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The Germans of St. Petersburg from the 1860s to 1914: Number, Distribution, and Economic Activities

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Abstract: The authors examine the situation of the German community in St. Petersburg in the second half of the XIX – early XX century. The research is based on the published materials of the urban population censuses of 1869 and 1900 and the First General Census of Population of 1897 in St. Petersburg, as well as medical descriptions of commercial and industrial establishments of the capital. These office documents including petitions from artisans and other persons, correspondence between the bodies of city management and central departments, contracts for the execution of orders found in the central and regional archives of the Russian Federation. The research shows that in the 1860s and 1900s, the bulk of German citizens moved from the central parts of St. Petersburg to newly built areas of the city largely due to the economic reasons. In the industrial parts of the city, German women made up the majority of ethnic Germans. In the late XIX – early XX century, the German population continued to play an important role in the system of interethnic division of labor of city. They occupied dominant positions in education, medicine, and credit institutions. In addition, despite the rapid development of large-scale industry, artisans still played an important role in the urban economy and the Germans continue to make a significant impact.

Keywords: interethnic division of labor, small-scale production, labor migration, frontier territory, modernization theory


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Немцы Санкт-Петербурга в 1860-х – 1914 гг.: численность, размещение, хозяйственные занятия

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Аннотация: Рассматривается положение немецкого сообщества в Санкт-Петербурге во второй половине XIX – начале XX в. Источниковой основой исследования стали опубликованные материалы городских переписей населения 1869 и 1900 гг. и Первой всеобщей переписи населения 1897 г. по г. Санкт-Петербургу, а также медицинские описания торгово-промышленных заведений столицы; делопроизводственные документы, в том числе прошения ремесленников и иных лиц, переписка органов городского самоуправления с центральными ведомствами,

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контракты на выполнение заказов, выявленные в хранилищах центральных и региональных архивов Российской Федерации. Проведенное исследование показало, что в 1860–1900-е гг. произошло перемещение основной массы немцев-горожан из центральных частей Санкт-Петербурга в новые районы, что было вызвано экономическими причинами. В промышленных частях города женщины-немки составляли большинство в своей этнической группе. В конце XIX – начале XX в. немцы продолжали играть важную роль в системе межэтнического разделения труда. В образовании, медицине, кредитных учреждениях они занимали доминирующие позиции. Несмотря на бурное развитие крупной промышленности, в городской экономике продолжали играть важную роль ремесленники, среди которых немцы сохраняли заметное влияние.

Ключевые слова: межэтническое разделение труда, мелкотоварное производство, трудовая миграция, фронтальная территория, теория модернизации

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Introduction

Relevance. Since its foundation, St. Petersburg has been a multinational city. From the 1720s onward, the Germans of St. Petersburg were one of the most numerous ethnic communities. Almost half of them were part of the petty-bourgeois class involved in small-scale production. The active economic activity of St. Petersburg's Germans contributed to their transformation into an important component of the city life.

Elaboration of the problem. The history of craft production in St. Petersburg has its own historiography. However, actual scientific study of the topic began only in Soviet times. The monograph by K.A. Pazhitnova was devoted to the analysis of Russian legislation on craft workshops¹. However, the researchers rarely turned directly to the study of the history of small-scale production, which was overshadowed by the history of large-scale industry. This can be clearly demonstrated by the example of the second volume of “Essays on the History of Leningrad” dedicated to the period of capitalism, in which, the authors focused on the specifics of the development of large enterprises in various industries in the city. It was noted that although, under the conditions of the development of capitalism, small-scale production was gradually supplanted, nevertheless, the craft workshops in certain areas of the city remained important².

An important contribution to the study of the history of St. Petersburg craft was made by A.V. Keller³. One can agree with the author's opinion that in the second half of the XIX – early XX century artisans remained an integral part of the city life.

Publications about German artisans of St. Petersburg began to appear in the late 1990s⁴.

The purpose of the study is to determine the main trends in the development of the German craft community in the 1860–1910s. For this purpose, the authors carried out an

¹ K.A. Pazhitnov, *Problema remeslennykh tsekhov v zakonodatel'stve russkogo absolutizma* [The problem of craft workshops in the legislation of Russian absolutism] (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR Publ., 1952).

² N.V. Kireev, and M.P. Vyatkin, “Promyshlennost' [Industry],” in vol. 2 of *Ocherki istorii Leningrada*, 122–123 (Leningrad: Akademiya nauk SSSR Publ., 1957), 122–123.

³ A.V. Keller, *Remeslo Sankt-Peterburga XVIII – nachala XX veka (administrativno-zakonodatel'nyi i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskii aspekty)* [The craft of Saint Petersburg of the XVIII – early XX century (administrative, legislative and socio-economic aspects)] (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia Publ., 2020).

⁴ A.V. Repina, “Nemetskie bulochniki v Sankt-Peterburge [German bakers in St. Petersburg],” in *Die Deutschen in Russland: Petersburger Deutsche* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin Publ., 1999), 197–204.

analysis of the number and distribution of Germans in St. Petersburg based on the materials from the city censuses of 1869 and 1900, and the participation of Germans in the system of interethnic division of labor at the turn of the XX century. Particular attention is paid to the features of small-scale production.

Source base. The research objectives determined the use of various types of sources. The published census results remain highly informative. Their analysis makes it possible to determine the dynamics of the number and distribution of Germans in the city space, the structure of economic activities, and their share in a particular field of activity. A unique source about city life is the materials from industrial production records, including medical descriptions of commercial and industrial establishments compiled by the order of the city authorities. These materials allow presenting an objective situation, for example, about the medical and sanitary state of enterprises and craft workshops. The records and other documents used were found in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (F. 109. Third Department of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery), the Russian State Historical Archive (F. 490. Peterhof Palace Directorate of the Ministry of the Imperial Courts; F. 497. Directorate of Imperial Theaters of the Ministry of the Imperial Courts), Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (F. 223. Petrograd Crafts Council; F. 479. Petrograd Treasury Chamber; F. 569. Department of the Petrograd City Administration and Metropolitan Police; F. 752. St. Petersburg Tavern Deputation at St. Petersburg Public Administration), Scientific Archive of the Russian Geographical Society (F. R-108. P.I. Keppen Foundation).

The methodological basis of the study is the theory of modernization in the context of its implementation on the frontier territory. St. Petersburg was an important link between North-Western Europe and Russia as a whole. Through it, with labor migrants from Germany, for example, there penetrated new technologies and forms of sociocultural organization, which became widespread.

Number and distribution of Germans in St. Petersburg (based on city census materials)

According to the city census of 1869, in St. Petersburg lived 45.5 thousand Germans of both sexes and of different confessions. In the 1870s their number was already 46.5 thousand people⁵, i.e. no more than 7% of the city's total population of 668 thousand people. Confessionally, Lutherans dominated, making up almost 93% of St. Petersburg German population.

The townspeople were the largest German class in the period under review. According to the city census, they numbered 14,444 people of both sexes, which amounted to 60.4% of St. Petersburg foreigners, and in total, the share of Germans of the capital's townspeople was 11.7%. This was followed by hereditary and personal nobility (about 16.9%). The share of German military personnel accounted for 3.6% soldiers, and of peasants in the city, they accounted for only 5.4%. The number of Germans as honorary citizens and merchants was not large. Thus, the share of honorary citizens among them ranged from 1.1% among Catholics to 3% among Orthodox Christians, and merchants – 5.5% (Catholics) to 7.5% (Protestants). At the same time, the number of Germans in these strata relative to other “foreigners” was quite large: among honorary citizens and mer-

⁵ Nauchnyi arkhiv Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva [Scientific archive of the Russian Geographical Society], f. P-108, op. 1, d. 22, l. 352.

chants they amounted to 72.3% and 65.5%, respectively of that cohort⁶. The proportion of Germans in these classes was also significant relative to their total number. Among honorary citizens, Germans accounted for a total of 18.7%, and among merchants – 15%. According to these indicators, they were in the second place after the Russians.

The distribution of Germans in the city was uneven. Thus, a significant part of them lived in the central parts of the capital (Admiralteysky, Kazansky, Spassky) (43.7%). The German populations of Vasilyevsky Island (15.4%) and the Liteiny part (11.3%) were also large. By the middle of the XIX century, these city areas were traditional places of settlement of Germans. A similar picture was observed in the first quarter of the XIX century, as evidenced by the analysis of the database on the craft population of St. Petersburg based on materials by S. Aller, which we created as part of the project “Germans of St. Petersburg: history of the formation and evolution of the ethnic community”⁷.

However, as the borders expanded, the Germans settled in other parts of the city as well. It is safe to say that artisans settled mainly in the industrial areas (Narvsky, Moscovsky, Petersburgsky, Vyborgsky parts) and opened their workshops there.

The distribution of the German population in the city was also influenced by economic factors. If one looks at the ratio of the male and female population, it is possible to identify parts of the city with a disproportionately higher number of women. Thus, in 6 out of 12 parts of the city there was a significant predominance of women. The greatest imbalance was observed in the Rozhdestvensky and Kolomensky section (63 and 59% women, respectively). It was somewhat smaller in the Liteiny (58%), Vasilyevsky (57%) and Moscovsky (57%) areas⁸. This can be explained by the high degree of concentration of industrial enterprises, where many women were employed. Mostly, they worked in weaving factories and lived in factory barracks near them. Thus, in the Rozhdestvensky area they worked at the factory of the Thornton woolen products association, the Nevsky cotton mill of L. Stieglitz, in Kolomensky – at the silk products factory of A.I. Nissen, in Vasilyevsky – at the weaving manufactory, which belonged to the Russian cotton mill, the cotton-printing mill “Ya. Lütsch,” in Narvsky – at the Russian cotton mill.

In the post-reform period, St. Petersburg became one of the most dynamically developing cities of the Russian Empire. Old manufactories continued to work there, while at the same time a large number of new enterprises appeared. For their construction, land plots were allocated on the then outskirts (Vyborgsky, Alexandro-Nevisky, Petersburgsky, Moscovsky, Narvsky parts). In turn, this not only caused a need for workers, but also entailed a redistribution of existing labor resources, which is confirmed by materials from city censuses (Table 1).

As we can see, there was a significant increase in the number of Germans in the developing industrial parts of the capital, whereas in the center there was a decrease in their number. The most prosperous strata lived in the Admiralteysky, Kazanskay, Spassky parts of the city. The development of store trade gradually supplanted small shops, and so many artisans (bakers, confectioners, sausage makers, tailors, shoemakers, etc.) moved with their workshops to new areas that could provide them with an ever-growing clientele.

⁶ *Naselenie po vozrastam, semeinomu sostoiianiiu, veroispovedaniiam, narodnostiam, sosloviyam i gramotnosti* [Population by age, marital status, religions, nationalities, classes and literacy], vol. 1 of *Sankt-Peterburg po perepisi 10 dekabria 1869 goda* [St. Petersburg according to the census of December 10, 1869] (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Ministerstva vnutrennih del Publ., 1872), 124, 126.

⁷ *Remeslenniki Sankt-Peterburga v 1822 g.* [Craftsmen of St. Petersburg in 1822], January 11, 2024, <http://germspb.ru/speciality1823>

⁸ *Sankt-Peterburg po perepisi 10 dekabria 1869 goda*, 30, 45, 54.

Table 1

Distribution of Germans in various parts of St. Petersburg, number of people

Part of the city	1869, both sexes	1900, both sexes
Admiralteysky	4273	2313
Kazansky	8307	4825
Spassky	7289	3372
Kolomensky	2273	2232
Narvsky	2797	3432
Moscovsky	3280	4153
Alexandro-Nevisky	964	1455
Rozhdestvensky	1446	2081
Liteiny	5124	4839
Vasilyevsky	7006	8110
Petersburgsky	1868	4958
Vyborgsky	885	2096

Sources: *Naselenie po vozrastam, semejnomu sostoianiiu, veroispovedaniiam, narodnostiam, sosloviyam i gramotnosti* [Population by age, marital status, religions, nationalities, classes and literacy], vol. 1 of *Sankt-Peterburg po perepisi 10 dekabria 1869 goda* [St. Petersburg according to the census of December 10, 1869] (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Ministerstva vnutrennih del Publ., 1872), 124, 126; N.A. Fedulov, ed. *Chislennost i sostav naseleniia po polu, vozrastu, mestu rozhdeniia (v Sankt-Peterburge ili vne ego), vremeni poseleniia v Sankt-Peterburge, semejnemu sostoianiiu, gramotnosti, sosloviu, veroispovedaniiu i rodnomu iazyku* [Size and composition of the population by gender, age, place of birth (in St. Petersburg or outside it), time of settlement in St. Petersburg, marital status, literacy, class, religion and native language], vol. 1 of *Sankt-Peterburg po perepisi 15 dekabria 1900 goda* [St. Petersburg according to the census of December 15, 1900] (St. Petersburg: Gorodskaiia uprava po Statisticheskomu otdeleniiu Publ., 1903), 51.

Germans of St. Petersburg in the system of interethnic division of labor at the turn of the XX century

One of the characteristic features of a multiethnic city is the interethnic division of labor. Representatives of a certain group occupied economic niches that were traditionally close to them, and St. Petersburg was no exception. In the second half of the XIX century the ethnic composition of the city population became more diverse due to the massive internal migration of Jews, Finns, Estonians, and Latvians to the capital. The Germans continued to play a significant role in the city economy, which was confirmed by the data of the First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897.

The analysis of the main types of economic activity allows us to conclude that more than 40% of independent workers were employed in the production sector⁹. The ratio of men and women was 3:1. Comparing the Germans, for example, with the Jewish population of the capital, one can see the overall picture of the situation. However, the share of Jewish production workers was much higher and amounted to 70% (56% men and 14% women).

There were several activities that were widespread among the Germans. These were, for example, metal processing (1,600 men and 26 women)¹⁰, processing of animal and plant products (611 men and 199 women), wood processing (580 men and 6 women), and printing production (772 men and 47 women). As we can see, traditionally, business

⁹ *Pervaiia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g. Gorod Sankt-Peterburg* [The first general census of the Russian Empire, 1897. City of St. Petersburg], vol. 37 (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Tsentralnogo statisticheskogo komiteta Ministerstva vnutrennih del Publ., 1903), 214.

¹⁰ The number of business owners is indicated.

owners were men. In only one area (clothing production) the number of women significantly exceeded that of men (1,335 and 728, respectively)¹¹.

Hired labor was important for the German population of St. Petersburg (10% men and 19.5% women)¹². These were various forms of employment, among which work at industrial enterprises began to acquire increasing importance. This is also indicated by the above statistics on the distribution of women in the parts of the city and their predominance in the places where industrial enterprises were concentrated.

The service industry also remained traditional for the Germans, which included educational, medical and sanitary activities, as well as the carrier trade, credit, and banking. About 17.3% of Germans were employed there. The proportion of men and women was approximately equal (9.5 and 7.8%, respectively)¹³. However, in the educational sphere, women clearly dominated (3:1).

In late XIX – early XX century, trade was not of particular interest for the Germans as a sphere of economic activity. This is evidenced by the fact that only 10.5% of independent workers were involved in it. In this respect, they differed, for example, from the Jewish population of the capital, for whom trade was in the second place (more than 18% of independent workers were involved)¹⁴.

The analysis of the interethnic division of labor in St. Petersburg is not possible without determining the share of the Germans in certain employment groups. This allows us to determine their contribution to the overall development of the city economy. We identified those types of activities in which they accounted for more than 2% of the total number of employees (Table 2).

Table 2

Germans of St. Petersburg in the system of interethnic division of labor, %

Activities	Men, %	Women, %
Educational activities	7.27	14.51
Medical and sanitary activities	10.6	5.5
Private services. Day laborers and servants	2.5	3.55
Metal processing	3.11	Less than 1.0
Printing production	5.64	Less than 1.0
Physical, optical, surgical instruments, watches and toys	15.3	15.21
Jewelry, luxury goods	3.2	3.66
Clothes making	2.32	4.78
Credit and public commercial institutions	21.01	Less than 1.0
Trade intermediation	7.59	31.82
Trade in general	5.3	15.66
Prostitution	9	5.9

Sources: *Pervaja vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g. Gorod Sankt-Peterburg* [The first general census of the Russian Empire, 1897. City of St. Petersburg], vol. 37 (St. Petersburg: Tsentr. Stat. komitetom M-va vn. del, 1903), 214.

The presented data allow us to highlight the areas in which the Germans played an important role. Thus, every tenth medical worker, every seventh manufacturer of com-

¹¹ *Pervaja vseobshchaia perepis'*, 214.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

plex and precision instruments, every fifth employee of credit and public commercial institutions was German. In general, this topic needs more in-depth study with the involvement of additional sources.

German artisans in St. Petersburg in the 1860s – 1914

As noted above, in the second half of the XIX – early XX century a significant part of the German population of St. Petersburg consisted of tradesmen engaged in various crafts. Small-scale production remained important for the city economy. In some industries, the productivity of craft workshops was higher than that of factories (clothing and footwear production). Other researchers point out the large role of small-scale production in the food, wood, and metal industries¹⁵.

German artisans, depending on their nationality, worked in Russian or foreign workshops. However, for a city townsman this difference remained unnoticed. According to the St. Petersburg Council of Foreign Crafts Workshops, in 1858 in the capital there were 959 craftsmen in 30 workshops who paid the state tax¹⁶. The most numerous were the bakery (166 craftsmen) and tailor (159 craftsmen) workshops. By 1915, the workshops subordinate to the Council of Foreign Crafts Workshops included 372 foreigners, of whom 260 were Germans or Austrians¹⁷. A significant reduction in the number of foreign craftsmen was due to, above all, state policy. Thus, according to the circular of the Executive Police Department dated February 4, 1881, foreigners who had lost their citizenship were to acquire Russian citizenship within a five-year period¹⁸.

Until 1914, the authorities did not pay much attention to the craft sphere. For example, they preserved the old-established requirement of mandatory registration with a craft workshop for those wishing to open a particular workshop. Thus, in 1907, a representative of the trading house “E.I. Borel” submitted a petition to the St. Petersburg Council of Foreign Crafts Workshops for joining the bakery and confectionery workshop; he produced a merchant's certificate of the first category¹⁹. The emerging normative acts often regulated certain aspects of the life of artisans and craft production. Thus, in 1904, some changes were made to the requirements for bakeries²⁰.

In the second half of the XIX – early XX century, there were various sources of craft personnel. Thus, the practice of taking apprentices from outside industries was widely used. Most of the apprentices were Russian. But among them there were also people from St. Petersburg's German colonies²¹, most of whom were sent by their parents to

¹⁵ N.V. Kireev, and M.P. Vyatkin, “Promyshlennost,” 123.

¹⁶ Tsentralnyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arhiv Sankt-Peterburga [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg] (hereafter – TsGIA St. Petersburg), f. 479, op. 1, d. 17, l. 18 ob. – 19.

¹⁷ Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive] (hereafter – RGIA), f. 1278, op. 7, d. 227, l. 3.

¹⁸ M.I., *‘Ob inostrantsakh v Rossii’ (sbornik uzakonenyi, traktatov i konventsiy, s otnosyashchimisya k nim pravitel'stvennymi i sudebnymi raz'yasneniyami)* [‘On Foreigners in Russia’ (a collection of laws, treaties and conventions, with related government and judicial clarifications)] (St. Petersburg: N.A. Lebedev Publ., 1888.), 54.

¹⁹ TsGIA St. Peterburg, f. 223, op. 1, d. 6404, l. 1.

²⁰ “Obyazatel'nyye postanovleniya ob ustroystve i soderzhanii pekaren pri bulochnykh, konditerskikh i khlebopekarnykh zavedeniyakh i khlebopekaren pri melochnykh lavkakh [Mandatory regulations on the organization and maintenance of bakeries at bakeshops, confectioneries and baking establishments and bakeries at small shops],” *Izvestiia Sankt-Peterburgskoi Gorodskoi Dumy*, no. 4 (1904): 17.

²¹ Despite the fact that a reform was carried out in 1871, in the course of which the legal status of “colony” for settlements and “colonists” for their inhabitants was abolished, both terms were used until the early 1920s.

study. This practice was associated, first, with the system of land ownership and inheritance that existed in the colonies, when all property was transferred undividedly from father to the eldest son. The other sons, who did not have the right to land, had to find other ways to support their families. Having received an apprentice's certificate or a master's diploma, the colonists sought to be included in craft workshops. Thus, in 1889, Fyodor Fitzler from the Alexandria Colony in Peterhof announced his desire, together with his family, to leave his rural life and join the artisans of St. Petersburg. He said that he could not do arable farming, but he was trained in plumbing and had the appropriate diploma²².

Another source was the influx of labor migrants from abroad. Thus, in the 1870s in St. Petersburg there were many immigrants from Germany, one way or another connected with the craft production sector. The influx was largely due to the gründerzeit crisis of 1873 and the onset of economic depression provoked an increase in emigration. Once in the capital, the Germans were able to find attractive economic niches. Thus, in 1872, engineer Karl Winkler moved to St. Petersburg; in 1876 he opened a small construction and plumbing workshop, which by the end of the XIX century grew into a factory.

It was good luck for any artisan to receive an order from government agencies. For weavers and tailors, an important customer was the Directorate of the Imperial Theaters. Many of them were bound by contractual obligations with it for a long time. Thus, in the 1860s, weaving shop master Karl Schubert was engaged in sewing sweatshirts, pantaloons and stockings from silk, wool, and paper tights for the theater²³. Such contracts could be concluded with the permission of the court minister, under whose jurisdiction the theaters were under. Prices were set, as a rule, by the Directorate and were generally extremely low. But it did not stop the shop masters and usually after completing one order, they sought to obtain a new contract. This made it possible to receive a small but solid income.

Some of the artisans managed to get into the staff of government institutions. One example is Gustav Meimer, who from 1850 to 1869 worked in St. Petersburg theaters as a day laborer, and from 1869 to 1882 was an apprentice tailor in the Directorate of Theaters. As a result of changes in the theater department, he was initially removed from the staff with a lump sum of 360 rubles²⁴, but was later assigned to the German troupe as a tailor. This was situation which clearly demonstrates that German masters were highly valued in the theatrical sphere.

In late XIX – early XX century there were still many German workshops in the capital, which provided the townspeople, above all, with food. For St. Petersburg, like other cities, sanitary and hygienic problems were acute, including in the production of bakery, sausage and other products. The condition of many workshops and shops left much to be desired.

In the 1880s the officials of the factory department at the office of St. Petersburg governor regularly inspected the workshops. These were both planned inspections and a reaction to requests from citizens. Thus, on November 14, 1883, an anonymous letter was sent to the governor, and it described the unsanitary conditions in the bakery of Prussian master Herman Gressin, located at 7, Bolshaya Moskovskaya Street²⁵. Already on

²² RGIA, f. 490, op. 4, d. 420, l. 3.

²³ Ibid., f. 497, op. 2, d. 20675, l. 1.

²⁴ Ibid., d. 25387, l. 1 ob.

²⁵ TsGIA St. Petersburg, f. 569, op. 1, d. 252, l. 3.

November 19, there was the corresponding order to conduct an inspection of the premises, which was carried out on November 23. In fact, it turned out that:

in the bakery there is a partition separating a small room 3 arshins long (2.13 m. – *V.Sh., N.O.*), 3 arshins wide (2.13 m. – *V.Sh., N.O.*) and 4 arshins high (2.84 m. – *V.Sh., N.O.*), in which 3 sub-workers and 1 apprentice sleep, and double bunks are arranged against one wall. The walls of the rooms and the ceiling are covered with soot, there is a water closet near this room and the walls are kept clean and there is no stench²⁶.

The inspectors had no complaints about the maintenance of the bakery. However, the master of the enterprise did not respond to the demand to break the upper bunks or whitewash the walls and ceiling until the beginning of April 1884. Only the “insistence on the fulfillment of these demands through a voluntary agreement with him” on the part of a police officer was able to eventually force Gressin to execute the order.

The sausage workshops of German masters were in a much better position. Where-as in bakeries labor remained manual, in sausage production, various mechanical devices began to be widely used in the production of minced meat and other meat products. Thus, for the Steiding sausage workshop (18, Bolshaya Morskaya St.), minced meat was prepared on the equipment driven by a kerosene engine, and a special mechanical stirrer was used for making minced meat in the workshop²⁷. The owners of sausage workshops took care of the cleanliness of the premises. According to an eyewitness, Schermeisser, who kept a shop at 5, Malaya Morskaya Street, it had a cement floor and mosaic walls²⁸. But this could not always protect the master from being held accountable. This master was twice brought to justice both for the dirt in the workshop and shop, and for the sale of low-quality products²⁹.

The activities of German artisans in St. Petersburg found a unique interpretation in Russian journalism of the second half of the XIX century. The Germans of St. Petersburg were assessed in the essay “Notes of a Metaphysician. On daily bread,”³⁰ written by famous writer and publicist V.A. Sleptsov. Speaking from the position of liberal nationalism, the author set the appropriate tone for that part of his work that was dedicated to the life of the Germans in the city. One of the theses was put forward by him in the first lines:

In the population of the capital, a huge percentage, as is known, consists of people who are alien to us by nationality and religion, people who, despite their centuries-long stay with us, still completely cannot and do not want to unite with us. We can say about them that in the strict sense they live separately³¹.

Another thesis of Sleptsov is directly related to the economic activities and every-day life of the German townspeople. He contrasts the Russians and the Germans quite consciously. The superiority of the latter, in his opinion, lies “in nothing else but the abi-

²⁶ TsGIA St. Petersburg, f. 569, op. 1, d. 252, l. 4.

²⁷ *Gorod Sankt-Peterburg s tochki zreniia meditsinskoi politzii* [The city of St. Petersburg from the point of view of the medical police] (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. D. Lomkovskago Publ., 1897), 53.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁰ V.S. “Zapiski metafizika. O nasushchnom khlebe [Notes of a Metaphysician. On Daily Bread],” *Otechestvennye zapisky*, no. 1 (1868), 166–184.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

lity to exploit.”³² And this “skill” is “almost always,” in his mind, directed against the Russian population.

Sleptsov’s article clearly speaks of the notorious “German dominance” in the Russian economy, which possibly could have developed in the late XIX – early XX century. Describing contemporary St. Petersburg, he categorically stated that:

almost all the most reliable and most profitable occupations <...> are in the hands of the Germans; almost all pharmacies, positions of chief doctors in hospitals, all more or less influential positions are occupied by Germans; not to mention trade and crafts, in which the Germans are permanent masters³³.

Such a statement was not unfounded; it is fully confirmed by statistics.

As contemporaries noted, the Germans considered their craft not only as a means of subsistence, but also to gain, through labor, a position in their community, with which they “strengthens the future of their children, promoting them, through good education along the path that is most suitable for the child’s character.”³⁴

The war with Germany and Austria-Hungary provoked anti-German sentiments in Russian society. This resulted not only in pogroms that swept through the cities, and the adoption of the so-called “liquidation legislation,” but also the abolition of the Petrograd Council of Foreign (also called the German) Craft Workshops in the summer of 1915. Based on the provisions of the Council of Ministers approved by Nicholas II on May 26, 1915, foreign artisans were assigned to Russian workshops under standard arrangements³⁵. Some of the German artisans were able to maintain their enterprises, but many fell under the so-called “liquidation laws” of 1915 and were forced to stop their economic activities.

Recreation and entertainment of German artisans

Despite the heavy workload, German artisans sought to make good use of their free time. Everyone could choose for themselves the form of recreation that corresponded to their social status and level of well-being.

Already at the end of the XVIII century in St. Petersburg, there appeared the first establishments in which the Germans could spend their free time. For merchants and foreign guests, it was very often, for example, the German Club. In 1848, local authorities approved the charter of the German Dance Society in St. Petersburg, the members of which could be persons having the civil status, apart from apprentices and servants³⁶.

³² V.S. “Zapiski metafizika. O nasushchnom khlebe [Notes of a Metaphysician. On Daily Bread],” *Otechestvennyye zapisky*, no. 1 (1868), 175.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ A.F. Rittikh, *Plemnoi sostav kontingentov russkoi armii i muzhskogo naseleniya Evropeiskoi Rossii*. [The tribal composition of the contingents of the Russian army and the male population of European Russia] (St. Petersburg: A.A. Il’in Press., 1875), 22.

³⁵ “Ob uprazhnenii Petrogradskoi upravly inostrannykh remeslennykh tsekhov [On the abolition of the Petrograd Council of Foreign Craft Workshops],” in *Sobranie zakonov i rasporyazhenii Pravitelstva, izdavaemoe pri Pravitelstvuiushchem Senate. 1915 g. Otdelenie pervoe. Polugodie pervoe* [Collection of laws and orders of the Government, published under the Senate. 1915 First department. First half of the year] (Petrograd: Senatskaia tipografiia Publ., 1915), 1632.

³⁶ *Ustav Nemetskogo tantsevalnogo obshchestva v Sankt-Peterburge 1848 goda* [Charter of the German Dance Society in St. Petersburg in 1848] (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia III Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii Publ., 1849), 9.

Entertainment events were very popular among the residents of the capital. However, only wealthy entrepreneurs could take part in the balls and masquerades of the German Dance Society. But the middle class also needed entertainment. Therefore, high demand gave rise to corresponding offers. From the 1860s in the city there were a lot of musical parties organized by representatives of the German community. At the same time, the Germans had to fight for clients. Under these conditions, they sought to make their establishments more attractive. Thus, in 1866 confectioner Julius Burs asked the Office of St. Petersburg Theaters for permission to open musical parties with dancing at the confectionery located in the Spassky part of the city on the corner of Voznesensky and Ekateriningofsky avenues in Kavelin's house³⁷. There were no objections from the Office and the police, and therefore on January 27, 1867, and he got a corresponding certificate³⁸.

Such parties were popular. Craftsmen used them to advertise their businesses. Thus, in the early 1860s craftsman of the kitchen workshop Johann Normann, with the permission of the authorities, held dance parties in an apartment on Vasilyevsky Island on Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. According to the surviving brochure, the events began at 9 p.m., the entrance fee for men was 1 ruble and no entrance fee was charged for women³⁹.

In conditions of fierce competition, it was necessary to give the parties some special feature. Thus, wallpaper maker Andrei Kurs asked for permission to organize musical parties in the premises belonging to the Kalinkinsky Brewery, with which an agreement had already been reached⁴⁰. Probably both organizers were supposed to benefit from such events.

Such parties were free from excessive primness, and the low price of admission or free admission made them affordable for everyone. Therefore, they were most popular among young people. It was not only a way to relax, but also an opportunity to make new connections. For some, it was an opportunity to find a potential marriage partner.

The most accessible and common way of relaxation for a German artisan was meeting with friends in a tavern. We learn about how such meetings took place from the surviving intelligence reports on the observation of German artisans in St. Petersburg, which were presented to the III Department. One of the popular places among St. Petersburg Germans was a restaurant on the corner of Nevsky Prospekt and Malaya Morskaya Street in the Chaplins' house⁴¹. A common topic that was often discussed was the events of the Austro-Prussian War (the events of 1866)⁴². The disputes that arose among the Germans were often accompanied by "hand-to-hand fighting."⁴³ The so-called "Bier-Hallen" (beer houses) were also popular. One of them was, for example, on Bolshaya Morskaya Street (the owner was merchant Reinhardt). According to an informant, its visitors were "not members of <...> the club (meaning the German Dance Society. – *V.Sh., N.O.*)." His report, dated September 7, 1865, indicated that "there was a large company of Germans, who stayed there until 4 a.m. and sang various national songs."⁴⁴

³⁷ RGIA, f. 497, op. 2, d. 20742, l. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, d. 18691, l. 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, d. 20044, l. 1.

⁴¹ Gosudarstvennyi arhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii [State Archive of the Russian Federation] (hereafter – GARF), f. 109, op. 3A, d. 2422, l. 3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, l. 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, d. 2411, l. 20.

Of great importance for organizing leisure time for German artisans in the second half of the XIX – early XX century was the “Palma” society. Already in the mid-1860s they had opened a buffet⁴⁵ which was popular among apprentices. From that time on, musical and entertainment parties were organized in the capital and its suburbs⁴⁶. On the initiative of Rudolf Schneider, a Prussian subject, the owner of a printing house, (“one of the most active members of society <...>, he enjoys a reputation here (in St. Petersburg. – *V.Sh., N.O.*) as a decent person”⁴⁷) it was planned to publish a leaflet “which would contain useful instructions for the German working class in the capital.”⁴⁸ In the 1890s – 1914 at the “Palma” society, gymnastics sections and a theater were opened and public lectures were also given.

Conclusion

Throughout the second half of the XIX – early XX century, the number of Germans in the capital increased steadily both due to natural growth and because of progressive migration processes. During that period, the high number of German artisans, both Russian and foreign nationals, was maintained mainly due to labor migration from abroad, which from the 1870s, was largely due to economic crises occurring in Germany. An important feature was German artisans working in workshops of former colonists who learned their craft from St. Petersburg masters. In some cases, the assignment to workshops was forced and this was due to the need to open and maintain small-scale enterprises. German entrepreneurship in various forms continued to play an important role in the economic life of St. Petersburg until the outbreak of the First World War.

As the city space expanded, artisans gradually moved to new parts of St. Petersburg. This was prompted both by the high cost of maintaining residential premises, workshops and shops in the central parts of the city, and by the opportunity to expand production by attracting a large number of new customers.

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⁴⁵ TsGIA St. Petersburg, f. 752, op. 2, d. 8.

⁴⁶ RGIA, f. 497, op. 2. d. 20669.

⁴⁷ GARF, f. 109, op. 3A, d. 2417, l. 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid., l. 1.

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