




Prussian Consuls on the Southern Ukrainian Frontier in the 19th Century

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ABSTRACT

The article is dedicated to the history of Prussian consular representatives (a consul general, consuls, vice consuls and consular agents) in the port cities on the Southern Ukrainian frontier in the 19th century, mainly based on the base of the documents of Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin). It aims at tracing back the transformations of the Prussian consular network in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region in the aforementioned period. For this purpose, the article also covers the biographies of all 14 consular representatives of Prussia in Odessa, Kerch, Berdyansk and Villa St. Marino near Khotyn.

Keywords: Frontier, Prussia, Russian Empire, Consulate, Port City



Introduction

The concept of frontier is the key to understanding almost all of the processes that took place in the steppe of the Southern Ukraine, the lands of the northern and eastern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov at the times when the main part of the region belonged to the Ottoman Empire as well as in the initial period of the Russian imperial colonization of the region. It is very important that the concept of frontier can be applied to the Southern Ukraine in the times of not only the Zaporozhian Cossacks, but also of a later period. Southern Ukrainian port cities in the 19th century were frontiers, if we understand a frontier to be a moving line between cultures which formed a new type of society, not just a sum of its components, or their complete fusion in “a melting pot”¹. In this context we, being the members of the editorial board, support the approach declared in editorial politics of the Southern Ukraine historical-cultural anthology “City’s Frontiers”: the anthology, using the idea of Frederick J. Turner as a starting point, does not restrict itself to the accents of American history, but focuses on the cities of the steppe space in Eastern Europe as a complex ethnic and cultural “strip farming”, which was formed during the colonization and was preserved later². In regard to the frontier approach to urban history of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region, the title of the research by Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis is also eloquent³.

For obvious reasons, the port cities in the region were the places of concentration of foreign trade and, accordingly, the places where consulates of foreign countries were located. Among others, the consulates of Prussia were established there as well. Prussian consular representatives connected the Russian Empire with Europe. They were actors, potentially capable of bringing “the best practices” of modernization to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region. At the same time, the Prussian consuls could compare the path of the Russian Empire and its state to theirs. They noticed the existing contradictions and incoherence of modernization processes that was typical of the whole Russian Empire as well as of the region, the specifics of the bureaucracy in the Russian Empire which in many respects were an obstacle to more rapid development. All these observations were recorded in the consular reports which allow us to see the development of the frontier in the eyes of Prussians. At the same time, multidimensional study of the history of Prussian consuls in the port-cities on the territory of contemporary Ukraine is important in the context of not only the history of international relations, but also economic history, and

1 Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920, p. 375.

2 Vladislav V. Hrybovskiy, “Фрономпу міста”, in *Research Institute of Urban History* URL: <http://ri-urbanhistory.org.ua/projects/39-frontiers> (date of access: May 27, 2020); Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchkoizde (eds), *Between grain and oil from the Azov to the Caucasus: The port-cities of the Eastern coast of the Black Sea, late 18th – early 20th century*, Rethymnon, Crete 2020, p. 64.

3 Evrydiki Sifneos, Gelina Harlaftis, “Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier of International Trade. The Greek Merchant Community/Paroikia of Taganrog in the Sea of Azov, 1780s-1830s”, in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers, 2012, p. 157-179.

the history of cultural interactions, which is one of the key components of the frontier approach.

Therefore, our research is dedicated to the history of Prussian consuls in the port cities of the Southern Ukrainian frontier in the 19th century.

Since the publication of the book "Black Sea Germans in the life and work of Odessa and the region 1803-2003; Bibliographic index"⁴, the historiography of the relevant issues has expanded significantly. However, there was no breakthrough in the study on the history of the consulates of the German states in general, nor in the history of the consuls of Prussia. The situation can be changed by studying the documents of Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK)⁵ and their correlation with other primary sources, and with literature we have identified.

According to documents of GStA PK, the first attempt to establish a Prussian consulate in Odessa took place in 1806. A merchant Landry, who was born in Neuchâtel, addressed the plenipotentiary representative of the Prussian King at the imperial court in St. Petersburg, proposing himself as a candidate for the post of consul of Prussia on the Black Sea. However, as Landry wrote later, that initiative was not continued for political reasons. February 25, 1814, Landry made a second attempt: he wrote a letter in Odessa, which was registered at the Prussian diplomatic mission in St. Petersburg on April 14 (26). Recalling his previous failed attempt, Landry remarked that circumstances had now changed, and Providence had turned things around so that the glory of the Prussian kingdom of Frederick the Great's time would be restored⁶. Landry's letter was forwarded from St. Petersburg to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia August Friedrich Ferdinand von der Goltz on April 26 (May 8), 1814.

But soon another candidate for the consular post, Odessa merchant Friedrich Hempel appeared: his first pro memoria was registered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia already on July 18, 1814⁷.

On July 17 (29), 1817, Landry, referring to the support of Warckenthin from Potsdam, returned to the question of his candidacy for a consular post in the Black Sea region. Landry wrote that now Europe enjoyed peace, and the enlarged territorially Prussian monarchy shone with its ancient splendour and promoted trade as well as it took care of its subjects. So, Landry expressed hope that his intention to be appointed as a consul "on this southern coast" would be supported, and that the consulate would become an important factor of the development of Prussian trade. Landry also described the prospects which would be opened

4 *Prichernomorskie nemtsy v zhizni i deyatel'nosti g. Odessy i regiona. 1803-2003; Bibliograficheskiy ukazatel / V. Samodurova, A. Aysfeld, N. Shevchuk; Nauchi, red. i vstup, st. A. Aysfeld, N. Shevchuk, Odessa: Astroprint, 2003, 312 s.*

5 The documents were copied by Igor Lyman in frames of Stipendienprogrammder Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (October-November 2019).

6 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 2-3.

7 *ibid.*, S. 4.

up in connection with the signing of the manifesto in April 16, 1817 about the introduction of *porto-franco* in Odessa by the Russian Emperor Alexander I. Attention was also paid to the agricultural potential of a wide region in which agricultural products and primarily grain could be exported through the port of Odessa. The Swiss trading house, Philibert & Co., the interests of which were represented by Landry, also had a corresponding specialization⁸. That new initiative of Landry led to correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia and the plenipotentiary representative of the Prussian King at the imperial court in St. Petersburg Reinhold Otto Friedrich August von Schoeler. However, that third attempt by Landry to become a consul in Odessa also ended in failure.

1. Eugenius Goguel

On March 2, 1818, in Odessa, John Wilkins wrote a letter to the Prussian consul general in St. Petersburg. In that letter, the name of Eugenius Goguel was mentioned for the first time in connection with the issue of appointment of a Prussian consul in Odessa,⁹. Goguel was a merchant in Odessa, representing Cattley & Co. Besides, he belonged to the Masonic lodge "Du Pont Euxin", which was established in Odessa in the late 1817s¹⁰.

Goguel was born in Montbéliard (France)¹¹, while his competitor, Landry, had origin in the principality, which Prussia had to surrender during the Napoleonic Wars. After the defeat of Napoleon, Frederick William III regained power over Neuchâtel, linking it with other Swiss cantons. On September 12, 1814, Neuchâtel became the center of the 21st canton, while remaining under the rule of Prussia.

Goguel's candidacy found support at all levels, and December 31, 1818, he became the first Prussian consul in Odessa chronologically¹². However, the period of Goguel's activities as a consul in Odessa turned out to be very short. A year later, he went bankrupt, and new candidates for the position of consul in Odessa, Landry and Walb, were mentioned already on July 11, 1819 in a letter of the Minister of Trade Ludwig Friedrich Victor Hans Graf von Bülow to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia¹³. On August 15, 1819, Eugenius Goguel wrote a letter from Odessa to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, in which he returned the original royal charter of December 31, 1818, certifying his appointment¹⁴.

8 *ibid.*, S. 22-24.

9 *ibid.*, S. 31-32.

10 Karpachev S., Savchenko V., Serkov A., "Port Evksinskiy" ("Du Pont Euxin"), "Proekt «Ukraina». Arhitektoryi, prorabyi, robotniki. P-Ya, Harkov: Folio, 2018, s. 50.

11 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=94200&mode=1> (date of access: 22.05.2020).

12 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 47.

13 *ibid.*, S. 60.

14 *ibid.*, S. 67.

After his release, Goguel continued to live in Odessa. A *dacha* of the landowner Goguel was one of the places where Odessa Masons gathered¹⁵. In 1827, Odessa was visited by an Englishman, Edward Morton. He wrote that in that year the wine of the winemaker Eugenius Goguel, whose vineyards were in Moldavanka, was sold at the highest price. These vineyards were planted in 1820, for which cuttings were purchased in the Crimea and France¹⁶.

In 1848, E. Goguel was listed as the Swedish-Norwegian vice consul in Odessa, who served under consul J. Wilkins¹⁷. E. Goguel died in Odessa on September 19, 1875 at the age of 86¹⁸.

2. Jean (Johann) Walb

The process of appointing a new consul in Odessa lasted until the middle of 1820. On June 26, 1820, a form was filled out in Berlin with a standard text on the appointment of a Prussian consular representative. The city, Odessa, and information about the appointee, "G.G. Walb" were entered in the document¹⁹.

Jean (Johann) Walb was born in Kassel around 1769. He was among the founders of the first trading houses in Odessa, Odessa merchant of the 1st guild. Like the previous consul in Odessa, he was a mason: Walb belonged to the Masonic lodges "Du Pont Euxin" and "Three Kingdoms of Nature"²⁰.

The first consular report by Walb, which is preserved in the file "Consulate in Odessa, Vol. Apr 1, 1814 - June 1830" in GStA PK, was compiled in Odessa on May 6 (18), 1821²¹. Other reports by Walb were written in Odessa on January 10 (22), 1822²², February 4 (16), 1823²³, January 4 (16), 1824²⁴ and March 18 (30), 1824²⁵.

15 *Yuzhnaya stolitsa. Odessa pervoy poloviny XIX veka v literaturnykh i kraevedcheskikh istochnikakh*. Odessa: Lokid Premium, Lokid-Press, 2009, s. 360.

16 Edward Morton, *Travels in Russia, and a residence at St. Petersburg and Odessa, in the years 1827-1829*, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830, p. 303-304.

17 Bjarne Koefoed, *Haandbog for Kjøbmænd, Søfarende og Toldofficeranter, etc. Samling af Love vedkommende Handel, Skibsfart og Toldvæsen*, Christiania, 1848, s. 297-298.

18 *Odessa (City) Deaths Records, 187x (R. Wiseman)* URL: <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~ukrgs/odessa/ode187xd.txt> (date of access: 22.05.2020).

19 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 83.

20 Serkov A. "Valb, Zhan (Ioann)", *Proekt "Ukraina". Arhitektoryi, prorabyi, rabotniki. A-G*, Harkov: Folio, 2018; Shevchenko V. *Pryvatne bankirskie pidpriemnytstvo v Odesi (XIX – pochatok XX st.)*, K., 2010, s. 186.

21 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 87-88.

22 *ibid*, S. 90-91.

23 *ibid*, S. 100-103.

24 *ibid*, S. 106-108.

25 *ibid*, S. 110-113.

As a consul, G.G. Walb featured in the documents of the following files: “Political reports from the Prussian consulate in Odessa on Russian-Turkish conflicts. 1821, 1828-1831, 1833, 1837”²⁶, “Reports of the Prussian consul G.G. Walb in Odessa. 1822-1823, 1826”²⁷, “Issued to the Prussian consul G.G. Walb in Odessa. 1822-1823, 1826”²⁸.

Being a consul, Walb was also active in contracting to the construction and repair of houses and roads. Paving Deribasovskaya Street was one of his projects²⁹.

In May 1825, a letter from Paul Dirow was sent from St. Petersburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia. Paul Dirow passed on the news, received from Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor General Mikhail Vorontsov. Like his predecessor in the consular post, the merchant Walb had gone bankrupt. So on November 27 (December 8), 1825, Walb sent the Ministry his letter together with the original royal charter about his appointment³⁰.

The fact that after completing his consular duties, Walb still continued to live in Odessa is evidenced by a letter he sent from that city to the Minister in Berlin on March 15 (27), 1827 regarding old financial issues³¹. Later, Walb left Odessa and the Russian Empire.

3. Esaias C. Walther

On November 27, 1825, i. e. the same day when Walb, as a consul, wrote his last letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the first letter from the merchant of the 1st guild Esaias C. Walther was sent to the Minister of the Odessa³². Quite soon, already on January 26, 1826 the royal charter, certifying his appointment as a Prussian consul in Odessa, appeared³³. This was followed by the recognition of Walter as a consul by the Russian authorities.

The new Prussian consul in Odessa was born in Hanau – a town on the river of Main, now in Hesse, Germany. The consul was a leader of the Evangelical Lutheran church community, the curator of the construction of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Odessa, the owner of the Novorossiysk sugar refining company³⁴, and the representative of the firm “Walther & Co”.

He was addressed in the Russian manner as “Isaiah Yakovlevich”. In some documents, concerned the Prussian consulate in Odessa, not only consul Walther, but also Friedrich Gottfried Albrecht Walther, or “merchant Walther 2” was mentioned³⁵.

26 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, I Nr. 7337.

27 GStA PK), I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 191.

28 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 192.

29 Oleg Gubar, “Funktsii Odesskogo stroitel'nogo komiteta v kontekste istorii gradostroitelstva Odessyi”, *Odesskiy almanah “Deribasovskaya-Rishelevskaya”*, № 47, 2011, s. 32-33.

30 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 124-125.

31 *ibid.*, S. 137, 139.

32 *ibid.*, S. 127.

33 *ibid.*, S. 131.

34 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=48902&mode=1> (date of access: 14.05.2020).

35 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 144, 146.

Walter was mentioned several times by the missionary Joseph Wolff, who arrived in Odessa on December 23, 1825. Wolff wrote that Walter was among very reputable German merchants and Walther's wife was the daughter of "the famous Dr (Klein) from Stuttgart"³⁶.

Letters of "Walther & Co" were quoted by William Jacob in "Tracts relating to the corn trade and corn laws: including the second report ordered to be printed by the two houses of Parliament", published in 1828³⁷. According to Wolfgang Sartor, Esaias C. Walther had 10.5% of the total trade turnover of enterprises-exporters in Odessa in 1834-1839, 10.1 % in 1840-1844. Later, in 1845-1853, the positions of the Germans already weakened. The only reason for this Sartor calls the absence of Walther³⁸.

January 22, 1839, consul Walther wrote a letter to the Ministry, which he sent to Berlin not from Odessa but from Hanau³⁹. Later, he returned to Odessa, but in 1840, the correspondence continued on the change of person on the position of Prussian consul in Odessa. At last, September 15, 1840, Esaias C. Walther wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia from Hanau. The next document in the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 2. January 1832 – December 1850" is the original royal charter about the appointment of Walther, issued on January 26, 1826⁴⁰.

As a consul, Esaias C. Walther figured in the documents of the files : "Political reports from the Prussian consulate in Odessa on Russian-Turkish conflicts. 1821, 1828-1831, 1833, 1837"⁴¹, "Issued to the Prussian consul G.G. Walb in Odessa. 1822-1823, 1826"⁴², "Transport of postal goods on the steam shipping route between Odessa and Turkey. 1830-1831, 1873-1883"⁴³, "Correspondence with the Prussian consul Albert von Walther in Odessa. 1827-1838"⁴⁴.

As a former consul, Walther wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Hanau on May 5, 1841⁴⁵ and February 10, 1845⁴⁶.

In 1844 and 1845, the merchant Esaias Walther was already a member of the Trade and Business Association in the province of Hanau⁴⁷. A few years later, Esaias Walther

36 *Missionary journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, missionary to the Jews*, III, London, 1829, p. 275.

37 William Jacob, *Tracts relating to the corn trade and corn laws: including the second report ordered to be printed by the two houses of Parliament*, London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1828, p. 14, 22, 37-41.

38 Wolfgang Sartor, "Hlebnyie eksporty Chernomorsko-Azovskogo regiona: gruppyi predprinimateley i ih etnicheskyy sostav, 1834-1914", *Gretske pidpriemnitstvo i torgivlya u Pivnichnomu Prichornomor'yu XVIII-XIX st. Zbirnik naukovih statey*, K.: Institut Istoriyi Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2012, s. 169-171.

39 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 23.

40 *ibid.*, S. 38-39.

41 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, I Nr. 7337.

42 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 192.

43 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 8100.

44 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 193.

45 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 59-60.

46 *ibid.*, S. 76.

47 *Kurfürstlich Hessisches Hof- und Staatshandbuch auf das Jahr 1844*, Cassel: Waisenhaus, 1844, S. 303; *Kurfürstlich Hessisches Hof- und Staatshandbuch auf das Jahr 1845*, Cassel: Waisenhaus, 1845, S. 303.

from Kesselstadt, which in 1907 became one of the districts of Hanau, appeared in public in connection with the activities so-called *Vorparlament* – a congress of politicians of German states for the preparation of the National Assembly, which took place in Frankfurt am Main on March 31 – April 3, 1848⁴⁸.

4. Johann Albrecht Bock

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 1. April 1814 – July 1830”, the first mention of the merchant Bock is dated as January 11, 1829⁴⁹. May 20 (June 1), 1832, consul Walther wrote to Berlin, starting the procedure of the appointment of Johann Albrecht Bock as a vice consul in Odessa⁵⁰. September 12, 1832, a document about appointing a Prussian consular representative, which began with the words “We, Friedrich Wilhelm, by the grace of God, King of Prussia...”, was written⁵¹. In February 1833, “Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung” informed that official St. Petersburg had recognized J.A. Bock as a Prussian vice consul in Odessa⁵².

On December 28, 1835, the Russian emperor approved the regulations of the Committee of Ministers “On permission for the Prussian vice consul in Odessa to establish a sheep breeding company in the Novorossiysk region”, which were published on February 14, 1836⁵³.

When Esaias Walther decided to leave the consular service, Bock’s candidacy was proposed to take the former’s place. On December 25, 1840, a standard text was drafted on the appointment of vice consul Johann Albrecht Bock as a Prussian consul in Odessa⁵⁴.

As a consul, Johann Albrecht Bock figured in the documents of the files: “Transportation of mail. Includes: Correspondence with the Prussian consulates in Odessa, Trieste, Warsaw and others for receiving and forwarding dispatches and parcels 1842-1844”⁵⁵, “Transportation of mails via the Prussian consulate in Odessa to Berlin. 1844-1845”⁵⁶.

Consul Bock in Odessa became the leader of the Evangelical Reformed religious community, which in 1842 separated from the Lutheran community of the city⁵⁷. Bock was married to Helen Mahs (1808-1852), a sister of Ernst Mahs, one of Bock’s successors as a Prussian consul in Odessa.

48 Bernd Haeussler, “Revolution oder Reform? Politik im Vorparlament und im Fünzigerausschuß”, *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, Bd. 54, 1974, S. 13-28; Günter Wollstein, “Das Vorparlament. Die Konterrevolution erhält ihre Chance”, Michael Salewski (Hrsg.). *Die Deutschen und die Revolution*. 17 Vorträge, Göttingen/Zürich: Muster-Schmidt Verlag, 1984, S. 179-205.

49 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 146.

50 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 3.

51 *ibid.*, S. 9.

52 *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 42, Februar 11, 1833, S. 169.

53 Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti (DAOO), f. 1, op. 191, spr.73; *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 81, Marz 21, 1836, S. 142.

54 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 47.

55 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, IX Nr. 21.

56 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, IX Nr. 23.

57 Hermann Dalton, *Geschichte der reformirten Kirche in Russland: kirchenhistorische Studie*, Gotha: R. Besser, 1865, S. 186.

On April 20, 1848, "Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung" was informed about the death of the Prussian consul in Odessa Bock and the appointment of another consular representative in his place⁵⁸.

5. Carl Heinrich Bulcke

In 1840, in frames of the correspondence regarding the transfer of Johann Albrecht Bock from the position of vice consul to consul, a proposal to appoint Bulcke as a vice consul was made. So, on December 25, 1840, the same day when Bock became a consul, Carl Heinrich Bulcke became a vice consul in Odessa⁵⁹.

Carl Heinrich Bulcke was born in Danzig on July 6, 1800, began working in Danzig in 1815 and lived there until the end of the 1830s. His father was a merchant in Danzig, and several generations of the vice consul's ancestors were born in this city.

In March 1843, Bulcke took a long vacation to travel abroad. On September 9, he wrote in Berlin a letter to Foreign Minister Heinrich von Bülow, announcing that he planned to stay in Danzig, and therefore asked to be fired from his post at the Prussian consulate in Odessa⁶⁰. On December 19, 1843, Bulcke wrote another letter to von Bülow (this time – from Danzig), with which he returned the original document of his appointment⁶¹.

Later Carl Heinrich Bulcke was listed as a co-owner of a family company in Danzig, trading in grain and wood, a member of the city government of Danzig⁶². On December 31, 1858, the Prussian press reported that the Prince Regent of Prussia had awarded the merchant and shipowner Carl Heinrich Bulcke of Danzig the Order of the Red Eagle of the Fourth Degree⁶³. The former Prussian vice consul died on May 26, 1881.

6. Karl Trebbin

In files of GStA PK the first document regarding Carl Trebbin is dated February 6 (18), 1846. It was a letter of the consul Johann Albrecht Bock to Berlin: Bock planned a long vacation abroad, so he asked to instruct Karl Trebbin to perform duties in a Prussian consulate in Odessa⁶⁴. It is clear from the correspondence that the candidacy of Karl Trebbin, who was born in Mecklenberg, was proposed by Johann Albrecht Bock not by chance: Trebbin had previously worked closely with Bock & Co.

On April 20, 1848, the press reported that in connection with the death of consul Bock, the Odessa merchant Karl Trebbin was appointed as a Prussian vice consul in Odessa⁶⁵. As

58 *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 112, April 20, 1848, S. 955.

59 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 48.

60 *ibid.*, S. 68.

61 *ibid.*, S. 73-75.

62 Mirostław Gliński, *Bulcke Carl Heinrich jr.* URL: https://www.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=BULCKE_CARL_HEINRICH_jr (date of access: 17.05.2020).

63 *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen*, № 305, Dezember 31, 1858, S. 2485.

64 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 81.

65 *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 112, April 20, 1848, S. 955.

early as May 4, news emerged from St. Petersburg that the Russian Emperor had recognized Trebbin as vice consul. According to “Handels-Archiv”, both in 1848⁶⁶ and in 1849⁶⁷, the post of consul in Odessa was vacant, and the vice consul was Carl Trebbin.

At that time, the role of the Prussian consulate in Odessa became more important. The growing importance of Prussia in the economic connections of the Russian Empire is clearly shown by the following statistics: while in 1827-1837 Prussia ranked eighth in Russian imports, in 1849-1853 Prussia was already the second at the beginning of the Crimean War supplying almost 25% of imports of the Russian Empire⁶⁸.

7. John Menger

On June 7, 1851, a standard text of a royal charter about appointing a Prussian consular representative abroad was drawn up in Potsdam: John Menger became a consul in Odessa⁶⁹.

Menger was born in Memel. The appointment of John Menger as the Hamburg consul in Odessa was announced by “Allgemeine Zeitung” on March 22, 1840⁷⁰. In the same year, he was the consul of Lübeck, then from 1845 on consul of Bremen in Odessa. In Odessa, Menger was addressed in the Russian manner – Ivan Fedorovich. From the 1840s to 1860, he was a cashier of a charity organization in favor of the Germans in Odessa. In 1857, he was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle of the Fourth Degree. Menger, who was a merchant of the 1st guild, closely collaborated with the company of E. Mahs. Moreover, John Menger was married to Wilhelmine Kluge⁷¹, while Marie Wilhelmine Kluge was a wife of his successor as a Prussian consul in Odessa⁷².

As a Prussian consul, John Menger played an important role in the establishment of the Prussian vice consulate in Taganrog and in the appointment of Johann Haemmerle there in 1852⁷³.

66 *Handels-Archiv. Sammlung der Neuen auf Handel und Schiffart bezüglichen Gesetze und Verordnungen des In- und Auslandes und Statistische Mittheilungen über den Zustand und die Entwicklung des Handels und der Industrie in der Preussischen Monarchie*, Berlin: Wilhelm Besser, 1848, S. 185.

67 *Handels-Archiv. Sammlung der neuen auf Handel und Schiffahrt bezüglichen Gesetze und Verordnungen des In- und Auslandes und Statistische Mittheilungen über den Zustand und die Entwicklung des Handels und der Industrie in der Preussischen Monarchie*, Berlin: Hermann Schultze, 1849, S. 150.

68 Vernon J. Puryear, “Odessa: Its Rise and International Importance, 1815-50”, *Pacific Historical Review*, 3, No. 2, June, 1934, p. 214.

69 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 431.

70 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, № 82, März 22, 1840, S. 654.

71 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=32526&mode=1> (date of access: 31.03.2020).

72 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=31581&mode=1> (date of access: 31.03.2020).

73 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 451.

John Menger's house was damaged due to the bombardment of Odessa by the Anglo-French squadron of warships on April 10 (22), 1854⁷⁴. Already April 16 (28), 1854, the Prussian consul was among those foreign consuls in Odessa who signed a letter of gratitude to the Russian authorities for taking care of the safety and property of foreigners in the city⁷⁵.

John Menger's brother, Henry Friedrich Menger was the consul of Oldenburg in Odessa starting from April 8, 1845.

On March 1, 1861, "Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen" informed readers of the will of the King of Prussia, according to which a new person was appointed as the consul of Prussia in Odessa instead of Menger⁷⁶.

8. Ernst Mahs

Among all the Prussian consuls in Odessa, Menger's successor Ernst Mahs attracted the most attention of researchers. At the time of his appointment, Mahs had lived in Odessa for several decades and was very authoritative among both merchants and government officials.

Ernst Mahs was born in St. Petersburg on March 1, 1807. His grandfather was born in Hamburg to a family of an artisan, later moved to the Russian Empire and engaged in international trade there. As early as the 1740s, "Meybohm & Mahs" was already active, and later "Mahs and Son" was founded. Ernst Mahs moved from St. Petersburg to Odessa in 1832. He was a partner of "Ludwig Stieglitz & Co" there, and already between the years 1835 and 1838 Stieglitz actually handed over his affairs in Odessa to Mahs⁷⁷. Mahs enlisted the support of Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor General Mikhail Vorontsov, who was among customers of the Odessa branch of Stieglitz's Bank, very quickly. In 1838, the Stieglitz's firm was liquidated, and its clients, including Vorontsov, moved to the trading house "Ernst Mahs and Co"⁷⁸ (opened July 8, 1838) which quickly became a very important player in the market⁷⁹. Mahs was the attorney of the most powerful Rothschild banking house, established close business contacts with the Berlin Discount Company and with the Hamburg firm of his relative, "Thomas Mahs & Co". Thanks to Thomas, Mahs Ernst established business contacts with "J.H. Schroeder & Co" in London. John Schroeder's brother married Ernst Mahs' sister⁸⁰.

74 "Pisma Veterana 1812 goda", *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy knyazya P.A. Vyazemskogo*, Tom VI, 1853-1855 g. Izdanie grafa S.D. Sheremeteva, SPb.: Tipografiya M.M. Stasyulevicha, 1881, s. 388.

75 Konstantin Zelenetskiy, *Zapiski o bombardirovaniy Odessy, 10 aprelya 1854 goda*, Odessa: tipografiya Frantsova i Nitche, 1855, s. 113.

76 *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen*, № 56, Marz 1, 1861, S. 411.

77 Wolfgang Sartor, HE, s. 170.

78 Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Brill, Leiden, Boston 2018, p. 73.

79 Shevchenko V. *Pryvatne bankirskie pidpriemnytstvo v Odesi (XIX – pochatok XX st.)*, K., 2010, s. 60; DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 259.

80 Sergey Moshenskiy, *Finansovyye tsentry Ukrainy i ryinok tsennyih bumag industrialnoy epohi*, London: Xlibris, 2014, s. 311.

Wolfgang Sartor, who also published a book named “Das Haus Mahs: Eine internationale Unternehmerfamilie im Russischen Reich 1750-1918”⁸¹, wrote that already in 1834-1839 Mahs was one of the two main Odessa exporters of grain of German origin. In 1840-1844 Ernst Mahs had 8.7% of the total turnover of Odessa grain exporters, in 1845-1853 – 5.9%, in 1856-1864 – 7.9%⁸².

In parallel with business activities, as early as 1837, Ernest Mas was acting commissioner for the fight against the plague epidemic in Odessa. A year later, in Odessa a merchant of the 1st guild, Ernest Mahs was already figured as a member of the Odessa Building Committee. He was the member of the Odessa branch of the Commercial Council, the member and the head of the Odessa Exchange Committee, the full member of the board of the Odessa Institute of Noble Girls, the chairman of the church council of the Reformed Church in Odessa, the member of the committee to help poor residents of Odessa, the member of the committee of the Odessa outpatient hospital, the member of the Imperial Society of Agriculture of Southern Russia, the full member of the Odessa Statistical Committee,

From 1838 onwards, Ernst Mahs was the consul of Hannover in Odessa.

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868” of GStA PK, Erns Mahs, appearing in the status of a Hanoverian consul, is already mentioned in a letter of a Prussian consul Menger to St. Petersburg on April 9 (21), 1851 and in a letter, which was sent from St. Petersburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia on April 19 (May 1), 1851. Mahs appeared in the papers of the Prussian consulate from time to time in subsequent years. Still officially a representative of Hannover, he sometimes performed the duties of Prussian consul in Odessa when Menger went on vacation⁸³.

In October 1860, a draft of the standard form was completed to appoint Mahs as a Prussian consular representative. On March 5, 1861, the Russian press reported that the Russian Emperor recognized the Odessa merchant Ernst Mahs as the Prussian consul in Odessa⁸⁴.

On March 11 (23), 1861, consul Ernst Mahs wrote a lengthy letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, Alexander Gustav Adolf von Schleinitz concerning plans for the reorganization of the Prussian consular network in the Azov-Black Sea region. Components of such reorganization could be the transformation of the consulate in Odessa into a consulate general, the appointment of a consul in Berdyansk in addition to a consular agent there, and the appointment of a new person as a Prussian consular representative in Taganrog. Documentation concerning the implementation of the plans mentioned above is stored in

81 Wolfgang Sartor, *Das Haus Mahs: Eine internationale Unternehmerfamilie im Russischen Reich 1750-1918*, St. Petersburg: Olearius Press, 2009. 191 S.

82 Wolfgang Sartor, HE, s. 169-172.

83 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 431.

84 “Otdel ofitsialnyiy”, *Politseyskiy listok Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 5.03.1861, № 10, s. 37.

GStA PK in the files “Consulates in Kerch in the Crimea and in Berdyansk. 1845-1868”⁸⁵ and “Consulate in Taganrog, Vol. 2. 1845-1868”⁸⁶.

On August 5, 1861, in Baden-Baden, King Wilhelm I of Prussia signed a document appointing Ernst Mahs as the Prussian consul general in Odessa. The day before, another document was signed in Baden-Baden, which settled both the same issue and the issue of changes in the Prussian consular offices in Berdyansk and Taganrog.

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868” the number of documents signed personally by Ernst Mass, is distributed by years as follows: 1860 – 1, 1861 – 4, 1862 – 2, 1863 – 1, 1864 – 4, 1865 – 0, 1866 – 3, 1867 – 5, 1868 – 3.

Until 1867, each of the numerous German states had its own consular representatives abroad. On November 8, 1867, King Wilhelm of Prussia signed a law defining the status of consuls of the North German Confederation. After the creation of the consulates of the new Confederation, the consular offices of Prussia and other member states were liquidated⁸⁷. In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868”, the relevant processes were reflected in the draft of the document drawn up on April 9, 1868, concerning the appointment of a Prussian consul general Ernst Mahs as a consul general of the North German Confederation in Odessa.

When the German Empire was formed, on June 14, 1871 not Ernst Mahs, but Josaphat Etlinger was appointed as its consular representative in Odessa⁸⁸.

As an ex-consul, Mahs continued to live in Odessa until his death, that is, until December 30, 1879⁸⁹.

9. Alexander Rigler

In the first half of the 1860s, after raising the status of the Prussian consular offices on the Azov Sea, in Berdyansk and Taganrog which were subordinated to consul general Ernst Mahs, the attention was drawn to another geographical area, not to the east but to the north and west. Those were lands of Bessarabia, Podillya and Volyn, not all of which had direct access to the sea, but which had great economic potential, interesting for Prussia. There was already a person in the region who was able and ready to serve Prussian interests there in the future. That person was Alexander Rigler who settled there in 1858.

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868”, the first document in which Alexander Rigler appears dated on April 13, 1863. This document is a

85 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456.

86 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 451.

87 Arnold Steinmann-Bucher, *Die Reform des Konsulatswesens aus dem volkswirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkte*, Berlin: R. von Deckers Verlag, 1884, S. 7, 165-168.

88 Politisches Archivdes Auswärtigen Amts, R 252138, S. 86-87.

89 Vladimir Morozan, “Krupneyshie torgovo-bankirskie doma Odessyi XIX veka”, *Ekonomicheskaya istoriya: Ezhegodnik. 2007*, M.: ROSSPEN, 2008, s. 152.

letter written by the landowner Rigler in Villa St. Marino near Khotyn in Bessarabia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, That began the correspondence in which they were involved in addition to Rigler himself and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, Ministers Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck-Schönhausen and Heinrich Friedrich August von Itzenplitz, Prussian Plenipotentiary representative in St. Petersburg Heinrich Alexander von Redern. All the correspondence concerned the appointment of Rigler as a Prussian representative in the region. But the questions of determining both his future status and the specifics of changes in the composition of the Prussian consular offices remained open. The documents referred to a consulate in Bessarabia, Podillya and Volyn, a consulate in Bessarabia, sometimes as a vice consulate, in different versions of its name. Among others, there was a variant of arranging a vice consulate in Beltzi in Bessarabia.

Eventually, Alexander Rigler's status was determined as vice consul in Odessa. It was recorded, in particular, in the draft of the standard royal charter, certifying his appointment as a Prussian consular representative. However, the exact date on this draft was not written; there was only a month (December) and a year (1863). On May 11, 1864, "Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen" reported that a landowner A. Rigler had been appointed as a Prussian vice consul in Odessa⁹⁰.

In the future, Rigler's affiliation to Odessa remained purely nominal. He continued to live in Bessarabia, in Villa St. Marino near Khotyn. There he had lands and steam mills⁹¹.

Even consul general Ernst Mahs sometimes called Rigler "vice consul at Villa Marino". Rigler's official status was recorded in inscriptions on his seal and printed forms of documents, including a residence card. The latter with the coat of arms of Prussia contained a text in which the necessary data was already entered by hand. The beginning of this text is as follows: "Aufenthalts-Karte gültig für [] Seiner Königlichen Majestät von Preussen Vice-Consulat zu Odessa für Volhynien-Podolien-Bessarabien". At the end of the form the following is printed: "Gegeben zu Odessa den []. Der Königlich Preussische [] Consul". The round seal on this residence card contains an image of a Prussian eagle and the inscription: "Königl. Preussisches Vice-Consulat zu Odessa". In some documents, Rigler called himself the royal vice consul for Volyn, Podillya and Bessarabia.

On April 9, 1868, a draft of the standard document was drawn up in Berlin concerning the appointment of consular representatives of the North German Confederation. The document was addressed to Rigler. His former status there was written as "vice consul in Odessa", the new one – as "consul in Ackermann". Three days earlier, on April 6, 1868, at Villa St. Marino Alexander Rigler wrote a letter to the Ambassador of Prussia in St. Petersburg, where he identified himself as "Royal Prussian vice consul in Southern Russia" and described a number

90 *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen*, № 108, Mai 11, 1864, S. 1181.

91 Yanson Yu.E. "Dnestr: ego mesto v selskom hozyaystve i trgovle", *Sokiryanschina: Istoriko-kraEznavchiy almanah. Vip. 4*. Minsk-Novodnistrovsk, 2011, s. 202.

of details of his biography and service. The final appointment of the former Prussian vice consul Alexander Rigler as a consul of the North German Confederation in Ackermann took place on March 13, 1869⁹².

In 1871, the consul of the North German Confederation in Ackermann (Khotyn) Alexander Rigler was appointed as a consul of the German Empire⁹³. His residence was still Villa St. Marino near Khotyn⁹⁴.

10. Theodore Hoffmann

Even before being confirmed as a Prussian consul in Odessa, May 23 (June 4), 1860, Ernst Mahs addressed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia about Theodor Hoffmann. In the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868" of GStA PK, it was the first document signed by Mahs. That document was written by Hoffmann himself. Since then, a letter was sent from Odessa to Berlin once a year to temporarily instruct Theodor Hoffmann to perform duties in the Prussian consulate instead of Mahs.

Some time after Rigler became a vice-consul, the procedure for appointing Hoffmann as a consular agent in Odessa was initiated. Hoffmann, having already signed as a consular agent, wrote a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia on December 31, 1864 (January 12, 1865) on financial matters. Later, it was Hoffmann who wrote most of the letters signed by Mahs on the letterhead of the Prussian consulate general in Odessa. These letters are, in particular, in the files "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868", "Consulate in Rostov. August-December 1863"⁹⁵, and "Consulate in Taganrog, Vol. 2. 1845-1868"⁹⁶.

The second document in the file of the German consulate general in Odessa, which is kept in the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, is the decree of the King of Prussia, dated February 29, 1868, about the appointment of Theodor Hoffmann as a vice consul of the North German Confederation in Odessa⁹⁷. The last document of the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868" in GStA PK, which was signed by Theodor Hoffmann, is a letter on the new letterhead with the inscription "General-Consulat des Norddeutschen Bundes", dated on June 7 (19), 1868. This document Theodor Hoffmann signed as a vice consul of the North German Confederation. Already the first document of the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 4. July 1868 - July 1869" dated on July 13, 1868, was about the assignment of a vice consul, Theodor Hoffmann to conduct the affairs of a consulate general in Odessa during the vocation of Ernst Mahs⁹⁸.

92 *Bundesgesetzblatt des Norddeutschen Bundes 1869*, Unveränderter Abdruck, Berlin, 1890, S. 50.

93 *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt Band, 1871*, Nr. 39, S. 339.

94 *Handbuch über den Königlich Preussischen Hof und Staat für das Jahr 1875*. Berlin: R. v. Decker, 1874, S. 106.

95 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 466.

96 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 451.

97 Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, R 252138, S. 2.

98 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 432.

A study of the activities of the consulate general of Prussia in Odessa demonstrates that for Ernst Mahs, Theodor Hoffmann was a certain opposite to Alexander Rigler. While the latter distanced himself in every way from both Mahs and Odessa (distanced not only territorially, having a location of the vice consulate at a distance of almost 500 km from Odessa, but also in his activities and self-identification), Theodor Hoffmann was indispensable in the daily activities of the consulate general. Being a “high-flying bird”, Ernst Mahs put a large array of routine work on Hoffmann, and the consular agent coped well with it.

As a vice consul in Odessa, Theodor Hoffmann appeared in the lists of consular representatives of the North German Confederation for 1869⁹⁹, 1870¹⁰⁰ and 1871¹⁰¹. But in the staff of the consulate of the German Empire in Odessa (with the consular district, which included Kherson, Katerynoslav, Poltava and Kharkiv provinces), Hoffmann was no longer listed.

11. Edward Cattley

Born in St. Petersburg on April 17, 1816, Edward Cattley belonged to a family that gave the world a number of consuls and many more respectable merchants. Significantly, Edward Cattley was a great exception in his family, representing the interests of Prussia, and thus, being associated with that Kingdom. The first Prussian consul in Kerch was an Englishman.

The oldest known direct ancestors of Edward Cattley are his great-great-great-great-great-grandfather Stevan Catlay, born about 1580, and his great-great-great-great-great-grandmother Elizabeth Jube (1581-1657), who married in 1609 in Normanton (now in the county of West Yorkshire in England). The father of the Prussian consul, Robert Cattley, was born in York in 1787 and moved to the Russian Empire in the early 19th century, appearing here as a merchant and belonging to “Cattley & Co”¹⁰². The father of the Prussian consul in Kerch became a senior member of one of the most influential English families in St. Petersburg¹⁰³. It is significant that Robert Cattley appeared on the first page of a file of the Prussian consulate in Kerch, that concerned the procedure for the appointment of Edward Cattley¹⁰⁴.

Being a merchant, Edward Cattley spent some time in the service in the city of his birth – in the capital of the Russian Empire. In a German-language newspaper edition of 1835, he

99 “Verzeichniss der bis zum 3. Juli 1869 ernannten Consuln des Norddeutschen Bundes”, *Preussisches Handelsarchiv*. Wochenschrift für Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsanstalten. Jahrgang 1869, Berlin, 1869, № 31, S. 4; *Annuaire Diplomatique de l'Empire de Russie, pour l'année 1869*, Saint-Petersbourg: Imprimerie du Journal de St-Petersbourg, 1869, p. 85.

100 “Verzeichniss der Consuln des Norddeutschen Bundes”, *Preussisches Handelsarchiv*. Wochenschrift für Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsanstalten. Jahrgang 1870, Berlin, 1870, № 11, S. 6.

101 “Verzeichniss der Consuln des Norddeutschen Bundes”, *Preussisches Handelsarchiv*. Wochenschrift für Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsanstalten. Jahrgang 1871, Berlin, 1871, № 3, S. 6.

102 “Descendants of Stevan Catlay and Elizabeth Jube”, URL: <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~hills/genealogy/cattley/d1.html#i250> (date of access: 26.03.2020).

103 Marie-Louise Karttunen, *The British Factory at St. Petersburg: A case study of a nineteenth-century NGO*, p. 13.

104 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 1.

appeared as a British citizen and valet¹⁰⁵. On April 20, 1843, in St. Petersburg, Edward Cattley married Clemence Elise Camp. At that time, Edward's younger brother Charles Cattley worked as a British vice consul in Kerch.

The question of the appointment of Edward Cattley as a Prussian vice consul in Kerch was raised in late 1844. On December 10, 1844, Edward Cattley sent a letter from Kerch to von Liebermann, the Royal Prussian Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Royal Russian court. Cattley wrote that during his stay in Kerch, a number of Prussian captains who came to this port expressed a strong desire for the establishment of a vice consulate of their country. Therefore, Cattley had the honour of nominating himself as a candidate for the relevant position, justifying the need to establish a Prussian vice consulate in the city by other arguments¹⁰⁶.

Edward Cattley's letter was received in St. Petersburg on December 18, and on December 28, 1844, Cattley's colleague, the Prussian vice consul in St. Petersburg Johann Bernhard Kempe, who was acquainted with Robert Cattley, Edward's father, joined the case¹⁰⁷.

At that time, there was only one Prussian consular office in the region – the consulate in Odessa, and its head Johann Albrecht Bock was also involved in setting up a consular office in Kerch and appointing a consular representative there¹⁰⁸. At a certain stage of the bureaucratic procedure, setting up not a vice consulate, but a consulate in Kerch began to be discussed. Finally, on July 12, 1845, the merchant Edward Cattley was appointed as a consul¹⁰⁹.

In his correspondence to Berlin, Cattley wrote not only about Kerch but also about ports of the Sea of Azov, caring for Prussian trade interests not only in the city of his stay, but in Azov as a whole. In parallel with his tenure as a Prussian consul in Kerch, Edward Cattley served as a Swedish-Norwegian vice consul in the same city¹¹⁰.

After several years in Kerch, Cattley decided to move to another seaside city. On November 4, 1848, still signing as a Prussian consul in Kerch, Edward Cattley wrote a French-language letter in Berdyansk, which was addressed to Karl Trebbin, the Prussian consul in Odessa. Cattley hastened to assure him that, moving from Kerch to Berdyansk, he had no intention of "suspending his services to the Prussian government". On the contrary, Cattley expressed the hope that after the change of residence, benefits from him would only increase. It was meant to expand the network of consular representatives in the region, which could include an additional vice consul or consular agent. According to Cattley, he had already written about that to the Royal Prussian Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

105 *Intelligenzblatt № 120 der St. Petersburgische Zeitung*, 31.05.1835, S. 421.

106 *GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 2.*

107 *ibid.*

108 *ibid.*, S. 8, 9, 11, 13.

109 *ibid.*, S. 15, 16.

110 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://www.amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=82498&mode=1> (date of access: 31.03.2020).

at the Royal Russian court. Cattley hoped that such an initiative would be supported by the Prussian consul in Odessa¹¹¹.

As early as mid-March 1849, again in Berdyansk, Cattley continued to sign letters as a Prussian consul in Kerch¹¹². But Edward did not stay long in Berdyansk. Already in 1850, he lived in his country residence near St. Petersburg¹¹³. Edward took a very important place in the British community of the capital of the Russian Empire. He was appointed as an agent of the London Russian Company in St. Petersburg and was elected as a treasurer of the British Factory in St. Petersburg¹¹⁴.

In 1881, after about 16 years of work, Edward left the London Russian Company. After retiring, he left the Russian Empire and moved to England¹¹⁵. Edward Cattley died in Bournemouth on March 15, 1895.

12. Georg Nicolich

In the papers of the Prussian consulate in Kerch at our disposal, Nicolich was first mentioned on March 25 (April 7), 1848, in a letter written to Berlin by the Prussian vice consul in Odessa Karl Trebbin¹¹⁶.

The surname Nicolich (Nikolich) appeared in the correspondence caused by Edward Cattley's intention to change his place of residence and the initiative to change the network of Prussian consular representatives in the region. At a certain stage of the correspondence, it was specified that the candidacy of a merchant Georg Nicolich was being considered for the position of a Prussian consular agent in Kerch¹¹⁷.

After Cattley left the region, the position of a Prussian consular representative in Kerch remained vacant. At that period, Georg (Georgy Nikolaevich) Nicolich acted as an Austrian vice consul in Kerch while his brother Ivan Nikolaevich Nicolich was a Neapolitan and Dutch vice consul and a French consular agent in Kerch¹¹⁸.

111 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 49.

112 *ibid.*, S. 53-54.

113 Julia Mahnke-Devlin, *Britische Migration nach Russland im 19. Jahrhundert: Integration-Kultur-Alltagsleben*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, S. 96.

114 Marie-Louise Karttunen, *Making a Communal World. English Merchants in Imperial St. Petersburg*. Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2004, p. 266.

115 Julia Mahnke-Devlin, *ibid.*, S. 96, 104.

116 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 34-35.

117 *ibid.*, S. 56.

118 *Novorossiyskiy kalendar na 1851 god, izdavaemyiy ot Rishlevskogo litseya*, Odessa: Gorodskaya tipografiya, 1850, s. 224.

On May 20 (June 1), 1852, the Prussian consul in Odessa Menger wrote that, in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, he offered Georg Nicolich the position of a consular agent in Kerch, and Nicolich accepted the offer. Menger wrote to Nicolich that the latter received a seal to use in the performance of his functions as well as documents that he should be guided in his activities.

In the file "Consulates in Kerch in the Crimea and in Berdyansk. 1845-1868" of GStA PK, there are no documents from October 1852 to June 1855. At the height of the Crimean War, on July 16 (28), 1855, in Kharkov, the Prussian consular agent in Kerch Georg Nicolich wrote a letter to Menger about the events that took place in Kerch during its occupation by allies. As for himself, Nicolich informed that he and his family had to leave Kerch, but he managed to take out the archives of the Prussian consular agency entrusted to him¹¹⁹.

In his letter written in Kerch on January 29 (February 10), 1857 to John Menger, Nicolich wrote about the circumstances which left no doubt that after returning home from Kharkiv he was already well acquainted with the situation in Kerch. Nicolich wrote that his personal circumstances had also changed considerably since he had agreed to take up the post of a Prussian consular agent. Nicolich's financial situation was seriously undermined by the war that had just ended. Therefore, Nicolich wrote that, unfortunately, he could not continue activities as a consular agent¹²⁰.

However, circumstances changed not just for Nicolich. The end of the Crimean War opened a new page in the whole history of foreign consulates in the Azov-Black Sea region including the history of the network of consular offices of Prussia. On March 12 and 28, 1857, documents were drawn up in Berlin concerning possible changes not only in Kerch, but also in Berdyansk where a Prussian consular agent could appear¹²¹.

On April 7, 1858, Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor General informed the Kerch-Enikale city Governor (on the basis of a note from an Austrian consul general in Odessa) that in connection with the death of Georg Nicolich the Belgian consul in Kerch, Titus Nazzolini was entrusted with the duties of an Austrian vice consul in the city¹²². In this regard, we must question the veracity of the data that Georg Nicolich (Georges Nikolitch) was a consular agent

119 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 97-98.

120 *ibid.*, S. 107.

121 *ibid.*, S. 108, 109.

122 "Mestnogo nachalstva", *Ob'yavleniya Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 20.04.1858, № 16, s. 61.

of Prussia in Kerch in 1861¹²³, 1862¹²⁴, 1863¹²⁵, 1864¹²⁶, 1865¹²⁷, 1866¹²⁸ and 1867¹²⁹, 1868¹³⁰. Besides, neither in the documents of GStA PK nor in other sources, except for “*Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie*”, it is not mentioned.

On June 13 (25), 1867, the Kerch merchant Woldemar Roy a addressed a French-language letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia Bismarck and to the Ministry. There he wrote that living in Kerch for several years, he occasionally saw Prussian ships returning from the Sea of Azov having been damaged. At the same time, the Prussian subjects additionally suffered from the fact that due to not having their consul in Kerch, not knowing either the language or the laws of the country, they could not find protection from their government. So, Woldemar Roy a offered himself for the post of a consular representative in Kerch and assured that his position allowed him to defend Prussian interests in the best way¹³¹. Primary sources indicated that Roy a did not take the desired position of a Prussian consul in Kerch. Soon, the Prussian consular offices disappeared in other cities, giving way to consulates of the newly formed North German Confederation.

13. Cornelius Jansen¹³²

As mentioned above, as early as March 12 and 28, 1857, documents were drawn up in Berlin concerning the possibility of a Prussian consular agent appearing in Berdyansk¹³³. Berdyansk’s issue was also raised in a letter of the Ministry in Berlin to the Prussian consul in Odessa John Menger on April 11; letters of the Prussian consulate in Odessa to the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia Otto Theodor von Manteuffel on April 30 (May 12); a letter of the diplomatic mission of Prussia in St. Petersburg to the relevant Ministry in Berlin on May 26, 1857. On 23 October, 1858, the Germans of Berdyansk signed the levy to Otto Theodor von Manteuffel, on the appointment of Cornelius Jansen as the representative of Prussia in the city. On April 6 (18), 1859, “*Vollmach*” was drawn up in Odessa, which referred to

123 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1861*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie de F.Bellizard, 1861, p. 64.

124 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1862*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie de Hogenfelden et Com, 1862, p. 64.

125 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1863*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1863, p. 80.

126 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1864*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1864, p. 80.

127 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1865*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1865, p. 80.

128 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1866*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1866, p. 77.

129 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1867*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1867, p. 77.

130 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1868. 8e année*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1868, p. 77.

131 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 190, 191.

132 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *Nimetski konsuly v Pivnichnomu Pryazovyi*. Dnipro: LIRA, 2018, s. 11-13.

133 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 108, 109.

the authority of Cornelius Jansen as a Prussian consular agent in Berdyansk. The document contained a round red wax seal with the image of a Prussian eagle and the inscription “Königlich Preuss: Consulate of Odessa. Dessen Agentur zu Berdiansk”¹³⁴. On August 9, 1859, the press reported that the Russian emperor had agreed to “recognize the local merchant Cornelius Jansen as the Prussian consular agent in Berdyansk”¹³⁵.

Cornelius Jansen was one of the brightest and most influential representatives of the Mennonite community not only of Berdyansk, but also of the entire Russian Empire. He was born in Tigenhof on 2 July, 1822 (according to Peter Jansen, on 6 July, 1823)¹³⁶. As a young man, he travelled from Prussia to the Northern Azov region where he quickly realized the potential prospects of that region (and especially of the port city of Berdyansk) in terms of exporting grain abroad. Therefore, soon after returning home, Jansen began working on resettlement plans.

In 1850, Cornelius Jansen and his family went on a trip to the city on the Azov coast. Upon resettling to a new place, Cornelius (as planned) engaged in the grain trade. In 1852, the Jansens temporarily left Berdyansk to Schidliz, a suburb of Danzig¹³⁷. The Jansens returned to Berdyansk in 1856, after the Crimean war. To expand the business, Jansen combined forces with Abraham Matthies who had a shop in Rudnerweide, a Mennonite colony. In this tandem, Matthies’ functions were purchasing grain from local agricultural producers and transporting it to Berdyansk. There, the grain was unloaded into warehouses owned by Cornelius Jansen, where it was expected to be exported by sea abroad, mainly to Great Britain¹³⁸.

As a Prussian consular agent, Cornelius Jansen later passed from direct subordination to the Prussian consul in Odessa under the supremacy of the newly appointed Prussian consul in Berdyansk. Being a Prussian consular agent in Berdyansk, on 29 October, 1861, Jansen was appointed as a vice consul of Mecklenburg-Schwerin¹³⁹. In 1868, there was the exchange of correspondence about appointing Cornelius Jansen, the merchant, also consul of the Kingdom of Württemberg in Berdyansk.

One of Jansen’s children later recalled that he and his brothers were happy when they raised the Prussian flag with a black eagle on the occasion of special events, and that the position of the consul provided Cornelius Jansen with a greater respect from the local population¹⁴⁰.

Given Cornelius’ interest in trade with Great Britain, it becomes clear why he factually

134 *ibid.*, S. 124.

135 “Mestnogo nachalstva”, *Ob’yavleniya Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 9.08.1859, № 32, s. 129.

136 “Jansen, Cornelius (1822-1894)”, *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* URL: [http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Jansen,_Cornelius_\(1822-1894\)](http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Jansen,_Cornelius_(1822-1894)) (date of access: 27.05.2020).

137 Peter Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen: The Record of a Busy Life: an Autobiography*, Beatrice: Jansen, 1921, p. 19.

138 *ibid.*, p. 19-23.

139 “Anerkannt”, *Warschauer Zeitung*, № 261, November 1, 1861, S. 1.

140 Peter Jansen, *ibid.*, p. 25.

helped to arrange the consulate of Great Britain in Berdyansk. Robert William Cumberbatch, the first (in chronological order) British consul, settled in one of Jansen's houses in Berdyansk and became a close friend of Cornelius' family. Interestingly, between the years of 1859 and 1862 "Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique" published information that R.Cumberbatch was a Prussian consul in Berdyansk¹⁴¹. However, our study of his biography¹⁴² and the history of the Prussian consulate in Berdyansk gives every reason to believe that such information is incorrect.

The plans of the military reform threatened the Mennonites of the Russian Empire with the deprivation of privileges, and, in particular, the abolition of exemption from military service, which was in conflict with the Mennonites' religious beliefs. Cornelius Jansen expressed serious concerns that one of the consequences of those plans would be the assimilation of Mennonites and the loss of their faith. Therefore, soon Cornelius Jansen together with Leonhard Sudermann began actively preparing for the resettlement of their coreligionists to North America. Jansen wrote a number of pamphlets published at his expense in Danzig in 1872. He took the floor at secret meetings of the Mennonite leaders convincing them to leave their homes, which would be a real alternative to loss of faith. When the police found out about it, Cornelius was accused of inciting the Russian subjects to riots. By the decree of the Third Section of his Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery, Jansen was obliged to leave the territory of the Russian Empire¹⁴³.

On 26 May, 1873, the Jansens left Berdyansk. Already in August 1873, the Jansens arrived in Berlin, Canada. The following year, the Jansens moved to Iowa, USA, and finally settled in Nebraska in 1876. While living in the United States, Cornelius Jansen and his son Peter (who later became a Senator) made efforts to obtain the permission from the U.S. government to settle Mennonites from the Russian Empire in compact groups; Jansen and his son helped the settlers to find homes and arranged a financial support for poor Mennonite migrants. Cornelius Jansen died in Beatrice, Nebraska, on 14 December, 1894. Today, the Mennonites compare this former representative of interests of Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in Berdyansk with Moses because he led his people to "the Promised Land"¹⁴⁴.

141 Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1859, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1859, p. 706; Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1860, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1860, p. 718; Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1861, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1861, p. 747; Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1862, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1862, p. 784.

142 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, "British Consul in Berdyansk Cumberbatch, Great-Great grandfather of Modern Sherlock Holmes", *Scriptorium nostrum*, 2017, № 2 (8), p. 195-207; Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *Ukrainskyi Pivden ochyma konsuliv Brytanskoi imperii 19 – pochatku 20 st. Tom 1: Brytanski konsuly v portovomu misti Berdiansku*, Kyiv, 2018, s. 26-53.

143 Peter Jansen, *ibid*, p. 29-31.

144 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *NK*, s. 11-13.

14. Johann Friedrich Haemmerle¹⁴⁵

Johann Friedrich Haemmerle was born in Odessa in 1824. His fate was in many ways closely connected with the processes of colonization and economic development of Southern Ukraine. He started his merchant activity in Odessa, worked with Ernst Mahs and Francois Bonnet, then decided “to accept the challenge of new lands” and continue doing business by moving from Odessa to Berdyansk. Here he focused on the export of grain and wool, one of the most promising areas of business. Already in January 1851, the file “Konsulate in Kertsch auf der Krim und in Berdjansk” in GStA PK preserved the correspondence of Johann Friedrich Haemmerle from Berdyansk with the official Berlin. However, the next time in the file “Konsulate in Kertsch auf der Krim und in Berdjansk” Johann Haemmerle appeared only 10 years later. The reason for this is that he moved from Berdyansk to Taganrog and became a Prussian consular agent there already in 1852. The old business partner of Haemmerle Ernst Mahs, planning in 1861 reorganization of the Prussian consular network in the Azov-Black Sea region, did not forget about Johann Friedrich. Mahs proposed the candidacy of Johann Haemmerle for the post of a consul in Berdyansk, and the candidacy of his brother Alexander Haemmerle for a consular position in Taganrog.

A standard form of the document about appointing Johann Haemmerle as Prussian consul in Berdyansk was signed in Baden-Baden on August 5, 1861¹⁴⁶. In February 1862, the press reported that Emperor Alexander II had agreed to recognize Ivan Haemmerle as Prussian consul in Berdyansk¹⁴⁷.

According to the family legend, which was dictated more than hundred years later by Anatole Alfred Haemmerle (Johann Friedrich’s grandson), his grandfather was a lord of very vast lands near Berdyansk, with those lands inherited allegedly from his parents. Haemmerle also exported the grain (grown on these lands) through Berdyansk port. Anatole Alfred was convinced that Johann Friedrich Haemmerle held a fleet in Berdyansk, which was obviously sunk by the British during the Crimean war.

As the Prussian consul, in November 1862, Haemmerle was already awarded with the Prussian order. Haemmerle simultaneously represented the interests of Belgium in Berdyansk. In 1868, the decree of the King of Prussia made Haemmerle, who was the Prussian consul, a consul of the North German Confederation in Berdyansk whereas in 1871, Johann Friedrich Haemmerle became a consul of the newly established German Empire.

Back in January 1863, Haemmerle was elected the mayor of Berdyansk and occupied that office for a little more than two years, until February 1865. Already on 28 March, 1865, the local community elected Johann Friedrich Haemmerle as one of the six “most honored

145 *ibid*, s. 13-14.

146 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 132; Politisches Archivdes Auswärtigen Amts, R 252115, S. 74.

147 “Otdel ofitsialnyiy”, *Politsejskiy listok Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 18.02.1862, № 6-7 “Otdel ofitsialnyiy”, *Politsejskiy listok Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 18.02.1862, № 6-7, s. 25.

people” who were included in the Commission on requesting a railway connection to Berdyansk.

In 1866, Haemmerle became the honorary supervisor of the Berdyansk district school. In 1866-1867 and 1875-1877, Haemmerle was listed as a member of Berdyansk Assembly. In 1867, Johann Friedrich Haemmerle, the honorary citizen, became the mayor of Berdyansk for the second time occupying that office until 1870. On 2 September, 1869, Haemmerle as a member of the deputies of urban communities of the Taurian province was presented to the Russian Emperor in Livadia, the Crimea, and had a conversation with him, in which he called Württemberg as his family’s birthplace.

Haemmerle was a member of the Commission on railway connection to Berdyansk. In 1873, he was the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Berdyansk women’s progymnasium. In 1875, he was elected as a member of the Commission on developing the building for the men’s gymnasium in Berdyansk. In 1877, Haemmerle was the acting Chairman of the Berdyansk City executive council.

In 1877 Haemmerle sent a request to Berlin for a vacation and went abroad. After several acting consuls, a new German consul in Berdyansk was appointed only in early 1879.

Johann Friedrich Haemmerle died in 1894, the same year as Cornelius Jansen, his colleague at the consular service¹⁴⁸.

Conclusion

The history of Prussian consular representatives and consular offices is on the one hand part of the history of Germans’ participation in the development of the Southern Ukrainian lands, and on the other hand, the formation and development of frontier specifics of the Southern Ukrainian port cities. The consuls’ biographies and their network connections tied the region with German lands and with other countries of Europe and the world. The formation of the staff of Prussian consular representatives in the region was influenced by a wide range of factors, ranging from the presence of an initiative motivated person and ending with changes in the geopolitical situation in Europe or vice versa.

The first recorded in archival documents initiative to establish a Prussian consular office in the lands of the Russian Empire adjacent to the Black and Azov Seas dates back to 1806. However, for political reasons, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia addressed this issue only in 1814. The first of Prussia in chronological order was appointed to the region on the last day of 1818. His place of residence was Odessa. In this context, Prussia made a bet absolutely precisely: studying the growth of international importance of Odessa in the first half of the 19th century, Vernon J. Puryear noted that during the 35 years preceding the Crimean War (i. e. since 1818, when the Prussian consulate was established there), the most important change in the foreign trade of the Russian Empire was the growing role of “Russian” ports in

148 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *NK*, s. 13-14.

the Black Sea, of course, primarily the main port of the region – Odessa¹⁴⁹.

All Prussian consular representatives in the region were merchants and entrepreneurs. The first two of them (in chronological order), Eugenius Goguel and Jean (Johann) Walb, left the consular post due to bankruptcy. While Eugenius Goguel remained in Odessa, Jean (Johann) Walb and the third consul in chronology, Esaias C. Walther left Odessa and the whole territory of the Russian Empire. In 1832, the Prussian consulate in Odessa was strengthened by the appointment of a vice consul Johann Albrecht Bock. He took the post of consul in 1840 and later died while in office. At times of Bock the consular network in the region was expanded: in 1845, the Prussian consulate in Kerch was arranged, where Edward Cattley became a consul. A few years later, he initiated the expansion of the consular network thanks to Berdyansk. But then it was not realized. Cattley left the region, and no one was appointed in his place for several years.

As for Odessa, Carl Heinrich Bulcke, appointed in 1840, worked as a vice consul for a short time, and later returned from Odessa to his native city of Danzig. The next vice consul, Karl Trebbin, had to work alone for several years, while the position of a consul remained vacant. In 1851, this post was taken by John Menger, who worked without help of the vice consul. At the same time, it was under Menger in 1852 that Georg Nicolich was appointed as a Prussian consular agent in Kerch. Nicolich acted until his death, after which the Prussian consular office in that city no longer functioned. Instead, shortly after Georg Nicolich's death, in 1859 the Prussian consular agent Cornelius Jansen appeared in Berdyansk.

Ernst Mahs became Menger's successor in Odessa in the autumn of 1860. At the beginning of 1861, a change of a Monarch took place in Prussia. After the death of Friedrich Wilhelm IV on January 2, Wilhelm I of Prussia ascended to the throne, and at the very beginning of his reign, the Prussian consular network in the region was strengthened by transforming the Prussian consulate in Odessa into a consulate general and by the appointment of Johann Friedrich Haemmerle (who worked as vice consul in Taganrog since 1852) as a consul in Berdyansk. At the end of 1863, a Prussian vice consulate was established for Bessarabia, Podillya, and Volyn. Although it was called "vice consulate in Odessa", the vice consul Alexander Rigler had a residence near Khotyn. At the end of 1864 Theodore Hoffmann was appointed as consular agent to help the consul general Ernst Mahs.

When the King of Prussia approved the staff of the newly created consular network of the North German Confederation in 1868, this list included all Prussian consular representatives acting in the Southern Ukrainian ports. A new page in the history of contacts of the region with the German lands was opened.

149 Vernon J. Puryear, *ibid*, p. 214.

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