mite behind closed doors. Surely, in the South (where Haberer's research is particularly telling) Jews took a leading role in the terrorist attacks. Elsewhere, they seem to have merged into Russian groups with little sense of distinctness, at least until the pogroms came along. To some extent even their backgrounds paralleled those of young radical Russians, who drew on the "enlightenment" of the 1830s and 1840s and who (like the Jews) came to form a new radical intelligentsia. Haberer mentions the sense of belonging and kinship that previously alienated individuals found in the revolutionary milieu. But that too was not so different from the Russian experience.

There is too much of interest here for a brief review to recount, let alone analyze. The material is presented with intelligence and intensity. Haberer is to be credited for his meticulous research and his willingness to ask important questions and draw broad conclusions. He has written a fascinating book that should become required reading for anyone interested in Russian revolutionism or Jewish history.

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The German diaspora in the Russian empire was an extraordinarily complex phenomena. During recent years several books have treated the predominantly peasant colonies on the Lower Volga and the less numerous but more influential nobles, Literati, and merchants of the Baltic provinces. Until the publication of Dr. Busch's work, information on the equally influential German inhabitants of the Imperial capital appeared mainly in memoirs like Julius von Eckhardt's (1880, 1910) and Pastor Hermann Dalton's (1887).

Baltic Germans, while predominantly urban, lived in comparatively small cities, especially Riga, Tallinn, and Tärtu (to use current designations), where Germans were the dominant if not the majority element. St. Petersburg Germans, on the other hand, although present from the 1705 foundation of the city, made up merely 5 to 10 percent of the megapolis St. Petersburg had become by the period Busch covers. Even this demographic generalization required her to undertake extensive statistical analysis, elucidated by a sketch map of the wards of the capital.

The numerous tables she presents emphasize that Germans there, like those of the Baltic provinces but not the peasant colonies, were a mobilized diaspora of the "situational" type, i.e., a fragment of a "great society" playing a highly significant role in the host (Russian) society. Educational attainments, especially among St. Petersburg German women, were far superior to those attained by Russian inhabitants. Occupationally, few Germans were unsilled laborers. Skilled artisans, notably in tailoring and baking, frequently established independent businesses providing incomes far above the urban average. Even more prominent were physicians, whose superior training in the Dorpat German University or in Germany led to much greater financial success than the underpaid Russian physicians could attain. It is hardly fanciful to compare the predominant role of German physicians in serving St. Petersburg's elite to the pre-
dominance of Jews among Kremlin doctors prior to Stalin's infamous accusations of 1952.

Busch attaches great importance to distinctive social networks. German settlers in the new capital quickly established numerous associations, mostly linked to Protestant churches (Roman Catholics were a very small minority among the Germans). Busch contends that identification with non-Orthodox religious bodies was the prime criterion for German identity. In her view, shared emphatically by the clergy, mixed marriages were the principal threat to diaspora perpetuation, for Russian law required offspring to be brought up as Orthodox. In contrast to the post-revolutionary Jewish diaspora, whose women were sought as mates by elite members in the dominant Soviet ethnic groups, German men (considerably fewer than women) were more likely to enter mixed marriages. Busch notes that problems in church registers and official marriage data preclude precision; but her abundant statistics suggest exogamy rates of approximately one-third. She does not attempt to differentiate exogamy rates for sub-populations by occupation or estate. Quite possibly the data are insufficient; however, approximate surrogate measures might have been provided by correlating parish statistics with occupational and estate composition of the wards they served. My impression from scattered evidence like the marriages of George Kankrin, Sergei Witte, and Alexander von Keyserling is that marriages with Orthodox women were frequently vehicles for male upward mobility.

Although a few private secondary schools not directly connected to religious organizations existed, Protestant churches provided the overwhelming majority of institutions using German as the major language of instruction. As among physicians and clergy, teachers were heavily recruited from Dorpat University and Germany's institutions. Both sets of recruits tended to cherish German culture and resent Russian nationalists more than Germans committed to earning livelihoods in St. Petersburg. Consequently, although emphasizing loyalty to the monarchs—who were predominantly German in ancestry—school and church combined to maintain national consciousness against assimilatory policies.

Baltic were at least as prominent in the German-language press. Although subject to government controls, the two secular newspapers were even more strident in pledging allegiance to the Tsar but adroitly distinguished him from his nationalist ministers. It is not surprising that the press along with nearly all German-language expression apart from worship was banned shortly after the outbreak of World War I. In analyzing publicist disputes, Busch is excellent.

Unfortunately, her last chapter on "political participation" is limited to electoral politics, possible in a very limited way at the city level during the 1890s and with somewhat less restriction for the Imperial Duma after 1905. As she makes clear at several points in earlier chapters, however, semi-clandestine power struggles deeply affecting German activities had proceeded for many years within the Court and the bureaucracies. Certainly one cannot expect Busch to have explored this complex subject. However, as in her effective sketch of the impact of changing international relations on the position of Russian Germans after 1871, she might have outlined the potential impact of Imperial power alignments. Such consideration might have led her to examine briefly a second alternative to standard Russian Orthodox education: elite Imperial institutions near the