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A Brief History of the Volga Germans

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A Brief History of the Volga Germans

By Brent Mai

At the invitation of Catherine the Great (1729-1796), 30,623 colonists primarily from the central region of present-day Germany founded 106 colonies along the unsettled Russian steppe near the banks of the Volga between 1764 and 1772. These original colonists were joined in 1812 by 181 mostly German soldiers who had been a part of Napoleon's Army when it invaded Russia. Beginning in 1848, a group of Mennonite colonists from West Prussia also founded several villages among the extant Volga German colonies.

The early settlers were drawn to the area by Catherine's promise to rid them of the hardships that had befallen war-ravaged Central Europe for most of the preceding century. Among other things, she promised them religious freedom, exemption from military conscription, and 30 years without taxes.

The journey from Western Europe to the Volga was arduous. Of the nine transport lists available for study by researchers, 16.9% of those who started the trek in Oranienbaum, a town just west of St. Petersburg, died in route. Those who did reach the steppes of the lower Volga found that the land was not very hospitable and many were not prepared for an agrarian lifestyle. Pugachev's marauding bands destroyed several colonies in 1773-74 and nomadic tribes took more than 1,200 colonists into captivity.

But the colonies survived, and they flourished, turning the Volga German region into one of the most productive in the Russian Empire. Churches and schools were built in the colonies. Colleges and seminaries were established. Factories and mills were constructed. Over the decades, the number of Volga Germans increased and outgrew the land that had originally been allotted them. In the late 1840s permission was received to establish "Daughter Colonies" to the south and east of the original settlements and more than a hundred of those sprung up.

In 1874, the colonists' exemption from military conscription was revoked. Many, fearful for the lives of their sons, immigrated to the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Brazil seeking the same freedoms and opportunities that had driven their ancestors to immigrate to Russia more than 100 years earlier. By 1920, more than 120,000 Volga Germans of the first and second generation were living in the United States.

Those that remained in Russia suffered tremendously. As expected, most families were required to provide soldiers for the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). There was a severe famine in 1891-92. The Volga Germans were never completely integrated into Russian society. Even in 1914 as they celebrated the 150th anniversary of the establishment of Dobrinka, the first colony,

on 29 June 1764, the descendants of the original settlers still found themselves officially categorized as "colonist" in the Russian class system.

Many of the Volga Germans had become prosperous by Russian standards, and the early communist years were not kind to them. Thousands were labeled as kulaks and sent to labor camps or simply executed. As a result of collectivization and poor



A Volga German family living in Albina during its early days.

Photo contributed by Stacy Hahn.

national political decision-making during the early Soviet Years, a famine occurred in 1921-22. It has been estimated that in some colonies as many as one-third of the Volga Germans perished during this famine.

In an effort to stabilize the area, on 20 February 1924 a Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was organized that incorporated most of the remaining Volga German communities. But poor central planning resulted in another famine in 1931-32. Nevertheless, in the census of 1939, there were 605,500 ethnic Germans living in the Volga German Republic. When Hitler invaded Russia in 1941, Stalin proclaimed the Volga Germans to be enemies of the state. In a decree issued 28 August 1941, they were stripped of their citizenship and the Republic was officially abolished on 7 September 1941. Within two weeks, the cities and towns along the lower Volga were emptied of their German inhabitants who had been loaded into cattle cars with whatever they could carry and shipped to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Their homes were then occupied by Ukrainians and other Russian citizens who were fleeing the advancing Nazi Army. A culture that had taken 177 years to develop was gone in a matter of days; the Volga German colonies were no more.

Although the Volga German colonies no longer exist as such, it has been estimated that there are more than 70,000 Volga German descendants in Brazil, another 1.5 million in Argentina, and more than 6 million in the United States and Canada. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, those who had been deported to Asiatic Russia in 1941 and their descendants have been allowed to emigrate. Most (over 4 million) have gone to Germany, but many have also gone to Canada.

Oregon's Volga Germans

The first Volga Germans to immigrate to Portland numbered 17 families. They arrived from the dry, grasshopper-infested plains of Rush and Barton Counties in Kansas in 1881. Most came originally from the Volga colonies of Schönfeld and Schöntal with one each from Neu-Yagodnaya, Brunental and Rosenfeld. They took advantage of reduced fares being offered by the Union Pacific Rail-

road and came by train to San Francisco. There they boarded steamers of Henry Villard's Oregon Steamship Company for the final leg to Portland. These hearty pioneers were followed in 1882 by a group made up of 21 families that had originally settled in Hitchcock County, Nebraska. They came originally from the colonies of Frank, Hussenbach, Kolb, Messer and Walter.

Many of these early settlers, having found the forested area around Portland unsuitable for the farming which they had intended to pursue, moved on to the Palouse Country of west-central Washington in 1883. Those who remained settled in the small town of Albina, just across the Willamette River from Portland. Between 1888 and 1890, a considerable number of Volga Germans from the colonies of Balzer and Frank moved to Albina, followed from 1890 to 1895 by an even larger number from the colony of Norka.

Albina was incorporated into Portland in 1891 and as more Volga German immigrants continued to arrive and settle there, their neighborhood became known as "Little Russia" or "Rooshian Town." This community was generally bounded by N.E. Alberta on the north, N.E. 15th on the east, N.E. Russell on the south, and N.E. Mississippi on the west. Union Avenue (now named Martin Luther King Blvd.) was the commercial heart of the Volga German community.

As land was cleared around Portland, some of these families moved south to Canby. The first of the Volga Germans who arrived in Portland were of the Protestant faith. They were joined in 1892 by a group of Catholic Volga Germans who came from the colonies of Semenovka and Köhler.

Their numbers grew, and by 1920 there were more than 500 Volga German households in one precinct of the Albina Neighborhood of northeast Portland. In all of Oregon in 1920, there were approximately 3,750 Volga Germans of the Protestant faith and 1,000 who professed the Catholic faith.

Today one finds descendants of Portland's Volga German community living in all corners of the State, in fact, all across the country. Some have even moved back into the old "Rooshian Town" neighborhood. "Notable" Volga Ger-



Original Ebenezer Congregational Church.

Photo from www.volgagermans.net/portland

mans in Portland include the Steinfeld family, as in Steinfeld Pickles, whose ancestors come from the Volga German colony of Holstein, Doug Schmick, as in McCormick & Schmick's, whose ancestors come from the colony of Yagodnaya Polyana (which means Berry Meadow in Russian), and Steve Schreiber, CFO of the Port of Portland, whose ancestors come from the

colony of Norka.

Volga German Congregations in Portland

- St. John Lutheran Church
- St. Paul Lutheran Church (1889-)
N.E. 12th & Clinton (1896-1951)
3880 SE Brooklyn St. (1951-)
- Trinity Lutheran Church (1890)
N.E. Williams & Graham (1890-1920)
N.E. Rodney & Ivy (1920-1959)
5520 N.E. Killingsworth (1959-)
- Mennonite Brethren Church (1891-1938)
3524 N.E. 6th Ave.
- Ebenezer German Congregational Church (1892-1992)
N.E. 7th & Stanton
- First German Baptist Church (1896)
N.E. Stanton & Rodney (1896-1911)
became Trinity Baptist Church
S.W. 14th & Mill St. (1911-1954)
2700 S.E. 67th Ave. (1954-)
- Second German Baptist Church (1898)
N.E. Rodney & Morris (1898-1953)
became Immanuel Baptist Church (1937)
N.E. 83rd & Prescott (1953-)
- Free Evangelical Brethren Church (1900-1967)
3605 N.E. Mallory (1900-1927)
N.E. Mason & Garfield (1927-1967)
became German Congregational Evangelical
Brethren Church, merged into
Rivercrest Community Church
- St. Paul's Evangelical and Reformed Church (1904-1973)
- Immanuel Lutheran Church (1908)
S.E. 15th & Lambert
- German Methodist Church (1909-1940)
N.E. Stanton & Rodney
- Second German Congregational Church (1913)
N.E. 8th & Skidmore
became Evangelical Congregational Church
became Central Evangelical Church
- Zion Congregational Church (1914-1967)

N.E. 9th & Fremont
 became Zion Brethren United Church of Christ
 merged into Rivercrest Community Church
 Rivercrest Community Church (1967)
 3201 N.E. 148th Ave.

Linguistic Challenges to Volga German Research

Using Russian source documents about the Volga Germans presents many linguistic and historical challenges. In addition to the often poor condition of the documents themselves (fading, bleed through, missing pages, etc.), most of them are handwritten with all the complications related to the deciphering of a scribe's scrawl.

Translation into English also involves not only direct translation but transliteration, particularly of proper names and surnames. The Russian language uses characters of the Cyrillic alphabet while English and German use characters of the Latin alphabet. The contemporary Russian alphabet has 33 characters while the English has 26 and the German 30. Some characters in one alphabet do not have corresponding letters in another. This creates difficulty when transcribing German names into Russian and vice versa. For example, the Russian alphabet has no character for the German letter h. To accommodate the often-used German h, an eighteenth-century Russian scribe usually, but not always, used the Russian letter Г which literally translates into the German letter g. Thus a literal translation of this transliteration results in German instead of Hermann, Gartman instead of Hartmann, and so on. To further complicate matters, the Russian alphabet of the eighteenth century had four more characters than the contemporary Russian alphabet.

When working with original Russian documents relating to the Germans from Russia, translation and transliteration must also account for variations in orthography caused by the phonetic differences between German and English. For example, the German *j* sounds like the English *y* although both languages have both letters; the German *tsch* sounds like the English *ch* although both languages have all of these letters. One, therefore, finds the same colony referenced as *Potschinnaja* in German and *Pochinnaya* in English.

Another linguistic complication involves the inflection of the Russian language. For example, if speaking in Russian of a place as a *selo* ("village" – neuter gender) or *selenie* ("settlement" – neuter gender), the name of aforementioned example colony would be translated into English as *Pochinnoye*. This is the form used in the gazetteer published by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names. However, if speaking of the place as a *derevnya* ("village" – feminine gender) or *koloniya* ("colony" – feminine gender), the name of this same place would be translated as *Pochinnaya*. Regardless of all these spelling variations, it is still the same village.

General information about researching the Volga Germans of Oregon

The largest local collection of resources for locating information about Volga Germans who settled in Oregon, their descendants and their ancestors is located at the Center for Volga German Studies at Concordia University, 2811 NE Holman Street, Portland, Oregon (<http://cvgs.cu-portland.edu>). While the Center collects materials representing the broadest definition of Volga German history and culture, it does have the largest collection of information about those in Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. Established in 2004, the CVGS now has a new home in the new Concordia Library which just opened in August 2009.

Researching the Volga Germans of Portland

Resources available for researching the lives of the Volga Germans in Portland are much the same as those for any other Portland resident (local, state and national civil records, city directories, etc.). There are, however, a few that are unique.

While most of the congregations founded by the early settlers have been disbanded or no longer contain many descendants of those settlers, the records of ministerial acts for several of these congregations have been transcribed (many from German into English) and published by the Oregon Chapter of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia. In all, eight volumes have been published:

- Ebenezer Congregational Church (1892-1908)
- Ebenezer Congregational Church (1909-1984)
- Free Evangelical Brethren Church (1900-1922)
- Evangelical Congregational Brethren Church (1922-1967)
- Second German Congregational Church (1913-1969)
- Evangelical Congregational and Central Evangelical Church (1969-2002)
- Zion Congregational Church (1914-1967)
- Rivercrest Community Church (1967-1968)

For those congregations that remain extant, one can contact the congregation directly. The records of the Mennonite Brethren Church are held in the Archives of the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies (CMBS) in Fresno, California.

The Center for Volga German Studies at Concordia University in Portland houses the collections of the late Marie Trupp Krieger, noted historian of the Volga Germans of the Pacific Northwest. Included is a collection of thousands of obituaries of the early Volga German settlers in Oregon and Washington as well as those of their descendants.

Tracing Ancestors Among the Volga Germans in Russia

Maps

There are several published maps that identify the location of each of the Volga German colonies as well as settlement areas of their descendants in the United States, Canada, and South America and their ancestor's villages of origin in present-day Germany. The most prevalent are those published by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR), 631 "D" Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502-1199 (telephone: 402.474.3363; order online: <https://store.ahsgr.org/c-12-maps.aspx>).

- Map #4 – The German Colonies on the Volga (cartographer: A. Mergenthaler)
- Map #6 – German Settlements on the Volga (cartographer: K. Stumpp)
- Map #7 – Hesse to the Volga Identifying the Locations from which the Volga Germans Immigrated (cartographer: K. Stumpp)
- Map #8 – Map of the German Russian Settlements in South America (cartographer: K. Stumpp)
- Map #10 – Map of German Russian Settlements in Canada (cartographer: K. Stumpp)
- Map #11 – Map of German Daughter Colonies NE of Samara (cartographer: K. Stumpp)
- Map #14 – Map of German Russian Settlements in the United States and Mexico (cartographer: K. Stumpp)
- Map #27 – Color Map of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans (cartographers: G. Schäfer & R. Fink)
- Map #30 – Linguistic Map of the Volga German Mother Colonies (cartographer: G. Dinges)
- Map #62 – Earliest Volga German Map (1767-color) (cartographer: French)

The Germans from Russia Heritage Collection of the University Libraries at North Dakota State University has also published an excellent laminated, color map of the Volga German colonies at the time of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans (Map #3). GRHC, NDSU Dept. #2080, PO Box 6050, Fargo, ND 58108-6050 (telephone: 701.231.8416; order online <http://lib.ndsu.nodak.edu/grhc/order/maps/maps9.html>).

Family Descendancy Charts

Dr. Igor Plevé and his colleagues of Saratov, Russia, have researched the histories of hundreds of Volga German families using civil and ecclesiastical records available in a number of area archives. These charts outline the descendants of an immigrant family from the time they arrived in Russia (1764-1772). Available records make it possible for some of these charts to follow the family's descendants well

into the twentieth century, but most stop in the early 1860s. A fairly complete listing of these family charts is available at http://www.ahsgr.org/surname_charts.htm. Those for many of the Portland immigrant families are available for research purposes at the Center for Volga German Studies at Concordia University in Portland.

Census Records

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, researchers have had access to a plethora of documents concerning the Volga German colonists. Since the times of Peter the Great (1672-1725), periodic population censuses were taken in Russia. Peter the Great commissioned the first census in 1702. Following this first census, there were a series of revisions:

- 1st Revision - ~1719
- 2nd Revision - ~1743
- 3rd Revision - ~1767
- 4th Revision - ~1775
- 5th Revision - ~1798
- 6th Revision - ~1811
- 7th Revision - ~1816
- 8th Revision - ~1834
- 9th Revision - ~1850
- 10th Revision - ~1857

Unlike an American census whose constitutional purpose is to help determine apportionment for the U.S. House of Representatives, the intent of the Imperial Russian census was to keep track of the population, most importantly the male population who needed to be available for military service. Therefore, rather than a "snapshot in time," each Russian census was literally an update of the previous one, accounting for each male listed thereon. While the Volga Germans were exempted from such military conscription from 1764 to 1874, they were nevertheless included in these censuses.

A complete list of those censuses that have been translated into English and from whom they may be obtained is recorded at: <http://cvgs.cu-portland.edu/genealogy/Census-Lists.cfm>. The 1798 Census is the most complete listing of all the Volga German colonists. It was compiled and edited by Brent Alan Mai and published in two volumes by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia in 1999 (ISBN 0-914222-32-5).

In 1897, the Russians conducted the first "all Russia" census — not like the revisions, but a fresh complete census. This census was destroyed during the early Soviet years, but there are pieces of it detailing the Volga German colonies that have survived that are available at the archives in Engels and Saratov.

Ecclesiastical Records

Ecclesiastical records, also known as metrical records,

are available for most of the Volga German colonies, but determining where and how to get them can be a challenge. Within days after the Volga Germans were deported in September 1941, Soviet officials came through the former colonies, located and boxed the civil and ecclesiastical records, loaded them onto trains, and shipped them over the Ural Mountains for safe keeping during the war. Following the war, these documents were returned to the Volga area, but were scattered among four major archives, with what seems to be little logic in their distribution. Those four major archives are located in Saratov, Engels, Volgograd and Samara.

In 2003, all of the documents held by the Samara Archives were microfilmed by the LDS, and can be located through the Family History Center catalog (http://www.familysearch.org/eng/Library/FHLC/frameset_fhlc.asp). The place names assigned and document types identified are very ambiguous. For more information about what has been identified in these films as well as the other Volga German regional archives, contact the Center for Volga German Studies at Concordia University in Portland.

[State Archive of Saratov Oblast]
Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Saratovskoi oblasti (GASO)
Address: 410710, Saratov Oblast, Saratov, ul.
Kutiakova, 15
Telephone: (845-2) 24-32-39
<http://saratov.rusarchives.ru/gaso.html>
[Branch of the State Archive of Saratov Oblast
in Engels]
Filial Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Saratovskoi oblasti v
g. Engel'se (Filial Gaso v g. Engel'se)
Address: 413100, Engel's, pl. Lenina, 13
Telephone: (845-11) 6-23-71
<http://engelsarchive.ru/>

[State Archive of Volgograd Oblast]
Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Volgogradskoi oblasti
(GAVO)
Address: 400131, Volgograd Oblast, Volgograd, ul.
Kommunisticheskaia, 30
Telephone: (844-2) 30-99-06
<http://volga.rusarchives.ru/>

[State Archive of Samara Oblast]
Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Samarskoi oblasti (GASO)
Address: 443099, Samara Oblast, Samara, ul.
Molodogvardeiskaia, 35
Telephone: (846) 333-76-72
<http://www.chiefarh.samaracity.ru/gaso.htm>

Identifying the Origins of Volga Germans in Germany

Most colonists immigrating to Russia arrived by ship

at the port of Oranienbaum, near St. Petersburg, where their arrival was recorded by a man named Johann Kuhlberg. Among other pieces of information about each colonist, Herr Kuhlberg recorded from where each family had come. His records, often called the Kuhlberg lists, are being compiled by a researcher in Germany. Their publication has been anticipated for many years. A few of these lists, namely those colonists arriving from Lübeck aboard the ship "Anna Katharina" in May, June and August 1766, were published by Igor Pleve as part of his dissertation entitled *The German Colonies on the Volga: The Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* which was translated and published by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia in 2001 (ISBN 0-914222-37-6).

Another set of documents was made when the colonists arrived in Saratov. Not all of these documents have been located, but those for nine groups have been translated by Brent Alan Mai and published under the title *Transport of the Volga Germans from Oranienbaum to the Colonies on the Volga, 1766-1767* by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia in 1998. It lists 7,501 immigrants, 16.9 percent (1,264) of whom died enroute. Little information about each of them is given aside from a name, age and religious affiliation.

The third revision (census) of 1767 was taken so close to the establishment of the Volga German colonies that it is often called an "Original Settlers List." This is not technically correct, but it is a very important document for genealogists because, in addition to recording the name and relationship of each member of a household, it also recorded from where the colonist had come since they were not listed on a previous census. However, the question that seems to have been asked is, "From where did you come?" rather than, "Where were you born?" Consequently, the place names provided do not lead a researcher directly to an immigrant's place of birth. The 1767 Census has been compiled by Igor Pleve and published under the title *Einwanderung in das Wolgagebiet: 1764-1767* in four volumes:

- Vol. 1 (1999) – Anton-Franzosen (ISBN| 3-98066003-3-5)
- Vol. 2 (2001) – Galka-Kutter (ISBN 3-9806003-5-1)
- Vol. 3 (2005) – Laub-Preuss (ISBN 3-936943-00-1)
- Vol. 4 (2008) – Reinhardt-Warenburg (ISBN 978-3-936943-01-6)

German Migration to the Russian Volga, 1764-1767: Origins and Destinations by Brent Alan Mai and Dona Reeves-Marquardt, published in 2003 by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (ISBN 0-913222-40-6), is a compilation of translated documents from German metrical sources that record colonists on their way to Russia in 1,365 entries. Using the available Russian census documents, these individuals were then located in the colo-

nies along the Volga. Those cross-references are noted in 1,255 footnotes. This publication is indexed by individual, by origin and by destination.

A number of immigrants to the Volga came indirectly from their German homeland. Gerhard Lang has identified a large number of families who went first in 1761 to Schleswig-Holstein, then a part of Denmark, before proceeding to Russia. His research has been posted (in German) at <http://www.wolgadeutsche.net/lang/WEB-Liste-de.htm>. He identifies both from where each family originated in southern Germany and to which Volga German colony they immigrated.

Individual researchers also have been able to determine the Central European origins of their ancestors. A couple of web sites attempt to serve as “clearing houses” for these discoveries:

“German Origins Project” from the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (http://www.ahsgr.org/german_origins.htm)

“Origins” from the Center for Volga German Studies at Concordia University (<http://cvgs.cu-portland.edu/origins.cfm>)

Further Reading List

To learn more about the history and culture of the Volga Germans, the following books are recommended. Most are available through the online Book Store of the CVGS (<http://cvgs.cu-portland.edu/bookstore.cfm>) or in your local library.

Beratz, Gottlieb. *The German Colonies on the Lower Volga: Their Origin and Early Development*. Translated by Adam Giesinger. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1991.

Dietz, Jacob E. *History of the Volga German Colonists*. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 2005.

Haynes, Emma S. *A History of the Volga Relief Society*. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1982 (revised ed.).

Kloberdanz, Timothy and Rosalinda. *Thunder on the Steppe: Volga German Folklife in a Changing Russia*. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1993.

Koch, Fred. *The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas, from 1763 to the Present*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977.

Pleve, Igor R. *The German Colonies on the Volga: The Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*. Translated by Richard Rye. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 2001.

Sallet, Richard. *Russian-German Settlement in the United States*. Fargo, ND: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974.

Scheuerman, Richard D. and Trafzer, Clifford E. *The Volga Germans: Pioneers of the Northwest*. Moscow, ID: University Press of Idaho, 1980.

Sinner, Peter. *Germans in the Land of the Volga*. Translated by Dona Reeves-Marquardt. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1989.

Sinner, Samuel D. *The Open Wound: The Genocide of German Ethnic Minorities in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1915-1949 and Beyond*. Fargo, ND: Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State University Libraries, 2000.

Volga Germans by the Numbers

- 177 – years the Germans lived along the Volga
- 29 June 1764 – founding of the first colony: Dobrinka
- 29 June 2009 – 245th Anniversary of the founding of the Volga German colonies
- 28 August 1941 – dissolution of the Volga German Republic
- 1762-1796 – reign of Catherine the Great, 1729-1796
- 22 July 1763 – Second Decree inviting the Germans to settle along the Volga
- 30,623 – Central Europeans who settled along the Volga
- 106 – colonies founded (1764-1772)
- 1874 – first Volga Germans immigrate to the United States
- 1881 – first Volga Germans arrive in Portland
- 500 – number of Volga German families living in northeast Portland in 1920
- 600,000 – Volga Germans deported to Siberia in 1941
- 4,000,000 – German-Russians now living in Germany

Editor’s Note: Brent Mai is the University Librarian of Concordia University in Portland, Ore., and the Director for The Center for Volga German Studies.

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We would like to thank Steven Schreibert, webmaster of the Volga Germans in Portland website, for permission to use information from the website (below and on pages 9, 19 and 41. See more at www.volgagermans.net/portland

Volga Wisdom

“Der Russe hat eine warme Seele, der Deutsch hat einen kuehlen Kopf, der Russland Deutsche hat eides, ein warme Seele und einen kuehlen Kopf.”

(Russians have a warm soul, Germans a cool head, and German-Russians have both a warm soul and a cool head.)