Elisavetpol, Baku and Tiflis. These three

*Karl August Fischer, Die Deutschen im Kaukasus, insbesondere in Transkaukasien, Verein fur das Deutschum im Ausland (Berlin, 1919).
primary races are not unusually different from one another, especially the Tatars and Armenians, who live near each other in a motley array of compounds. The Georgians live predominantly in the west, the Tatars predominantly in the east, between which the Armenians have inserted themselves from the south like a wedge. The Caucasus mountain peoples could total one million, with the Ossets in the central valleys of the Greater Caucasus, the Lesghians in Dagestan and many others. A good half-million are Russians (mostly Molokans and Dukhobors, religious sects that were banished from Russia), as well as Germans, Poles, Estonians, Latvians, Greeks, Turks, Persians, Jews and others.

The three principal peoples of Transcaucasia, who give the region its character, are basically different in regard to race, language, religion, customs and capabilities. The Georgians and Armenians each have their own systems of writing and language, while the Tatars speak a Turkish dialect. The Georgians belong to the Orthodox Church, although previously they were independent in churchly matters and had their own patriarch, who was taken away from them by the Russians. For fifteen hundred years the Armenians have had their own Gregorian Church, whose head, the catholicos, resides in Echmiadzin (Erivan Province). The Turks are Mohammedans.

The economic capabilities of these three peoples are significantly different. At the forefront stand the Armenians, who are known as skillful businessmen throughout the entire Levant [Middle East] and even beyond, from Trieste to Bagdad and Bombay. The Armenians in the Caucasus dominate all trade and commerce more and more. Therefore, it may be said that the other races are gradually being reduced to a lower status. That applies particularly to the Tatars, who by nature are not very zealous. The Georgians, with the exception of possibly the Imeritian race, have also not kept pace with the Armenians and in many cases have become impoverished and depressed.

Quite naturally, such conditions foster an antagonism between the individual Caucasian races, especially between the Tatars and Armenians, where it is extreme, leading to bloody conflicts during the revolutionary years of 1905-06 and the war years of 1917-18. The years 1917-18 were most destructive for the well-being of the Armenian nationality, when a systematic process of annihilation was perpetrated against them by the Turks and Tatars. Additionally, the Tatars and Georgians do not like one another, nor do the Armenians and the Georgians, and, combined, they resent Russia and the Russian government.
The creation of an independent Transcaucasian state is virtually impossible due to these contrasting nationalities. To establish a number of independent states would require the difficult task of defining borders between the diverse races. Furthermore, in its economic production (grain and oil), the west is entirely dependent upon the east. Following the complete collapse of Russian rule in 1918, the proposed creation of individual states—first Transcaucasia to be followed by Georgia and Azerbaijan—suffered from irreparable political and economic deficiencies. The Armenian question did not get beyond the paperwork. The German delegation, stationed at Tiflis from June 1918 on and under the direction of General von Kress, attempted to negotiate some type of favorable agreement between the diverse, opposing interests, especially as concerns the arrogance and covetousness of the Turks. However, that effort ended with the German collapse in November 1918. At that time, Transcaucasia was placed under British military control.

II. The Germans in Transcaucasia

History

Some 20,000 Germans live within the multi-racial mixture of peoples of Transcaucasia: 3,000 in Tiflis, 4,000 in Baku and 13,000 Swabian colonists, nearly all in the Tiflis and Elisavetpol Provinces. At this time, we shall deal only with the last-named Swabian colonies, which portray one of the most interesting chapters of German settlement in Russia.

The ancestral colonies are over one hundred years old, extending back to the years 1817 and 1818. The misery of the years of starvation and depression years in 1816-17 [in Germany], religious separatism and mystical theories combined to cause many Wurttembergers to decide to emigrate and join the movement towards the distant east. The recurring obstacles and difficulties that confronted them en route were overcome with typical Swabian tenacity.

Buildings from the early years of Helenendorf. (Picture taken from Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland, ed. by Dr. Karl Stumpp; Stuttgart: Landsnachfahrt der Deutschen aus Russland, 1961, p. 6.)

The initial settlers were thirty-one families from Schwaiheim (Württemberg) who arrived in Tiflis in 1817 and organized the colony Marienfeld. An additional 486 Wurttemberg families arrived in Tiflis in 1818 to establish the villages Alexander sdorf, a Petersdorf, Elisabethal, Katharinenfeld, Helenendorf and Annenfeld. Petersdorf, Katharinenfeld and Annenfeld have since been moved from their original locations. In 1842 Freudental appeared; in 1861, Alexandershilf (the daughter colony of Elisabeththal); in 1887, Georgsfeld (daughter colony of Helenendorf); and in 1891, Petrovka (organized by Alexandershilf). During the twentieth century, when a concerted effort to acquire and develop more farmsteads was made, Traubenfeld, Ormaschen, Jakobi, Eigenfeld, Alexejewka, Grunfeld and Traubenfeld came into being. Four other villages, Georgstal, Gnadenburg, Lindau and Karjagino, were not founded by descendants of the original Swabian settlers and do not maintain a close relationship with the others.

Alexandersdorf and Marienfeld are situated among the Georgians; Elisabethal among predominantly Georgians; Katharinenfeld within a Tatarian-Armenian-Georgian-Greek area; Alexandershilf among the Tatars; Helenendorf and the other Elisavetpolian colonies in a predominantly Tatar area (with an Armenian minority); and Petrovka in a predominantly Turkish area. Relationships with these neighbors were generally peaceable and, in many instances, very good and friendly.

The colonists were settled here as model farmers by the incumbent governor of Georgia, General Jermolov, who hoped that the indigenous peoples would eagerly follow their example. The natives
have, however, learned very little from their models, as each race continues to live according to its own traditions. By the same token, for the first decades the colonists experienced serious problems in becoming firmly established, adjusting themselves to the climate and their farming skills and the soil. The first decades were a difficult struggle, greatly magnified by diseases, robber bands and hostile actions (such as the destruction and plundering of Annenfeld, Helenendorf and Katharinenfeld by the Persian Kurds in 1826).

The colonies were established on "crown land," that is, land owned by the state. The land became communal property, but the ground was subject to taxation. This community land was divided into farms (according to the number of families) of 35 to 45 dessiatines (1 dessiatine = 2.7 acres). The reapportionment that was to take place from time to time did not include the vineyards, which were from the beginning the basis of the economy in most colonies. The original farmsteads have long since been divided in half and by this time mostly into quarters.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, a special administrative authority appointed by the governor was responsible for the colonists. After this office was dissolved, they, similar to all other communities, became subject to the general bureaucratic system: village, county [or region] and province. The government was totally bureaucratic, as the Russian zemstvo had not yet been brought into the Caucasus. The older villages continued to be regarded officially as colonies; their leaders were called Schulz [mayor]. The Schulz, the elders and village meetings were normally able to handle their particular problems in an autonomous and unhindered manner. The Colonists' Ustav (the compilation of regulations enacted by the Russian government that pertained specifically to colonies) applied for the most part also to the Transcaucasian colonies.

In addition to the Swabian colonies, significant developments in Transcaucasia through German industry deserve to be mentioned. These include the huge von Kutzschchenbach cattle ranch, Mamutii, created in the vicinity of Alexandershilf in 1863, along with the establishment of the Siemens Kedabeg copper mine in the vicinity of Annenfeld in 1864.
**Economic Conditions**

Even though the economic development of the colonies, as has been previously mentioned, was hindered by diseases, inadequate law enforcement, etc., during the first decades, it did make strong advances soon thereafter. Today the colonies of Transcaucasia are at least equal to those of South Russia, although they are about one generation behind as regards normal population increase because of the unfavorable climatic conditions. While some have gone into commerce and trades, for the most part, the colonists have remained farmers. Their economic strength rests in the improvement of the acquired lands, of which they, as genuine colonists, can say, "We ourselves have developed this land through the industry of our own hands."

The economic achievement and capability of the colonists are reflected in their painstaking cultivation and irrigation of the soil and the consequently realized profits. They are further reflected in their cooperative system and especially in their ability to pay taxes, as well as in the creation of new settlements. When we consider that the population of the colonies is only about 13,000, then the following figures are indeed high: In the year 1914, the colonies produced over 400,000 hl [1 hectoliter = 26.4 gallons] of wine, brandy and cognac, and possessed 10,600 head of cattle. Viniculture is the basic industry of the colonists in Elisavetpol Province, which includes Helenendorf, Georgsfeld, Annenfeld, Eigenfeld, Traubefeld, Alexejewka and Grufenfeld. Cattle production and dairies (especially cheese production) provide the principal income for the colonies high in the mountains of Tiflis Province: Alexandershilf, Katharinenfeld, Elisabethtal, Marienfeld and Alexandersdorf, which, along with their vineyards, also engage in dairy- grain- and potato-farming.

For government taxation (property, income and excise taxes), the colonists paid out 533,505 rubles in the year 1914, which translate into 1,152,371 German marks at the post-war exchange rate [WWI]. For community taxes (school, church, road maintenance, irrigation canals, etc.), they paid 149,204 rubles, which equal 319,080 German marks. Together they total 682,709 rubles or 1,471,451 marks. Almost one-half of this entire sum comes from the colony Helenendorf alone, the most prosperous and progressive colony, which continues to profit the most from construction of the Transcaucasia Railroad (Rostov-Baku-Tiflis-Batumi). In addition to viniculture, it also engages in wine trade, with the Hummel and Bohrer wineries being the most notable.
The combined real estate of the colonists totals some 46,000 hectares, of which 3,200 hectares are vineyards. The value of the real estate is appraised at 24 million rubles, of which more than half or 12.5 million rubles apply to the vineyards and another 9 million rubles to the residences.

The original settlements ("the colonies") established by the immigrants during the years 1817-1818 are technically Marienfeld (with Petersdorf), Alexandersdorf, Elisabethtal, Katharinenfeld, Helenendorf and Annenfeld. During the balance of the nineteenth century, only four additional colonies were added (see above). However, as a result of the population increase during the last decade before the war, the demand for land became exceedingly greater. Not only was the acreage of individual colonies substantially increased—partially by the purchase of land—but also an entirely new series of settlements came into existence. Regarding this expansion effort, more detailed information can be obtained from the individual reports of the colonies. A number of landless colonists did move into Tiflis as businessmen, tradesmen, laborers, employees and the like.

**Church and School**

Church life held the utmost significance for the Transcaucasian colonies. All of the immigrants were Protestants, partially with separatist inclinations, which were, however, suppressed with the passing of time. Their first pastors (1825) were missionaries from Basel [Switzerland]. In 1829 complete autonomy for the ecclesiastical control of their church was conferred on them by highest authority. In 1841 the regulations for the Evangelical Church in Russia enacted in 1832 were extended to the colonies. Their ecclesiastical organization is highly unusual. With their six pastors, the colonies constitute their own synod directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior in Petersburg, while others such as Tiflis and Baku are responsible to the Moscow Consistory. The colonists are deeply church-oriented and hold to their religious ceremonies and customs with great fervor.

The educational system of the colonies is worthy of even greater praise than the church system. In spite of the difficult and unfavorable local conditions, much has been accomplished here. The colonists* school, with the exception of Helenendorf (see the individual report), is the elementary school system that they, so to speak, brought along from Germany, continued and developed. The schools were supported by the individual communities with no visible state aid, although under governmental supervision. Proscribed teaching objectives were available only for the Russian language. Russian geography and Russian history (all to be taught in the Russian language). Otherwise, the schools operate freely under direction of the headmaster (normally the oldest teacher is selected) and subject to the school program he chooses to devise. The prevailing conditions—shortage of teachers and over-filled classrooms—are often so critical that the schoolwork suffers. The children attend school from the ages of seven to thirteen. A school is divided into two to six units (see the individual reports). The course of instruction also in the German language, German composition, German history and German music provides most gratifying results, thanks to the ability of certain schoolmasters. In general, the children are above average in academic achievement. Teachers received their training partially in Russian secondary schools and partially in the German secondary schools of South Russia [Zentralschulen]. Most recently, they attended the German seminar in Mitau [now Jelgava, in the Latvian S.S.R.].

*This picture of the school in Elisabethtal was taken in 1960. (Picture taken from Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland, ed. by Joseph Schnurr (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1967/68^, p. 129J*
The colonists hold fast, astonishingly fast, to the German language and the German customs. The entire worship service is in German. The school, for the most part, is still in German, and the singing of German hymns and folksongs is common. The language spoken at home is exclusively German. As each of the indigenous peoples speaks its own tongue, the influence of the Russian language is minimal. The Swabian dialect has retained its pure form. Fields and meadowlands bear German names, all in all, an especially engrossing and gratifying reality.

The interrelationships between the colonies have become stronger during recent years, thanks in part to the influence of the Kaukatische Post that appeared as a first-class weekly paper published for the colonies from 1906-1914. The functional interaction with other areas of German settlement is still lacking, even though common backgrounds and relationships with those settled elsewhere at that time are abundant. In any case, interest in Germany and Württemberg has remained at a high level. German agricultural and vinicultural schools are attended more and more, while German theatrical performances are enthusiastically and successfully promoted in Katharmenfeld and Helenendorf.

The Colonies During the War

For the most part, the Transcaucasian Swabian colonies survived the war fairly comfortably until the fall of 1918. Only the villages Petrovka and Karjagino were totally dissolved. However, the colonists, as "Germans," were subject to some hostile acts and vexations, even though they conscientiously and painstakingly fulfilled their obligations to the Russian state, both militarily and economically. Yet, prior to 1917, their existence was never really threatened. Only then, under the influence of the new governor in the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolajewitch, were serious persecutions initiated. Without apparent cause, except that they were Germans, respected colonists were imprisoned. The execution of the liquidation program enacted in 1915, which affirmed the forced dispossession of German colonists' holdings, was now fully put into effect. At the moment of the greatest threat, the Russian Revolution broke out, which gradually led to the dissolution of the Russian...
regime and placed Russia's colonists into an entirely different situation. Since, obviously, there was no protection against the prevalent nationalistic rapacity of the Russians as well as the indigenous local population, the Germans in Transcaucasia promptly formed an organization with the Union of Germans of Russian Citizenship, which had been established in Moscow in April 1917. The goals of this union were basically for self-protection, furtherance of cultural interests, etc., which became impossible to achieve due to the internal disorder wrought by Bolshevism in its process of overthrowing the Russian empire. In the Caucasus, after the Russian front at the Turkish border had totally collapsed, tremendous disorder and confusion also developed. Rabble bands of soldiers became robber bands, specifically against the German colonists.

Transcaucasia declared itself free from the Russian state at the beginning of the year 1918 and established the Transcaucasian Republic, with the governmental seat at Tiflis. However, due to the constant dissension between the Georgians, Tatars and Armenians, it was never really given an opportunity to develop and, in a short time, split into several states, whose possibility of existence was doubtful: Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

At its outset in 1918 and under energetic and able leadership, the Union of Transcaucasian Germans provided a lively and successful function. For example: For protective purposes, a German regiment was formed, with detachments assigned to Tiflis and the individual colonies; education was put back into operation; and the Kaukasische Post resumed publication. In the summer of 1918, the German Army came into the Caucasus, whereby the colonies were protected from violence and especially from the very volatile Tatars. How general conditions in Transcaucasia and especially the conditions of the colonies have altered since the end of the year 1918 is unknown at this time.

Postulations

The German colonists in Transcaucasia were able to function under Russian rule as well as coexist with the diverse neighboring races and, in spite of suppression, developed successfully. They learned how to do business with the diverse peoples and to speak their languages. They also had a deep affection for the land, which they had made arable, as well as for the wild beauty of the Caucasus. Moreover, they still see great economic possibilities ahead for the Caucasus. If law, governmental order, national stability, freedom of economic development and freedom to carry on trade with Germany were unconditionally guaranteed, they would be happy to remain where they are.... Should, however, these requests not be granted, then they demand, at the very least, to be given freedom to emigrate with all of their possessions. They are then committed once more to take up the pilgrim's staff and search for a corner of this earth where they may live and die as Germans.

An Overview of the German Colonies in Transcaucasia as of 1913 I.

Province Tiflis [Tbilisi]

New Tiflis was created as a German handicraft colony and existed as a western suburb of Tiflis proper from 1818 until 1862, after which it was dissolved and became part of the city of Tiflis.

1. Alexandersdorf was established in 1818, 3 versts west of Tiflis on the left bank of the Kura River. This colony contains twenty-six farmsteads (that is, original farmsteads of some 40 dessiatines each, now mostly divided in half and some even in quarters) with 790 German inhabitants, who are engaged mostly in milk production but also produce wheat, potatoes, grapes and vegetables. The colony has a school with two teachers, a small church and its own parish, with its pastor currently being the pastor at Tiflis.

2. Marienfeld, the oldest of the Swabian colonies in Transcaucasia, was established by emigrants from Schwaikheim, who arrived here in October 1817. It lies 25 versts east of Tiflis on the Tiflis-Signakhi highway (mail route) in the valley of the lori River. This colony contains thirty-one farmsteads with 530 German residents.

3. Petersdorf, across the road from Marienfeld, was established in 1820 by a number of families who had originally settled near Tiflis (Saganlug). It has seventeen farmsteads and about three hundred German inhabitants.

4. Freudental (colloquially called "Abas Tuman" or "Jammertal") was established in 1842 by new emigrants from Wurttemberg and South Russia. It lies 3 versts east of Marienfeld and Petersdorf
on the same road and is separated from the other two villages by the Georgian village Sartachali. It contains ten farmsteads and about one hundred German inhabitants.

Marienfeld, Petersdorf and Freudental have separate village administrations but share a common school (with two teachers) and a church. The three colonies are united economically. They operate a dairy, cultivate grain and vineyards and operate a cooperative society.

5. Elisabethtal was formed in 1818, 30 versts southwest of Tiflis on the Tiflis-Bjeli-Kluch highway (mail route). It has seventy-two farmsteads with 2120 German inhabitants (190 families), who engage in wine production and farming (potatoes, wheat, barley and corn). Elisabethtal has a school with four teachers, a church with a pastor and a cooperative society. Its land holdings include: 4500 dessiatines of crown land, 400 dessiatines of community-owned land and 300 dessiatines of privately owned land.

6. Katharinenfeld was established in 1819 on the Shamkhor River in the vicinity of Annenfeld and later became the largest of all Transcaucasian colonies. It was removed to the Mashavera River valley, 60 versts southwest of Tiflis and 26 versts west of the Sandar [Dzhandargel] Railway Station on the Tiflis-Alexandropol [Leninkan] line. The colony of ninety-five farmsteads and about 2710 inhabitants (four hundred families) added to its 4200 dessiatines of crown land by purchasing 4500 dessiatines, with another 1400 dessiatines privately owned. It has a school with six teachers, a church with pastor, a cooperative, a wine cellar, a small credit union, also a drama-literary reading club as well as choral, music and youth clubs. The people of Katharinenfeld are engaged in the production of wine, fruit, wheat, barley, corn, potatoes and some dairy products as well as successful cooper and wagon-building trades. The colony possesses three mills, one brewery, one dairy, two cognac distilleries and three brick kilns.

7. Traubenberg (Allavar) was created in 1908 by colonists from Katharinenfeld, Marienfeld and Alexandersdorf, 7 versts southwest of the above-mentioned station Sandar. It has sixty farmsteads and about 220 inhabitants, who are primarily vineyardists. They have also experimented with cotton. Traubenberg has a school with one teacher.
8. Alexandershilf (Zaike) was established in 1860 as a daughter colony of Elisabethtal, 70 versts west of Elisabethtal. It lies some distance from Tiflis in the mountains and can best be reached via Manglisi. The colony has thirty-two farmsteads and about 650 inhabitants, who are engaged in profitable cattle and milk production. Alexandershilf has a school with two teachers, a new church (yet without a pastor for a number of years), and a dairymen's association.

9. Ormaschen, near Alexandershilf, earlier a Dukhobor village, has been inhabited by people from Alexandershilf since 1906. The previous residents migrated to America.

10. Jakobli, near Alexandershilf, has been populated since 1905 by colonists from Alexandershilf and Elisabethtal.

11. Georgstal was created in 1910 by arrivals from Bessarabia and is a small colony 30 versts from Tiflis and 12 versts south of the Railway Station Ksanka on the Tiflis-Batumi line. Its principal industry is viniculture.

II. Province Elisavetpol

12. Helenendorf [Khanlar] was established in 1818, 12 versts south of the Railway Station Elisavetpol [Kirovabad] on the Gandzha River. It is the second-largest and most prosperous colony with 120 farmsteads and about 2400 German inhabitants (412 families). The principal industry is wine production. Helenendorf is the headquarters for the giant vineyard and winery firms Bohrer and Hummel. It is also known for its barrel- and wagon-making industries. The colony has a church with a pastor, an elementary school with eight teachers, a seven-grade secondary school with eight teachers (started in 1917 with five grades) and a kindergarten with three teachers. In Helenendorf we find a wine cellar and a cooperative society, a literary-dramatic society, a German club and a women's society. The colony provides power and light from its own electrical works. It includes 6700 dessiatines of crown land and, including Bohrer and Hummel, 4200 dessiatines of privately owned land.

13. Georgsfeld (Georgievskoje) was created in 1887 as a daughter colony of Helenendorf. It lies 8 versts south of the Shamkhor Station (155 versts from Tiflis and 22 versts from Elisavetpol). It has eighty-five farmsteads with about 840 inhabitants who are primarily vineyardists. Georgsfeld has a large prayer house and shares a pastor with Annenfeld. It also has a school with four teachers, a cooperative society, a community slaughterhouse, a bakery, a distillery and a community teahouse.

14. Annenfeld, established in 1819 on the left bank of the Shamkhor River, has been at its present location since 1873: 3 versts south of the Dalljar Station (146 versts from Tiflis) and 9 versts west of Georgsfeld on the post road to Kedabeg. It has seventy-five farmsteads with about 780 residents who are mainly vineyardists, Annenfeld has a beautiful, new church (its pastor is shared with Georgsfeld), a school with four teachers and a cooperative society.

15. Eigenfeld (Jermashli), founded in 1905 by colonists from Petrovka and Helenendorf, is 10 versts south of the Dzegam Station and 133 versts southeast of Tiflis. It holds a joint community administration with Annenfeld, has twenty farmsteads and about 100 residents who are vineyardists. It also has a school with one teacher.

16. Alexejevka was established in 1903 by settlers from Elisabethtal along with several other colonies. It lies four versts east of the Akstafa Station (90 versts southeast of Tiflis). It has forty small farmsteads with 260 inhabitants who are vineyardists and a school with one teacher. The village is situated on 100 dessiatines of purchased land.

17. Grunfeld was established in 1905 by settlers from Helenendorf, Georgsfeld. Annenfeld, Alexandersdorf and Elisabethtal. It lies 1 verst west of Alexejevka, has seventy farmsteads with 340 residents who are vineyardists, one school with a teacher and a wine-cellary cooperative. The village purchased 70 dessiatines of land.

18. Traubenfeld (Tauz) was founded in 1913 by Elisabethtal and Alexandersdorf very near the Tauz Railway Station (108 versts east of Tiflis) and has twenty-five farmsteads with 123 inhabitants who are vineyardists.

19. Georgievskoje was settled in 1909 near Karjagino by about twenty families from the Terek Region of the North Caucasus. It lay near the Persian border, 130 versts south of the Jevlakh Station, but was dissolved in 1915 on the basis of the Liquidation Laws.
III. The Kars Region

20. Petrovka was established in 1891 by colonists from Alexandershilf and lay 4 versts southwest of Kars, had thirteen farmsteads with 130 residents engaged in milk production and grain farming. It had a school with one teacher. It was evacuated at the start of the war for security purposes. It possessed 580 dessiatines of crown land and 600 dessiatines of land leased from the military.

IV. Province Kutaisi

21. Gnadenburg and 22. Lindau, two small colonies that lie 2 and 5 versts east of Sukhum-Kale, were founded in 1879 by immigrants from Bavaria and Wiirttemberg.

V. Black Sea Region

23. Novaginka near Sochi. Precise data is lacking. Established by settlers from the Don or Kuban Regions.

II. The German Colonies in the North Caucasus

The North Caucasus [Ciscaucasia] is richer in German settlements than Transcaucasia, but no exact statistics are available. However, the total population is estimated to range from 40,000 to 60,000. Most of the development took place in the second half of the previous century by settlers from South Russia, Bessarabia, Kherson, Taurida and Ekaterinoslav [Dneprpetrovskv] as well as from the Saratov and Samara Regions of the Volga. They are scattered over the entire region without any real connection or association.

In Stavropol Province we find the communities Bethel (Ivashtshenko), Friedrichsfeld (Solotarevka), Hermannsburg, Johannisdorf (Molotchnaja), Johannisheim, Karlsruhe-Wilhelmshohe, Kronental (Deutsch-Chaginsk), Martinsfeld (Martinovka), Olginka, Romanovka and Tempelho.

In the Kuban Region lie Alexanderfeld (Leonovskoje), Alexandersfeld (Alexandrodar), Alex" androvsk, Eigenfeld (Vannoskoje), Eigenheim, Friedental, Gnadau, Lilienfeld, Mariefeld, [Gross-] Markosovka, Michaelsfeld (Dsiginoskoje), Michaelsfcal (Voronovka), Natalino, Neuheim, Novo-Nikolajevka, Pilenkofeld, Roshdestvenskoje, Rosenfeld (Sheremtjevskoje), Semenovka and Wohldemfur.

In the Terek Region a large number of new settlements were formed especially during the last decade. Here lie Alexanderdorf (Alexandrovoiskoje), Bethanien (Konstantinovskoje), Boroninsland, Emmaus, Gnadenburg, Kana (Kanovo), Karras, Michaelsdorf, Morgentau, Neukana, Nikolajevka, Orbeljanovka and Sultanovski-Posselok.

Among these colonies, ten are probably larger ones, with a population of 1000 to 2000, but the majority of the other villages is also really quite respectable in size. In addition to the ones mentioned, there are a large number of smaller German settlements, often without specific identification, scattered over the entire North Caucasus mostly in the vicinity of the railway lines.

The larger communities hold rather substantial acreages of land, up to 5000 dessiatines and more, either as privately owned (such as Emmaus, Gnadenburg, Martinsfeld, Friedrichsfeld, Bethel and Eigenheim), or as crown colonies (such as Michaelsdorf, Johannisdorf, Kronenthal, Wohldemfur and Alexandersfeld) or as land-lease colonies. The principal crops are wheat, barley and corn. They also raise some vegetables and grapes and breed cattle.

The oldest colony is Karras near Pyatigorsk, which was founded in 1803 by Scottish missionaries. [See AHSGR Work Paper i?22, pp. 14-15.]

Most of the colonies are of the Evangelical [Lutheran] persuasion, and their spiritual needs are served by German pastors from Taganrog, Novorossisk, Ekaterinodar [Krasnodar], Stavropol, Vladikavkas [Ordzhonikidze] and Pyatigorsk. Several of the villages are of the Mennonite faith. Catholics can be found in Alexandersfeld, Friedrichsfeld, Semenovka, Novo-Nikolajevka, Roshdestvenka and elsewhere. They are served out of Vladikavkas, Pyatigorsk and Ekaterinodar. [Translators note: The erstwhile Roman Catholics found in Alexandersfeld and Friedrichsfeld had been converted to the Baptist faith prior to their arrival in the Caucasus.]
Finally, it is important to confirm that the German colonies in the North Caucasus suffered severely under the Bolshevist turmoil of 1918. Many of them were entirely destroyed or plundered and the inhabitants murdered.

In regard to any future developments, the "Postulations" as detailed for the Transcaucasian Germans, apply fully.

**Editor's Notes**

1. Names in this article are spelled as they were in 1919. Where the Russian names have changed and where the contemporary names are known, the new name is indicated in brackets, i.e., Elisavetpol [Kirovabad].
2. Kars is a province in northeastern Turkey. It was transferred to Russia as a result of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) and returned to Turkey by treaty in 1921.
3. Karl August Fischer consistently spells the villages Alexandershilf and Alexandersdorf with an "s." The various indexes of German settlements in Russia, compiled by Karl Stumpp and Georg Leibbrandt, omit this "s," i.e., Alexanderhilf and Alexanderdorf.
4. The Russian zemstvo was a form of county council, introduced by Czar Alexander II in 1864. It became the core of the liberal movement from 1905 to 1917.

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**THE WORD BUERAK IN NAMES OF VOLGA VILLAGES**

Alexander Dupper

Many German settlements in Russia had two names—a German one and a Russian one. The Russian names, however, were not always of true Russian origin, but were often loanwords from other ethnic groups surrounding the German villages. One such word is **buerak**.

According to the Dictionary of Popular Geographical Expressions by E. M. Murzaev,* the word buerak means ravine, gorge, gully, hollow or depression. It is a loanword from Turkic languages and in Russia occurs throughout the area of the **Privolzhskaya Vozvyshennost** (Volga Hills), which the German settlers called Bergseite.

For example: The village of Frank was called Medveditskoi Krestovoi Buerak by the Russians. "Meddled" is a bear, "medueditsa," a she-bear, and "krest" a cross (crossing). In addition, Frank was located on the left bank of the Medveditsa River. So the Russian interpretation of the name would be "Bear's-Crossing Ravine."

The village of Kohler was also called Karaulnyi Buerak. Karaul is a guard. So the Russian meaning of the village name is "Guard's Ravine," Possibly there was, at the time of settlement, a frontier guard station nearby.

The village of Muller was also called Krestovoi Buerak. From the above we gather that this means "Ravine Crossing."

The village of Stephan was also called Vodiannoi Buerak. Voda means water. So its Russian name could mean "Wet Ravine."

There are, of course, more examples. The descriptive names of villages often tell something about their environment. The word buerak is found in the Volga German village names of the Bergseite only.

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*E. M. Murzaev, Slovak Narodnykh Geographicheskikh Terminov (Moscow: Mysl', 1984), p. 98. 12
One thing bothered me a great deal in these weeks of intensive work in Blumental, and that was that I had not received any mail from home, and there was no possibility that I could get any for many weeks. I had had no news from my daughter who was going to school in Vienna, nothing from my family in my Silesian hometown and nothing from my school friend who had been placed in the same area as I, only farther to the southeast in the region of the war. Also, we learned very little of the progress of the war. In this remote village there was neither a newspaper nor a radio. The little out-of-date news that did reach us was brought by the students from the city nearby, when they rummaged around in the archives and church records.

When I thought about everything that could have happened during these weeks, I was seized with anxiety and a panicky fear. I could not concentrate on my work properly. I couldn't stand it in the confines of the tiny houses and had just one great yearning to get out into the spacious out-of-doors in order to compose myself.

That is how I came to take long walks in these radiant autumn days, always alongside the narrow field paths, which seemed to get lost in the gentle ripples of grain and then seemed to lead on into heaven. Now this vast, lonely landscape no longer depressed me so much as it did in those first days after my arrival. On the contrary, a curious sensation of security flooded over me, as if I were a speck of dust, small and lost, yet belonging to this vast earth.

The one person whom I met in this solitude again and again, and with whom I often walked for a little way, was Uncle Hartkorn with his little daughter Greta. He generally carried a hoe and a jug of water in his hand. He was on his way to the soldiers' graves, which were some distance away. Little Greta held a bunch of colorful flowers to her for her "soldier uncle." This was the young German soldier who was the first to take small Greta from the arms of her exhausted father that time when Uncle Hartkorn had fled from the clutches of the Bolsheviks under a shower of bullets during a battle. The soldier had revived them and brought them to safety.

The battle had raged back and forth for seven days, until finally the German troops had occupied Blumental, and Uncle Hartkorn and his daughter could once again safely return to their village. Later, however, they had found this young soldier killed and abandoned in a deserted trench. So they buried him here outside the village, along with his comrades who had also fallen in the battle around Blumental. Uncle Hartkorn had assumed the care of these graves, and little Greta tended the grave of her "soldier uncle" with special love. Now in the peace and quiet under the clear, expansive autumn sky, one could not imagine that just a few months earlier, war and death had still reigned here.

On the way home, I could sense how this area was once again filled with activity, how work and harvesting were going on in the fields everywhere in the vicinity of the village. Women and half-grown children worked in the potato fields, and men and women labored with tall piles of straw. The shouting of workers in German, Polish and Ukrainian, and the snorting and neighing of the horses blended with the lowing of the cattle passing by and the humming of various machines. In these days work was done with verve. The harvest had to be half completed this week. The harvest festival was to be celebrated on the coming Sunday.

The festival had been celebrated in the collective farm for many years past, according to the "new regulations." Of course, just as in the olden days, one had to deliver a harvest wreath and empty a bag full of potatoes at the feet of the lord, that is, the manager. He then had to ransom himself with schnaps. Later there was a bountiful feast with spirits and dancing for everyone who had worked and harvested together. It was a happy time. Only the women without husbands stayed somewhat apart.

As to be expected, Luisa Bonn had decorated the room richly with flowers and boughs and had hung two large harvest wreaths on the wall. After many long years the harvest festival finally could once again be celebrated following the colonists' old customs, with a worship service with singing and thanksgiving prayers.

Nearly all of the Germans of the village attended and had dressed as festively and neatly as their poverty allowed. The three very old men with their serious faces sat on the men's side with the few,
somewhat younger men. They scarcely filled more than one pew. In front of them, in two crowded rows, sat the young boys and bigger lads, healthy and robust, with shining, scrubbed cheeks and strands of hair still wet, wearing clean trousers and their Sunday best white linen shirts. They, too, studied the song books devoutly and earnestly. But it seemed they found this wasn't easy to do, for now and then they stole a glance at the row across from them, where the young ladies were sitting. It was also an enchanting picture to see the girls sitting there with their suntanned, youthful faces, all wearing white head scarves. Behind them, crowded tightly together in three rows, were the women, strikingly serious and identical in appearance. All had their white shawls wrapped tightly around their heads in identical manner. All held the hymn book in their work-worn hands in the same way and did not look up. In this picturesque austerity they reminded one of portraits of middle-aged women.

The service lasted over two hours. There was much spirited singing. It was evident they enjoyed this very much. After an hour Farmer Burchard walked to the table covered with a white cloth in the middle of the room, took an old Bible in his hand, and, with a sonorous voice, slowly read a chapter aloud from it and gave a short interpretation. In closing, he spoke a prayer of thanks for the harvest and for God's blessing, recalling the many years of distress and fear and remembering all those who had met with death during this time or who had to take the terrible path to exile. He prayed that God, the Almighty, would also set these sisters and brothers free. He closed with thanksgiving for the German soldiers and asked God to protect them. The aged man spoke this prayer freely, with simplicity and fervor from his devout heart. It was extraordinarily moving. Finally, there was more long and enthusiastic singing.

For me these worship services were always precious hours. By now I knew nearly all of these people. As they were completely engrossed in their devout singing, I could observe their facial expressions and lines and reflect on the circumstances of their lives, which they had confided in me.

Of the older men opposite me, one particularly fascinated me. He had a soft smile on his face, which seemed to come from an inner kindness and peace. It made all heaviness fall away when one observed it. His voice led the entire singing; it sounded like a deep, mysterious bell. Faith and peace resounded in it, and one had a longing to close one's eyes and relax.

He was Farmer Reinhold Bohn, who, I knew, also conducted the worship services now and then. I had often seen him when he left for work in the kolkhoz [collective farm] in his tight linen trousers and his coarse linen shirt. He was employed in the mill there. Evenings he returned home absorbed in his own thoughts and covered with white dust. His small kolkhoz house was the last one in the row at the edge of the village, where the narrow, straight path led to the endlessness of the plain. Every evening after work he sat at his window and read the Bible. This was his evening leisure and his reward for the day's heavy labor.

Sometimes I sat down beside him, and he read aloud further in the chapter he had just begun. Later, still completely engrossed in what he had read, he tried to interpret the message for himself, for me, or for whoever happened to be there. From this it was evident that he had a great longing to understand his own fate and to order his life in the will of God, in order to give it direction and a goal.

Once I asked him to allow me to sketch him. "Why not?" he said, as he looked at me cheerfully. Then he sat there at his window seat so self-absorbed and lost in thought, that I didn't venture to disturb him with any kind of questions. I could quietly observe him and devote myself entirely to my work. Then several hours later, when I handed him the finished portrait to sign and to perhaps also add something about his life, he laboriously set himself to rights and wrote the following:

Reinhold Bohn Farmer and Mason Born in Blumental in 1888 Volhynia. 1915 deported with My wife and five children to Tashkent, where all my children died. 1933 with my second wife was again deported to Odessa...

Thoughtfully he considered these lines. "Now I have written my entire life," he said, almost surprised to thusly have unfolded his life before me.

However, on many evenings when I spoke to him as I was passing by, I discovered that this was not nearly all that fate had dealt him. He remembered very little to relate about the early years of
Reinhold Bohn
Bursen in Hessen in Blauenthal geboren 1869
Wolfgang sein Sohn mit
der Frau Olga geboren
1918 nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg
Er ist gestorben 1942
his life in Blumental; that lay too far in the past. Actually he grew up without a home of his own, because he had lost his father when he was a small boy. He had such a difficult life with his stepfather that his aunt came for him and took him to her home in Berezovo-Hat, where he grew up. As a very young boy, he labored there as a farmhand. Ever long he farmed alone and married at a very early age. He, with his wife and five children, was deported to Tashkent during the first World War. In 1918 he returned to Berezovo-Hat alone. His wife and all five children had died during the years of this exile because of starvation, hardship and typhoid fever. He built up his devastated farm by himself and soon married for the second time. Both he and his wife worked very hard. They lived modestly and contentedly with their three children until he was sent to prison in 1932, because, as the result of a poor harvest, he was unable to pay the high taxes and fees. When he was released after half a year, he found he had nothing left, because his home and farm and everything had been taken away from him.

After that he and his wife labored as harvest workers and, in the fall, received as their wages five pud of grain [1 pud = 36 pounds]. With that he would have been able to get his family through the perils of winter. However, one night the Bolsheviks came and took everything down to the last bit of bread; they said that this grain also belonged to the tax that he had to pay.

Fortunately the winter came late in this famine year of 1932. They went into the forest and gathered acorns, as many as they possibly could. His wife told me later how she soaked and crushed the acorns in order to make them palatable and how she baked bread from them. Both of them were bloated from starvation, and the husband was so weak that he was in bed for weeks, incapable of any work. It was a miracle that they survived. It was a severe famine year; the oldest colonists had never before experienced anything like it. Some of them had ground the bark of trees and mixed that with the residue of flour and clay and eaten that as bread. Then in the spring they ate soup made of grasses and weeds, in addition to the pulp of various roots and leaves. Indeed, many in the village starved to death, including his neighbor Konopatzki and his two sons. It was the same in the neighboring villages and in the entire Volhynian area.

Another time, in answer to an incidental question, he related how one year later, in 1933, he and his family were deported for a second time, this time to Odessa. He escaped from there, because he wanted secretly to return to his home. However, this wasn't so easy. Always in fear of being captured and sent back by the Bolsheviks, they lived in the areas of the large forests working as laborers. Only through the hardest of work could they earn their livelihood. This difficult and wretched life in the solitude of the forests lasted almost eight years. Each year he moved a little nearer to his home, but only after the German occupation did he risk registering himself in Zhitomir. He received a permit to return to his old place in Berezovo-Hat. There he worked in the collective, and, as soon as a few German families in Berezovo-Hat were resettled, he came back to his village of Blumental and now worked in the collective in his hometown. After such a difficult, unsettled life, he now had just one longing—to be able to live and work in dignity and safety. He was satisfied with his small kolkhoz house and the low wages. He felt happy that now he was once again among his friends.

He related everything very pensively and without any urging. Many buried and long-forgotten experiences came only hesitantly to his memory. Often he included a reflective word and several passages of Scripture, which gave him comfort when courage and hope seemed to abandon him in the solitude of the forests. During all those bitterly difficult years, he had held worship services with his family every Sunday, often in the middle of the forest, wherever they had happened to take up their abode. They had sung and prayed just as if they had been at home in their church. His faith had given him comfort and strength and, in spite of the direst distress, had filled his heart with deep peace.

At another time he recalled a song, which he had heard from other prisoners during the time he was imprisoned. They had called it "The Preacher's Song," because it was purported to have been written by an imprisoned minister.

He sang it for me in his deep, resonant voice.
1. Oh, how gloomy are your walls, This prisoner's life so difficult, Alas, how long will it yet take, Is there no longer any deliverance?

2. Separated now from wife and children, I cry to thee, oh God, "Their affliction is no less, Help, oh Lord, from this distress!"

3. Every morn the clanging of our Warden's key does wake us. Quickly from our hole we leap up Because the cell door still is open.

4. Then again the door is locked For us poor, imprisoned folk. Every day is finally over, After grief and bitter pain.

5. All of nature, full of blessings, Yet the eye enjoys it not, For the window is high above us. Through the bars must break the light.

6. To the Father calls this poor one, "In the faith which you do give, God, our Lord, so full of mercy, You forsake not those you love."

I visited him often and with pleasure in his small house after his working hours. Now that I knew so much about his difficult life, I was even more impressed with his deep faith. In his presence I also became quiet and reflective. Once when I met him as he was again reading his Bible, I asked him which passage had been especially meaningful in his life. He handed me the dark, well-thumbed book and said smilingly that I could read this verse for myself right on the first page. There on the cover underneath his name in a somewhat awkward handwriting was:

"Lord, your word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

Editor's Notes

1. This article is taken from Hertha Karasek-Sfcrzygowski's book Wolhynisches Tagebuch (N. G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg, 1979). Anyone with a Volhynian background would enjoy the poignant sketches of life in a small Volhynian village during the early years of World War II. The book is in German only. It may be checked out from the AHSGR Archives via the interlibrary-loan services of your local public library.

2. See the Spring 1985 issue of the Journal (Vol. 8, No. 1) for the story of Gustav Hartkorn and his daughter Greta.

3. See the Winter 1980 Journal (Vol. 3, No. 3) for the story of Luise Wenzler Bohn, It was in her home that the colonists gathered for church services.
WE SING OUR HISTORY
Lawrence A. Weigel

About eleven hundred years ago, Slavic tribes called the "Polani" settled in the region that is now Poland. In the year 960, the land became a kingdom. By the 1700s Poland had three powerful neighbors—Russia, Prussia and Austria—and all wanted to rule Poland. They finally agreed to divide the country among themselves. Probably no other country in Europe has suffered so much from wars as this nation.

The Germans in Poland

Many German people migrated to idle farm areas in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Poland profited from the German migrations. Land was leased to the German farmers, usually for a period of thirty to forty years. On the Vistula River, many settlements of German farmers were founded. In 1772, when Poland was divided, both Prussia and Austria began to colonize their Polish areas with German farmers. Before WW I, Poland had a German population of about 700,000.¹

Volhynia

As early as 1801, German people settled in Volhynia. In 1831, because of the first Polish insurrection against Russian rule, many Germans living in Poland migrated to Volhynia. From 1869 to 1870, there was a mass migration from Poland to Volhynia, because those who had come earlier had attained a reasonable measure of prosperity. When Volhynian landowners sent agents to Poland to recruit settlers, German farmers responded in large numbers. Eventually there were 40,000 Germans in Volhynia.²

The Germans in Volhynia

The Germans continued to expand in Volhynia, spreading towards Podolia, Kiev and Minsk. Before WW I they numbered about 300,000. Later, thousands migrated to the United States, Canada and South America.

Because many of our AHSGR members are Volhynians, some of whose forefathers were among those who migrated from Poland to Russia, the song "In Pol-Land steht ein schones Haus" has special significance.

Fr. Schoenberger, a parish priest who served in the Volga Region, came to the United States in the 1920s and taught the song to my grandfather. When I was still a young boy, I heard my grandfather sing and play the song and learned it from him. Fr. Schoenberger later served in the Catholic parish in Rugby, North Dakota.

In Pol-Land steht ein schones Haus

Transcribed by: Deutsches Volkslied Archiv

2. Er hat so schoene junge Frau, er hat so schone junge Frau.
   Sie weint den ganzen Tag so sehr, sie weint den ganzen Tag so sehr.
4. Meine Reis* geht auf den Kriegsplatz bin, meine Reis' geht auf den Kriegsplatz bin. Dort, wo die Kanonen alle stehn, dort, wo die Kanonen alle stehn.
This is the story of a Polish officer who lives in a nice house. He has a beautiful wife, who cries all day. He asks her not to cry because he will soon have to leave. His journey leads him to the battlefield, where all the cannons are. When he arrives there, he gets shot. He falls on the ground and cries out loud to his comrade. He asks him to write to his wife that he has been shot. The friend tells him that he has no ink or pen. "Then," he says, "write with my red blood." He has barely said this when he receives the second shot. Now he lies there on the ground and does not move either arm or leg.

Notes
1. George Rath, "Emigration from Germany through Poland and Russia to the USA" (Work Paper No. 5, Feb. 1971).

DANCE THE DUTCH HOP

The music of our ancestors is a vital part of our heritage and is always an important aspect of our annual conventions. The Seventeenth International Convention of AHSGR, to be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 15-20, will place special emphasis on the dancing of our ancestors. The Folklore Forum on Friday, July 18, 1986, will include a discussion of the tradition of the "Dutch Hop" by Adolph Lesser and Marilyn Fletcher.

On Saturday afternoon informal dance lessons on how to dance the "Dutch Hop" will be given by Barry and Marilyn Fletcher. Then Saturday evening, join us for the traditional "Polka Time," with music by the Adolph Lesser Band of Greeley, Colorado. You can rest assured that there will be ample opportunity at the dance to brush up your skills in dancing the "Dutch Hop."
My Deportation

Immediately after the outbreak of the First World War, fate would have it that—as a German national or so-called "member of a hostile foreign power"—I became an exile to Siberia. My deportation journey led me along with other "public enemies"—German, Austrian and Turkish citizens (the Russians called us vrazheskie voennoobiazannye— enemies liable for military duty)—as well as with criminal and political convicts via a whole series of prisons in crowded military trains from the Taurien provincial city of Simferopol to the Ural area first of all. It is not part of my report to describe here the unspeakable hardships of this stretch of the journey, which lasted more than two months. One incident, however, I do want to recount.

In the enormous prison of Tula, we had to wait five days for further transport. The occupants of our transit cell, a cell that served only as a temporary shelter for the exiles of Siberia and was always overcrowded, were comprised of about one-third civilian prisoners and two-thirds criminals. While still on the first day of our stay there, the criminal elements conducted themselves in a very friendly manner toward the civilian prisoners, their behavior on the second day already changed to the exact opposite. They gathered in groups, engaged in secret conversations, and one had the feeling that a plot was being hatched. No sooner had the jailer put out the light for the night, when the criminals threw themselves on the civilians, and a mighty brawl resulted. The alarm was sounded by the jailer immediately, and the watch came and drove the criminals out of the cell with clubs. The warden of the prison was called and had them moved to another room, and peace was restored. It was then learned that with this attack the criminals had wanted to demonstrate their "patriotism" against the "public enemies" and therewith buy their freedom. Several wounded civilian prisoners and convicts had to be taken to the prison hospital. The German consul general from Kiev, who was among us with his staff, was also slightly wounded. This is an example of the perils of life accompanying such transfers.
During my nearly five-year-long civilian internment, when, time and again, the Russian authorities shipped us from place to place, I was forced to spend longer or shorter periods in the following areas: the Ural area (with the Ural Cossacks, Bashkirs and Kirghizes), West Siberia (Tobolsk Province), North Turkestan and the Turgai Region (presently Kustanai Oblast in Central Asia). In cities like Orenburg, Samara, Ufa, Chelyabinsk, Verchne-Uralsk, Miass, Troitsk, among others, I met Germans of Russian citizenship everywhere, living in good material circumstances as merchants, traders, and workmen. In the northern part of the Turgai Region, I became acquainted with German settlers on individual farms, with whom I was permitted to spend about nine months as a civilian internee. I will speak of these settlers here.

**Geography, Soil Conditions, Climate and Vegetation**

The five German farms are located about sixty kilometers from the town of Troitsk and not far from the Uy River. **Southwest** of Troitsk there are a large number of German villages, for example Berlin and Leipzig. Leipzig is now on a railway line and has become a station known as *stantsiia Leipzigskaia* [railway station Leipzig], with which the five farm families were connected. The farms are ringed by extensive steppe areas and by large and small lakes. The wide valley of the Uy River consists of rich black humus soil (fields and pastures) that is noted for its fertility. Near the salt lakes the earth is chestnut-colored and less fertile. The climate is continental. In winter the temperature often drops to below -40°C, and in summer it often climbs to above 30-35°C. On the average winter lasts seven and a half to eight months, and summer only four to four and a half months. Spring and autumn do not exist. During the short summer months, the grain and vegetables grow so rapidly that they ripen fully. Along the Uy River and its many tributaries, there are poplars, birches, maples.

*Part of Central Asia, showing the Bashkir Republic (Ufa, etc.), the Kustanai Oblast, the Orenburg Oblast and the Chelyabinsk Oblast (of which Troitsk is a county seat). Orenburg was known as Chkalov 1938-1957. This map was drawn by Dr. Karl Stumpp, thus all place names are in German.*
and willows often forming small and large woods that shelter foxes and other small wild animals (polecats, martins, badgers, weasels) and in the winter even far-roaming wolves. The grass grows abundantly, but the hay is not as hardy by far as that in the Black Sea area.

How Did the Germans Come to Settle in the Steppe Region of the Uy River?

From my host, who was the first settler in this region and with whom I stayed, I learned the following: Mr. J. Schultz—this was the name of the first settler—belonged to the Stundenbueider. In his former home village in the Black Sea area, Stundenbueider organized special meetings, in addition to the regular church services, where everyone could have a say and express his opinion regarding the Bible text under discussion. His farmhand, an able and deeply religious Ukrainian, also attended these meetings. He became a Stundist and started a Stundist movement in his Ukrainian village. During the Stundist persecution by the Czarist government, he and his family were exiled to the Turgai Region. Many other Ukrainian Stundists were forced to share this fate. For a long time both families corresponded with each other. A visit from the Ukrainian to his former employer was reciprocated with a return visit. The Schultz couple liked the Uy area so well that they decided to give up their farm in the Black Sea area and settle there. The material advantages in a change in residence, including in 1902 inert and live inventory, were that Mr. Schultz was able to purchase 1,200 dessiatines of land in his newly chosen site for the sale of 80 dessiatines of land in the Black Sea area (1 dessiatine = approximately 1.09 hectares [2.7 acres]). In his former place of residence, he received 300 rubles per dessiatine, and in the Uy district he paid only 20 rubles per dessiatine. The newly acquired land was very fertile, but not so productive as that in the Black Sea area.

After two years some relatives followed from the old homeland. With the proceeds from the sale of 40 dessiatines of land, they were able to purchase 600 dessiatines near Mr. Schultz. The other three families, who did not own land in the Ukraine, settled in 1908 at "the expense of the crown," i.e., they received, free from the government, 15 dessiatines per male, plus discounted railroad fare, an interest-free loan in the amount of 165 rubles, and other privileges—for example exemption from federal and local taxes for five years, free building and heating materials, etc. To accept such an offer from the government was profitable only for large families with many sons. For example, a family of two male persons, with the allotment of 15 dessiatines of land each, would receive only 30 dessiatines, an area not large enough by far to sustain a household. On the other hand, the three "crown families," as these families were called, had many male members, one six, the other eight, and the third nine. The amount of land apportioned to them was accordingly: 90, 120 and 135 dessiatines. Also, it was possible to rent land from the Bashkirs and Kirghizes for the sum of 20-50 kopecks per dessiatine. For this small rental fee, one could obtain thousands of dessiatines for cattle and sheep grazing, of which some were suitable also for agriculture. Due to these circumstances, it was possible for these formerly landless families to work their way up economically in a relatively short period of time. A short distance from the five individual German farms were four small Ukrainian settlements, whose inhabitants were recruited exclusively from exiled Stundists. The five German families were also professed Stundists. All settlements were gathering places for the religious likeminded—for German and Ukrainian Stundists. On my extensive travels beyond the Urals, I often had the opportunity to pass through closed settlements in which either traditional believers lived (staroverty or staroobriadtsy), or only "Molokans," or only "Stundists." The Czarist government, which persecuted religious communities in White Russia, resettled, as a group, those members of the communities who had been exiled to Siberia and Central Asia and permitted them the practice of their religious beliefs without interference. This was an indication of the religious tolerance that existed there.

Agricultural Conditions

The German Black Sea farmers are exemplary masters of opening up the steppes and making them accessible for agriculture. This was demonstrated by the five farm families in the steppe area of the Uy River. With a plow (Badovski plow) brought from the old homeland, harnessed with six to eight horses, they broke the land and in the course of time cultivated vast areas so successfully that with a good harvest they could reap 60-90 pud (1 pud is approximately 1/3 Zentner [1 pud ≈ 36 pounds]) and more per dessiatine. Mr. Schultz could remember only one weak harvest. At that time they harvested 30-40 pud per dessiatine, a yield that was not only adequate for sowing and their own needs but also resulted in a surplus for selling.
The acres were cultivated according to the "three-field system": wheat was always planted on the fallow ground, the following year barley or oats, and then the land lay fallow for a year (grazing land). The long-lasting, cold winter prevented the sowing of winter wheat. Only summer grain (summer wheat, barley and oats) grew. The hot time of year usually begins in the middle of May and continues until the end of August or beginning of September. In this short time the grain ripens and is harvested in August. At the same time the threshing begins; however, because of the rapid setting in of winter, threshing is completed only in the following year. The non-threshed grain, stacked, stays out-of-doors during winter. It could not be threshed in winter because there was a lack of storage barns for this.

The area for sowing could seldom be extended to more than 100 dessiatines since there was always a severe labor shortage, and family members were not able to cultivate such a large area on their own. For farming the arable land, single and double plows, harrows, drilling machines, seeding machines and mowing machines were used, and fan mills for cleaning the grain. Mr. Schultz owned two reaper-binders and a threshing machine (8 horsepower). For a low fee the threshing machine could be leased by other families.

Mr. Schultz's area for sowing consisted of about 100 dessiatines and that of the other families of 60-80 dessiatines. During my stay there, the average crop yield was 60 pud per dessiatine (for wheat, barley and oats). Schultz harvested approximately 6,000 pud, the other family about 4,800 pud, and the three "crown families" about 3,600 pud each. About half of this was wheat, one-fourth barley and one-fourth oats. At that time, a pud of wheat cost 80 kopecks, St. pud of barley 60 kopecks and a. pud of oats 50 kopecks. Calculating the total proceeds from agriculture, one arrives at the following results: 100 dessiatines yielded about 4,050 rubles, 80 dessiatines about 3,240 rubles, and 60 dessiatines about 2,565 rubles. These, of course, are the gross receipts prior to deducting expenses for the running of the farms and personal requirements. Considering conditions in the Turgai Region, noted for its moderate prices for agricultural products, these were very good incomes.

They usually worked the arable land with their own hands. Helping each other raised efficiency and speeded up the work. Outside help was hired only during harvesting and threshing seasons. Even in winter Mr. Schultz employed two farmhands.
Vegetable, Potato, Berry and Fruit Farming

Vegetables, potatoes, berry bushes and fruit trees were planted only for home consumption. White and red cabbage, beans, peas and kohlrabi yielded good crops. In the fields sorrel and lamb's quarters grew wild and were put to good use in the kitchen. Potatoes did not produce a great yield, but they were very hardy and tasty. In the garden one found only red currants. Masses of strawberries and raspberries grew on the steppe. They were called "steppe berries." They had a fragrant scent and during harvest time were collected by the pailful and preserved for winter. Fruit growing, confined mainly to the planting of apple trees, was not well developed; during the harsh wintertime the fruit trees froze and had to be replaced. Peach, cherry and apricot trees could not be grown due to the severe cold. Thanks to hot summer months, even sweet melons and watermelons grew.

Livestock

Horses were used by the farmers exclusively for draft animals. The horses native to the old homeland had not proved suitable. The severe winters greatly affected their health and work capacity. Only after crossbreeding with Siberian horses could a new workhorse be raised that was equal to local conditions. This newly bred horse is strong, tough, persevering, able, hirsute and can withstand the greatest cold. I myself observed that horses' bodies, dripping with perspiration after a long journey, were often covered with a coating of ice, but that the horses suffered no ill effects even if they had to wait outside in the cold for hours for the journey to continue. European horses would have perished under such conditions of cold and exertion. Mr. Schultz owned twenty-two horses, a sizeable number of yearlings and several breeding stallions. He had a small horse-trading business, the proceeds of which were not inconsiderable. Other families owned eight to fourteen work horses and several yearlings.

Through crossbreeding with native stock, the "Red Cow" from the Black Sea area could only gradually be assimilated and adapt itself to the new conditions. It is noted for its toughness, modest feeding requirements and resistance to cold and disease. It gave 3-5 liters of milk daily. Originally, the farmers kept only enough cows for their own needs. Later, however, when milk products fetched good prices from the "Danish Butter, Milk and Egg Trading Company," which had branches all over Siberia and Central Asia, they added considerably to their dairy stock. Farmer Schultz's barn contained twenty-two cows, the others' barns eight to twelve cows.

Concerning the breeding of sheep, it only made sense to breed Siberian sheep (*Kurdiuki*). They are accustomed to cold, able to roam and are modest feeders. The strange characteristic of these sheep is their fat tail (*Fettschwanz = Kurdiuk*), which on the average weighed twenty pounds. Tied to a small two-wheel cart, which the sheep pulled behind them, this fat tail often attained a weight of 30-60 pounds. Bashkirs and Kirghizes were willing to pay dearly for it, because, as Mohammedans, who are not permitted to eat pork and pork fat, they use this tail fat for roasting. A sheep cost 2 to 4 rubles, but for the fat tail alone, they paid from 60 kopecks to 1 ruble. Every farm kept several hundred sheep.

Pigs were bred chiefly for home use. Suckling pigs and live, surplus hogs were sent to market. In summer the livestock went to pasture, where the succulent prairie grasses made good fodder; in winter they were kept in stables and fed hay and straw. The most dangerous enemy of these domestic farm animals was the Siberian wolf. In winter it often forced its way into stables and tore apart calves and sheep. Hungry wolves also attacked horses and cows, overpowering them and devouring them down to their skeletons. Schultz told me that, years ago, a single wolf killed thirty-three sheep in his stable.

### Industry and Commerce

With the exception of a mill driven by steam, owned by Farmer Schultz (in the summer this steam machine was used to propel the threshing machine and in winter to drive the mill), no other commercial enterprise existed. The value of such a mill cannot be rated highly enough. Due to high transportation costs, grain could not be exported. Not much of an outlet existed on the saturated local markets. That made the sale of flour all the more advantageous. Flour could be more readily disposed of on the local market and was also more expensive than grain. While a pud of grain cost 80 kopecks, a pud of flour, according to its quality, cost 1-1.50 rubles. The German farmers sold only flour and accordingly realized a higher profit.

Two larger projects had been planned but, as a result of the war, never came to fruition. Most of the lakes, many of which were owned by Farmer Schultz, had a high salt content. When a pail of water was boiled until the water evaporated, 4-5 pounds of pure salt remained. Exploitation of the salt lakes doubtless would have been very profitable.

Some lakes had floating oil slicks. One lake, about 6,000 square meters in area and 150 meters deep, was totally covered with a coating of black oil. Tests determined that the area had an abundance of oil. "If I start to exploit the oil fields," Mr. Schultz told me, "I can probably become a second Rockefeller." War and revolution thwarted these plans and prevented their fulfillment.

In a small smithy and carpenter's shop, the farmers themselves, with great dexterity, carried out the most-needed repairs on their machinery. Mr. Schultz expertly ran his steam machine and mill and did not shrink from any repairs. When the boiler sprang a leak in 1914, and new boilers were unavailable, he himself repaired and restored the damaged vessel to working order. Although [the farmers] had learned no trade, they managed all repairs in a masterly fashion. Their children tinkered in the smithy and carpenter's shop and, on their own, got an early start on learning the art of the trade.

The farmers took their agricultural products to be sold in the county seat of Troitsk (it used to belong to the Orenburg Province, presently to the Chelyabinsk Oblast). Troitsk is situated along the tract route and on the railroad line Chelyabinsk-Kustanai-Tashkent, and was formerly an important trade center with two weekly markets. The farmers sold their flour principally to the Russians, Cossacks and Ukrainians, and their butter, sheep cheese and eggs to the "Danish Butter, Milk and Egg Trading Company," which paid decent prices (a pound of butter 25 kopecks, sheep cheese 15-20, and 100 eggs from 80 kopecks to 1 ruble). In contrast to other areas and communities of Siberia and Central Asia—which were situated 500-900 kilometers from a railroad line and where prices, as I know from my own experience, were fantastically low (a pound of butter 10-15 kopecks, a pound of sheep cheese 5-7 kopecks, 100 eggs 30-40 kopecks, a pud of grain 30-40 kopecks, a pound of meat 2-6 kopecks, etc.), since the great distance to the railroad line added considerable transportation costs and the above-named products found no outlet—the marketing opportunities in Troitsk must be called very favorable. [The farmers] purchased everything in this city for their personal needs and for the farm.
Housebuilding

Immediately upon arrival, the new settlers erected makeshift huts made from mud and soil. These served only as temporary dwellings. Soon they progressed to the building of wooden houses. Russian specialists offered ready-made wooden houses for sale. However, one could also order a wooden house built to one's specifications. Helping with the construction lowered the cost of the house. The building of a wooden house proceeded as follows: pine trees were felled in the woods, their limbs removed, and fashioned so that one log fit on top of another. At all corners the logs were fastened securely. Moss was placed between the logs as protection against the cold. Space for doors and windows was left open. Having finished the house in the rough, they took it completely apart and transported the logs to their final destination, where everything was reassembled. Usually, the roof was flat and covered with planks, straw and earth. Rich people had it fitted with sheet metal [tin]. Doors and windows were made by a joiner, who also installed the glass panes. The rooms were tastefully wallpapered. The entire wooden frame stood on a high foundation, since there was no cellar. The building style of the German wooden houses is indefinable—probably a mixture of the elegant Russian izba and a Black Sea German farmhouse. The Russians called the roomy German wooden houses barskii dom (manor house). The stables and barns consisted of two elongated wooden walls with rather broad crosswalls and sloping roofs. Mr. Schultz's wooden house had five main rooms, a kitchen and a pantry; the other families had three or four. All main rooms and adjoining quarters were fitted out with furniture that the settlers had brought from their old homeland. The stables could easily accommodate the existing livestock and the barns the harvested grain.

Church and School

The farm families belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia. Their building plan listed the structure to be erected next: a prayer house and a schoolhouse. The funds for this had already been collected by means of a self-imposed tax. The Ukrainian Stundists contributed a portion, since the prayer house was also to be used as a hall for Stundist, meetings. The war, however, thwarted the actual execution of this plan. Every Sunday morning and on holidays, Mr. Schultz held a read worship service in his large sitting room. In the afternoons he conducted Stundist meetings in which Ukrainian Stundists also participated. I was always greatly impressed by the singing of German chorales in Ukrainian. Troitsk had a Lutheran prayer house and a pastorate, which, however, were seldom occupied by a cleric. The last minister's name was Deutschmann. He looked after the entire Evangelical Lutheran congregation in the German settlement of Kustanai and in the northern part of Orenburg Province. He visited every colony at best once a year. When he conducted a worship service in a community that was located about 60-100 kilometers from the individual farms, the farmers did not mind the great distance and attended the minister's service. On this occasion they had their children baptized and had the pastor perform marriages and confirmations. The farmers were loyal members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia and supported it vigorously with church taxes and donations. They also collected donations for domestic and foreign missions,
For the instruction of their children, they employed a teacher who hailed from a colony of the Kustanai settlement area and had received his training in the Black Sea area. At that time he was in the Russian army, and Mr. Schulficz took over the teaching duties. The farmers placed the greatest value on a Christian education for their children. Religious instruction took first place. The course of instruction included the following subjects: religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, geography, history, and singing. One of Mr. Schultz's daughters and the son of one of the "crown" families attended the Russian Gymnasium in Troitsk.

Family Life, Customs and Traditions

A strong spirit of piety and deep religiosity ruled the family life. The day started with a worship service, and the evening concluded with devotions and prayers. At the table one family member always said grace. The small library consisted almost exclusively of religious books (Bibles, books of sermons, catechism, anthologies, among others). The Friedensbote, published by Pastor Glinther in Talovka [Beideck], Volga district, and the Petersburger Sonntagsblatt were particularly welcome reading material. The Saratower Deutsche Zeitung, featuring reports about the German colonies in the Turgai Region and Orenburg Province, could be found in every household. On the other hand, there was only one subscription for the Odessaer Zeitung, which everyone took turns reading. Mr. Schultz owned both a Russian and a Ukrainian Bible. During Stundist meetings he preached in Ukrainian and Russian.

The family had a patriarchal cast. The head of the family enjoyed great authority, which, however, he never abused. The children showed their parents absolute obedience. Peace and harmony reigned among the family members. They avoided dancing and theater attendance as well as anything they considered "worldly." During the long winter months, they visited each other. The men spent their visits conversing; the wives and grown daughters with knitting and crocheting, and of course with a cozy chat; the children played parlor games (halma, dominos, lotto, among others). They brought their customs and traditions along from the homeland and held them in high esteem.

Relationships Within Their Environment

The surrounding areas, near and far, were inhabited by Ukrainians, Russians, Cossacks, Bashkirs and Kirghizes. The farmers were on the best of terms with all of them. The Ukrainian Stundists came and went freely, especially since they felt a bond with [the German Russians] as fellow believers. Gradually, [the Ukrainians] adopted German farming methods and obtained better results in the cultivation of their fields than the Russians and Cossacks. They also began to raise German horses and cows and had considerable success with this. Basically, a Ukrainian farm could hardly be distinguished from a German one. "la zhivu i rabotaiu kak nemets," ("I live and work like a German,") he said quite proudly, A number of Russians and Cossacks also purchased stallions, bulls and cows from [the German Russians] in order to upgrade their own livestock through crossbreeding. Bashkirs and Kirghizes traded horses, sheep and pelts with the Germans. Among good friends of the Germans could be counted several Russian, Cossack, Bashkir and Kirghiz families. At the weekly market in Troitsk, they also got to know other nationalities: Sarts, Tunguses, Turkmans, Tadzhiks, Afghans, Persians, Kazan Tatars and Chinese, among others, who were offering their wares for sale (silks, rugs, pelts of all kinds, tea, horses, cattle, sheep, etc.). Although the Russian government mounted a terrible smear campaign against the Germans during the war, none of these groups felt any hatred for the German settlers. Now as ever, the relationship between them remained harmonious. They continued to value the Germans as able and honest farmers. "Eto nemtsy nashi druz'ia," ("These Germans are our friends," they said. The Bashkirs and Kirghizes maintained an especially close friendship since Germany was Turkey's ally, and they were quietly hoping for these countries' victories and, as a result, for their freedom, A Bashkir Murza told me: "German, we are praying day and night for Germany and Turkey's victory, because with this victory will toll the hour for our own freedom. The Russians robbed us of our land; at the first opportunity we shall ask for its return. Let them go back to their Muscovite empire." When the Russian government in 1915 called up Bashkirs and Kirghizes for the Russian army, contrary to their agreement, an uprising flared up, which I myself witnessed in the Ural area. Bashkirs and Kirghizes drove the Russian policemen and officials out of their areas and established their own self-government. There were bloody confrontations, which resulted in fatalities on both sides. The Russian, General Baratov, under orders from the Czar, smashed the uprising with bloodshed.
Epilog

At the time I was bitterly regretful that I was unable to visit the German settlements in the Kustanai region. As a civilian internee, I was forbidden to leave my place of confinement, which was designated by the Russian police to within a two-kilometer radius at any given time. Twice-daily reporting to the police—a control to determine one's whereabouts—did not permit a journey of even short duration. I did not receive permission to visit the Kustanai colonies and thus was prevented from becoming personally acquainted with these settlements.

Another impression of German colonists as internees near Ufa. (Picture taken from Karl Stumpf, ed; Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1965), p. 89.)

However, we did get to know the German farmers on the steppes of the Uy River; they proved to be true colonists not only in opening up the Pontic Steppes of the Black Sea for tilling the land but also in the cultivation of the desolate steppe landscape of the Turgai Region. In this they showed great ability to adapt to unaccustomed circumstances (climate, soil conditions, etc.). They were successful in surmounting all difficulties that they encountered. They also recognized the hidden riches of their fields (oil and salt) and had made plans to exploit them. They were on the best of terms with their neighbors and served them unknowingly as models. At the same time, they kept their religion, their German character, their customs and traditions, and nurtured them carefully. There were no mixed marriages. They spoke pure Swabian dialect, which can still be heard today on the rugged mountains near Heidenheim. This is the area from whence their ancestors had originally emigrated. Far from home, a healthy and hardy colonist type had gradually evolved, which, in defiance of all hardships and difficulties, was successful everywhere, setting standards that were of benefit to the foreign state and its inhabitants.

Truly, with pioneers like these, deserts can be changed into fertile soil.
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F1065 .L8A52x
And They Built an Altar. The History and Heritage of the Brokenhead Lutheran Community (Brokenhead, MB, Canada: Brokenhead Lutheran Historical Society, 1983), 463 pp.

The story of German Russians from Volhynia and the Volga area who arrived in the Brokenhead district in 1896. These pioneers did not abandon their Lutheran faith when they moved to a new country. They nourished this faith by reading their German Bibles and prayer books. Today, the Brokenhead district has the largest Lutheran population in rural Manitoba. This book lists the parishes and pastors. Many family histories and photographs are included.

F1060.9 .B48 1984
Berton, Pierre.
The Promised Land—Settling the West 1896-1914 (Toronto, ON, Canada: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1984), 388 pp. Donated by Edmonton and District Chapter.

This book completes a four-volume saga by the author of the opening of the Canadian West following Confederation. It is the story of the raw West and the roots of western individualism. Reference is made to Galicians and Ukrainians, then specifically to Dubkhobers and Mennonites. One group from Bukovina arrived in Winnipeg in May 1897 and protested that misrepresentation had been used to urge them to come to Canada.

F693 .S95 1982
Bivins, Willie (Hardin), Polly (Lewis) Murphy and Jewell (Rone) Tankersley, eds.

A summary of genealogical data on people in southwestern Oklahoma and their ancestors. It is designed to combine vital statistics and the linking of generations in one index-type, master summary. In addition, it includes an album of many photographs and special narrative sections.

F636 .N6
Bye, John E., compiler.
North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies Guide to Manuscripts and Archives (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota State University Library, 1985), 146 pp. Donated by compiler.

This guide includes the following sections:
Using the Guide, Institute Resources (including the Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, which consists "of over 400 volumes in English and German as well as additional material in a variety of formats"), Collection Descriptions and Index. It is a well-formulated, well-illustrated, useful resource.

F645 .R85D53x
Diede, Pauline Neher, compiler.

A compilation of interviews conducted by the compiler in the southwestern North Dakota area. She visited in the homes of pioneer families, who shared their experiences with her, thereby contributing to the historical accounts of the area.

CS49 .S65 1984
Eakle, Arlene and Johni Corny, eds.

An easy-to-use reference book that has been prepared for genealogists at all levels of skill and experience. By using The Source, the researcher can quickly determine what records exist for a particular time period. It also includes a glossary of genealogical and research terms and a comprehensive appendix of source locations throughout the U.S.

CS71 .E56274 1983
Engbrecht, Nita M. and Evangeline Engbrecht, compilers.
Photos, maps, documents. Donated by Dennis Engbrecht.

This book contains "a reflection of the lives and experiences encountered by the David Engbrecht family." They emigrated from Mariawohl, a small village in the Molotschna Mennonite settlement in Russia to Turner County, Dakota Territory. The family centennial celebration is documented here.

PF3115 .E77x

Revised for home and private-school instruction. Preference given to the Schreiblesemethode. Includes reading exercises that are arranged to form the basis for writing and object lessons as well as for reading.

DK260 .B43 1978
FitzLyon, Kyril and Tatiana Browning.
Before the Revolution. A View of Russia under the Last Tsar (Woodstock, N.Y.: The Overlook Press, 1978), 205 pp. Donated by Dr. and Mrs. W. E. Hieb.

This pictorial volume also includes a lot of text. Both pictures and text capture a society at the close of the nineteenth century, which was ruled by an absolute monarch, Tsar Nicholas II. His reign was filled with extravagance, political unrest, extreme poverty for the peasants and recurring famine. All parts of the Soviet Union are included.

F1074 .S3S68x
Fjestad, Dennis P., ed.
South of the North Saskatchewan (Fort Saskatchewan, AB, Canada: Josephburg History Book Committee, 1984), 867 pp. Photos, maps. Donated by Edmonton and District Chapter.

This informative book includes the following well-developed sections: The Beginning, Communities, Progress in Agriculture, Clubs and Organizations, Schools, Sports and Recreation, Arts, Leisure and Music, War Veterans, Family Histories, Tidbits and Anniversaries.

F782 .S4H57x
v. 1, v. 2 Fort Sedgwick Historical Society.

Vol. I: Following the introduction, a very interesting county history is presented. Included is an article, "The Germans from Russia 1767-1979. German Migration to Russia," p. C-175, by John W. Sanger. Family histories, including those of Germans from Russia, take up more than half the pages of this volume. A "Special Recognition" section and index round out the information provided. Pictures of sugar beet wagons hauling beets to the railroad and a brief history of the sugar beet industry are included.

Vol. II: Richly illustrated with pictures throughout, this book comprises further county history, a separate pictorial-history section specifically to portray selected events, armed forces histories, more family histories and a comprehensive, easy-to-use index. A number of German-Russian families are mentioned.

CS71 .R577 1985x
Giesinger, Adam, author and compiler.
My Grandmothers People. The Rissling Family in Russia and in Canada (Published by author, 1985), 83 pp. Photos, maps. Donated by author/compiler.

This family history begins with the migration of Germans to the Black Sea Region. The Risslings settled in the village of Franzfeld, west of the city of Odessa. In 1814 one branch of the family moved to Selz, the parish center of the Kutschurgan district. An interesting group of letters from Russia sent to relatives in Canada during the years 1901 to 1914 depicts the hardships of that period. Part II includes a detailed account and photos of the descendants of the Russian Risslings in Canada, beginning with Johannes Rissling.

F660 .M45G7 1980
Grabner, Arthur, compiler.
Swiss Mennonite Ancestors and Their Relationship from 1775 (Freeman, SD: Published by compiler and Clarence J. Graber, 1980), 691 pp.

A book of family genealogies, thoroughly researched and compiled from church books from Russia, family Bibles, individual records and county and state records. It has a helpful index system and contains most of the Swiss-Mennonite family names under one cover.
Sources for this book were administrative minutes and accounts, emigration permits, other records and lists of emigrants previously compiled by other authors. Included are 11,666 cases of emigration—many entries covering more than one emigrant. During the period surveyed, the area in question comprised a number of independent territories:

- Baden-Baden and Baden-Durbach, Austrian possessions in the Breisgau area.
- Hanau-Lichtenberg and Hesse possessions.
- Nassau possession (Lahr dominion).
- Strasbourg bishopric dominions (Oberkirch and Ettenheimminster).
- Heitersheim district (Order of Malta).
- Geroldseck dominion (Von der Leyen).
- Minor territories (especially monasteries and those of lower nobility).
- Territories of the Imperial Cities of Gengen-bach and Offenburg and the Imperial Fortress of Kehl.

For each territory cited, Hacker provides a history abstract and an abstract of the emigration process.

Werner Hacker reports his findings regarding emigrants from the Palatinate east of the Rhine. He used a great number of sources to compile this information. Section B, Part VI contains destinations of immigrants to Russia; Part VIII gives reasons for emigration; Section C provides general documents about emigration; Section F is an historical map.

The four sorrowful experiences of Adam Kling, a Volga-German colonist and farmer, beginning with his being wounded in fighting against Germany during WWI. Some time after the Revolution, Adam was imprisoned and sentenced to hard labor in a gold mine along the Lena River in the Yakutsk A.S.S.R. His wife later joined him there. He became estranged from his son, Thomas. Then his wife died. Thomas and he were reconciled before Adam died.

Illustrated with many woodcuts, this is a beginner's lesson book for learning to read and write the German language. Lists examples of standard words.

Second steps in learning to read and write the German language—from forming sentences to mastering easy-to-read compositions. Includes 22 German songs with notes.

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Illustrated with many woodcuts, this is a beginner's lesson book for learning to read and write the German language. Lists examples of standard words.

Second steps in learning to read and write the German language—from forming sentences to mastering easy-to-read compositions. Includes 22 German songs with notes.

Includes history of the community's business and cultural growth; also, biographies of its pioneer citizens and its present inhabitants.
CS71 .K6442 1982
Krieger, Mrs. Walter C. (Marie Trupp), compiler.
A genealogical record of the Nikolaus Krieger family from Norka, Russia. Includes obituaries of family members.

CS71 .K53 1985
Langley, Eileen E., compiler.
These families were part of a group of families who came from Bukovina and settled in Ellis County, Kansas, in the 1890s and early 1900s. Book consists mainly of family group charts.

OVERSIZE
HV88 J433x
*Letters of Acknowledgement and List of Recipients: Aid Sent to Schwed (Zuonarevka)*
A collection of copies and translations of letters and minutes of meetings held in Chicago, Illinois, to organize and administrate funds solicited from Schwed immigrants in Chicago and surrounding communities for the destitute in the colony of Schwed who were suffering from the famine of 1921.

GR 1964 (perm.)
Miller, Miles H., ed.
The Hosmer community became the new home for many German-Russian immigrants who sought to wrest a living from the Dakota Prairie. The book contains personal histories of many of the pioneers. It also includes information on the businesses, churches and schools.

CS857 .R73N48 1985x
Chiefly genealogical tables relating to the Gemeinde Neudorf in the Odessa Region. Families are alphabetically listed.

PS3564 .U78H4 1985
Nuss, Calvin E.
A moving story of Karl Mueller, who followed his dream to the shores of America and began a new life on a farm along the Platte River in Nebraska. His family experienced the frightening days of World War I, when the hatred against the Germans in American communities became very intense.

D769.85 .M5G46x
*Out of the Valley to Victory* (Saginaw, MI: Saginaw Steering Gear Division, General Motors Corporation, 1943), 188 pp. Donated by Carl and Esther (Thaut) Fahrenbruch.
The history of an industry in which many Germans from Russia were employed as they settled in the industrial areas of Michigan. In addition to the history of the plant, the book lists all the employees, including those who served in the armed forces. The names of persons known to have been of German-Russian heritage are underlined. There are many photographs throughout the book.

F381 .P2
This volume concerns the post-Civil War European settlement in Northwestern Texas. This area was one of the last major agricultural settlements in the United States. The ethnic groups include German, Czech, Polish, Norwegian, Swedish, German from Russia, Slovak, Italian and Wendish. Of importance is the article, "First, You Work: Germans from Russia to Texas," by Dianna Everett and Cathey Kelly, pp. 65-83.

CS71 .P673 1985x
Posehn, Margaret E., compiler and ed.
The Posehn family possibly emigrated from the Stuttgart area or from Prussia to Alt-Nassau in South Russia. The village had 60 families. The Posehn family migrated to the Davin area in Saskatchewan. Some family members later moved to the United States.
A MOTHER'S QUEST FOR A BETTER LIFE*
Harold D. Kauffman

In the east the lonely steeple of a village church appeared on the horizon, the only indication of human presence except for her lonely sled, a small black spot in the vast, white, endless steppes. Occasionally she glanced to the west across the unbroken snow to see how far the wan winter sun had sunk and subconsciously computed how long the fading winter twilight would enable the villagers to find her.

The shadowy forms of the wolves had now moved so close that she could see the fog of their breath as they circled endlessly, drawing nearer with each orbit.

A child of the steppes, Maria Dorothea had never feared the wolves before. But today, there was no solid wall around her, no glowing ova to warm her. Without thought, she reached out and touched the figure beside her. Almost apologetically she reached under the sheepskins and pulled out one of the camel's-hair blankets and tucked it around her own legs and feet, numb from the penetrating cold.

Looking toward the steeple, she was sure that she could see movement near its base, in the same area that she had last been aware of David's horse, knowing it was there, rather than seeing it. Straining to be sure that her eyes were not deceiving her, she thought back across that brief, Russian winter day, one that seemed to have started in a far-distant time.

Martin, her husband, had been sick for days with a poison blister that had appeared suddenly upon his forehead. Relying upon the lore of her people, she had made a compress of tobacco leaves soaked in hot water and applied it for hours. Nothing seemed to help. The blister seemed to grow and to become more angry.

Yesterday, when spots appeared on the skin around it, Maria's mother-in-law had quietly assured her that nothing more could be done. He would die. Unable to accept this judgment, she had hurried to Martin's cousin and enlisted his son, David, to help her get her husband to the doctor, 80 miles away.

This morning her children and Elizabeth, her mother-in-law, had helped them dress Martin in his woolen garments, felt boots and sheepskins. As they settled into the sled, Elizabeth had even brought some of her prized camel's-hair blankets to help keep them warm. Not long after leaving the village, Martin had lost consciousness, and by noon she realized that there was no longer any purpose in their journey.

She had reached out, touched David's arm, and asked him to turn the horse and take them home. That return trip had seemed even longer than the morning journey. It was as if they had stood still in spite of the horse's obvious exertion.

At last, the horse had slowed and finally stopped in a snowdrift over which it could no longer pull the weight of the sled. David noticed the steeple on the horizon and asked her to take the horse and to ride for help. When she refused, saying that he, the stronger, should go, he had offered to let her ride while he walked beside the horse. Realizing that this would likely result in their dying on the steppe, she had refused. She would remain with her husband's body until David returned with help. Should it be necessary, she would stand so that they could find her. If not, at least David might survive.

Startled, she suddenly struggled from her reverie. The sun was lower, the shadow cast by her sled seemed to come from a clump of trees. The wolves had come closer; she was sure that she heard their panting. To the east the movement had materialized into figures, a group of riders threshing through the snow. Resolutely she arose. Standing barely 5 feet tall, she held the blanket at arm's length to make as big an image as she could.

"Maria Dorothea! Maria Dorothea!" She recognized David's call, but she was too numb to respond. Surrounded by the men of the village, she recognized the Mennonite dialect and realized that they had been nearly home. The only Mennonite village along their route was Blumental, a village close by her own.

*First published by the Monterey Peninsula Herald, Monterey, California, in the May 6, 1979, issue of their Herald Weekend Magazine. Harold "Hal" Kauffman was a staunch supporter of AHSGR until his untimely death in 1979. We thank his widow, Mrs. LaRene Kauffman, for providing us with a copy of the article and the accompanying photographs.
Later she remembered the wrapped jug from which the men had forced her to drink sweetened tea. Of the journey to Blumental, she recalled nothing. Slowly she became aware that she was stumbling around the main room of a small village house, two strong men holding her and forcing her to walk. Realizing that she had regained consciousness, they stopped by the ova, the brick oven, pouring out heat, its metal parts glowing. While they supported her, one woman spooned hot broth for her while others gently, but vigorously, rubbed her feet, legs, and hands.

The women assured her that she was going to be all right. David had fallen asleep in the next room, and they had been walking her and forcing her to drink the hot, sweetened tea for several hours. Martin's body was safely covered inside the horse shed of her host.

On the following day David again hitched the horse, and they made the short journey home. Two days later, December 22, 1904, Martin was buried in the frozen ground of the little cemetery, one more mound among those of his father and his children, the third grave in ten months.

How had Maria Dorothea, or Mart Dort as she was known, come to be on the lonely steppes of Russia? The language of her household and of her village was Rhenish German, not Russian. No Orthodox priest served its church, but a German Lutheran pastor. One hundred and thirty years earlier, her ancestors had left Hesse and the Palatinate and settled upon the vast, deserted wilderness of interior Russia, helping to form a barrier between the west and the Kirghiz tribesmen and bandits of the Volga frontier.

Heeding the invitation of a former German princess, Catherine the Great, who had assumed the throne of the Tsar, they fled poverty and the greedy dukes who conscripted their young men and sold them as mercenaries to the highest bidder. Their homes and small fields had been destroyed repeatedly by the ravages of European wars, and the legions who had bled upon them were made up of their sons.

Knowing the desperation of her countrymen, Catherine appealed not only to their land hunger but also promised freedom of religion and language, financial aid and transportation costs, a tax-free existence for years, and above all, freedom from military conscription in perpetuity. Although some came from other parts of Europe, 27,000 had set out from Germany, abandoning whole villages and frightening their dukes into banning further emigration.

Among these Rhenish and Saxon settlers had been the ancestors of Maria Dorothea and Martin Gruenwald who had helped to found the village that lay southwest of Saratov on the Medveditsa River. The Russians called it Medveditskoi-Krestovoii-Buerak, but the German settlers knew it by the name of its first mayor—Frank.
The lives of the young people followed the seasons. A short period of hard work during the brief Russian summers was followed by the severe winters. Situated in an area that was open to both east and west, the colonists found themselves living in a mixed culture. Although Brunnental was staunchly Lutheran, near it were Roman Catholic, Mennonite and Reformed villages. Interspersed were Orthodox villages of Russians.

Each summer Muslim tradesmen and artisans would come from the area around the Caspian Sea, and it was at Martin's home that they often stayed while in Brunnental. The settlers realized that the camel was probably well suited to their land, and soon the tall dromedary joined the horses and oxen of their tradition. Camels would eat the Russian thistle and thrive, and so these were gathered in the summer while tender and piled on shed roofs where they provided fodder for the camel in winter.

The broad, splayed hooves of the camels made them sure-footed in the snow, and their wool grew thick and luxurious in the winter cold. In the spring this provided the housewife with a rich crop of wool for spinning into soft, warm garments and blankets.

Within a year after her marriage, Maria Dorothea gave birth to a stillborn son. In the next twenty-one years she bore ten children and reared six foster children. Ravages of disease were always present, and in December 1894 her fourth child died of smallpox. Within three months two more of her children died of diphtheria.

By this time Martin's father had suffered two strokes which left him an invalid for over fifteen years. The young housewife or one of her older children stayed constantly with Elizabeth, Martin's mother, to help her care for the bedridden man. A particularly strong bond developed between the patriarch and his daughter-in-law, and her care of him was praised publicly in the parish church.

In the spring of 1904, smallpox once more cast its shadow, and Maria Dorothea's infant son died, and in December Martin died on the steppes.

A widow at 46 with a large family, Maria Dorothea found strength in her surviving children. The eldest, a daughter, was married and prosperous. The first son had married and had two sons. The village was filled with rumors about the government's weakness and of revolutionaries plotting its downfall. Letters arrived from a new land across the sea, including some from Martin's older sister who had immigrated to northern Kansas in 1891. A desire to flee the Volga grew as the government became more repressive.

As early as 1871, the privileges granted by Catherine the Great were revoked. A new interpretation of "perpetuity" was accepted and, after one hundred years, the final blow came in 1874 with the conscription of young men from the German villages for a five-year period of military duty.

Maria Dorothea's eldest son was among those called up in 1901, and, upon his return in 1905, he told of the disaster of the Japanese war and of the uprising he had witnessed while on duty in Kiev. As the new head of the family, he convinced his mother that the time had come for emigration. Early in 1907 the second son and his bride departed for Kansas and then Nebraska, preparing for the family to follow the next year.

Members of Maria Dorothea's family who stayed in Russia posed for this picture in Frank in 1916.
As the hot summer days wore on, another danger reappeared: cholera raged across the Russian countryside. Anna, Maria Dorothea's daughter-in-law, began to fear for the lives of her three sons, her own life and loved ones. Adamantly she pleaded that they leave immediately, that winter would be too late.

In concert with relatives and friends, including David, the faithful cousin, the widow made arrangements, selling unharvested crops and other possessions for a pittance. In late August thirteen people set out by rail on the first leg of their trip to America.

Conditions on the train were crude. Benches ran down each side of the car; above these were shelves for baggage, and in the aisles lay the large bags and bundles of the emigrants upon which many sat and slept. Lice infested everyone. On the third day, Anna, the daughter-in-law, her guard momentarily lowered, purchased some fresh fruit from a peasant along the route. Within three days she was seized by the horrible disease she so feared.

The entire Brunnental party was put off the train at a small Ukrainian town and lodged in the station. Anna was placed in a rail car on the siding, and her husband and another young man cared for her. On the second day the three were taken by freight car to the the nearest city. Upon arrival, they were placed in quarantine on a siding, and the young mother died.

For ten days the other members of the party remained at the station, heating tea and eating cold food. The dead woman's infant son suffered most. Unable to get milk, Maria Dorothea kept her grandson alive with bread and tea. (He survived until the arrival in America two months later, when he died of malnutrition). Maria Dorothea cared for her brood and longed for the help and comfort of her eldest daughter who had stayed behind.

Before the two men returned, following the death of Anna, the sailing date from Libau [Liepaja], Latvia, had passed.

Once reunited, the party continued to Libau, where on Oct. 7, 1907, they were to embark upon the Russian East Asiatic Steamship Co.'s vessel, *Estonia*. Twenty days later they arrived in New York after a stormy North Atlantic voyage, during which the barrels of salted meat spilled, spoiling most of the dry staples. Upon arrival at Ellis Island, smallpox was discovered on the ship, and all its passengers were quarantined on a neighboring island for several days.

"Ticket issued by the Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company for Maria Gruenwald and her daughters, Anna, Marie and Pauline. This ticket was valid for ship passage from Libau [Liepaja] to New York and from there to Kansas by rail."
Eventually admitted, the party made its way to Nebraska and settled in the vicinity of McCook. Maria Dorothea's teenage daughter was married within a year, as was the widowed son.

Maria Dorothea and her two daughters aged 10 and 8, upon arrival in America in 1907, worked summers in the sugar beet fields and spent the winters living in a shanty in town. During the winter months, the two girls gathered coal along the railroad tracks and picked up and delivered laundry for their mother, who received 50 cents for a family laundry.

The indomitable Maria. Dorothea Gruenwald posed in McCook, Nebraska in 1911 with her daughters Pauline, 12, and Marie, 14, right.

The two girls still found time to attend the Lutheran parochial school, which was conducted in German in the morning and English in the afternoon.

About 1910, new land was opened in the Platte River Valley of western Nebraska and eastern Wyoming. Maria Dorothea joined many of her countrymen and moved to this area, where she continued her life as field worker and laundress.

Maria Dorothea's two sons built her a two-room shack on a large lot in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, where she supplemented her income by raising a large garden and selling vegetables to the merchants in the town.

In 1912, alone with her two young daughters, she filed and proved up a 320-acre homestead near Torrington, Wyoming. Having saved $800 in her first five years in America, she was able to fence the property, build a shack, dig and concrete a "cave," or cellar, and had to face reality. No well. Homestead regulations required a well, and her money was nearly exhausted. Fortunately, a local dowser she contacted found a good, sweet-water well at less than 100 feet in an area where some wells reached 1,000 feet.

In 1920 the federal government granted her claim.
The fence built by Maria Dorothea to prove up her homestead in Wyoming. Notice the cellar in the foreground,

As fate would decree, this brave woman was not to live out her life upon her hard-won acres. In 1938 she died at the home of her youngest daughter in Colorado. Five of her children and their families were established in the western United States, but the fate of their eldest, her beloved Anna Margaret, who had stayed behind in Russia, was unknown.

Maria Dorothea had grieved for her missing daughter for years. First came the hardships of World War I, followed by the communist Revolution which raged back and forth across the German colonies for several years, both sides wreaking retribution upon the detested Germans.

Surviving this era and the starvation years of 1920 and 1921, Anna Margaret's husband was executed or deported as a kulak, and his considerable property was confiscated. Another period of deprivation followed in 1928 through 1932 during the first five-year plan when Stalin's forced collectivization of farm land resulted in another severe famine.

In 1935, as conditions in the countryside eased, Anna Margaret and her five children disappeared. Along with the others who had been left behind, it was as if she had never existed.

As the small, strong-willed woman lay dying in the comforts of a home in small-town America, her thoughts must have turned to the children who had died in childhood, the daughter and the six foster children who had suffered the deprivations of the Russian Revolution and her young husband struck down in his prime thirty-four years before.

Today she lies in the cemetery in Loveland, Colorado, surrounded by the graves of her countrymen where there is a small rose-colored granite marker. To the right is the American flag on its pole, to the left, the quiet calm of a lily pond.

The marker reads:

Maria Dorothea Gruenwald, 1858-1938.
FOLKLORE FORUM:
FOLK NARRATIVES OF THE
GERMANS FROM RUSSIA

PART II
Timothy J. Kloberdanz

The following stories represent a rich and diverse sampling of the oral traditions of the Germans from Russia. They can be appreciated as interesting tales or as valuable recollections that link past and present generations. Most importantly, these folk narratives serve as reflections of the people themselves.

The stories included here range from philosophical, old-country parables to humorous "true experiences" relating to such early-day wonders as the telephone and the first automobile. In these stories, the Germans from Russia emerge as a people who treasured many things, one of which was the ever-welcome sound of laughter.

• * * * *

• The Legend of the Two Sacks

Submitted by Arnold C. Schultz

According to an old legend, an old man wandered from one place to another. He had one sack hanging on his back and another over his chest. He put all of the good deeds that he received from his friends into the sack on his back; they disappeared quickly from view and were forgotten. All of the misdeeds that his neighbors committed against him he put into the sack that he wore in front; these he examined daily as he made his pilgrimage through the streets, and they quite naturally hindered his gait.

One day he was surprised by the sight of a man who came toward him and who also bore two sacks. "What do you have there?" asked the old man. "Oh, my good deeds," answered the other man. "I always hold them before me and often take them out of their sack to give them fresh air." "What do you have in the other sack?" the old man asked then. "It seems to be extraordinarily heavy!" "Oh, those are my little blunders; I always hold them in the sack on my back."

Soon thereafter a third wanderer joined them; he, too, like the others, had two sacks, one on his back and the other on his chest. The first two men now said to the third, "Let us please see what you have in your sack." "I'll do that quite cheerfully," answered the stranger, "for I have a good collection, and it gives me pleasure to show it. This sack on my chest is full of good works others have done." "Your sack seems to be quite full, so it must be very heavy," the old man observed. "You are mistaken there," answered the stranger. "It is large, but it is not heavy. Its weight is something like sails for ships. Instead of hindering me, this apparent burden helps me go forward." "The sack on your back," the second in the group observed, "can be of little aid to you, for it appears to be empty, and I see it has a great hole in the bottom."

"I made that intentionally," said the stranger, "for I throw everything bad that I hear about other people into it; it falls through and is lost, and, so you see, no weight pulls me backwards." Right.

May the Lord grant that envy, that greatest hindrance, may be removed from every faithful congregation. In that way peace will prevail as does a stream of water. If every member would pursue peace, then brotherly love would increase and each one would love his brother heartily. May the Lord grant us the power to love one another not only with words and the tongue (lips) but also with deeds and truth, just as God loved us and sent us His son as atonement for our sins (I John 4, 8-9).

Background Information Provided by Arnold C. Schultz

“The Legend of the Two Sacks" was written down by my grandfather, the Reverend Peter Schultz, in the year 1906. It was part of a collection of family papers that came to me from my father at the time of his death. So far I have been unable to determine the origin of the legend. Peter Schultz read a great deal in a wide range of topics. I have vivid recollections of him as a mild-mannered shepherd of his flock. It was of interest to me to set the legend in the context of its importance to my grandfather.
The Reverend Peter Schultz and his wife Anna, nee Klassen.

Peter Schultz was born on March 2, 1853, in Gnadenheim, Molotschna colonies, South Russia, the seventh child of Heinrich and Helena Fast Schultz. When he was twelve years old, Heinrich was brought to Gnadenheim from West Prussia by his father George Schultz, for whom Mennonitism was a strong faith. Heinrich was active in the work of his church as a Vorsaenger, and apparently some of his interest in the church was transmitted to his children.

Peter Schultz was twenty-one years old when he came to America in 1874, settling in Mountain Lake, Minnesota, a village that had come into existence only two or three years before. On January 6, 1878, Peter married Anna Klassen, the daughter of Gerhard and Maria Reimer Klassen. Gerhard Klassen wrote a thirty-page story of his migrations from West Prussia to the Molotschna area in South Russia and on to America. A part of his account is included in my work "The Schultz Family," a copy of which is in the AHSGR library.

To the marriage of Peter and Anna Klassen Schultz were born thirteen children, three of whom died in infancy. Ten of the children lived to rear families of their own, Peter and his brother John soon became involved in the religious life of the village, which grew rapidly as a result of large families and further immigration of Germans from Russia. John became the founder and first pastor of the First Mennonite Church of Mountain Lake. Peter was a co-founder of the Evangelical Mennonite Church of Mountain Lake. In 1902 he joined the Mennonite migration to Langham, Saskatchewan, Canada, where he founded the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Church in 1903. He was its pastor for twenty-seven years until the time of his death on April 30, 1930. One of his greatest achievements was being co-founder of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference in 1889.
A page from the family Bible of Rev. and Mrs. Peter Schultz.

Peter Schultz was a popular preacher in the churches of the Mennonite community and a beloved pastor, perhaps because he exemplified in his ministry the thrust of "The Legend of the Two Sacks" as he understood it and as revealed in his comments. The fact that four of his seven sons followed him into the ministry reflects the moral and spiritual persuasion of his life.

The Story of Peter and Susanna

Sophie (Hermann) Knop

As Told to Emma (Hermann) Thieme

Poverty was, and probably always will be, with us. Here is the story of one couple and how they coped with it in a German village along the Volga River of Russia.
Peter and Susanna were a middle-aged couple from a neighboring village. They frequently came to the Volga-German colony of Schaefer in the spring, summer and fall. Their four-wheeled, hand-pulled wagon was a familiar sight along the dirt-packed village streets. They always came on Saturday, when every village housewife baked enough bread and Kuchen to last the week.

Peter was slight of build and played the fiddle. He was also blind. Susanna was a large woman, and she sang "their" song. "Their" song was one that Peter had written and, Susanna used to say, had published. Whether the latter is so or not is questionable.

When they stopped at each street corner to sing their song, it was the signal for the village women to bring their "alms for the poor": Schwartz- und Weissbrot (dark and white bread), Fleisch- und Krautbierock (meat and cabbage baked in a bun), Ribbelkuchen (coffee cake topped with sugar crumbs) or berry Kuchen, depending on which berries were in season. Blackberry Kuchen was Peter and Susanna's favorite.

Saturday was also the traditional no-school day for the village children. They just naturally flocked around to hear the live entertainment that had come to town. Can't you just picture the growing crowd of children following them, Pied-Piper fashion, as they made their way up one street and down another? In due time, every child knew Peter and Susanna's song.

After several hours these welcome beggars would head for home, their cart heavily laden with enough provisions to last them another week. No one looked down on them. They were an accepted part of life back around 1910. Though blind and underprivileged, Peter and Susanna used their musical abilities to obtain daily bread and were grateful for the generosity of their kindly neighbors. The neighbors were given the opportunity to show their Christian charity and, in doing so, taught their children valuable lessons in sharing and caring.

It was instant H.E.W! H = Health: food received; E == Education: sharing and caring (the villagers) as well as music and gratitude (Peter and Susanna); W = Welfare: food given.

A few years ago an elderly Sheboygan (Wisconsin) gentleman telephoned Sophie and asked if she still knew Peter and Susanna's song. Yes, she did. Following are the words to the song:

Mir fehlen die Augen zum Schauen,  
Ich, Armer, ich sehe ja nicht.  
Ich wandle in Finster und Trauer,  
Mir ist ja genommen das Licht.  
Bei mir ist es dunkel und finster.  
Bei mir ist es Tag und Nacht gleich.  
Wenn ich nur mein Stueckchen Brot esse.  
Dann bin ich zufrieden und reich.

Dem Andern bescheinet die Sonne,  
Und alles sieht schon um ihn her.  
Er lebet in gluecklicher Wonne  
0, o, wie gueicklich is ert

Folklore Editors Note: This folksong also was known in the Black Sea German colonies of South Russia. See Joseph S. Height, Folksongs of Our Forefathers: Liederbuch der Schwarzmeerdeutschen (Bismark, ND: North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from -Russia, 1978), p. 70,

The Origin of the Low German Language

A Dialect Story told by Marion Schmidt Transcribed  
and Translated by John Klassen

Etj wel en klen bed waut vetahle en Plautdietsch veleicht ha dart vorha nech gehert. Maunch ene kaun tjen Plautdietsch mea un schamt sich nech emaul.  
Daut send schone GedichtvonJokabJannson, vonCanada. Weitje wo aun se plautdietsche Sproch heatjemmt?  
I'd like to tell you a little story in Low German that perhaps you haven't heard before. Quite a few people can't speak Low German anymore and aren't even ashamed.

This is a nice story by Jacob Jannson from Canada. Do you know the origin of the Low German language? I don't believe you do. You probably think it's from Russia or Holland or such. Well, there once were young men in Russia working in the forestry department. They should have gone into the military but since the Mennonites objected to military service, they served in the forestry department cutting wood.

There the young men lived together, and, as it is with young men, they were bored and entertained themselves by telling stories.

And there was a young man named Winter who said to the others he would tell them a story as to the origin of Low German.

"I was at one point hired out but decided I'd had enough of the work and I said, 'Berg,' I said to myself, 'give it up and leave. Well, yes, but where shall I go?'

"Well then, just watch,' he said, and they fit more stones and more stones until all at once they were done. At this time the overseer came forward and said that Jannzia had carried the biggest stones and, hence, could have his choice of the best language. He then poured a sackful of languages on the ground and everyone ran forward to choose the best language.
"No, no/ the overseer said. 'Mr. Janzia lifted the biggest stones, and he gets first choice to pick himself a language.' Mr. Janzia was the uncle of Mr. Janzia from Parendenau (Pordenau). He then went forward and said, 'Well, if no one cares, I'll take Low German since that's the best one.' And then he took Low German and the others had to gather together whatever they could find on the ground.

"The French had to talk through their teeth and sound always like a child. There was also a Spaniard, and he talked through his nose and no one could understand him, and, do you know, he sometimes couldn't even understand himself.

"I then went up to Mr. Janzia, and, as we got together, we discovered we were from the same village and that we were both Plautdietscher. 'Well,' I said to Mr. Janzia, 'let's go home.' And that's how the Low German language got here."

_Ac/z, du lieber Strohsack— Bedtime Memories_

Herbert Poppke

Straw sacks were pretty much a thing of the past when I was growing up, but I did sleep in haymows many times. But still, the beds of our childhood were something special. Feather pillows and feather quilts (feather ticks) were common.

Bedsprings were ingeniously designed to sag toward the middle. There were never less than three people to a bed. The person in the middle had to have great trust in the two people who were sleeping on the outside. It was necessary for the two outside people to hang on to the sides of the bed in order to keep from rolling down to the middle and crushing the poor soul who was in the middle.

Sleeping at the foot of the bed is now a lost art. Small people could lie crosswise, and hence many souls could get into one bed.

Five or six fit nicely into one bed if they alternated their heads and feet. Having someone's feet in your face all night was just one of the joys of childhood. Baths were unheard of. In winter the wool stockings were seldom changed and always worn to bed.

I cannot recall such a thing as sheets. I remember wool-type "Indian" blankets; they didn't show dirt and they were warmer than sheets. I think that bed clothes were washed each spring—if it was a good year!

The bedrooms were very small; the beds were tucked into the corner. One could not get around the bed to make it. Grandma had a pole, brownish in color, about six feet long and about an inch thick. This was used to reach across to the other side and to help in making up the beds.

The beds were equipped with casters, and the floors were wood. If the beds were moved, it sounded like rolling thunder to those in the room below. We kids would say that they were moving their beds up in heaven whenever there was real thunder!

_Folklore Editor's Note: Mr. Poppke, who makes his home in Golden, Colorado, traces his ancestry to the colonies of Teplitz (Bessarabia) and Lesowschtschisna (Lesouschisna), Volhynia. Born in 1921, Mr. Poppke spent his early years in central North Dakota, particularly in the towns of Goodrich, Denhoff and Tuttle._

* * * *

_Folk Narratives from Ellis and Russell Counties, Kansas_  
Lawrence A. Weigel

_Die arma Seela (The Poor Souls)_

_Wie ich so e klenes Maedja war, han mir e Ovend g'spielt hinna in unser Hof. Mei Mamma un Dadda han mit unser Nochberslait gemeid. Wie die Sun unner g'hang is un es is dunkel worra, han mir ufamol was g'sie in der West. Erst war e Licht, un no war keen, und dan warra zwei Lichter, un die sin immer dichter kumm nock Herzog._

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Do sin mir hien g'schprung bei unser Eitera und han g'sat: „Gucht amol in der West—do kummt was... vun Hays."

^Lieber Herr Gott, ^ hot mei Mamma g'sat. „Do kummi' zwei arma Seela g'loff. Mir besser knia uns und baeda den Rosakram." All die wuh dort warra, han sick hien g'kniert un han ang'fang zu baeda. Die Lichter sin awer immer dichter kumm. Un wie dichter dass sie kumm sin, je mehra han mir uns gJaericht—und je louder han mir betet.

Dann hut mei Dadda g'sat; „Ihr liewa Lait, mir besser dau ach 'Reih un Leid' erwaecka. Sunnst sin mir amend verlohr." Wie die Lichter hien sin kumm an unser Haus, do hot des Lidwina gegrisch. „Des is jo e Cor—des is jo a Car—des sin jo ke arma Seele."

Do han mir all gelacht un warra froh. Des war des ersta mol wie mir e Car g'sie han fahre in der Nacht, mit Lichter.

When I was a little girl, we were playing one evening in our yard. My mamma and daddy were visiting with the neighbors. When the sun went down and it became dark, I noticed all of a sudden something strange in the west. First there was a light, then there was none, then there were two lights, and they came closer and closer toward Herzog.

I ran to my parents and said, "Look toward the west—something is coming from Hays."

"Dear Lord," my mamma said, "two poor souls are coming toward us. We better kneel down and say the rosary." All those present knelt down and began to pray. But the lights kept coming closer and closer. And the closer they came, the more scared we all were, and the louder we prayed.

Then my daddy said, "My dear people, we better say the 'Act of Contrition' or we might all be lost." When the lights came closer to our house, my sister Lidwina cried out, "It is a car—it is a car—it is not the poor souls."

Then we all laughed, and we were happy. This was the first time we had ever seen a car drive with lights at night.

_Folklore Editor's Note: Lawrence Weigel comments, "My aunt, Sr. Ans'elm Kuhn, told me this story many years ago. It is a true story and happened in Herzog (Victoria), Kansas.^__

_Grandfather's First Car_

My grandfather, Nick Kuhn, related many tales of his experiences. One of his favorite ones follows in the Herzog, Kansas, dialect:

Wie ich die Mail Route g'hat han, sin ich erst mit en Gaul un Buggy g'far. No hot der John Wasinger g'sat: „Fedder Nicklos kaft sich doch en Car—es is yo viel haendicher als wie der Gaul un Buggy. " Do han ich halt mir dan e Model T Ford gekaft. Der John hot mir verdietshed wie ich die Car fara soil, un das ich allagabot Oel muss nin dua. Alles war gut, bis es geraent hot. Do sin ich in Matsch g'far un ufamol hots geracht un die Car war kaputt. Der Wasinger hut sa nin in die Garage g'schlept unno huter g'sat: „Fedder Nicklos, ihr het mol ke Oel in die Car gedu. Die Car is lehr, undderIngein ist ausgebrennt."

„Yb, ich han Oel nin gedu," han ich g'sat. „Wieviel?" wolit der Wassinger wiessa.

„Ja, ich waes net; ich han mit so a Spritz-Kaennja a Paar Droppa nin g'spritzt."

„Ke verdammder Wunner net," hat der Wasinger g'sat, „dass der Ingein ausgebrennt is."

When I first had the mail route, I delivered the mail with a horse and buggy. Then John Wasinger said, "Uncle Nick, why don't you buy a car; they are much handier than a horse and buggy." So I bought a Model T Ford. John explained how to drive the car and cautioned me that, occasionally, I would have to put oil in the engine. Everything was fine until it rained. Then I drove in the mud, and all of a sudden the car started smoking and stopped. Wasinger pulled it into the garage and inspected it. Then he said, "Uncle Nick, you didn't put oil in the car. The crankcase is empty and the engine is burned out."

"Yes," I said, "I put oil in the car."

"How much?" Wasinger wanted to know.

"Well, I don't know exactly how much," I said. "I squirted a few drops in with a squirt can."

"No darn wonder," Wasinger replied, "that the motor has burned up."
Nicholas "Nick" Kuhn (1865-1943) is still remembered as a well-known storyteller in Ellis County, Kansas. He was a grandfather of Lawrence A. Weigel.

A Telephone Story

My grandfather, Nicholas Kuhn, was one of the first telephone men in Herzog, Kansas, and for a number of years the switchboard was in his house. He liked to tell the story of his first job as telephone maintenance man.

Die erste Telephone Company in Herzog war die German American Telephone Company. Weil des Switchboard in mei Haus war, hons sa mich genennt als der Telefonemawi.

No han ich halt do g'sotz un han gelurt. Paar Dach spaeter hot der Borneo Mischka recalled und hot g'sat: „Nicklos, mei Nochber, der Pfeifer's Anton, kann Central net gria. Du besser kummst mol raus ufs Land un guckst nooch."

Do han ich den alta Bill (mei Gaul) ing'spannt un sin nausg'far bei den Pfeifer's Anton, um su sieha was do loos is.

Wie ich hien sin kumm, han ich den Telephone gut newer geguckt, un no han ich g' sat: „Ihr het mol a Davel Messer? Do bans a eens beig" hol. Mil den Messer han ich den Telephone dauf g'schraupt. Dann han ich des Draetja loog'hol vun der Battery. „Ihr het mol ach a Scheer?" Do hans e ach eeni bei g'hol. Mil der Scheer han ich des Draetja abegratzt un bans widder rum gewickelt an die Battery, un han des klene Mudderschjaderauff'schraupt. Mit den Messer han ich widder den Telephone zug'schraupt.

Jets, han ich gebrwoiert un han Central g'reit. Do han ich newer den Pfeifer's Anton g'sat: „Des is doch wunnerbar, was mer duwa kann wann mers rechts G'scher hot."

The first telephone company in Herzog was the German American Telephone Company. Because the switchboard was in my house, they named me for the job of telephone maintenance man.

Then I sat around and waited. A few days later, Mike Rome called and said, "Nicholas, my neighbor, Anton Pfeifer, is here and says he cannot get Central. You better come out to the farm and see what is wrong."

I then hitched Old Bill (my horse) to the buggy and drove out to Anton Pfeifer's farm to see what the trouble was.

When I arrived, I took a good look at the telephone, and then I said, "Do you have a table knife?" They brought me one. With the knife I screwed the telephone door open. Then I took the little wire off the battery. "Do you have a scissors?" They brought me one. With the scissors I scraped the wire and wrapped it around the battery and replaced the small screw. With the knife I again screwed the telephone shut.
Now I tried and got Central. I said to Anton Pfeifer and Mike Rome, "Isn't it wonderful what a man can do when he has the right tools."

* * *

Another Telephone Story

As told by a Mr. Radke at an AHSGR Chapter Meeting in Russell, Kansas

Mei Grossvatter un Grossmodder sin uun Russland kum. Die han dicht bei Galatia, Kansas, gewohnt. Wie sa drei oder fuer Johre do wara, han sa sich a Telephone ins Haus mache lossa.

En Dach hot mei Grossmodder newer met Grossvatter g"sat: „Fahr amol noch Galatia ins Town un probiere mol ob des Ding (Telephone) ach richtig schaft."

Do is mei Grossvatter noch Galatia gjar, un is in Store gang. Do hot her den Storemann sei Telephone gebraucht, un hot drei Lange un zwo Kortze gerung.

Die Grossmodder an den andere End (at home) hot des „Ding" herre ringe. „Hallo, wer is dan desV hot sie g"sat. „Des sin ich," hot der Grossvatter g"sat. „Ja, des schaft mol an deiEnd?\Ja. Des schaft mol ach an dei End?" „Ja."

Un dann hot die Grossmodder g'sat: „Horch amol, Alder, du host mol dei Hals ausg'schwengelt heit morjend, ja, un du host mol auch dei Zehn geberscht heit morjend, du riechstja so aus en Hals. Ich kanne des rieche bis garn do her."

Un dann hot mei Grossvatter g'sat: „Jo, ich han mei Halz ausg'schwengelt un han auch mei Zehn geberscht. Guck amol ob den Peter (he lived with them) sei stinkische Peifnet ufden Ding dort leit." „Ja, werlch," hot mei Grossmodder g'sat, „des is die Peif wu stinkt. Dieleitjagraddo ufden Ding unner mei Naas."

My grandfather and my grandmother came from Russia. They lived close to Galatia, Kansas. After they had lived there a few years, they had a telephone installed. One day my grandmother said to my grandfather, "Go to town to Galatia and try and see if this thing really works."

My grandfather drove to Galatia and went into the store. He used the store telephone and rang three long and two short rings.

Grandma answered on the other end when she heard it ring. "Hello, who is this?" she said. "It is I," answered my grandpa. "Does the thing work on your end?" "Yes. Does it work on your end also?" "Yes."

Then my grandma said, "Listen, Old Man, did you rinse out your throat this morning? And did you brush your teeth this morning? You smell out of your throat. I can smell it all the way out here."

And then Grandpa said, "Yes, I rinsed out my throat and I also brushed my teeth. Look and see if Peter's stinky pipe is not lying on that thing." "Yes, really," my grandma said. "It is Peter's stinky pipe I am smelling. It is lying right under my nose on this thing (telephone)."

* * *

Many thanks to the individuals who kindly contributed material to this issue's "Folklore Forum." Additional stories can still be submitted for future consideration. Other types of folklore-related material pertaining to Germans from Russia are also welcome. Contributions should be mailed to:

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Lincoln, Nebraska 68502-1199
BOOK REVIEW


Reviewed by Lewis R. Marquardt

Steven M. and Renate L. Benjamin's recent The Germans from Russia in the United States and Canada: A Bibliographic Handbook is a lengthy, manuscript-sized, ring-bound compilation of over 2,600 bibliographic entries primarily written in the English language concerning the Germans from Russia in America. Both periodical and book-length entries are cataloged within a single alphabet. An all-too-brief introduction lists the help received from several "experts and scholars" from numerous centers of collection; several helpful indexes, e.g., topical, co-authors, editors and translators, surnames in annotations, etc., are also included. The work represents an extensive compilation of data unavailable elsewhere. A partial list of abbreviations is provided. The Benjamins, well-known for their excellent bibliographic work, publish most frequently for the Society for German-American Studies.

Sifting through the extensive work, one is soon struck by the voluminous number of variable entries: works range from cassette recordings held in various collections to individual journal articles listed by author, book-length family histories and genealogies, manuscripts, newsletters, church records, theses and dissertations, statistical compilations, correspondence, maps, newspapers and newspaper articles, jubilee books, still other bibliographies, and long-playing phonograph records. But the work's very length demonstrates its weakest traits. What the reader does not know is how entries were selected for listing and, specifically, by what methods the compilers made those selections. Furthermore, we do not know at what date periodical entries are cut off, though it appears to be at the close of 1983. Curiously, in their introduction the compilers chose to provide little or no elucidation of these matters and next to nothing about, more importantly, the works excluded. Would that it were otherwise!

A bibliography is meant to be a convenience to the reader, and entries are to be logically ordered within. Consistency and perhaps economy of entries, though thorough, are the order. It is the first which hinders the Benjamins, the second which they surmount. Given the large quantity of listings on this rather select topic, would it not have been more beneficial to have provided but a few categories of entries? Are cassette recordings equivalent to journal articles, dissertations to newspaper articles, books to correspondence? Each entry, though of neither lesser nor greater importance than others, could have been categorized in fewer than six differing categories, thus giving the work greater accessibility, expanded usefulness and easier readability.

It is the important matter of selection or rejection of entries, however, that confronts this reviewer with several problems. Upon what basis, for example, did the Benjamins choose to include item #1914 which lists Ingrid Rimland's article "Roots of the Wanderers," but not her book, The Wanderers: The Saga of Three Women Who Survived, to which that very article refers? Also, one finds Joseph Height's Memories of the Black Sea Germans: Highlights of their History and Heritage ('952), but not his first two books, which construct the other two sides of this trilogy, namely Paradise on the Steppe, which describes the history, customs and characteristics of these people as well as their eventual immigration to America (see chapter 18), and Homesteaders on the Steppe, in which chapter 22 ("The Quest of New Land") specifically includes "Migration to America," albeit most sparsely. Any detailed study on the Germans from Russia in America would certainly include details about their passage to this country. And why might the rather large genealogical Deines Dynasty of 1982 by the youthful Brent Ma be excluded? Family histories that delve beyond mere names and dates may offer rich material for researchers.

One searches for other missing works. Invariably there will always be the small, little-noticed and difficult-to-locate regional works, which by their very nature are bound to be overlooked. Thus, one searches in vain for the tiny centennial history of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Bender Hill, Kansas, which contains a brief description of an early Russian-German parish, published October 1976. An important article missing for South-Central researchers is Dianna Everett and Cathey Kelly's "First, You Work: Germans from Russia to Texas" in Panhandle-Plains Historical Review, 1983. Also one does not find Joseph Height's early "Russische Elsasser in Amerika" (Der Elsasser, July 1953); Johannes Hoelzer's "Die ersten Wolgadeutschen in Sutton, Nebraska" (Kirchenbote Kalender.

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1927); nor Mela Meisner Lindsay's popular Shukar Balan: The White Lamb. As with The Wanderer's above, are we to assume no fiction is included? It is remarkable also that in regard to Hoelzer's article (mentioned above), the Benjamins do cite Der Kirchenbote Kalender ('379) but not articles contained therein. Contrariwise, while they specifically do not list Frederick C. Luebke's Ethnicity on the Great Plains (University of Nebraska Press, 1980), they do list two important articles there from, namely, Timothy J. Kloberdanz's "Plainsmen of Three Continents: Volga German Adaptation to Steppe, Prairie, and Pampa" ('1264) and Bradley H. Baltensperger's "Agricultural Change among Nebraska Immigrants, 1880-1900" ('79), though this last entry is listed only as being found in Volume V, No. 4 (1982) of the AHSGR Journal. Nowhere are we told the reasons behind these inconsistencies.

By omitting certain works, however, and especially perilous are the foreign works, the compilers sport with the assumption that nothing foreign pertains to the Germans from Russia in America or that certain items might not pertain to the topic at hand. Of course that is inaccurate. Take Pastor Karl Bonekemper, for instance. Though he died in Scotland, South Dakota, in January of 1893, his brief, though highly important biography, located in Die Kirchen und das religiöse Leben der Russland-deutschen (Joseph Schnurr, ed., Stuttgart, 1978), is missing from the entries. Or consider the case of Bishop Josef Aloysius Kessler. Although he was assigned to the diocese of Tiraspol, South Russia, it is well-known that he visited America in January of 1922 (to request funds from the Americans for the relief of their relatives remaining in, by then, the Soviet Union). He was well received by many of the Kansas and North Dakota pioneers, and his 288-page book Geschichte der Diozese Tiraspol was published by North Dakota's Rev. George P. Aberle in Dickinson, North Dakota, in 1930. An additional article on Dr. J. A. Kessler by Jospeh Schnurr is located in "Aus der Geschichte der Diozese Tiraspol (1848-1929)" in the Heimatbuch for 1956 (pp. 102-106). Neither of these two works is listed, and there are others.

Typographical errors are evident but not serious: "cemetery" for "cemetery," "Geimat" for "Heimat," among others, "form" for "from"; a word is missing here and there. Karl Stumpp's Das Schrifttum liber das Deutschum in Russland of 1980 is available in a fourth printing as the Benjamins cite, but also in a fifth, not listed. The text is crisply printed but suffers from a lack of unevenly spaced bottom margins. The compilers attempt to assist the reader with very brief annotations on certain entries. Thus they tell us that "Brenmist" = "burn-manure" == fire-brick (#1323). One could quibble with their translation, but there it is. Together with some library call numbers they also provide an incomplete, though helpful, listing of where certain entries are located. One notable exception, however, is the erroneous statement on page iv which reports that materials prefaced with the symbol "GR" are housed at the "Archives and Historical Library in Greeley, Colorado." Although AHSGR members will know that these archival materials were moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, in November of 1982, other readers of the Handbook may not be so knowledgeable and thus direct their requests to Greeley in vain. True, some duplicate texts have remained in Greeley, but the bulk of the collection (perhaps some 2,300 items, to date) now resides in Lincoln.

Perhaps this reviewer's greatest criticism, however, is found not within the text at all but with a problem unrelated to bibliography. Why is it that plastic ring-bound manuscripts always use a binder one size too small? Those tiny parts of the pages held within the ring binder itself bend and crinkle as surely as they must be turned, and within but a few perusings pages bound in these too-small binders become difficult to turn. A binder just one-half size larger would prevent all that and allow end pages to lie truly flat! Nevertheless, these criticisms are meant in no manner to detract from the over-all strength and value of the Benjamins' compilation. Let it be said that their Bibliographic Handbook is a valuable reference work indeed, useful and well-done. If the compilers will only see that a larger ring binder will be used for their second edition, this reviewer shall be among the first to purchase it. The present edition, meanwhile, may be purchased from (Dr.) Steven M. Benjamin, Radford University, Department of Foreign Languages, $13.00.
THE CURRENT EMIGRATION FROM THE U.S.S.R.
H. Manfred Schmidt

There has been a movement of a fair number of ethnic Germans from the U.S.S.R. to West Germany in the post-World War II period. This migration has not been extensively noted in the North American mass media. This article explores the following aspects of current emigration patterns; the number of people involved; a description of the German-Russian population base in the U.S.S.R.; the impact of the German Russians on agriculture in the U.S.S.R.; the efforts by West German governments to facilitate the emigration of some groups of German Russians; and a prognosis of what emigration levels can be expected until 1990.

Immigration to West Germany

The total number of people who have been allowed to migrate to West Germany is given below. No provision is made for immigration to East Germany (a total of about 1,600 from 1965 to 1979) or for a return migration to the U.S.S.R.  

TOTAL IMMIGRATION TO WEST GERMANY

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<td>1,803</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>898</td>
<td>4,052</td>
<td>5,557</td>
<td>3,261</td>
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<td>1963</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>1,243</td>
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<td>594</td>
<td>310</td>
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<td>5,827</td>
<td>9,704</td>
<td>9,274</td>
<td>8,455</td>
<td>7,226</td>
<td>6,954</td>
<td>6,517</td>
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Not all of these immigrants were people who originally came from the U.S.S.R. Some were German citizens. Not everyone had fled from East Prussia before the Soviet onslaught in World War II. If not killed during the fighting, they were deported to Siberia by the Russians.

The emigration statistics for these Altreichsdeutsche [Old-Empire Germans = German nationals from 1951 to 1975 were 21,293. Their largest emigration occurred between 1956 and 1960, when 14,596 were allowed to leave. From 1976 to 1980 only 323 Altreichsdeutsche went to West Germany.

Making allowance for these West German citizens, then 71,046 German Russians left the Soviet Union for West Germany. No allowances will be made since 1981 for these Altreichsdeutsche, as it appears that their emigration is over.

The German-Russian Population in the U.S.S.R.

According to the 1979 Soviet census, there were 1,936,214 ethnic Germans in the U.S.S.R. The breakdown among the Soviet Republics is as follows:

Kazakhstan: 900,207—6.1% of the population of Kazakhstan—third largest ethnic group. Russian Republic: 790,762—0.6% of the population—ninth largest ethnic group. Kirgizia: 101,057—2.9% of the population—fifth largest ethnic group. Tadzhikistan: 38,853—1.0% of the population—sixth largest ethnic group.

In addition, there are 105,735 ethnic Germans residing in other Soviet Republics. Overall the German Russians are the fourteenth-largest ethnic group in the U.S.S.R.

Population statistics for administrative units smaller than a krai or oblast (both relatively larger subunits of a republic) have never been officially released for the German Russians.

Editor's Note: This article is an abridged version of Mr. Schmidt's report. The complete report is available under the title, "The Current Emigration [sic] to West Germany," from the AHSGR Archives through Interlibrary Loan.
In the 1970 census there were 1,846,317 ethnic Germans, and in the 1959 census there were 1,619,655. No other censuses have been taken since World War II. A projection for 1984, based on Soviet census figures, would indicate a population of some 1,980,000 to 2,030,000. A projection for 1989 would be 2,030,000 to 2,100,000. There is a possibility that the ethnic German population is underreported. Two possibilities have been raised: a) faulty census taking and b) those wishing to assimilate do not report themselves as "German." There could be another factor. Normally, in a mixed marriage 50% of the children would respond with the entry nemets [German] to a census. But would one expect such a response rate if there had been disadvantages in the past to belonging to one ethnic group, particularly if there were the possibility of using the other parent's nationality, regardless of some level of ethnic consciousness? This shortfall is virtually impossible to estimate and would only be an educated guess. It is certain that the "Russian" percentage of the population is overstated (52.4% according to the 1979 census), as there must be an allowance for the understating of the populations of the more than ninety minority ethnic groups.

The German-Russian Contribution to Agriculture
The German-Russian contribution to the Soviet economy has been appreciable. Unfortunately, only for the agricultural sector is there enough hard data available.

German-Russian farmer's house made into a kolkhoz stable in the Black Sea -Region.
Before the Russian Revolution, the German Russians were one of the most prosperous groups in Russia. After the deportations of 1941 and 1945, in time, the German-Russian impact on agriculture has again become recognizable. It is not that common to find much direct information about this (except perhaps for Freundschaft or Neues Leben), as the Russians are not that prepared to acknowledge the German-Russian contribution to the U.S.S.R. There are, fortunately, other channels available.

In order to get more detailed information, reports available in the West will be used. In 1982 Der Spiegel was allowed to send a correspondent to Karaganda. He visited a German-Russian agricultural settlement in an area normally off-limits to foreigners. He made some observations about Sovkhos; (state farm) "Friedrich Engels":

a) Milk production always exceeds the planned production.
b) Even in the event of a drought enough wheat is harvested.
c) Each worker in 1981 received 4,000 rubles additional premiums, in addition to the basic wage.
d) This state farm produces more than others in Kazakhstan.

The interior of a cheese factory in the Volga Region during the 1920s. (Picture courtesy of the Institut fur Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, Federal Republic of Germany.)

This last observation is straightforward—when the Soviets show a facility to foreigners, one would expect them to show their best.

The additional premiums are impressive (they average 340 rubles per month). For state farms the Soviet average monthly money wage was 134.7 rubles in 1976, 146 rubles in 1979 and 149.7 rubles in 1980. This means that the average monthly premium was in excess of the average money wage for all state farms.

Point b) is problematical. The correspondent paraphrases the source's comments as follows: "Selbst in Diirrezeiten glinge es, genugend Getreide in die Scheuern zu fahren." [Even in times of...
drought, one succeeded in storing enough grain in the granaries.]

There is an obvious direct correlation between rainfall and agricultural yields. This statement is not elaborated: there could be irrigation. It is best to treat it with caution.

Point a) is of interest. The correspondent reported "dass kaum ein Jahr vergehe, in dem die 2,200 Kuhe nicht mehr Milch geben, als der Plan vorsieht. " [That scarcely a year goes by in which the 2,200 cows don't give more milk than anticipated.] In another article from Der Spiegel in 1984, one of the points made concerned milk production: "In den USA gibt eine Kuh 7,000-8,000 Liter, bei uns wird ein Schnitt von 3,000 Liter Milch pro Kuh als ein sehr gutes Ergebnis angesehen und das seit zwanzig Jahren. " [In the U.S.A. a cow gives 7,000-8,000 liters; here at home a yield of 3,000 liters of milk per cow is seen as a very good result, and that for the past twelve years.]

For the Soviet Union many agricultural statistics are incomplete for the 1920s. The average yields for 1930-32, 1935, 1937, and 1940 were .96 metric tons/hectare [1 hectare = 2.471 acres] for winter wheat and .6 tons/hectare for spring wheat. The production figure mentioned for the 1930s is above these average yields, though it is not specified whether the reference is to spring or winter wheat. Whereas back in the 1930s a per-hectare average of 1.8 tons of wheat was considered a record, today the average is 4.6 tons. As for sugar beets, they now get a little over 48 tons per hectare.

For 1973 and 1974 average yields for the U.S.S.R. were 2.55 metric tons/hectare for winter wheat and 1.15 tons/hectare for spring wheat. The yield mentioned in the quotation is again far in excess of these two averages.

The average yield for sugar beets for 1973 and 1974 was 23.2 metric tons/hectare. The figure mentioned in the quotation is more than twice the national average for these two years. The sugar beet yields for this collective farm seem to be very good.
When one looks at Soviet agriculture in general, what one sees is progress made this century, albeit only slowly. The apparatchiki (Soviet Communist Party functionaries) are disturbed by mention in the West of Soviet agricultural problems. To some extent they are justified—there are no more natural famines, and the dismal lives of the muzhiks (the pre-Soviet term for peasants) have improved. The German Russians have been perceived by Roy and Zhores Medvedev as being good workers:

"Sie haben sich in der Industrie und in der Landwirtschaft hervorgetan; sie verdienten sich Preise und Auszeichnungen...." [They have excelled in industry and agriculture; they earned prizes and awards.] "Die Deutschen werden dabei nicht selten über den grünen Klee gelobt. Sie sind hier die Hundertzwanzig- und Hundertfünfzigprozentigen." [The Germans are often praised to the skies. They are the 120-150-percenters here.]

This still applies today. Losing good agricultural workers in large numbers would cause difficulties. The German Russians are still needed in the agricultural sector, so it is hard to picture large numbers of them being allowed to leave.

Storing seed corn in the Kirilouka kolkhoz (Kokchetav Oblast) in 1918. (Picture taken from Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland, ed. by Dr. Karl Stumpp (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland’ 1961), p. 78.)

West German Government Efforts on Behalf of the German Russians

The first efforts made by a West German government to enable ethnic Germans to immigrate to West Germany go back to 1955, when West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer visited Moscow. The main reasons for the trip were the release of the remaining German POWs and the establishment of diplomatic relations. This trip precipitated the emigration from Russia of the Altreichsdeutsche referred to earlier in this paper. There was also a concern for former German citizens on the West German side (former Reichsdeutsche [German Nationals] oxidAdministrativumsiedler [Administrative Evacuees]—the latter essentially Black Sea Germans, who had been given German citizenship in 1944) plus an interest in those ethnic Germans in the U.S.S.R. who had relatives in West Germany.

A document prepared for the West German parliament in 1961 dealt with the generally bad treatment given all ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. It looked at the various categories of people who wished to take leave of the U.S.S.R., as indicated by the West German Red Cross:

a) German citizens as of June 21, 1941.

b) The Administrativumsiedler, who were granted German citizenship in 1944.

c) German Russians with close relatives in West Germany.
Nine years later, West Germany signed the Eastern Treaties with Poland and the U.S.S.R. They were ratified in 1972 and differ from each other in one respect. Poland was prepared to acknowledge that ethnic Germans could immigrate to West Germany. Nowhere in the treaty with the U.S.S.R. or in the resolution passed by the West German parliament in 1972 is there any mention made about immigration to West Germany.

Starting in 1971 and 1972, sizable numbers of German Russians were allowed to immigrate to West Germany (65,635 from 1972-1981). One reason for this immigration flow can be traced to a viewpoint held by former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Above: A group of Soviet Germans upon their arrival at the Frankfurt Railroad Station. They were served refreshments by the German Red Cross (November 14, 1972).

Left: Heinrich and Olga Schwabenland with their six children. He is a Volga German and she is from Volhynia. This picture was taken in their temporary quarters in Hochheim, West Germany, in November 1974. They arrived in West Germany in the spring of 1974.
He thought that former Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev was prepared to negotiate and to seek a compromise on issues. Brezhnev was capable of understanding what the attitude of the other negotiating side was. Schmidt also thought that Brezhnev had a more generous nature than, say, someone like Gromyko. Brezhnev understood that negotiations involved give and take. The contention here is that one of the issues Brezhnev was prepared to be flexible on was allowing more German Russians to emigrate.

In Schmidt's view, Brezhnev was in full command of the Politburo until about 1978. After that, the hardliners began to play a greater role. The decline in German-Russian emigration since about 1977 fits in well with this viewpoint.

Schmidt had this to say about Gromyko:

Gromyko all the time was different from Brezhnev. He always, in a strict and legalistic way, sought to insure that not the slightest little advantage of the Russians would be given away. Brezhnev was of a more generous nature. And they sometimes argued, even in the presence of a German host or visitor.

Gromyko is the one who effectively runs Soviet foreign policy now. The members of the Politburo would have gained more personal power, without too much regard for the President/General Secretary, due to the ill health of the previous three holders of these dual positions (Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko).

Having said that it was relatively easy for German Russians to emigrate in the 1970s, it should be understood that there were many harassments. In the late 1970s people had difficulty taking out family pictures; many possessions could not be taken; pensioners had to forgo their Soviet pensions; and individuals still working were harassed while on the job.

One writer had this to say about what happened to some German Russians who wanted to leave the Soviet Union:

In Alekseevka, about 50 kilometers from Alma-Ata,... [there is]... a psychiatric hospital classified as an ordinary-regime facility. In it, however, there are special wards for healthy inmates sent there on orders from the KGB. The majority of them are Germans who wish to emigrate from the Soviet Union. In the words of one of the psychiatrists at the hospital, "Only the insane want to leave the U.S.S.R."

In 1982 a group of German Russians who wished to emigrate complained that, in addition to being denied permission to emigrate from Russia, they were discriminated against at work, publicly criticized and were harassed by the KGB. In 1984, in a measure presented to the Council of Europe (not the European Common Market, but largely composed of the same member states), disapproval was expressed about how the German Russians were being treated:

Die Versammlung bedauert, dass die Rechte der deutschen Minderheit in der Sowjetunion in erheblichem Masse verletzt werden, insbesondere das Recht auf freie Religionsausübung, Bildung, Nichtdiskriminierung, freie Information, Meinungsfreiheit sowie auf freie Ausreise....

Beklagt wird die in Widerspruch zu den Menschenrechten stehende Behandlung von Personen in der Sowjetunion, die vergebliche Ausreisewünsche an die zuständigen Behörden gerichtet haben oder die gegen die Ablehnung ihrer Ausreiseanträge öffentlich protestieren, insbesondere gegen ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Diskriminierung und in vielen Fällen ihre Inhaftierung.

[The assembly deplores that the rights of the German minority in the Soviet Union are violated to a considerable degree, especially the right to free practice of religion, education, nondiscrimination, free flow of information, freedom of expression as well as freedom to emigrate. . . .

One deplors treatment of individuals in the Soviet Union—at variance with human rights—who have addressed fruitless wishes to emigrate to the proper officials or who publicly protest against the rejection of their application to emigrate, especially against their economic and social discrimination and in many cases their incarceration.]

It should be clear that German Russians do not have an easy time leaving the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union is not a western democracy, and capricious and harsh treatment is a real possibility.

During Leonid Brezhnev's second visit to Bonn in 1981, emigration privileges for German Russians were mentioned by the West German side. At a reception for Brezhnev, Chancellor Schmidt said:
Lassen Sie mich, Herr Generalsekretär, ... eine Frage erwähnen, die mich persönlich sehr berührt: Ich meine die Familiensammenführung. Hier geht es um menschliche Schicksale und um den Wunsch loyaler Staatsburger Ihres Landes, in ihre historische Heimat zurückzuführen.40

[Let me, Mr. General Secretary, ... mention a question that concerns me personally very much: I mean the reuniting of families. Here it is a question of human destinies and of the wish of loyal citizens of your country to return to their historical homeland.]

There was no official reaction by the Soviets to this remark. Later, when Schmidt summed up his view of Brezhnev's visit, he said to the Bundestag:

Naturlich haben wir auch Fragen der Familiensammenführung angesprochen. Wir haben dabei sowohl auf die menschlichen Auswirkungen hingewiesen. Mein Eindruck ist, dass die Fragen am erfolgreichsten behandelt werden können, wenn und soweit dies diskret geschieht.41

[Naturally, we also have addressed the question of the reuniting of families. At the same time we have also alluded to the human consequences. My impression is that the question can be handled most successfully so far as this occurs discretely.]

This attitude that discretion was necessary was a carry-over from the SPD government led by Willy Brandt. In 1973 Brandt said after Brezhnev's first visit to Bonn:

In einer Erklärung über das Zusammentreffen zwischen dem Herrn Bundespräsidenten [Gustav Heinemann] und Generalsekretär Breschnjew wird gesagt, dass Probleme erörtert wurden, die — wie es in der Verlautbarung hiess — viele Burger bewegen. Ich bin überzeugt, dass diese Unterredung nicht ohne Ergebnis bleiben wird, wobei es nutzlich sein konnte, wenn wir uns die Zurückhaltung bei der öffentlichen Behandlung auferlegen, die es im Interesse der Sache braucht.42

[In an explanation about the meeting between the Federal President (Gustav Heinemann) and General Secretary Brezhnev, it is said that problems were discussed, which—as it was called in the press release—move many citizens. I am convinced that this discussion will not remain without result, whereby it could be useful, if we enjoin ourselves to discretion in the public treatment, which is required in the interest of the matter.]

In January 1983 Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko visited Bonn. There had been a change of West German governments the previous fall from a SPD/FDP coalition (somewhat left of center) to a CDU/FDP coalition (centrist). There was no change in the West German government's attitude towards increased immigration to West Germany. Foreign Minister [Hans-Dietrich] Genscher stated to Gromyko:

Das Bemühchen sowjetischer Bürger deutscher Volkszugehörigkeit um Ausreise zu ihren Angehörigen hat eine in vielen gemeinsamen Erklärungen anerkannte Bedeutung. Die Bundesregierung appelliert an die sowjetische Führung, für dieses Anliegen Verständnis zu zeigen. Es würde unseren Beziehungen einen positiven Impuls geben, wenn die Zahl der Ausreisegenehmigungen wieder größer wurde.43

[The effort by Soviet citizens of German ethnic background for permission to leave the country to join their relatives has a significance acknowledged in many joint explanations. The Federal Government appeals to the Soviet leadership to show sympathy for this petition. It would give a positive impulse to our relations, if the number of exit permits would be increased again.]

In public the Soviets had nothing to say about this, which is one of the usual responses. The other types of response can be seen thusly:

Federal Foreign Minister Genscher handed the Soviet side a list of urgent cases of people wanting to leave the U.S.S.R. The Foreign Office spokesman announced later that during the discussions Gromyko had expressed a view that there was scarcely a great number of German origin wanting to leave any longer. According to a German Red Cross list, however, there are allegedly still 88,000 Soviet Citizens of German origin awaiting exit permits.44

When West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Moscow in 1983, he raised this issue.45 Time also mentioned this, which is exceptional for an American magazine.46
In 1984, when West German Foreign Minister Genscher visited Moscow, he stated:

We are keen to see that the resettlement of Germans from the Soviet Union is resumed again by the Soviet side to a larger extent. [This was] a quite essential point in our mutual relations.\(^{57}\)

A standard comment of all West German spokesmen recently has been that the U.S.S.R., to indicate that it desires better relations with West Germany, should ease up on its restrictive emigration policy.

In the foreseeable future, any appreciable relaxing of emigration restrictions may be difficult. This may have to await not the rise of the new General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, but the replacement of most of the older members of the Politburo by people only slightly younger.

The new General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, 54, is relatively young in Soviet terms. One should have no illusions as to how liberal he is. He is only somewhat more progressive than Chernenko was and could well remain in office for ten to twenty years. One should keep in mind what Gromyko reportedly said about any policy changes: "Der Mann ist gewählt,' sagte vorige Woche Gromyko einem Mitarbeiter, 'aber noch nicht das Programm.'"\(^{58}\) ["The man has been elected/ said Gromyko to a colleague last week, 'but not yet the program.'"]

In the past the West German government was fairly reticent in publicizing its efforts to obtain more relaxed emigration policies for the German Russians. Such a policy was right for the 1970s, but it is inadequate today.

Parallels can be drawn between the approaching of the former SPD West German government and Canada's "Quiet Diplomacy"—"Speak softly and carry no stick at all."\(^{49}\) A discrete approach runs the risk of being considered a weak approach. Chancellor Kohl's tougher bargaining stance, as evidenced by his comments during his trip to Moscow, will be more effective in the long run, even if in the short run the emigration figures go down.

Russians do not live to be made to lose face, or back down, even if—or perhaps especially if—the other side is right. It is no use, either to pressurize them into backing down while loudly and publicly denouncing them. They only become . . . more obstinately determined to resist. Equally, it is a waste of time abjectly appealing to them from a position of weakness. Russians respect power and authority, and most have a bully's instinct to walk all over anyone who is servile and obsequious. The best way of doing business with them is to make your position and determination clear from the start, negotiate toughly but politely and ensure that face is not lost. When you win your point, you allow the other side the courtesy of a dignified retreat. In international politics this would seem to suggest that steely-nerved detente is the best approach. Threatening rhetoric and subservience—all too prevalent in the West and East, respectively—are self-defeating.\(^{50}\)

**The Prospects for Emigration**

Emigration has been viewed by the Soviet government in two ways:

a) As a reward for good behavior by foreign governments (as was the case with West Germany in the mid-1970s).

b) As a price it is prepared to pay in return for privileges from foreign governments (as was the case in the late 1970s, when Soviet Jews were allowed to emigrate in large numbers, in order to mollify the U.S.A.).

The extreme negative reaction that one sees today to Jewish emigration is not as apparent with respect to German-Russian emigration. Articles like the one written by the KGB writer Vitali Lui (Victor Louis), where there are references to the cessation of Jewish emigration, have not been published in a major foreign newspaper about the cessation of German-Russian emigration.\(^{61}\)

There is no intention here to present an overly rosy view about German-Russian emigration. Gromyko's comments in 1983 were negative.\(^{62}\) The Soviets are disturbed by West German claims to speak for those ethnic Germans residing in Eastern Europe.

To claim the right to "represent" Polish or Czechoslovak \(\text{sic}\) citizens of German origin is tantamount to trampling the sovereignty of other states under foot. [S]ome people . . . strive to . . . speak on behalf of all Germans wherever \(\text{sic}\) they may live and of whatever state they happen to be citizens. As if there were no Eastern Treaties, nor the Helsinki Final Act which set the seal on the post-war European realities.
If the Soviets are prepared to state this about the ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe, it does not take too much to extend this to the ethnic Germans in the U.S.S.R. With respect to the German Russians, there is this comment: Aber was ist denn Familienzusammenführung, wenn beispielsweise ein Ehepaar, dem Ruf eines Onkels, Vetters oder Neffen folgend, auswandert und Eltern, Kinder und Geschwister in der UdSSR zurücklassst?... Oder: Was ist daran Familienzusammenführung, wenn eine Familie heute freiwillig und mit dem Einverständnis ihrer Verwandten... auswandert und morgen schon diese Zurückgebliebenen zur Ausreise auffordert und sich dabei auf das Helsinki-Abkommen beruft? Hier scheint doch Missbrauch vorzuliegen!

But how can this be called the reuniting of families, when, for example, a married couple, following the summons of an uncle, cousin or nephew, emigrates and leaves parents, children and siblings in the U.S.S.R.? ... Or how can this be called the reuniting of families when a family today freely and with the consent of their relatives emigrates and yet tomorrow already invites those remaining behind to emigrate and thereby appeals to the Helsinki Agreement? Abuse certainly appears to exist here!

The Soviets have consistently given West Germany negative coverage, in order to put off any prospective emigrants. Freundschaft (the only German-language daily in the U.S.S.R.) regularly has reported on the bad experiences of some German-Russian immigrants to West Germany. In 1982 Kommunist Tadskikistan (a newspaper in Dushanbe) published a story (with some inaccuracies) about the misfortunes one German-Russian emigrant from Tadzhikistan experienced in West Germany. The television program about the German Russians in late 1984 also presented negative comments about West Germany. From my observations of the German Russians in West Germany, there may be some dissatisfaction with conditions in West Germany. Indeed, there may even be some local tensions with some West Germans, but few German Russians have expressed a desire to return permanently to the U.S.S.R.

Any ethnic German who aggressively pursues the prospect of emigration may have to expect repression from the KGB. Here are only two cases:

a) Artur Marsal: Arrested in Dushanbe (Tadzhikistan) in 1981 for criticizing the Soviet government, after his request to immigrate to West Germany was turned down-sentenced to thirty months in a labor camp.

b) Heinrich Miller (noted as Genrikh [sic] Miller): From Maisky, in the northern Caucasus region of the Russian Republic. Denied permission to emigrate with his family, he was prevented from keeping a job and then accused of parasitism (i.e., not having a job)—sentenced in 1981 to one-year imprisonment, but released after nine months.

Regardless of what the Soviet Constitution says, minority rights do not exist in the sense that they exist in Canada. Emigration is not a right and is rather a privilege, which is granted by whim of the state.

The number of exit visas granted to German Russians has declined drastically from the 1976 high. In 1983, 1,447 were allowed to emigrate and a preliminary figure for 1984 was 911. From 1985 to 1990 one should not expect a drastic increase in the emigration rate. There is probably a lower number of several hundred in the process of emigrating—composed of pensioners (as the Soviets would save on pension payments) and dissidents (getting rid of troublemakers).

A report in the Kanada Kurier gave an estimate of 300,000 emigrants for the period 1981-1990. This estimate can only refer to those people who have applied to emigrate plus those who would be expected to apply if exit conditions became easier. The German Red Cross, as of late 1983, had a list of 88,000 potential emigrants. Surely this list would be longer if there were less harassment, but how many German Russians would leave if they had the opportunity is an unknown quantity. Certainly, the emigration total would be large, but any more concrete figure is speculative.

A projection, with an element of uncertainty, for 1981-1990 would be 11,000-20,000 emigrants. If one accounts for those who have already left the U.S.S.R. from 1981 to 1984 (some 8,202), then still some 3,000 to 12,000 German Russians will be allowed to leave for West Germany until 1990. At the time of the writing of this paper (1985), a higher emigration level is unfortunately not conceivable, regardless of how desirable it would be.
1. "Ethnic German" in the pre-World War II period, refers to all Germanic subgroups in the U.S.S.R. "German Russian," in the pre-World War II period, refers to the largest subgroup. In the post-World War II period, particularly since the Rehabilitation Decree for the Germans in the U.S.S.R. in 1964, no differentiation will be made between these two terms. In the forty years since WWII, the differences between various subgroups have become blurred.


3. *'TV Documentary on Germans in Kazakhstan," SWB (January 3, 1985), p. Bl. There was no mention of a German-Russian family who lived for two years in West Germany. I have talked with some German Russians now living there, and while there may be some dissatisfaction with conditions, not many wish to return to the U.S.S.R.


5. "Sterben die Russland-Deutschen aus?" Altreichsdeutsche were long-term residents of Germany proper. Volksdeutsche or Auslandsdeutsche lived outside of Germany proper, with some of them being moved to Germany during World War II.

6. John Dewdney, A Geography of the Soviet Union, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), p. 51. This author refers to a migration of the local German population to the West, which, to be charitable, is naive.


10. Ibid., p. 232. Heitman's guess is 75,000 to 100,000.

11. Roy and Zhores Medvedev, Khruschev: The Years in Power (London: Norton, 1978), p. 144. The authors state that the Russian percentage of the population is less than 50%, which is an interesting remark. They must have had access to some Soviet census data (not everything can be classified secret).

12. Thomas Stevens, Through Russia on a Mustang (New York: Arno Press, 1970), pp. 216-17 (first published in 1891). "In the road beyond Ekaterinoslav [now Dnepropetrovsk] we began to meet prosperous looking farmers, driving fat teams of horses in strong, gayly-painted wagons, the like of which my companion from the old Muscovite capital had never set eyes on before, and which the improvident moujiks of the north and central provinces had never yet dreamed of. Sascha regarded these Germans colonists, dressed in decent clothes and driving to town in wagons as good as the wagon of an American farmer, with astonishment. Here were peasants of the status that were to him, on this, his first acquaintance with them, a positive enigma."

This quotation refers to the late nineteenth century.

13. A perusal of The Great Soviet Encyclopedia shows this. In Gerhard Schachner, "The Soviet German Newspaper *Freundschaft* and the Cultural Transformation of the Soviet-Germans in Kazakhstan," NP, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 1981), p. 95, there is this remark about Freundschaft: "It must therefore be concluded that 'Freundschaft' does not present a total picture of Soviet-German life in Kazakhstan. At best it is a source of carefully presented half-truths. A more detailed and accurate picture can only be built up by comparing its reports with the factual accounts of Soviet-German emigrants."


15. "TV Documentary on Germans in Kazakhstan," p. Bl. This state farm was mentioned in a TV program shown in late 1984. This supports the supposition that this is a very successful state farm and not a typical one, as it would be hard to conceive of a badly run state farm being shown on TV.
18. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 154.
27. Ibid., p. 128.
32. Ibid., p. 128.
33. Ibid.
35. Whitney, p. 128.
36. One cartoonist's view of this is presented in *National Review* (October 19, 1984), p. 20. Depicted is one of those Russian dolls, in which there are smaller dolls inside the larger outer casings. There are a number of these larger casings lying on the ground labeled "Brezhnev," "Andropov" and so on. The one left standing is labeled "Gromyko."
49. An acquaintance of mine, after listening to a former SPD politician speak, said to me, that if he had to use one word to describe the West German attitude to the U.S.S.R., it would be "appeasement." This remark is perhaps somewhat strong, but until Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow, how inaccurate a characterization was it? This occurred when the SPD still formed the government in Bonn.


51. This article was written by Lui for an Israeli newspaper in April 1983 and is referred to in: William Korey, "Hopeful Jewish emigrees told their last train has left Russia," Winnipeg Free Press, June 6, 1983, p. 7.


54. Deutsche in der Sowjetunion, p. 42. This is a quotation taken from Sowjetunion heute. No. 2 (1981), p. 52. The latter publication has a limited press run and a small readership.


60. Article 36 of the Soviet Constitution states:

   Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights. Exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and by the possibility to use their native language and the language of other peoples of the USSR.

   Any direct or indirect limitations of these rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, are punishable by law. Article 57 states:

   Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, public organizations, and all officials. Citizens of the USSR have the right to protection by the courts against encroachments on their honour and reputation, life and health, and personal freedom and property.

   These two articles do not merely indicate what rights an individual has. Persons wishing to preserve their ethnic background also have to consider that the Soviet officials could seek justification in these articles to prosecute individuals (i.e., "national exclusiveness," refusing to use the language "of other peoples of the U.S.S.R.," etc.).

61. "Friedland—Tor zur Freiheit," Kanada Kurier, April 7, 1983.


63. This estimate was reached by an analysis of the likelihood of present Politburo members changing their minds, the rate of change of membership in the Politburo, and the likelihood of newer members of the Politburo being more flexible.

   A comment should be made here about immigration. Technically, any German Russian allowed to immigrate to West Germany is supposed to join members of his family (Familienmusammenfuhrung). But the scope of this can be widened. Someone moving to join relatives in West Germany can always suggest that other relations in the U.S.S.R. consider immigrating to West Germany. And these people, after they are in West Germany, can always suggest that other relatives consider moving to West Germany, and so on.

64. There is a mathematical treatment of immigration to West Germany for the period 1985 to 1987 in my paper "Economic Factors Affecting Current Emigration" to West Germany.

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