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THE ROLE OF THE *DEUTSCHBALTEN* IN THE CULTURAL
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA'S BALTIC PROVINCES
IN THE 19th CENTURY

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The Russian Empire was a conglomerate of various lands, nations, cultures and religions. Among the nations living in Russia some were of high cultural and political standards who took much pride in their centuries-old history. What was of paramount importance was that they belonged to Western civilization, so no wonder they constituted an alien element in the Russian state. Above all, were the Baltic Germans and the Poles.

As far as the former were concerned, they inhabited the three Baltic Provinces: Kurland, Livland and Estland, encompassing almost all of present-day Estonia and Latvia. Baltic Germans living in these provinces took a dominant position in all spheres of life. The term „Baltic” came into use in the 1830s in connection with the preparation of the codification of local laws. In the 1860s, the local Germans began to be called Balts (*Balten*) or German Balts (*Deutschbalten*), but I have also employed the more modern term which spread gradually after 1918: Baltic Germans (*die baltischen Deutschen*). Besides, it will be borne in mind that the old terms, *Estländer*, *Livländer* and *Kurländer*, were being used at least until 1905¹.

In spite of their numerical paucity (about 180 000 or 10% of the population in the region in 1881), the Baltic Germans played an enormous role in the development of almost all spheres of public life. The *Deutschbalten* took a predominant position for instance in education, science and culture, and undoubted achievement was the promotion and development of elementary education on an unprecedented scale all over Russia. In Livland, the resolution of the Diet of 1765 on rural elementary schools was taken only two years later than in Prussia² and their great development took place in the 19th century, notably in its second half. Thanks to this process, illiteracy was conquered in the Baltic lands as revealed in the table below (the figures concern 1897).

¹ R. Wittram, *Deutsch und baltisch*, Baltische Monatsschrift (BM), Bd. 64: 1933, pp. 195–197.

² W. Wachsmuth, *Von deutscher Schulpolitik und Schularbeit im baltischen Raum, von ihren Anfängen bis 1939*, Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung, Jg. 7: 1943, H. 1/2, p. 49.

Table 1. Literacy Rates in the Baltic Provinces in 1897³

Province	Men	Women	Total
Estland	95%	97%	96%
Livland	92%	92%	92%
Kurland	86%	85,5%	85,5%

The somewhat lower figures in the case of Kurland were occasioned by the fact that in the Illuxt district there were Orthodox as well as Catholic Belarusians, Old-Believer Great Russians and Poles, who of course were Catholics. In turn, in the towns of Kurland a major part of the population were Jews (the Baltic educational system in the countryside had a religious character). A large percentage of the influx of Russian residents could not write or read, e.g. in Riga there were 26 235 Russians, of whom 45% were illiterate⁴. By comparison, out of the 47 other provinces of European Russia in 44 less than 40% of their population could write and read. Only St Petersburg (62%), Kovno (54%) and Moscow (49%) provinces had better results. It was conspicuous in the Baltic area that the literacy rate for women was equal to that for men, and in Estland was even a little higher, whereas in Russia proper this proportion was only one in two⁵. All in all, the only all-Russian census of 1897 disclosed that just 21% of the total population were literate (men – 23%, women – 13%, townspeople – 45%, rural folk – 17%)⁶. As for other European countries, the data were: Sweden – 99,1%, Germany – 96,7%, Switzerland – 95,4%, Holland – 87,7%, France – 83,9%, Belgium – 75%, Austria – 52,4%, Italy – 48%, Hungary – 45,1%⁷.

Let us pay attention to the number of schools in relation to the population. For example in Livland in 1886/1887, there was one school for every 920 inhabitants, an enormous achievement. By comparison, in Austria there was one school for 1200 inhabitants, in Holland for 945, in Sweden for 900 and in Prussia for 682 at that time⁸. Regarding this ratio, both Livland and Estland had the best figures in the whole of the Russian Empire, while in Kurland there was one school for 1070 inhabitants at the time⁹. What is more, in 1885 Livland, had the highest number

³ И. Богданов, *Грамотность и образование в дореволюционной России и в СССР: историко-статистические очерки*, Москва 1964, p. 61.

⁴ Revaler Beobachter, Nr. 259 (November 7, 1886).

⁵ И. Богданов, op.cit., p. 61.

⁶ M. T. Florinsky, *Russia. A Short History*, London 1969, p. 315.

⁷ E. Laul, *Die Schule und die Geburt der Nation*, [in:] *National Movement in the Baltic Countries During the 19th Century. The 7th Conference on Baltic studies in Scandinavia, Stockholm, June 10–13 1983*, ed. A. Loit (Studia Baltica Stokholmensa), Uppsala 1985, pp. 303–304.

⁸ F. von Jung-Stilling, *Statistische Materialien zur Beleuchtung livländischer Bauer-Verhältnisse*, St. Petersburg 1868, pp. 49–51.

⁹ С. Золотарев, *О начальном образовании в Прибалтийском крае*, Русская школа, Т. 15: 1904, no. 9, p. 168.

of rural schools – 1917 (Kiev province was second with 1424) and enrolment – 125 160 children (Samara province was second with 74 673 pupils)¹⁰.

The educational system was divided into three stages: obligatory learning at home under the supervision of a pastor, a three-year elementary school and thereafter every year repeat until confirmation. The medium of instruction was Latvian or Estonian. After leaving a district school (*Gemeindeschule*), a small number of children attended a two-year „parish” school. If the children did not go to school their parents had to pay fines which were, in turn, earmarked for purchasing textbooks for the poorest pupils¹¹.

The schools were free, apart from the parish ones in Kurland. The maintenance cost of those in rural areas was borne by both landowners and the peasantry, the state did not participate. For instance, in Livland in 1887/1888, the nobility and villagers each covered 47% of these expenses, with other sources providing 6%. In Kurland in 1885, 24% of the costs were paid by the nobility¹², who also gave plots and construction materials free for the erection of schools¹³.

The administration and supervision over this system was in the hands of Lutheran ministers and squires, so in general those of German nationality. In Kurland and Estland, rural elementary education was not even placed under the Ministry of Education until the 1880s¹⁴ and neither were most of the local seminaries (training colleges) – in Irmilau, Kurland; Kuda, Estland; and in Dorpat and Walk, Livland¹⁵. Incidentally, the first was founded in 1828, the original such institution in the whole of Russia¹⁶.

Apart from these rural elementary schools and seminaries, Orthodox ones existed, too, chiefly for the Latvian and Estonian Orthodox peasants. For example, in the late 1880s, 18% of Estonian rural schools in northern Livland and Estland were run by the Orthodox Church¹⁷. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that Orthodox education in the Baltic countryside had plenty of difficulties and was of poor standard, especially in comparison with Lutheran schools.

¹⁰ И. Аугскальна, *Народное образование в Прибалтийском крае*, Образование, Т. 8: 1899, но. 7–8, р. 90.

¹¹ *Latvijas PSR vēsture: no vissenākajiem laikiem līdz mūsu dienām*, red. A. Drizulis, 1. sējums, Rīga 1986, p. 216.

¹² A. Stryk, *Der Einfluß des Deutschen auf die estnische Sprache*, Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins, H. 48: 1933, pp. 20, 40.

¹³ Rigasches Kirchenblatt, Jg. 39 (September 26, 1886), p. 381.

¹⁴ F. von Jung-Stilling, *Materialien zur Kenntnisse des evangelisch-lutherischen Landvolksschulwesens in Livland*, Riga 1884, pp. X, XVIII.

¹⁵ И. Я. Рудченко, И. А. Янович, *Земское устройство Прибалтийских губерний. Исследование законодательного современного положения земских повинностей*, С.-Петербург 1890, pp. 443–444.

¹⁶ *История Латвийской ССР*, ред. Я. П. Крастынь, Т. 2, Рига 1954, p. 378.

¹⁷ *Извлечение из всеподданнейшего отчета министра народного просвещения за 1886 год*, С.-Петербург 1891, pp. 236–237.

In the city, education through the medium of German prevailed almost everywhere until the late 1880s. There were state and private German schools, but the term „state” meant that both teachers and pupils had the same rights as their Russian equivalents. Baltic public schools on the whole were not maintained and administered by the state.

Most of the schools were German. For example, in Riga, there were 33 German and just two Russian, and not until 1884 did the first two such Latvian institutions come into being there¹⁸.

Obviously, the most important educational institutions were „high” schools – *Gymnasien* – of which there were twelve, using German of course, seven in Livland, three in Kurland and two in Estland. They were fashioned on the Prussian model, and the curriculum was similar with less Latin and more mathematics than in Russian „high” schools¹⁹. Some of the *Gymnasien* were very famous, notably the cathedral School (*Domschule*) in Reval, established in 1319 it was the oldest German school in Europe²⁰. There were neither Latvian nor Estonian „high” schools and only three Russian: two in Riga and one in Reval.

It is worth noting that in the Baltic area, there were six schools for the deaf – all of them German (by comparison, in Finland there were six, in Warsaw one, in inner („Russian”) Russia 13, of which four were German, too)²¹.

Now, let us pay attention to higher education. In Dorpat, which was frequently called the „Athens on the Embach”, a university was founded (or rather refounded) on Baltic German initiative in 1802. Its formal name was *Landesuniversität* and it was fashioned on the German model. Although, it was placed under the Ministry of Education, no Russian university law concerned it until the 1890s. A specific law of 1865 guaranteeing autonomy to the seminary, regulated the status of Dorpat University. Its rector, deans and professors were chosen by the university board and confirmed by the Ministry of Education. The university had a judiciary of its own, exercised by an official called the *Syndyk* with students, lecturers and their families were under its jurisdiction. Special rights were guaranteed to German, the language of education as well as of business²². In Russia proper, the situation was different. In 1884, a new university law that markedly limited the autonomy of seminaries, was put into operation²³.

The University of Dorpat was a large centre for the education of students of various nationalities. Aside from Baltic Germans–Polish, Lithuanian, Russian,

¹⁸ P. Schiemann, *Leitartikel, Reden und Aufsätze*, Bd. 1: 1907–1914, T. 1, hrsg. v. H. Donath, Frankfurt am Main 1980, p. 17.

¹⁹ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Baltischen Provinzen Russlands*, Berlin 1896, p. 126.

²⁰ On the Cathedral School: E. Thomson, *Geschichte der Domschule zu Reval 1319–1939*, Würzburg 1969.

²¹ *Rigasche Zeitung*, Nr. 112 (May 6, 1881).

²² E. Петухов, *Императорский Юрьевский Университет за сто лет его существования*, т. II, С.-Петербург 1906, pp. 20–21.

²³ H. Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire 1800–1917*, Oxford 1967, p. 475.

Jewish, Armenian, and of course Latvian and Estonian students came to study here. There were two reasons for this. First, the high standard of education in at least some faculties, but most of all in medicine and pharmacy, those most readily taken up by students. Second, Dorpat University was, until Russification, a veritable island of freedom in a sea of reactionary policy towards the remaining Russian universities.

In spite its international mosaic, the student body was, by and large, of German character. The Polish, Lithuanian, Armenian and Russian students constituted closed groups, while the Latvians and Estonians gravitated to the Baltic Germans. At first, they more or less Germanised themselves although later this changed, but German traditions and language continued to be uppermost among them. Most student songs were performed in German until the outbreak of World War I and the German repertoire still dominated in the independent Estonian republic, at least until the 1920s²⁴.

The *Deutschbalten* were proud of their university, since it led to the development of science in Russia. The founders of Dorpat University set themselves the following tasks: it should serve not only the Baltic Provinces but connect Russia with the West as well and become a channel by means of which the knowledge and experience of Western Europe would penetrate Russia more easily. It would be a guide to Western culture throughout the Romanov Empire²⁵.

These goals were not groundless. Dorpat University played a paramount role for the Baltic region and Russia alike. It gloried in a number of world-renowned scientists, among whom was Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve, professor of astronomy at Dorpat in 1813–1838, whose publications included (in 1827) a catalogue of 3112 double and multiple stars, of which he had discovered 2343. Likewise, he published the most accurate tables of astronomical constants²⁶. Another famous Dorpat scientist was Karl Baer, creator of the modern embryology of animals. In 1828, he discovered the egg cell of mammals and Baer proved the similarity of the first developmental stages of vertebrates²⁷.

In the second half of the 19th c., one of the most noted faculties of Dorpat University was that of medicine and it was here that the number of students was largest from the 1870s on²⁸. Incidentally, the first university mental clinic in Russia came into being at this faculty²⁹. One can mention famous names here, too. Werner Zöge

²⁴ R. Sepp, *The Estonianization of the Student Cantus in Tartu*, [in:] *National Movements in the Baltic Countries during the 19th Century*, ed. A. Loit (Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia, 2), Stockholm 1985, pp. 462–463.

²⁵ Я. Страдынь, *Прибалтука и научные контакты между Россией и западом в XVIII–XX веках*, т. II, Рига 1970, pp. 119–120.

²⁶ More details on Struve: Б. А. Воронцов-Вельяминов, *Очерки истории астрономии в России*, Москва 1956, pp. 126–143.

²⁷ On Baer: Б. Е. Райков, *Карл Бэр: его жизнь и труды*, Москва–Ленинград 1961.

²⁸ R. Wittram, *Die Universität Dorpat im 19. Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift für Ostforschung (ZfO), Jg. 1: 1952, H. 2, p. 210.

²⁹ *История Тартуского университета. 1632–1982*, ред. К. Сийливаск, Таллинн 1982, p. 117.

von Manteuffel, a surgeon performed pioneer operations on the kidneys and the heart, was instrumental in basic examinations in the field of the illnesses of blood vessels and gangrene, and performed many operations in field hospitals which gained him fame both in Russia and Europe. Few people nowadays remember that it was Zöge von Manteuffel who first applied rubber gloves during operations in 1902³⁰.

Of course, there were other noted scholars at the faculty of medicine. One of them was Alexander Schmidt who examined blood coagulation, discovering thrombin the main enzyme in the process³¹. Another physician-scholar, Arthur Boettcher was known to the world by dint of his work on the development and structure of the labyrinth of the ear³².

Now several words about Karl Schmidt, a world-renowned chemist, who devoted the first part of his scientific career to blood research. It was he who was the first to carry out blood analyses in great quantities, with the test results being generally accessible. Together with Friedrich Bidder, he issued *Untersuchungen über den Stoffwechsel des Menschen* which became a fundamental work on the subject³³. He discovered that sugar was a normal ingredient of blood which, in turn, was of over-riding importance for diabetes examinations³⁴. Likewise, Karl Schmidt discovered free hydrochloric acid in stomach juices and expounded the role of iron in the organism³⁵. His other area of scientific interest was soil composition. He conducted research into a large number of soil samples from both southern Russia and Dorpat which were, in fact, the first chemical analyses of soils in the world³⁶. In the field of pharmacology, Dorpat University was the centre for the whole of Russia and it was here that the overwhelming majority of Russian chemists were trained³⁷. In the middle of the 19th c., a famous scientist from Germany, named Buchheim, installed the first laboratory of experimental pharmacology in the world (the next did not come into being until 20 years later). His manual became a fundamental text of modern pharmacology³⁸, while his successor, Alexander Dragendorff, raised

³⁰ A. von Kügelgen, *Werner Zöge von Manteuffel. Professor der Chirurgie in Briefen, Erinnerungen und Worten seiner Freunde und Schüler*, Stuttgart 1931, pp. 107–112.

³¹ A. Buchholtz, *Ernst von Bergmann*, Leipzig 1911, p. 337.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³³ A. von Strümpell, *Aus dem Leben eines deutschen Klinikers. Erinnerungen und Beobachtungen*, Leipzig 1925, pp. 47–48.

³⁴ У. Пальм, *Значение научного наследия Карла Шмидта для развития химии*, [in:] *Из истории и естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. 2, Рига 1970, p. 175.

³⁵ *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Императорского Юрьевского, бывшего Дерптского университета за сто лет его существования (1802–1902)*, т. I, ред. Г. В. Левицкий, Юрьев 1902, pp. 24–28.

³⁶ У. Пальм, *op.cit.*, pp. 172, 177; W. Ostwald, *Lebenslinien. Eine Selbstbiographie*, Teil 1: *Riga–Dorpat–Riga 1853–1887*, Berlin 1926, p. 9.

³⁷ R. Wittram, *Die Universität*, p. 210; *История Тартуского университета*, pp. 116–117.

³⁸ У. Мартинсон, *Эволюция организации химической науки в Эстонии (1802–1917)*, [in:] *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. 3, Рига 1971, pp. 100–101.

the quality of training to a world standard. Preparations were sent to Dorpat from all over the world, from Yokohama, Detroit and St Petersburg. Likewise, chemists from the West came to prepare their dissertations at the University³⁹.

It was due to Dorpat University that various branches of science in the Baltic Provinces were created and developed. Karl Krause established the archaeology of the Baltic Provinces, and Walerian Russow was the founder of the region's ornithology⁴⁰. August Oettingen started a network of precipitation stations, numbering 350, the best in Russia⁴¹. Likewise, he was the first to conduct regional meteorological observations over an extended period⁴².

Another higher education institution – Riga Polytechnic – was not only founded on Baltic German initiative but was also maintained locally. Incidentally, it was the only polytechnic in the Russian Empire until 1898 when other such institutions were started in Warsaw and Kiev. The idea of creating a polytechnic was generated in 1857 and found acceptance among the local merchant and industrial interests. The Riga Stock Exchange Committee drafted its statute so that it would have a private character⁴³ and was maintained by Baltic society as well as by the state. In addition, the Germans bore the expenses of building the polytechnic⁴⁴.

In the 1880s, the Riga Polytechnic was the largest such institution in Europe. In 1885/1886, it numbered 856 students, whereas the Polytechnic of Zurich had 600, and the Polytechnic of Munich 400⁴⁵.

The Riga Polytechnic was world famous due to two chemists, Wilhelm Ostwald and Paul Walden. The former worked here in the years 1881–1887, invented several laboratory tools and laid down a number of significant theses in the field of electrochemistry. He published the world's first textbook on physical chemistry and is regarded as its founder⁴⁶.

As for Paul Walden, he was a splendid example of a Latvian who rose in status and Germanised himself thoroughly while dissociating himself from his Latvian origin. He saw his spiritual home in Germany⁴⁷. He created the first centre for

³⁹ Л. Еригсон, *Преподавание истории в тартуском университете*, Tartu Üikooli Ajaloo Kõsimu, 1975, no. 1, pp. 114–115.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 113; *Биографический словарь деятеле и естествознания и техники*, ред. А. А. Зворыкин, т. I, Москва 1958, p. 181.

⁴¹ *История Тартуского университета*, p. 116.

⁴² *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Императорского Юрьевского*, т. I, p. 421.

⁴³ *Die Polytechnische Schule zu Riga*, BM, Bd. 5: 1862, p. 27; E. Jarvesoo, *Agricultural Program at the Riga Polytechnic Institute 1863–1919*, Journal of Baltic Studies, vol. 11: 1980, pp. 239–240.

⁴⁴ *Die Polytechnische Schule*, pp. 44–46; E. Jarvesoo, *op.cit.*, p. 239.

⁴⁵ Kraj, no. 47 (November 23, 1886), p. 13.

⁴⁶ Я. Страдынь, *Основные этапы развития естествознания в Латвии*, [in:] *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. VI, Рига 1980, p. 15; *Наука в Прибалтике в XVIII – начале XX века*, Москва 1962, p. 84.

⁴⁷ У. Витт, *Новые данные к биографии и научной деятельности Паула Вальдена*, [in:] *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. VII, Рига 1984, p. 63.

stereochemistry in Russia and his works had first-rate significance for the development of classical stereochemistry while creating a new branch, dynamic stereochemistry. Thanks to Walden, Riga became a worldwide centre for this branch of science⁴⁸.

The Riga Polytechnic was the scientific and pedagogic base for local industry. The engineering and design works of some Riga factories were up to global standards. For instance, graduate engineers from the Polytechnic were employed in the rubber factory, *Provodnik*, which had patents in almost all the countries of Europe and North America⁴⁹. Of 21 senior technicians in the same factory, 15 were Germans who had received their higher education from the Polytechnic. In „inner” Russia, only a small number of technicians educated locally were employed in factories⁵⁰.

The institution also concerned itself with the dissemination of agronomic knowledge. The professor of agriculture, Woldemar Knieren, organised evening academic discussions at home where scientists, as well as estate owners and farmers, gathered to listen to lectures and to exchange views⁵¹. The agricultural faculty not only trained students for farming, but contributed to the extension of knowledge about the value of fertilizers for agriculture. It was the Riga Polytechnic that imported the first superphosphate into Russia⁵².

The third Baltic institution of higher education was the Veterinary Institute opened in Dorpat in 1848. It was a state institution with German as its language of instruction, however students of the institute were mostly Poles and Russians⁵³.

The institute contributed to the development of hygiene. Karl Happich, its professor, succeeded in making Dorpat the first city in Russia having a station for the examination of dairy products. Similar stations, fashioned on the Dorpat model, were installed in many Russian cities, and Happich himself became their greatest authority⁵⁴.

It is necessary to emphasize that apart from the Baltic Germans there were plenty of others with higher education. As early as the 1830s, there were 300 students for every 100 000 Baltic Germans, the highest ratio then in Europe. In Germany, it was 35 at the time and only 50 in 1882. Both in Germany and France, this

⁴⁸ Я. Страдынь, *Рига как центр исследования по стереохемии на рубеже XIX–XX веков и работы Паула Вальдена*, [in:] *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. VII, р. 49.

⁴⁹ Ю. Н. Нетесин, *Промышленный капитал Латвии, (1860–1917): к изучению социально-экономических предпосылок Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции*, Рига 1980, р. 72.

⁵⁰ A. Henrikson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans. The Riga German Community: Social Change and the Nationality Question 1855–1905*, Boulder 1983, p. 76.

⁵¹ *Rigasche Rundschau*, Nr. 13 (January 16, 1935).

⁵² *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Industrie Rigas*, Bd. 3, Riga 1912, p. 58.

⁵³ C. Happich, *Die tierärztliche Hochschule zu Dorpat von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart (1848–1918)*, Dorpat 1918, pp. 3–6.

⁵⁴ М. Лисицын, *Десять летъ в Прибалтийском крае*, Русская старина, т. 120: 1904, р. 658.

figure was reached only after World War II⁵⁵. At the start of the 20th c., up to 10, 3% of Baltic Germans had received higher education (17 035), while in Estland, the figures were 24,9% and 3910, respectively⁵⁶. Baltic German newspapers even complained of an „overproduction” of intelligentsia. For example, in 1894 the „Mitausche Zeitung” came out against the intelligentsia axiom: „father studied, son must study”, and grumbled about the overproduction of physicians⁵⁷.

Academic activity in the Baltic region was connected not only with institutions of higher education, but with independent academic societies as well, some of which devoted most of their works to the language and folklore of Latvians and Estonians. Above all, the „Latvian Literary Society”, established in Riga in 1824, and the „Learned Estonian Society”, founded in Dorpat in 1838, should be mentioned⁵⁸. Several others were devoted to the history of the Baltic countries; incontestably, the most notable was the „Society for the History and Antiquities of Riga” („Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga”). It was modelled on the German „Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe der Monumenta Historica” („Society for the Publication of Monumenta Historica”), established by Freiherr von Stein in 1819. The founders of the Riga society were Pastor Gustav Reinhold Taubenheim and Karl Eduard von Napiersky with the latter being the editor of as important a collection of sources as *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae* in 1835–1837⁵⁹. The society’s other source collections were *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*’s and *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*⁶⁰. It also issued its own journals, „Mitteilungen aus dem gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands“ from 1840 onwards, and „Sitzungsberichte“ from 1873⁶¹. The society possessed a library of its own with valuable holdings of manuscripts and books on Livonian history⁶². Another achievement was the opening of the „Dommuseum” (Cathedral Museum) on 2 January 1891 with exhibits from Baltic archaeology and history⁶³. Beyond this, the „Gesellschaft” strove for the development of Baltic history on a large scale. Among its achievements were two Baltic Historical Congresses (*Historikertage*) held under the society’s auspices, the first in Riga in 1908, and the second in Reval in 1912 (a third, planned in Mitau in 1915, did not take place)⁶⁴. For a local aca-

⁵⁵ J. Amstrong, *Mobilised Diaspora in Tsarist Russia: the Case of the Baltic Germans*, [in:] *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices*, ed. J. R. Azrael, New York 1978, pp. 67–69.

⁵⁶ *Düna-Zeitung*, Nr. 1 (January 2, 1907).

⁵⁷ *Mitausche Zeitung*, Nr. 1 (January 1, 1894).

⁵⁸ A. Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, New York 2010, p. 76.

⁵⁹ B. Hollander, *Die Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga 1834–1934*, BM, Bd. 64: 1934, H. 10, pp. 471, 473, 477, 480.

⁶⁰ A. Feuereisen, *Die Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga vor und nach Weltkriege*, Kalender und Jahrbuch des Deutschen Elternverbands in Lettland, 1923, p. 66.

⁶¹ *75. Jahre Arbeit der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands zu Riga*, Rigaer Almanach, 1910, p. 112.

⁶² *Известия X Археологического съезда в Риге. 1–15 августа 1896 г.*, Рига 1896, p. 26.

⁶³ H. Loeffler, *Das Dommuseum zu Riga*, BM, Bd. 64: 1934, p. 484.

⁶⁴ A. Feuereisen, *Die Gesellschaft*, p. 66.

demic society it was popular, its membership increasing from 156 in 1844 to as many as 428 in 1884. It is interesting that most of them were landowners⁶⁵.

In Estland, the „Estonian Literary Society” („Estländische Literarische Gesellschaft”) was founded in 1841. Among a variety of interests, it had a section for Baltic history with a journal „Archiv für die Geschichte Liv, Est- und Kurlands”, created by Friedrich von Bunge⁶⁶. The society’s collection was exhibited in the provincial museum from 1864⁶⁷, and like the „Gesellschaft” possessed its own library with more than 40 000 volumes in 1891. The society was in touch with as many as 26 foreign such institutions⁶⁸.

In turn, in Kurland, there was the „Kurland Society for Literature and Art” („Kurländische Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst”), founded in 1816. Despite its name, the society paid attention above all to history and archaeology with Julius Dörning and A. & S. Seraphim being the most celebrated⁶⁹. It sponsored the Kurland provincial museum which became the centre for the collection of historical documents in the province⁷⁰.

Among the less well-known academic societies of rather local importance were the „Literary Association” („Literärisch-praktische Bürgerverbindung” – which issued, from 1810, „Rigasche Stadtblätter”, a valuable source on local history), the „Society for Ösel Research” („Gesellschaft für Untersuchung Ösel”), the „Fellin Literary Society” („Fellinsche literarische Gesellschaft”), and the Pernau „Society for Antiquity Research” („Altertumsforschende Gesellschaft in Pernau”)⁷¹. For example, the latter possessed its own museum and even published seven volumes of „Sitzungsberrichte” between 1896 and 1914⁷². Needless to say, all the societies were Baltic German.

The *Deutschbalten* were instrumental in creating regional archives and in 1874, the Livland *Ritterschaft* came to a decision to establish an archive in the *Ritterhaus*. To this end, a special circular was sent to all the landowners and likewise, consistories were to furnish all the parish registers from before 1834. Hermann von Bruiningk was put in charge of the whole operation, and it was thanks to his industry and, when necessary, obstinacy that the undertaking was successful. His requests were difficult to refuse, so those who did not want to submit original documents made copies. This turned out to be a far-sighted policy because a large number of

⁶⁵ G. Kroeger, *Zur Situation der baltischen Deutschen um die Jahrhundertwende*, ZfO, Jg. 17: 1968, p. 617.

⁶⁶ *Известия*, p. 26.

⁶⁷ P. Kennedy Grimsted, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR, Estonian, Latvia, Lithuania and Belorussia*, Princeton 1981, p. 56.

⁶⁸ P. Jordan, *Geschichte der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft für die Zeit von 1842 bis 1892*, Reval 1892, pp. 21, 50, 71.

⁶⁹ *Известия*, p. 25

⁷⁰ P. Kennedy Grimsted, op.cit., p. 177.

⁷¹ *Известия*, p. 27.

⁷² H. Laakmann, *Die Altertumsforschende Gesellschaft in Pernau*, BM, Bd. 63: 1931, p. 95.

private archives were burned together with manorial buildings in the tumultuous year of 1905⁷³.

The Estland *Ritterschaft* started its archive in 1909 under the directorship of Paul von Osten-Sacken. The „Kurländisches Landesarchiv” was organised under Oskar Stavenhagen in 1903⁷⁴.

Academic research was also conducted in other fields, for instance in forestry where the most notable was unquestionably Eugen Ostwald – brother of the famous chemist – who held the post of head-forester in Riga from 1889 and he organised wide-ranging research into the forest under his management (some of its results were still taught in the 1970s, at least in the Soviet Union). Baltic specialists in forestry participated actively in a number of international organisations including the International Union of Forestry Research Organisations⁷⁵.

The Baltic Germans played a leading role in all spheres of cultural life in the region throughout the 19th c. First, let us consider painting where the central role was taken by artists of German extraction. Baltic painters derived motifs mostly from surrounding nature, e.g. Julius von Klever – *Die Inseln Nargen, Waldeinsamkeit*; Reinhold von Moeller – *Sturm am estländischen Strande*; Heinrich Korsakovsky – *Strandbei Tischer*; Eugen Dücker – *Sonnenaufgang auf Rüngen*. They also presented the life of Latvian and Estonian folk, e.g. Oskar Hoffmann – *Estnischer Bauer*; Gregor von Bockmann – *Estländischer Pferdermarkt*; Rudolf von zur Mühlen – *Fischer am estländischen Strande*. Others sought subjects in the past of their Baltic *Heimat*, e.g. Leopold von Pezold – *Hausandacht auf einem estländischen Edelhofe im 16. Jahrhundert*⁷⁶.

Likewise, architecture was dominated by Baltic Germans. To be sure, in the mid-19th c., most architects were „imported” from St Petersburg or Berlin, yet from the 1860s they were gradually replaced by natives. Forty architects worked in Riga in 1890, a considerable number of whom were graduates of Riga Polytechnic. Their professional organisation was the Riga Society of Architects which organised numerous competitions and issued publications. It was chiefly composed of German architects⁷⁷ of whom the best known were Wilhelm Bocklaff – *Börsenkommerzschnule* in Riga and many Livland churches; Harald Bosse – the Riga Stock Exchange; and Julius Hagen – the reconstruction of Riga castle and the building of Pernau „high” school⁷⁸.

⁷³ A. Feureisen, *Hermann von Bruiningk zum Gedächtnis*, Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte, Bd. 24, H. 1, Riga 1928, pp. 7–13.

⁷⁴ P. Kennedy Grimsted, op.cit., pp. 177–178.

⁷⁵ И. Калминыш, *Из истории развития лесного хозяйства и лесохимии в Латвии*, [in:] *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. III, Рига 1971, pp. 215–217.

⁷⁶ W. Neumann, *Baltische Maler und Bildhauer des XIX Jahrhunderts. Biographische Skizzen mit den Bildnissen der Künstler und Reproduktionen nach ihren Werken*, Riga 1902, pp. 122, 131–132, 149, 159–163.

⁷⁷ *Энциклопедия Рига*, Рига 1986, p. 637.

⁷⁸ *Deutschbaltisches Biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960*, hrsg. v. W. Lenz, Köln–Wien 1970, pp. 80, 92, 210, 282, 617.

The excellent renovation work in Riga was also the result of the Baltic Germans. In comparison with such undertakings in the West, the reconstruction of Riga's centre was complete⁷⁹. Architecturally, Baltic cities recall those in Germany, apart from more wooden structures, notably in small towns.

In the field of literature, the writings of Baltic German men of letters were of critical significance for the region in the second half of the 19th c., the more so because the first Latvian novel *Mērnieku laiki* („Land-Surveyor's Times") was issued as late as 1879⁸⁰. To be sure, books of fiction were published in Latvian, but they were only translations of German romances because such novels were in demand among Latvian villagers. It was similar in the Estland countryside⁸¹. Let us go back to Baltic German writers and poets of whom Theodor Pantenius – *Wilhelm Wolf-schild, Allein und frei*; and Johanna Conradi, the author of the first Baltic social novel – *Georg Stein oder Deutsche und Lette* (1864) were noteworthy. Among lyric poets, Karl von Fircks – *Eilt Sonetten* and Carl Hunnius – *Zu höheren Sternen*, distinguished themselves⁸².

Concerning the press the sheer number of German dailies, weeklies and monthlies must be stressed, with the two latter in Latvian and Estonian as well. This flowering of the Latvian and Estonian press was undoubtedly associated with the fact almost all Latvians and Estonians were literate at the end of the 19th c. Newspapers and journals in the hands of agricultural labourers was the rule; no wonder the number of journalistic publications was ever-growing. However, in terms of dailies and their circulations, the German press led the way. The „Revalsche Zeitung" was the first daily in Estonia, and the „Rigasche Zeitung" in Latvia,⁸³ with the first dailies in Estonian and Latvian published as late as the 1890s. Among other Baltic German newspapers were the „Zeitung für Stadt und Land", a daily issued from 1866 onwards; „Neue Zeit für Stadt und Land" appearing from 1876, but from 1882 titled „Rigaer Tagesblatt"; „Düna Zeitung"; „Revaler Beobachter"; „Mitausche Zeitung"; „Libausche Zeitung"; and „Neue Dörptsche Zeitung" from 1866, transformed into „Nordlivländische Zeitung" in 1897. The city of Riga possessed its own weekly – „Rigasche Stadtblätter", and there were weeklies in some smaller towns, e.g. „Arensburger Wochenblatt", published between 1875 and 1888. The most noted Baltic German monthly was „Baltische Monatschrift"⁸⁴.

⁷⁹ Энциклопедия Рига, p. 87.

⁸⁰ M. H. Haltzel, C. L. Lundin, A. Plakans, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914*, Princeton 1981, p. 240.

⁸¹ 400 лет русского книгопечатания, 1564–1964. Русское книгопечатание до 1917 года, ред. М. П. Ким и др., Москва 1964, p. 451.

⁸² *Grundriß einer Geschichte der baltischen Dichtung*, hrsg. v. A. Behrsing, Leipzig 1928, pp. 94–95, 103.

⁸³ 400 лет русского книгопечатания, p. 446.

⁸⁴ R. Seeberg-Elverfeldt, *Dreihundert Jahre deutschbaltischer Presse*, ZfO, Jg. 25: 1976, H. 4, pp. 661–662, 666–667.

Theatrical life was also dominated for a long time by the Baltic Germans. The first Baltic theatre was opened in Riga in 1772 staging plays and operas alike, including all of Richard Wagner's operas, which of course was a great undertaking possible only on large stages⁸⁵. The remaining German theatres were in Reval, Mitau and Libau. The first Russian one was started in Riga in 1883, and the first Latvian in 1902, likewise in the Livland capital. But the Riga Latvian Association had held its own amateur theatre from 1870 onwards⁸⁶. Likewise the Estonian „Vanemuine” society in Dorpat⁸⁷.

Among Baltic Germans, there was a considerable development of singing clubs which later, exerted a great impact upon the development of singing culture among Latvians and Estonians. Out of the numerous Riga clubs, the oldest, „Musikalische Gesellschaft” (1761), „Rigasche Liederkranz” (1851), and „Rigasche Sängerkreis” (1859) can be mentioned. From the mid-19th c., the Germans organised song festivals, both regional and all-Baltic. For example, such German festivals were held in Reval in 1857 and in Riga four years later⁸⁸. Soon, the tradition was taken over by the Latvians and Estonians and is continued today in both their homelands and abroad alike.

Museums and libraries were other fields of German preponderance. At the turn of the century, 22 museums existed in the Baltic area, of which six, state, were naturally Russian; one, urban, the „Kunstmuseum”, German; 15, private, all but three German; the remaining three being small Latvian and Estonian ethnographic ones. In terms of libraries, five were for research: Dorpat University, Riga Polytechnic (50 000 volumes), Goldingen, Mitau and Riga „Gymnasien”. Obviously, they must be regarded as German, at least before the Russification of these institutions. Beyond this, there were 23 public libraries, all but one German, that one being Estonian in Dorpat. The city library of Riga is noteworthy, numbering as many as 96 000 volumes, being one of the oldest both in Russia and Europe (it had been founded in 1524)⁸⁹.

The development of the health service on a large scale by 19th c. standards was down to the Baltic Germans as well. In terms of the countryside, the greatest achievements were in Estland, which became the model for the whole of Russia. Nowhere in the entire Romanov Empire was the rural health service as well organised as in this small province. The reform was effectuated by the Reval „Gesellschaft praktischer Ärzte” with the help of the Estland *Ritterschaft* in 1902. The gentry earmarked as many as 300 000 rubles per year for a newly created health service in the country. The administration was run by the Countryside Sanitary

⁸⁵ Энциклопедия Рига, p. 509.

⁸⁶ Latvijas PSR vēsture, 1. sējums, p. 242.

⁸⁷ K. Kask, *Das estnische Theater und die Zeit des nationalen Erwachens*, [in:] *National Movements*, p. 483.

⁸⁸ *Das baltische Sängerfest in Riga vom 29. Juni bis zum 4. Juli 1861*, Riga 1862, pp. 4–5, 33.

⁸⁹ K. Stavenhagen, *Stärke und Macht des Deutschtums in den baltischen Provinzen*, Grenzboten, Bd. 74: 1915, Nr. 50, pp. 342–344; Энциклопедия Рига, p. 753.

Commission („Landes-Sanitätskommission“) with a *Ritterschaftshauptmann* at its head. It established sanitary districts (*Sanitätsbezirken*) and filled the positions of district sanitary doctors (*Landschaft-Sanitäts Ärzte*), fought against epidemics, exercised sanitary surveillance over schools, and founded and subsidized hospitals. In 1914, there were 31 such physicians and 13 rural hospitals with 104 beds⁹⁰. Midwives for the villagers were not forgotten either and there were 52 prior to the First World War. Those manors in whose territory they were located received a subsidy of 100 rubles for their upkeep. In 1901, an institution training midwives was started in Reval, incidentally, with no state support, and maintained by the *Ritterschaft* and the city⁹¹.

In this regard, the two remaining provinces were backward. For example, in the Livland countryside, midwives were tiny in number, so a school for training them was established by Riga hospital at the cost of a corporation of the gentry⁹². In Kurland, as well, small hospitals were set up in the countryside, e.g. in Dondangen, Dauben, Gross-Eckau and Erwahlén⁹³.

In the cities the situation was better, especially in Riga and Reval. Some Riga hospitals were famous not only in the Baltic area; the Institute for the Blind established by the distinguished surgeon Karl Waldhauer in 1872 being one⁹⁴. Even better known was the first city hospital in Riga with 700 beds, the centre for medicine for the whole of the Baltic region. It was here that the first operation under narcosis in Russia was performed in 1847⁹⁵. The first surgical ward of the hospital was, due to Adolf von Bermann, one of the most modern surgical clinics in Europe⁹⁶. All in all, the city of Riga possessed 41 hospitals with 2500 beds in 1903⁹⁷.

As for the Reval health service, one fact is noteworthy, namely a hospital with 330 beds, set up on private initiative, and among its founders the *Ritterschaftshauptmann* Otto von Budberg. By 1899, it admitted up to 250 peasant patients a year, taking from them just 15 rubles per month. In return, the hospital received a subsidy⁹⁸.

Two further phenomena should be emphasised. It was in the Baltic lands that the first dentists in Russia appeared⁹⁹, while the region stood out too from the rest

⁹⁰ I. Brennsohn, *Die Ärzte Estlands vom Beginn der historischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Ein biographisches Lexikon nebst einer historischen Einleitung über das Medizinalwesen Estlands*, Berlin 1923, pp. 57–59.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59, 64.

⁹² *Idem*, *Die Ärzte Livlands von der ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart. Ein biographisches Lexikon nebst einer Einleitung über das Medizinalwesen Livlands*, Riga 1905, pp. 40–41.

⁹³ *Idem*, *Die Ärzte Kurlands vom Beginn der herzoglichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Mitau 1929, pp. 38–39.

⁹⁴ *Deutschbaltisches Biographisches Lexikon*, p. 846.

⁹⁵ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 544.

⁹⁶ *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Chirurgie*, Bd. 124: 1913, pp. V–VI.

⁹⁷ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 110.

⁹⁸ I. Brennsohn, *Die Ärzte Estlands*, p. 73.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

of the empire in the number of pharmacies. They were located not only in cities, but in small towns and in the countryside as well. In Estland in 1913, there were 55, of which 29 were in the countryside¹⁰⁰, while in Livland in 1904, there were 165 and 87, respectively¹⁰¹. Kurland was famous for its old pharmacies. In its small towns, they already existed in the 18th c., some being much older. For example, the tiny town of Bauske had possessed two pharmacies as early as 1600¹⁰². In this regard, to some extent, the Estland capital competed with Kurland towns as its oldest pharmacy dated back to 1420¹⁰³.

Several organisations associated with the world of medicine were active in the Baltic area. Some of them were professional organisations, others were devoted to combating dangerous illnesses. To the first group belonged the Riga „Association of Practising Doctors” („Gesellschaft praktischer Ärzte zu Riga”), established in 1822, which fostered medical contacts between the West and Russia¹⁰⁴. Likewise, it was the co-organiser of the Livland „Doctor’s Day” conferences (*Ärztetage*) from 1888 onwards, which questionnaires to all the three provinces. Their findings were an important factor in combating those awesome diseases of the time such as tuberculosis or venereal diseases¹⁰⁵. Another organisation of this type was the Riga Pharmacist Society („Chemie-pharmakologische Gesellschaft zu Riga”), started as early as 1803 and was the oldest in all Russia. Its professional journal was the first such publication in the Russian Empire, too¹⁰⁶.

As has been said, there were also organisations combating disease. One of them was the „Society for the fight against Leprosy in the Baltic Provinces” („Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Lepra in den Ostseeprovinzen”), started on the initiative of Prof. G. von Wahl in 1889. As the very name indicated, the society’s aim was to treat, or rather isolate those ill with leprosy. In 1903, it ran five leprosia with 236 beds¹⁰⁷. In turn, the „Society for the Care of the Nervous Diseases and the Mentally Ill” („Gesellschaft der Fürsorge Nerven- und Gemüthkranken”), with its establishment in Seewald, Estland¹⁰⁸, focused on the problems of mental illness.

The development of sport in the region was due to the Baltic Germans. In 1889, physical exercises were made obligatory in Baltic schools. This situation was much better than in Russian schools where physical exercises were not a distinct subject at the time, being done only in the corridor during the longest break¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁰¹ Idem, *Die Ärzte Livlands*, p. 38.

¹⁰² Idem, *Die Ärzte Kurlands*, p. 47.

¹⁰³ Idem, *Die Ärzte Estlands*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁴ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 636.

¹⁰⁵ R. Engelhardt, *Die deutsche Universität Dorpat in ihrer geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Reval 1933, p. 279.

¹⁰⁶ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 637.

¹⁰⁷ I. Brennsohn, *Die Ärzte Livlands*, pp. 52–53.

¹⁰⁸ Idem, *Die Ärzte Estland*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 112; *Mitauische Zeitung*, Nr. 55 (July 12, 1889).

The first Baltic sports organisation was the Riga Gymnastic Society („Rigaer Turnverein”), fashioned on the West European model and founded in 1862. Its members were primarily Baltic Germans – 100 in 1863 – and the society had a splendid record, for example those members who took part in the All-Russian Gymnastic Competition in St Petersburg in 1891 won 12 prizes out of 18¹¹⁰.

Another important sports organisation was the Rowing Club („Ruderklub”) founded in 1872, which 17 years later numbered 190 members, mainly Germans. It organised regular international races in 1880–1913. In 1886, the Riga Cyclists’ Society („Rigaer Velozipedistenverein”) came into being, members in general being German numbering 245 in 1896¹¹¹. The „Shooting Society” must also be mentioned, since it had the first public rifle-range in Russia, opened in 1865¹¹².

The Germans held a very strong position in all spheres of economic life in the Baltic Provinces. At first, let us look at agriculture. The German landowners looked after the economic development of their estates as well as the Baltic countryside as a whole. First and foremost, their manors were characterized by high output levels with average crop yields higher than in other Russian provinces, including the black-earth ones in the Ukraine. In 1881–1900, the average productivity of the Livland and Kurland estates amounted to 74,9 poods of rye per *desiatina* (1 *desiatina* = 1,1 ha), 84,1 poods of oats per *desiatina* and 76,4 poods of barley (1 pood = 16,38 kg). For black-earth Ukrainian estates, the data were as follows: 67,6, 72,6 and 66 poods, respectively¹¹³.

As early as the 1870s, the Baltic Provinces took a leading position in the production and usage of agricultural machinery in Russia. For instance, 415 000 rubles’ worth of agricultural machinery was produced in Kurland, Livland and Estland in 1876, whereas in the largest Ukrainian provinces – Don, Ekaterynoslav and Kherson – it was only 280 000 rubles¹¹⁴. In Livland itself, there were 20 agricultural machinery factories, however these machines were on the whole sold to „inner” Russia, whereas imported agricultural machinery was employed on the Baltic manors. The three provinces had the largest number of threshing-machines in the Russian Empire, e.g. 1720 in Livland in 1910¹¹⁵. In Kurland in 1874, 73 steam-driven machines worked on the land, all of them on manors, while in the whole of

¹¹⁰ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 634

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 636, 638.

¹¹² B. Berker, *Aus der Bautätigkeit Rigas und dessen Umgebung in den zweiten Hälfte des XIX Jahrhunderts*, Riga 1898, p. 11.

¹¹³ G. H. Schlingensiepen, *Die Strukturwandel des baltischen Adels in der Zeit vor dem ersten Weltkrieg* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost- Mitteleuropas, Bd. 41), Marburg 1959, p. 80.

¹¹⁴ *Экономические очерки Латвии 1860–1900*, ред. М. Козин, Рига 1972, p. 231.

¹¹⁵ Л. Балевица, *О структуре и доходности дворянских имений Ливляндской губернии накануне первой мировой войны*, Ежегодник по аграрной истории Восточной Европы, 1966, Москва 1971, pp. 448–449.

European Russia there were 1 351¹¹⁶. The squires themselves tried to manufacture agricultural machinery in the countryside, e.g. A. von Stryk in Größ-Köpp near Fellin, Livland¹¹⁷.

The German gentry developed dairying on a large scale. Nicolai Essen was the first to establish model creameries in the Baltic Provinces which were even famous in Russia. What is more, Essen was an active promoter of peasant dairying¹¹⁸. Another creamery, solely employing specialists from Denmark, was arranged at Charlottenhal, Estland, by Alexander Eggers¹¹⁹, while Alexander Klot obtained very good results in the output of fresh milk on his estate of Engelhardshof, Livland. These were equal to the successes achieved in Western Europe and a large number of guests from Russia came to his manor to learn modern techniques of husbandry¹²⁰. Erich von Oettingen's creamery at Janses, Livland, provided St Petersburg and Moscow with buttermilk and was the only one throughout Russia to supply milk sugar to pharmacies¹²¹. Dairying was especially well developed in Estland which, with 21 cows for every 100 inhabitants, was the highest in Russia¹²².

Another contribution was to the development of cattle and horse breeding. Alexander Middendorff bred a race of cattle that spread widely all over the Baltic area and also reared a race of horses notably valued by villagers. On his initiative the Society of Baltic Breeders of Livestock („Gesellschaft der Baltischen Viehzüchter“) came into being in 1885¹²³. Horse breeding was developed chiefly in Kurland where stud farms existed on 25 manors¹²⁴.

Now, let us pay attention to fish breeding. In 1885, Max Mühlen set up the Society for Fish Breeding and Fisheries („Verein für Fischerzucht und Fischerei“) which established many fishponds. Their number increased to 200 in all of the three provinces (by comparison, in the Kingdom of Poland and nine western provinces including Lithuania, Byelorussia and the western Ukraine where, on an area several times larger, there were 221 ponds and in the rest of Russia only 51). Mühlen was also an outstanding promotor of knowledge about fishery and fish breeding

¹¹⁶ А. Меринь, *К вопросу о развитии капитализма в сельском хозяйстве Курземе во второй половине XIX в.*, [in:] *Против идеализации младолатышского движения*, ред. Я. Крастынь, К. Страздинь, А. Дризул, Рига 1960, p. 202.

¹¹⁷ *Zeitung für Stadt und Land*, Nr. 155 (July 12, 1901).

¹¹⁸ *Düna-Zeitung*, Nr. 255 (November 9, 1900).

¹¹⁹ *Revalsche Zeitung*, Nr. 231 (October 10, 1923).

¹²⁰ *Rigasche Rundschau*, Nr. 119 (May 30, 1925).

¹²¹ H. Blanckenhagen, *Am Rande der Weltgeschichte. Erinnerungen aus Alt-Livland 1913–1923*, Göttingen 1966, p. 41.

¹²² А. Анфимов, *Крестьянское хозяйство Европейской России 1881–1904*, Москва 1980, p. 58.

¹²³ Н. Леонов, *Александр Миддендорф*, Москва 1967, pp. 32, 113–117.

¹²⁴ H. Foelkersahm, *Die Entwicklung der Agrarverfassung Livlands und Kurlands und die Umwälzung der Agrarverhältnisse in der Republik Lettland* (Greifswalder staatswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, Bd. 22), Greifswald 1923, p. 54.

among villagers¹²⁵. As the „Moskovskie Vedomosti” („Московские ведомости”) – otherwise notable for its anti-German position – wrote in 1895, many squires of Baltic German stock were gradually transforming their pastures and meadows into ponds and lakes for the purpose of breeding fish not only for commercial purposes but also for scientific goals¹²⁶.

In the field of horticulture, we must pay heed to three matters. Since Kurland's climate was milder than Livland's and Estland's, little wonder that the number of orchards was the greatest in this province. Some of the plantations of fruit trees were of considerable size, for instance, that on the manor of Lestsen covered 55.7 hectares. The squires obliged their tenants to plant fruit trees so that there were more than two for every *Lofstelle* (= 0,37 ha)¹²⁷. Of great moment for Baltic horticulture, and not only there, was the nursery of Karl Wagner started in Riga in 1816, one of the oldest in Russia and famous both in the Empire and abroad. It educated a lot of fruit growers from the whole of Russia, but above all it had a commercial side, including the sale of trees for Moscow boulevards. Purchasers included private citizens, numerous institutions and cities. In Riga itself, the Horticulture Society („Gartenbaugesellschaft”) was founded in 1873 with its task to organise and sell flowers, seedlings and fruit¹²⁸.

The Baltic German gentry combined agricultural with industrial activity on their manors. In 1876, Baron Harald Toll established on his estate of Kuckers, Estland, an oil-shale mine whose output was earmarked either for factories or, as fuel, for locomotives¹²⁹. In 1867, Christoph Lieven built a cement factory at Poderaa, near Riga. A great number of saw-mills and cellulose works sprouted up due to the fact that huge areas of forest were in the possession of landowners. The first steam-powered saw-mills came into being on the manors of Tuda, Tschorna and Torna after 1867, and at the close of the 19th c. there were roughly 100 in Livland and Estland¹³⁰.

The distillery industry enjoyed great popularity among the gentry, notably in Estland. One of the pioneers was Alexander Eggers who came to the conclusion that potatoes yielded a very good crop on the poor soil of Estland and they could be utilized for the manufacture of alcohol. Hence, he set out the idea that each and every manor should have a distillery¹³¹. In the afore-mentioned Charlottenhal, he founded a huge such establishment and managed to centralize in his hands the

¹²⁵ Korespondenzblatt des Naturforscher-Vereins zu Riga, Bd. 59: 1927, pp. 5–6.

¹²⁶ Московские ведомости, no. 141 (May 25, 1895).

¹²⁷ Ibid., no. 9 (January 9, 1891), p. 4.

¹²⁸ Mitausche Zeitung, Nr. 44 (May 31, 1886).

¹²⁹ H. Pönicke, *Ländliche Industrieunternehmungen in den baltischen Provinzen Rußlands im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Bd. 60: 1973, H. 4, p. 461.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 463–470.

¹³¹ Revalsche Zeitung, Nr. 230 (October 9, 1933).

selling of Estland spirits to Russia and Germany¹³². In Reval in 1870, the Union of Distillery Owners was founded with Baron Arvied Rosen at its head and most Estland spirits were sent to „inner” Russia or exported¹³³.

One more industrial sector should be mentioned, namely textiles. On the manors of Wockenhof, Wierland and Torgel there were linen mills processing Estonian flax, the manors of Tali and Wandenstein had silk mills, and the estate of Alt-Fückel manufactured hats¹³⁴.

Thus, the manors were multi-sectoral businesses, and most of them earned their income from livestock breeding, timber selling, spirits production and local undertakings of an industrial character¹³⁵.

The development of various agricultural organisations was due to the German gentry. Some of them have already been mentioned, but unquestionably the most significant was the Livland „Economic and Public Welfare Society” („Livländische Ökonomische und Gemeinnützige Sozietät”), started as early as 1792. From the 1840s its branches began to develop in the countryside, with local estate owners as well as farmers joining them. The chairman of a branch was for the most part a local landowner and by 1899, 21 branches existed in Livland¹³⁶. From 1877, the society had a seed inspection station which the majority of Baltic manors availed themselves of. On the society’s initiative, plenty of economic organisations sprang up¹³⁷ but its activities were miscellaneous. It supported cattle breeding among peasants, brought in specialists from Denmark, carried out drainage work e.g. in Livland and on Ösel in 1874–1885, constructed ferro-concrete bridges, conducted assessments of forests and organised a lot of public debates about forestry, published a professional magazine, „Baltische Wochenschrift” from 1868, and staged famous agricultural exhibitions in Dorpat beginning in 1857¹³⁸. The society possessed its own library, founded animal hospitals and instituted the position of district veterinary surgeon in 1897¹³⁹. It also helped villagers establish distinct agricultural associations at district level in the 1870s, in Dorpat, Werro, Pernau and Fellin¹⁴⁰. In 1901, the society chairman, Max von Sivers was right to state that it was not

¹³² Ibid., Nr. 231 (October 10, 1933).

¹³³ H. Pönicke, op.cit., pp. 470–479; W. Dehio, *Eduard Dehio. Lebensbild eines baltischen Hanzeaten 1855–1940*, Heilbronn 1970, p. 59.

¹³⁴ H. Pönicke, op.cit., pp. 480–486.

¹³⁵ *Очерки экономической истории Латвии 1900–1917*, ред. М. Козин, Рига 1968, pp. 198–202.

¹³⁶ H. D. von Engelhardt, H. Neuschäffer, *Die Livländische Gemeinnützige und Ökonomische Sozietät 1792–1939* (Quellen und Studien zur Baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 5), Köln–Wien 1983, pp. 77–78.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 82, 118–119.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 73, 89, 94, 97; *Baltische Wochenschrift*, Nr. 4 (January 25, 1896), p. 51.

¹³⁹ H. D. von Engelhardt, H. Neuschäffer, op.cit., p. 73.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 98.

only an agricultural organisation, but an institution helping organise all aspects of economic life¹⁴¹.

Likewise, similar societies existed in the two other provinces, though they were of less importance. The Kurland Economic Society („Kurländische Ökonomische Gesellschaft“) differed from its Livland counterpart in that it admitted peasants as members directly, not via branches¹⁴². In the 1880s–90s, the society devoted most of its activities to livestock rearing, imported cattle for breeding to be sold at fairs, organised special fairs for breeders, and agricultural exhibitions from the 1860s onwards at which the best livestock were on display, while popularising husbandry achievements in „Land- und Forstwirtschaftliche Zeitung“¹⁴³. The „Estland Agricultural Union“ („Estländischer Landwirtschaftlicher Verein“), structured in branches, was started in 1839¹⁴⁴. In 1888, it created a Dairy Union („Meierverband“), the first in the Baltic Provinces, acting as an agent for the selling of milk products abroad¹⁴⁵.

The societies organised plenty of agricultural exhibitions. In Reval, ten exhibitions took place without any financial support from the government while the state did not participate in the expenses for four Riga exhibitions either in 1865, 1871, 1877 and 1880. The Russian authorities only assigned 60 rubles to the organisation of eleven Dorpat exhibitions (1860–79) and 300 rubles for nineteen in smaller towns¹⁴⁶.

Agricultural „circles“ were developed on a large scale in the Baltic region. They came into being similar to those in the Rhineland, namely by parishes, and at first were only started on the initiative of local landowners¹⁴⁷, with the first being established in 1866 by its founder E. Sivers¹⁴⁸. In the Baltic Provinces, there were more agricultural „circles“ than anywhere in Russia¹⁴⁹.

Due to the *Deutschbalten*, the cooperative movement put down roots early in the three provinces. Of great moment was Heinrich Zschke's cooperative novel, *Der Goldmarscherdorf*, translated into Latvian (*Ciema kur zelta taisa*) by Pastor Jakob Florentin Lunberg. In 1871, the Governor of Kurland, the Baltic German Paul Lilienfeld, sent model rules for credit cooperatives to all rural councils in his province and advised them to see to it that such institutions were founded. The first were established in 1874. Here and there (as e.g. in Rudbahren) the manorial lords recommended that peasants start a credit cooperative, and in some places

¹⁴¹ Baltische Wochenschrift, Nr. 5 (January 31, 1901), p. 44.

¹⁴² Л. Балевица, *Сельскохозяйственные общества в Ливляндской и Курляндской губерниях в начале XX в.*, Проблемы истории 1962, т. 6: 1962, p. 66.

¹⁴³ А. Меринь, *op.cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁴⁴ Baltische Wochenschrift, Nr. 43 (October 27, 1888), p. 441.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Nr. 15 (April 14, 1888), p. 152.

¹⁴⁶ Mitausche Zeitung, Nr. 44 (May 31, 1886).

¹⁴⁷ G. Stryk, *Die Landwirtschaft in Livland*, [no place and date], p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ *Экономическе*, p. 275.

¹⁴⁹ П. Рутский, *Общества Лифляндской губернии*, Рига 1900, p. I.

(e.g. in Puhren) they were even managers of these institutions from the very beginning. Almost all of them were of the Schultze-Delitzsch type¹⁵⁰. The number of cooperatives grew continuously, a phenomenon that did not exist anywhere else in the Russian countryside before 1905, at least on such a scale. For example, at the outset of the 20th c., the financial deposits of the Livland and Kurland peasant cooperatives constituted as much as 47,4% of all deposits in peasant cooperatives throughout Russia, 13,1 million from 27,6 million rubles¹⁵¹.

It is evident that Baltic German activity influenced Latvian and Estonian farming whose standard was equal to that in the West. At first, in the 1860s and 70s, the villagers themselves were interested in maintaining cooperation with the German gentry who were helping them purchase machinery and fertilizers. Even in the 1890s, when many peasant organisations existed, sometimes estate owners participated in their work, especially in the Estonian section of the Baltic region. There were also cases where the villagers chose a local manorial lord for the post of chairman or honorary member. Due to this, they could count on obtaining the money for the purchase of agricultural machinery and fertilizers from either him or German organisations¹⁵².

In the 1840s–60s, the three-field system on the manors was quickly replaced by crop rotation. Since the peasant holdings were increasingly involved in competition with the noble estates, they were bound to implement new agricultural technology to be in a position to compete successfully, or at least not to go bankrupt. Beyond this, the manorial lords themselves obliged their tenants to employ crop rotation. No wonder it was the sole system of farming in Kurland and southern Livland as early as the outset of the 1880s, e.g. in 1883 up to 92,84% of the peasant farms – 758 – had implemented it. In the same year, the governor of Kurland wrote that the peasant *sokha* (wooden plough) had already vanished everywhere in his province¹⁵³. It was quite the opposite in Russia proper, where even at the beginning of the 20th c., the three-field system was widespread not only on farms, but also on estates, and the *sokha* continued to be the main symbol of backward Russian husbandry¹⁵⁴.

True, the growth in peasant farming was not visible in one of the Kurland districts – Illuxt. As late as 1900, the three-field system dominated, more modern implements were seldom found, and out of the 17 districts, nine had no school at all¹⁵⁵. This was, however, not accidental. This south-eastern district of Kurland had a very small number of Baltic German landowners, most manors were in the pos-

¹⁵⁰ A. P. Aizsilnieks, *The Cooperative Movement in Latvia*, Commentationes Balticae, vol. 8/9: 1960/1961, pp. 8, 13.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵² А. Анфимов, *op.cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁵³ М. Козин, *Латвийская деревня в 50–70 годы XIX века*, Рига 1975, p. 298.

¹⁵⁴ Х. Стродс, *Генезис капитализма в сельском хозяйстве Латвии*, [in:] *Вопросы аграрной истории Прибалтики. Сборник научных трудов*, ред. В. Канале, Рига 1982, p. 81.

¹⁵⁵ *Düna-Zeitung*, Nr. 9 (January 18, 1900).

session of the Polish gentry, and the villagers were Catholic or Orthodox Byelorussians. This district was a splendid example demonstrating that where the presence of Germans was not clearly marked, economic and cultural standards were much lower.

Latvian and Estonian peasants, if they moved elsewhere as colonists, were respected in Russia itself. For instance, the record of the St Petersburg *zemstvo* of 1893 found peasants coming to the province from those in the Baltic outgrowing their social class economically and culturally. Their agricultural techniques were different from those used in Russia, more similar to German or Irish farmers. The Latvian and Estonian colonists could be considered pioneers in the forests and swamps of St Petersburg province¹⁵⁶. In turn, „Sibirskaja Zhizn” („Сибирская жизнь”) wrote in 1889 that Latvian colonies in Siberia could even be an example for Russian estate owners¹⁵⁷.

The Baltic German community took a very strong position in industry, commerce and banking which was especially conspicuous in Livland's capital. On the whole, German dealers and bankers were the pioneers of Riga's industry, namely Pilchaus (ships), Schepelers (electro-mechanical), Becks (textile industry), Hollanders (tobacco), and Brandenburgs (sugar)¹⁵⁸. It is important to note that in the Baltic region, unlike Russia, the role of foreign capital in the creation of industry was meagre. Not until the 1890s, when Baltic industry was developed on a large scale, did foreign investors begin to buy shares in the existing factories and companies, possible thanks to a strong credit system. The Riga Stock Exchange Committee („Börsenkomitee”) established the Stock Exchange Bank in Riga in 1864. It became the chief credit institution in the Baltics with its profit in part being assigned to the development of Riga's trade¹⁵⁹.

The role of the „Börsenkomitee” was of tremendous importance for the economic development of the Livland capital. Aside from starting the bank, it planned and constructed railways, the first telegraphic line in Russia, established the polytechnic and subsidized various schools, staged exhibitions, promoted the arts and the theatre, and erected churches. The regulation of the Dvina (but only between Riga and the sea), the erection of a breakwater and port embankments was also due to the Stock Exchange Committee. Its multifarious activities were regulated by the law of 1866, incidentally, later, in 1923, it was voted in by the Latvian parliament, so was in force in independent Latvia too. As a consequence, the Stock Exchange Committee represented the local business community in all matters connected with trade, industry and sea navigation in relation to state and local govern-

¹⁵⁶ Baltische Chronik (August 30, 1899), p. 302.

¹⁵⁷ Düna-Zeitung, Nr. 99 (May 2, 1901).

¹⁵⁸ Ю. Н. Нетесин, op.cit., pp. 67, 73.

¹⁵⁹ E. Stieda, *Der Rigaer Börsenbank 1864–1914. Ein Bild ihres Werdens und ihrer Wirksamkeit im Laufe eines halben Jahrhunderts*, Riga 1914, pp. 13–19, 150.

ment institutions. Similar institutions were later founded in other Baltic port cities – Reval, Libau, Windau, Pernau – but were not of such significance¹⁶⁰.

Riga was one of the biggest industrial centres throughout the Russian Empire. In the number of workers, it was third as early as 1879 after St Petersburg and Moscow¹⁶¹ and playing a pioneer role in the development of Russian industry. In 1886, a bicycle factory, the first in the Russian Empire, was founded by Alexander Leutner, later it became the only one in Russia to produce cars. The Livland capital produced the highest quality cigarettes in the Empire through the firms of A. Kuchtenberg, Mündel & Leo Wissor, A. Hellwig and F. Kress, while those of „Rigasche Zigarren” were especially famous¹⁶². M. Hüfflinger established a superphosphate factory there, the first in Russia¹⁶³. In 1884, Heinrich Dettman started the first Russian factory for the construction of electro-mechanical machines – the Russian Baltic Works. On the eve of World War I, it was the only one in Russia to manufacture aeroplane engines¹⁶⁴. Naturally, beside plants being in outright or partial possession of the Baltic Germans, there were firms with capital from other national sources including Russia. To the latter group belonged „Provodnik”, globally fourth in the output of rubber and second in rails¹⁶⁵.

Nonetheless, most Riga undertakings belonged to the Baltic Germans. For example, of six large producers of glass, porcelain and ceramics, five were German. Of eight tanneries, seven were in German possession¹⁶⁶.

Apart from Riga, there were two other industrial centres in the Baltic Provinces, namely Reval and Libau. In the Estland capital, some German noble families participated in the creation of industry: the Tysenhausens, Unger-Sternbergs, and zur Mühlens¹⁶⁷. The most noted Reval businessman was Etienne Girard de Saccount, who was in 1882 head of the local Stock Exchange Committee in 1880–1910, owner of the famous merchant enterprise Thomas Clayhills & Son, and founder of the Black Sea Company for Cement Production. The family of Girard de Saccount was instrumental in the foundation of the famous portland cement works at Kunda Port, the first in Russia¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁰ Klaus Boehnz, *Die Bedeutung wirtschaftlicher Organisationen für das Baltikum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums, Jg. 37: 1990, pp. 196–197.

¹⁶¹ *Puga. Очерки по истории города*, ред. М. Степерманис, Рига 1967, p. 113.

¹⁶² *Beiträge zur Geschichte Industrie Rigas*, H. 2, Riga 1911, pp. 29–31; H. 3, Riga 1912, pp. 14–19, 37, 56, 64.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, H. 2, p. 60.

¹⁶⁴ Г. К. Цверева, *Выдающийся электротехник Ею Арнолд*, [in:] *Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики*, т. VII, p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ Ю. Н. Нетесин, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁶ А. Henrikson, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁷ *История Таллина: с начала 60-х гг. XIX столетия до 1970 г.*, ред. Р. Пуллат, Таллин 1972, p. 45.

¹⁶⁸ Н. Торпан, *Монополистический капитал в Эстонии (70 годы XIX в.–1917 год)*, Таллин 1984, pp. 139–141.

Another Reval industrial tycoon was Alexander Luther (timber industry) whose products gained them worldwide fame, while mention can also be made of Richard Meyer (chemical industry) and Otto Eggers (including ship-yards)¹⁶⁹.

A considerable part of Libau's industry was also in the hands of Germans. In 1881, 79 plants (40,5%) were in their possession, 24 (30,4%) belonged to Jews, 17 (21,5%) were in the hands of Latvians, and with just 4 (2%) being the property of Russians and those of other nationalities¹⁷⁰. Let us mention two Baltic German entrepreneurs, the Thielitz (furniture mill) and C. Strupp (machine works)¹⁷¹.

In the remaining Baltic towns, industry was not developed on such a scale, albeit undertakings of great importance were occasionally to be found there, for example the famous „Wulkan” match factory at Goldingen, Livland, whose products were even exported to the United States¹⁷². It should be borne in mind that the Baltic region was one of the main centres for the match industry in Russia. It was here that the first match factory in Russia, and for a long time the only one, was started in 1830. The only plant manufacturing machines for this sector was, incidentally, located in Kurland¹⁷³.

As was said, foreign capital took an interest in Baltic industry relatively late when the economic life of the region was already flowering. In 1905, of 72 limited companies located in the Latvian part of the Baltic, 66,7%, and 49,5% of their capital, were in the possession of Russian citizens or the state, the rest belonging to foreigners. As regards private companies, as much as 91% – 290 factories – and 74,7% of production were the property of Russian nationals. Of this, 46,4% of the Russian limited and 80% of the output of the private companies, belonged to the *Deutschbalten*. Yet, even in cases with a preponderance of foreign or Russian capital, the Baltic Germans retained considerable independence, „tacking” between various financial and industrial groups¹⁷⁴.

The Baltic Germans were also uppermost in commerce, notably in foreign trade and by 1885 about 69% of all large merchant enterprises in Riga were their property. In 1900, of 37 export firms, 31 belonged to them¹⁷⁵; eight years later, of the ten largest export enterprises, as many as eight were German. Riga's exports were worth, at the time, 127 514 060 rubles, of which 60% belonged to Baltic German firms¹⁷⁶. In the retail trade, they held a primary position, too and in 1867, roughly 54% of such traders, mainly grocers, were German, and in 1881, 50%. Soon, however, the situation began changing and Latvians gained the upper hand¹⁷⁷.

¹⁶⁹ W. Dehio, op.cit., pp. 70–75.

¹⁷⁰ Dz. Ozolina, *Liēpajas pilsēta pašvaldība 1877–1913*, Rīga 1990, p. 63.

¹⁷¹ E. Bauer, *Die Entwicklung der Fabrikindustrie Libaus*, Libau 1919, pp. 8, 24, 26.

¹⁷² W. Dehio, op.cit., p. 76.

¹⁷³ *Mitauische Zeitung*, Nr. 7 (February 21, 1878).

¹⁷⁴ Ю. Н. Нересин, op.cit., p. 134.

¹⁷⁵ A. Henrikson, op.cit., pp. 68–69.

¹⁷⁶ O. Stavenhagen, op.cit., p. 273.

¹⁷⁷ A. Henrikson, op.cit., pp. 68–69.

The pride of the Germans was Riga harbour, maintained by them alone with no state financial support¹⁷⁸. By the end of the 19th c., Riga had become the largest port in the Russian Empire¹⁷⁹, and in terms of timber exports, was the biggest in the world¹⁸⁰.

Large German merchant firms also existed in Reval, e.g. Thomas Clayhills & Son, founded in 1633, one of the oldest in the world¹⁸¹. Concerning Estland province itself, out of its 1378 dealers and brokers in 1881, 861 were Germans¹⁸², while in small towns there were a lot of German traders as well. For instance, out of 90, in four Estland districts, 50 were Germans¹⁸³.

In Kurland, however, it was a different story. The main reason for this was undoubtedly the fact the province's cities and towns had a large population of Jews. Little wonder that it was they who possessed themselves of commerce to a great degree. This can be traced in the case of Libau, Kurland's biggest city and trading centre: in 1881, of its 1437 commercial enterprises, 838 (58,3%) were in possession of the Jews, and only 437 (30,4%) were in the hands of Germans, the rest being the property of Latvians – 99 (6,9%), of Russians – barely 26 (1,8%), and those of other national background – 37 (2,6%)¹⁸⁴.

Banking was perhaps the most important factor which decided the economic power of the German middle class. On the eve of World War I, of 59 banks, 23 were, outright or chiefly, with Baltic German capital or management, 12 were Russian, but these were generally only bank branches, and 14 belonged to Latvians. They were savings-banks, or companies of mutual credit, three were the property of Jews, and eventually seven were nationally mixed institutions¹⁸⁵.

First, the „Rigasche Kommerzbank“ must be mentioned. With 5 983 519 319 rubles worth of annual turnover, it was one of the biggest credit enterprises in tsarist Russia. It remained in German hands on the proviso that its board of directors was transferred to St. Petersburg in 1905¹⁸⁶. Among other large banks in Riga were the aforementioned „Rigasche Börsenbank“, whose profit was 343 922 rubles, „Rigasche Hypothekenverein“ whose 10 792 mortgage bonds were worth 9 544 600 rubles, „Kreditverein der Hausbesitzer“ whose 5212 mortgage bonds were worth 5 043 000 rubles, „Rigasche Stadtdiscontobank“ with a turnover of

¹⁷⁸ *Westrußland in seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung Mitteleuropas*, Leipzig–Berlin 1917, p. 52.

¹⁷⁹ E. Stieda, *Das livländische Bankwesen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1909, p. 189.

¹⁸⁰ *Рига. Очерки по истории города*, p. 122.

¹⁸¹ B. Gernet, *Die Entwicklung des Rigaer Handels und Verkehr im Laufe der letzten 50 Jahre bis zum Ausbruche des Weltkrieges* (Schriften des Institutes für Ostdeutsche Wirtschaft an der Universität Königsberg, Bd. 6), Jena 1919, pp. 19–22.

¹⁸² W. Dehio, op.cit., p. 52.

¹⁸³ *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung vom 29 Dezember 1881*, Theil 1, Bd. 1, Lieferung 1, Riga 1883, pp. 16–19.

¹⁸⁴ Dz. Ozolina, op.cit., p. 63.

¹⁸⁵ K. Stavenhagen, op.cit., p. 272.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 272; *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 139.

533 465 754 rubles, „Stadtsparkasse” with 19 488 519 rubles worth of deposits and 54 995 rubles of net profit. All the data concern the year 1905¹⁸⁷.

Likewise, the *Deutschbalten* were the masters of the most significant banking houses in Libau – the „Kurländische Stadthyphoheken Verein”, „Libauer Börsenbank”, „Filiale der Rigaer Kommerzbank”. In Mitau, where they were the owners of seven banks including the „Kurländischer Kreditverein and Kurländische Gesellschaft gegenseitigen Kreditis”. The Latvians possessed five banks, four of which were for savings, the Jews had a savings bank, too, and the Russians were represented by two branches¹⁸⁸.

The Baltic Germans were pioneers in the field of the cooperative movement in Riga. In 1862, Riga German artisans started the credit cooperative „Die Vorschußkasse für Handwerker zu Riga” an example of the Schultze-Delitzsch type. This was the first officially registered credit cooperative not only in the Baltic area, but in Russia as well. Its rules were copied almost word for word from those of the „Consumer Cooperative Society” in Stuttgart which had been started just one year earlier. Among its members were teachers, officials, professionals and artisans, and it had its own shop. From the mid-1880s, Latvians established such cooperatives (they were 70 in 1914)¹⁸⁹.

Until the mid-19th c., crafts were one of the main pillars of German economic strength in the city. True, Latvians and Estonians became apprentices increasingly frequently, but their Germanisation process was similar to that of those with higher education¹⁹⁰.

Of course, the significance of crafts began to gradually diminish in the second half of the 19th c., a process inevitably brought on by the development of industry, as well as by a new Russian craft law introduced in the Baltic Provinces in 1866 which abolished the vocational privileges of crafts. Incidentally, the law sparked off wide discussion and dissatisfaction among German artisans, who intended even to intervene with the government in order to have it repealed¹⁹¹. Some crafts vanished totally, some maintained a meagre existence, but others grew¹⁹². Examples include the Pernau tailor craft numbering between 15 and 20 masters in the first part of the 19th c., but merely 3–4 in the second half¹⁹³, while the craft of Riga fishermen had 30 members in 1869, but nonetheless survived until the turn of the century¹⁹⁴. Only those crafts whose products were earmarked for clients of the middle and

¹⁸⁷ K. Stavenhagen, op.cit., p. 272.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 272–273.

¹⁸⁹ A. P. Aizsilnieks, op.cit, pp. 13–14, 16.

¹⁹⁰ M. Aschkewitz, *Der Niedergang des baltisch-deutschen Handwerks im 19. Jahrhunderts*, ВМ, Bd. 68: 1937, Н. 9, p. 494.

¹⁹¹ В. Е. Калнынь, *Очерки истории государства и права Латвии в XI–XIX вв.*, Рига 1980, p. 159.

¹⁹² A. Henrikson, op.cit., p. 159.

¹⁹³ M. Aschkewitz, *Handwerksbrauch im alten Pernau*, ВМ, Bd. 68: 1937, Н. 9, p. 344.

¹⁹⁴ *Энциклопедия Рига*, p. 645.

upper classes, mostly of course of German extraction, could count on survival and even prosperity and it was in these that the Germans continued to be uppermost. Nevertheless, in Reval in 1881, all of the nine goldsmiths were Germans, so were all the photographers, 9 of 10 furriers, 34 of 37 upholsterers and 16 of 20 watchmakers¹⁹⁵. It was the same in small Estland towns outside Reval, in 1881, all of the six goldsmiths, four furriers, three upholsterers and the photographer were Germans, so were 5 of 6 milliners, and 5 of 6 watchmakers¹⁹⁶.

Not only industry, trade, banking and crafts but the possession of most real estate demonstrated the economic might of the Germans in the cities. Let us illustrate this with the example of Reval.

Table 2. Owners of Reval Real Estate by nationality¹⁹⁷

Nationality	Owners of Reval Estates			
	1864		1871	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Germans	788	59,1	1219	63,7
Estonians	239	17,9	351	18,3
Russians	299	22,4	331	17,3

Thus, the Germans, who constituted less than 25% of Reval's residents at the time, were in possession of nearly two-thirds of its real estate. It was characteristic that German property was increasing not only in quantity but in percentage terms as well. What was more important however was that the Baltic German townspeople owned the most valuable real estate. Taking this factor into consideration, in 1871, 83,8% of the value of real estate was German property, 11,3% was in the hands of Russians and merely 4,5% for Estonians¹⁹⁸.

The Baltic region stood out from the rest of the Empire by its very splendid network of railways, roads and bridges. The idea to build the first railway line was put forward in Livland in the 1840s, but was rejected by the government. After a long struggle, and thanks to Gustav Harnack, the Germans succeeded in obtaining a concession for the Riga–Dünaburg railway in 1853. The Crimean war delayed its construction and finally, it was opened in 1861¹⁹⁹.

In Estland, the merchants and gentry combined their efforts to build a railway. The first project of 1858 provided a line that would connect Reval with Pskov by way of Dorpat. However, the idea was dismissed by the state authorities. Eventu-

¹⁹⁵ *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung vom 29 Dezember 1881*, Theil 2, Bd. 1, Lieferung 1, pp. 16–19.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Theil 2, Bd. 2, pp. 9–11.

¹⁹⁷ Р. Пуллат, *Городское население Эстонии с конца XVIII до 1940 года: историко-демографическое исследование*, Таллин 1976, p. 76.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹⁹⁹ *Rigascher Almanach*, 1882, p. 40.

ally, the Estland Germans won a concession for the Reval-Gatchina railway²⁰⁰ and the first train ran in 1870. The line was very important for the development of dairying in Estland as every night a train took milk from stations neighbouring the manors and farms, and supplying St. Petersburg with it in the morning²⁰¹.

Alas, sometimes the resistance of Russian officials to the attempt of Germans to construct new lines was much more difficult to overcome. This was in the case of a railway which was to connect Riga with Windau. In 1867, several Baltic Germans, with Baron Karl Mirbach in the forefront, applied to the Committee of Ministers for permission to build such a line, but to no avail. Fourteen years later, the request was repeated by the Riga Stock Exchange Committee with the same effect. The two cities were connected by railway only when the Moscow–Riga line was constructed²⁰².

In the 1870s and 80s, further lines were built on Baltic German initiative: Riga–Mitau (1873), Riga–Tuckum (1877), Riga–Walk–Pskov (1889), Walk–Dorpat (1889). Later on the whole, narrow gauge railways were constructed, e.g. Walk–Penau (1896) and Walk–Stackmannhof (1902)²⁰³. In the Baltic Provinces, track density was the highest in Russia and at the beginning of the 20th c., there were 23 metres for every sq km, whereas in European Russia only six metres²⁰⁴.

Until Russification all the railways were in private ownership and Germans constituted many of those employed there, for instance, of 304 railway clerks in Reval in 1881, 162 were German²⁰⁵.

The German gentry developed other means of transport on a large scale, namely cabotage. Estates situated on the coast sent their produce to Baltic harbours or St Petersburg by sea, and in this way, whole fleets sprang up²⁰⁶. The Baltic German people also contributed to the development of motor transport and before the First World War, regular motor routes linking Baltic cities and towns had been established²⁰⁷. In June 1914, the Germans even founded the Society of Automobile Transport („Gesellschaft für Automobilverkehr”), the first in Russia²⁰⁸.

In addition they were responsible for the building of a dense network of roads and bridges. In Livland and Estland their administration was in the hands of Ger-

²⁰⁰ В. Фанштейн, *Переход естляндского помещичьего хозяйства на капиталистические основы и строительство Балтийской железной дороги*, Tartu Riikliku Ulikooli Toimetised, vol. 314: 1973, pp. 135–142.

²⁰¹ W. Dehio, *op.cit.*, pp. 49–54.

²⁰² В. Фанштейн, *op.cit.*, pp. 135–142.

²⁰³ W. von Ungern-Sternberg, *Geschichte der baltischen Ritterschaften*, Limburg a. d. Lahn 1960, p. 81.

²⁰⁴ H. Kassebaum, *Kurland, Livland, Estland. Eine Stätte alter deutscher Kultur*, Berlin–Neurode 1918, p. 40.

²⁰⁵ *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung vom 29 Dezember 1881*, Theil 2, Bd. 1, Lieferung 1, pp. 8–9.

²⁰⁶ *Mitauische Zeitung*, Nr. 33 (July 5, 1889).

²⁰⁷ *Rigasche Zeitung*, Nr. 139 (June 21, 1911).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Nr. 150 (June 14, 1914).

mans, but in Kurland it belonged to the state. Yet, all regulations were laid down by diets and parish councils, and it is important to note that they were worked out in detail and imposed many duties on the owners of crossroads: the arrangement of *verst* markers, cleaning, shovelling snow, and the repairing of a given road section²⁰⁹.

The roads were hard surface, not sandy. In Livland, the estate owners supplied material and money, and the districts the manpower. In Estland, so-called „road capital” was created on the initiative of the gentry, consisting of payments from both nobility and peasants proportional to the area of land possessed by them²¹⁰.

As mentioned, the network of roads was very dense in the Baltic region. In continental Livland, there were 10 586 *versts* of roads (1 *verst* = 1066,8 m), and on Ösel 594 *versts*²¹¹. In Kurland, there were 21,1 kms for every 100 km², whereas in Russia it was barely 4,3 km²¹².

In Estland and Livland, the gentry also maintained bridges. In Estland in 1888, there were 98 district bridges under control of the Commission of Roads and Bridges („Straßenbrückenkommissionen”) chaired by a gentry delegate. In Livland, approximately 600 bridges and ferries were maintained by estate owners, on the understanding that in this province the old custom of paying a toll was kept up. Livland bridges were under the control and supervision of the manor administration²¹³.

Another area where the Germans made great achievements was in the post and telephone. The former was maintained and run by the Livland and Estland gentry because they did not pay any state taxes on land. However, in 1881 a tax was introduced in these provinces which meant the need for further upkeep by the gentry vanished. Nonetheless, the landowners preferred to continue rather than to hand the post over to the state administration. It was characteristic that there were many more relay stations than necessary for state needs. Of 27 Estland relay stations, 14 served the treasure post, and the others for local purposes. In Livland, 35 stations for state needs existed and as many as 37 for private purposes. By comparison, in Kurland, where the post was maintained by the state, there were 25 stations, but they only had 188 horses, whereas the 27 Estland stations had 488, and the 72 in Livland up to 1000²¹⁴.

The Baltic Germans created a dense telephone network in the city as well as in the countryside. As early as the 1880s, just a few years after its invention in 1875, many manors had telephones, an unprecedented phenomenon in the whole

²⁰⁹ *Земское устройство Прибалтийских губернии*, С.-Петербург 1890, p. 356.

²¹⁰ *Земское хозяйство Прибалтийского края*, С.-Петербург 1908, pp. 36–44.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–44.

²¹² P. Mayer, *Kurland. Eine allgemeine Siedlungs- Verkehrs- und Wirtschaftsgeographie*, Hamburg 1920, p. 103.

²¹³ *Земское хозяйство*, pp. 337–340, 347–348, 351.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 304, 313.

of Russia at the time²¹⁵. Sometimes, these private initiatives encountered the dislike of the Russian bureaucracy afraid of competition to the state owned telegraph. For instance, in 1898, the Germans succeeded in winning consent to link the telephone network of Iurev district with that of Walk and Werro districts on condition that they had to pay 3000 rubles to the treasury because of competition to the telegraph²¹⁶.

At the beginning of the 20th c., the peasants also began following the Germans' example with special unions, consisting of both farmers and local Lutheran ministers, collecting money for this purpose. First and foremost, district governments had telephones, but sporadically farms had them, too²¹⁷. In 1903, a map was published showing that the Baltic Provinces had the densest telephone network in all Russia, with Finland coming second²¹⁸.

Let us mention the voluntary fire brigade. The first brigade came into being in Reval in 1862 and was thus the first unit of its kind in the whole of Russia where until then only so-called „fire columns” had existed. As early as 1871, the voluntary fire brigades acted in 22 Baltic cities and towns²¹⁹.

Finally, the achievements of *Deutschbalten* in the area of municipal life should be looked at. At the beginning of the 20th c., out of 20 Latvian cities and towns, including Latgallian, eight possessed sewerage, i.e. 40%, but no Latgallian town had it. By comparison, a mere 3,5% of Russian cities had a sewage system²²⁰. Prior to World War I, seven of the twenty Latvian cities, or a third of them, had electric light. For Russia proper, the ratio was a mere one to eight²²¹. In terms of pavements, Baltic cities had the best throughout Russia at the turn of the century²²².

Baltic cities likewise achieved the most in the field of sanitary care and the health service, and the city authorities took the initiative in the development of a free health service for the poor²²³.

Some Baltic mayors were really men of merit and two at least should be named: Otto Engelhardt and Georg Armitstead. The former held the position of mayor in Pernau for 19 years from 1898 to 1917. Under his mayoralty, the city flourished becoming one of the most beautiful Baltic towns. It was he who initiated a modern sewage system, a slaughter-house, power station, water supply, parks, and „steps” to the sea²²⁴. As for Armitstead, he was the mayor of Riga in 1901–1912 and was anxious that the city should develop according to a plan. In 1907, the mayor start-

²¹⁵ Московские ведомости, no. 44 (February 15, 188).

²¹⁶ Baltische Chronik (December 10, 1898/1899), pp. 87–88.

²¹⁷ Rigasche Zeitung, Nr. 182 (July 18, 1912).

²¹⁸ Mitausche Zeitung, Nr. 38 (May 10, 1903).

²¹⁹ Dūna-Zeitung, Nr. 80 (April 2, 1908).

²²⁰ *Очерки экономической истории Латвии 1900–1917*, Рига 1968, p. 468.

²²¹ *Экономическе*, p. 150.

²²² *Очерки*, p. 468.

²²³ К. Василев, Ф. Григориш, *Состояние врачебного дела в Латвии в эпоху капитализма*, [in:] *Из истории медицины*, т. II, Рига 1960, pp. 78, 81–82.

²²⁴ Dūna-Zeitung, Nr. 80 (April 2, 1908).

ed the „Society for Municipal Social Policy” („Gesellschaft für Kommunale Sozialpolitik”). Its task was to combat alcoholism, the disease of consumption and infant mortality. The society debated the problems of school hygiene, housing, and the inspection of foodstuffs. It was due to Armitstead that an organisation for treating the teeth of Riga’s pupils was set up²²⁵, and he pushed through a law on workers’ insurance, a novelty in Russia²²⁶. Nonetheless, as far as social care was concerned, Riga fell behind large West European cities²²⁷.

Undoubtedly, the Germans played an important role in stimulating and speeding up the economic and cultural development of the Baltic area. Due to them, the provinces took a leading position in many spheres of life all over Russia.

²²⁵ Latvijas Valsts Vēstures Arhivs (LVVA), fonds 1423, apraksts 1, lieta 105, pp. 78–80.

²²⁶ *Baltische Köpfe*, Bovenden 1953, p. 121.

²²⁷ LVVA, fonds 1423, apraksts 1, lieta 105, p. 80.



ROLA NIEMCÓW BAŁTYCKICH W KULTURALNYM I GOSPODARCZYM
ROZWOJU BAŁTYCKICH PROWINCJI ROSJI W XIX WIEKU

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: XIX wiek, Niemcy bałtyccy, Łotwa, Estonia, gospodarka, kultura

Niemcy bałtyccy – niewielka lecz wpływowa grupa stanowiąca około 10% ogółu mieszkańców guberni bałtyckich: kurlandzkiej, inflanckiej, estlandzkiej – odegrali wielką rolę w rozwoju kulturalnym i gospodarczym Łotwy i Estonii w XIX w. Przyczynili się walcnie do tego, że ziemie te wysunęły się, niejednokrotnie, na czoło w rozwoju cywilizacyjnym w skali całego Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego. To właśnie na Łotwie i w Estonii (a ściślej mówiąc, wśród Łotyszy i Estończyków), dzięki postawie niemieckich pastorów i właścicieli ziemskich, został całkowicie zlikwidowany analfabetyzm, rzecz niespotykana w całym Imperium Rosyjskim (poza Finlandią). Pod względem wydajności rolnictwa, mimo bardzo słabych gleb, Łotwa i Estonia także znalazły się w czołówce Rosji. W pierwszej kolejności dotyczyło to majątków ziemskich, ale później również i gospodarstw chłopskich. Niemcy bałtyccy mieli ponadto znaczące osiągnięcia w rozwoju przemysłu, handlu i szeroko pojętej, infrastruktury. Słusznie więc określali siebie mianem *Kulturträger*. Tam gdzie ich nie było, np. w Inflantach polskich (inaczej Łatgalii – cztery powiaty guberni witebskiej – pozostającej pod wpływem kulturalnym polskiego ziemiaństwa), sytuacja przedstawiała się diametralnie odmiennie. Łatgalia, też w dużej mierze zamieszкана przez Łotyszy, była jedną z bardziej zacofanych części Rosji europejskiej.

