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IMAGE OF FOREIGN COLONIZERS IN A TOWN ENVIRONMENT IN THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE IN TRAVELLERS' NARRATIVES AT THE END OF THE 18th – THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

Abstract. The purpose of the research is to study the image of foreign colonizers in a town environment in the South of Ukraine described in travellers' narratives at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century. In the second half of the 18th century the incorporation of the southern Ukrainian region into the Russian Empire, as a fact in itself, promoted a great interest in the region all over the world, which caused springing up a new kind of tourism – travels to countries whose culture was very different from that of the West Europe. As a result, visitors described their travels in narratives which were published afterwards and it gave rise to a new literary genre – "travellers' narratives".

In these narratives authors described their own vision of the processes which were taking place on the territory of the South of Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century. Nowadays these travellers' narratives ("travels") are important informational sources in regard to history of the region, as they contain a lot of information which was not saved in other documentary and statistical sources. The research methodology is based on the principles of scientism, historical methods, verification, author's objectiveness, the frontier theory, human dimension, regionalism, and also on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. The Scientific Novelty. Views of travellers on foreigners in the cities of Southern Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century is researched for the first time in Ukrainian historiography. The Conclusion. During their own travels visitors characterized towns of the region as well as peculiarities of their social and economical, cultural development. The image of foreigners, who settled on the territory of the region during the colonization's process, was brought into focus in their numerous descriptions. In their memoirs a plenty of attention was paid to the image of foreigners in towns in the South of Ukraine. In particular, travellers focused on peculiarities of a local everyday life, culture of various nationalities, inhabitants' interaction with government, their attitude to modernization process as well. The major attention in the article is paid to differences in taking a new social and cultural reality in the southern Ukrainian region by the English and American travellers, on the one hand, and by the Russian visitors, on the other hand. The research resulted in creating a whole image of foreigners in towns in the South of Ukraine during the period under analysis.

Key-words: travels, travellers' narratives, tourism, South of Ukraine, local self-government.

ОБРАЗ ІНОЗЕМНИХ КОЛОНІСТІВ У МІСЬКОМУ ПРОСТОРІ ПІВДНЯ УКРАЇНИ У "ТРАВЕЛЕРАХ" КІНЦЯ XVIII – ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XIX ст.

Анотація. Мета статті – представити результати дослідження образу іноземних колоністів в міському середовищі Півдня України, який був описаний в записках мандрівників наприкінці XVIII – у першій половині XIX ст. Інкорпорація до складу Російської імперії південноукраїнського регіону в другій половині XVIII ст. викликала значний інтерес світової громадськості. Це призвело до виникнення нового виду туризму – "путешествия" – мандрівних поїздок до країн, культура яких значно відрізнялася від західноєвропейської. У результаті візитери залишили після своїх поїздок велику кількість мандрівних записок, які були опубліковані і породили новий жанр літератури – травелери. Саме в них мандрівники описували власні спостереження процесів, які відбувалися на території Півдня України наприкінці XVIII – у першій половині XIX ст. Травелери є цінним джерелом з історії регіону, оскільки містять великий масив інформації, що не збереглася у документальних і статистичних джерелах. Методологію дослідження складають принципи науковості, об'єктивності, верифікації джерел, теорії фронтиру, людиновимірності, регіоналізму. У роботі використані як загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, так і спеціально-наукові (історико-хронологічний, історико-систематичний, історикотипологічний) методи дослідження. Наукова новизна. Уперше в українській історіографії проаналізовано погляди мандрівників на іноземців у містах Півдня України наприкінці XVIII- у першій половині XIX ст. Висновки. Під час мандрів візитери характеризували міста регіону, особливості їхнього соціально-економічного та культурного розвитку. Центральне місце в їх описах займав образ іноземців, які оселилися на території регіону в ході колонізаційних процесів. У їхніх споминах багато уваги приділено образу іноземців у містах Півдня України. Мандрівники звертали увагу на особливості побуту, культуру, взаємовідносин іноземців із владними структурами, їх ставлення до модернізаційних перетворень тощо. Головна увага у статті звернена на відмінності сприйняття нової соціально-культурної дійсності в південноукраїнському регіоні в середовищі іноземців англійськими, американськими мандрівниками, з одного боку, та російськими візитерами, з іншого. У результаті проведеного дослідження вдалося встановити цілісний образ іноземців у містах Півдня України протягом досліджуваного періоду.

Ключові слова: травелери, мандрівні записки, туризм, Південь України, місцеве самоврядування.

The Problem Statement. The topicality of the theme is dependent on the fact that modern Ukrainian statehood is undergoing deep changes within the process of reforming local self-government bodies, which causes a growing interest in comprehending historical past of the southern Ukrainian towns from the end of the 18th – till the beginning of the 19th century with the aim of clarifying the artificial imperial "Novorossia theory" as well as proving a dominancy of the Ukrainian and European factors in the development of the Ukrainian territories. The Southern Ukrainian towns were centres of power in the region; they had peculiar features which made it possible for them to have close relationships with West European culture and they were among the first to start the process of modernization in the Russian Empire.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research Papers. The grasping of southern Ukrainian towns' image as well as that of their inhabitants started already at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century. For example, in the periodical magazines "Zapisky Odesskogo tovarystva istorii ta starozhytnostey" and "Vedomosty Tavriyskoy vchenoy archivnoy comissiy" A. Hurland (Hurland, 1900, pp. 16–17), N. Nadezhdin (Nadezhdin, 1844, pp. 433–441), K. Zelenezkiy (Zelenezkiy, 1844, pp. 442–453), N. Gudziy (Gudziy, 1888, pp. 132–143) and other authors made publications relevant to descriptions of the southern Ukrainian region by foreign and Russian travellers. The abovementioned authors described in detail towns and their inhabitants analyzing not only character of a travel but also making their comments on mistakes in official statistical materials.

During the Soviet period towns did not become a very topical issue for researches, but sometimes there appeared publications of a critical character concerning towns' self-government activity, for example in the work by L. Velichov (Velichov, 1928), researches by O. Druzhinina (Druzhinina, 1955) and by B. Mironov (Mironov, 1975) the major attention was paid to statistical data in regard to social, national and religious composition of townspeople.

In 1991, after Ukraine gained its independence, attention was revived from the part of researchers in regard to history of the southern Ukrainian towns as well as civil institutions. Within the last decade a series of scientific researches was published concerning a town's environment, for example the works by V. Konstantinova (Konstantinova, 2010), A. Dorosheva (Dorosheva, 2009), M. Shytuk and V. Schukin (Shytuk & Schukin, 2008) and by the others, are dedicated to ethnic, civil, social and religious environment of southern Ukrainian towns. Recently there have been a number of studies contributing to theoretical examination of the research topic. For instance, V. Pylypiv's work (Pylypiv, 2020, p. 175) allows deeper understanding of the interaction between foreign colonists of the South of Ukraine in terms of a social and cultural identity. In L. Levchenko's study (Levchenko, 2021, pp. 102-115) on the history of the Greek communities in Kherson and Mykolaiv there are elucidated conditions of the development of the Greek churches in the South of Ukraine at the end of the 18th century – the first half of the 19th century. Financial activity of foreign entrepreneurs in the Ukrainian territories is analyzed in the research by Shandra (Shandra I., 2020, pp. 134-144). In one more V. Shandra's study there is analyzed the nobility's participation in the territory of "Ukrainian hubernias" in self-government bodies (Shandra V., 2020, pp. 46-60). Among the issues which did not attract serious attention from the part of previous researchers one can single out the analysis of a southern Ukrainian town's image which was presented by both Russian and foreign travellers; on top of everything, in previous researches attention was hardly attracted to either an image or a role of foreigners in the development of cultural, economic and intellectual potential of towns in the South of Ukraine.

The purpose of the article is to do analysis of West European colonizers' image as well as their role in building organizational, cultural and intellectual environment in regard to the development of the southern Ukrainian towns, as it was reflected in travellers' narratives by both foreigners and Russian visitors at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century, because these very travellers' narratives contain detailed information on an everyday urban life which was not included into statistical documents, and that is why, "travellers' narratives" are regarded as precious informational sources for history of a town's life and culture.

The Results of the Research. The southern Ukrainian region, which was incorporated into the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century and eventually divided into Katherynoslav, Kherson and Tavria provinces in 1803, became a "new" region not only for Russia, but also for the Western Europe. The region attracted interest not only from the part of scientists and public figures but also from the part of ordinary travellers who were interested in historical, geographical and political peculiarities as well as in what they considered "specific" in the life of a new region, especially paying attention to the fact that this territory became "New Ukraine" (Mykhailenko & Cheremisin, 2020, pp. 36–45) very quickly. During the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century the South of Ukraine was visited by a great deal of expeditions who wrote unordinary travellers' narratives on various facts of townspeople' life that were published later.

The following figures stood out among foreign travellers: M. Hutry (an Englishwoman, who travelled to the south of Ukraine at the end of the 18th – the beginning of the 19th century in order to recover from the illness); M. Kholderness (she travelled round the region at the beginning of the 19th century); R. Lyell (an Englishman, who travelled round the south of Ukraine and the Caucasus at the beginning of the 19th century); P. Pinkerton (a British traveller-missioner – at the beginning of the 19th century, a member of the English biblical society) and D. Stephens (an American lawyer, businessman and traveller – at the beginning of the 19th century).

Among Russian visitors, who travelled round the southern Ukrainian region are the following: V. Yzmailov (a Russian writer and traveller); P. Suchtelin (Orenburh's Hubernator, a nobleman, General); P. Sumarokov (a Russian writer, who wrote the books of "Travel to the Crimea and Bessarabia" and "The Leisure of the Crimean Judge or the Second Travel to Tavrida" with characteristic lyrical taking of reality in which he found himself in the south of Ukraine); M. S. Vsevolozhsky (1772 – 1857), who travelled round the south of Ukraine during the years of 1836 – 1837 at the age of 64 (a Russian nobleman, state and political figure, Tver's Hubernator (1816 – 1826), the cavalier of the Order of Saint George, Degree IV); A. P. Demydov (a Russian scholar, a merited member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences); A. S. Aphanasiyev-Chuzbinsky (he served in the Naval Ministry of the Russian Empire, the chancellery of Voronezh's Hubernator, as an editor of the newspaper "Voronezhski Provincilalni Vedomosti") and the others.

During their travels both foreign and Russian "tourists" visited such towns in the South of Ukraine as Katherynoslav, Oleksandrovsk, Beryslav, Oleshky, Simferopol, Sevastopol, Kerch, Theodosia, Karasu-Bazar, Odesa, Kherson and Mykolaiv. These towns took an important role in developing cultural environment, and that is why, these towns were the places where it was better to understand the life of the southern Ukrainian region.

In order to collect enough material for their own descriptions travellers stayed for a couple of days or years in the southern Ukrainian towns characterizing local inhabitants according to these criteria: nationality and its status, culture, an everyday life of local

inhabitants, education level and differences from other ethnic groups. A large amount of travellers' narratives contained a comparison between the southern Ukrainian towns and Ancient Greek cities in the northern Black Sea region at the time of the Antiquity. In their contemplations the authors gave preference to the past époque, as it was more brilliant and epic in comparison with present conditions. According to them a new life was revived owing to endeavors from the part of West European leaders and administrators among whom the figure of a Frenchman Duke de Richler stood out. He was the person whose activity helped transforming the region into a civilized one within *"the wild Russian Empire"*. They also insisted on that a great deal of profit for developing a social and economic potential of the southern Ukrainian towns was done mainly by foreigners, whereas the Russian government held in check an active development of the southern Ukrainian towns artificially, for which it was constantly criticized. The Russia's Government in reply censored and prohibited publications of "travellers' narratives" by West European travellers.

In travellers' narratives by both Russian and west European visitors the French were represented in the image of aristocrats; a lot of them were obliged to leave the motherland as a result of Napoleon's wars and to offer service to the Russian State to become builders of a new life in the South of Ukraine eventually. It was Frenchmen, who contributed their intellectual, economic and cultural potential to the region mostly. In the South of Ukraine they were divided into 3 groups: the first one was public servants; the second – businessmen and merchants; the third group was busy with agriculture (vineyards and cattle ranches). Of course, a great deal of attention was focused on the figure of Duke de Richler, who was characterized as a distinguished state figure whose activity provided fast flourishing of the southern Ukrainian region. His creation-child – de Richler lyceum – was described vividly, whose status and its fees grew constantly every year while entrance conditions were getting more and more intrinsic. We also have materials about the Frenchmen who were busy with intellectual work, for example, Mr. Ray worked at de Richler's office and studied historical past of the Crimean Tatar's antiquities (Kholderness, 1810).

The figure of de Richler's successor the Count A. Langeron was described as an efficient statesman and leader of the region in detail. Comparing the French to Russian public officials travellers expressed sympathy for the French. For example, in M. Kholderness's descriptions the Russian officials were presented as not a very much educated group, a lot of representatives of them lacked in everything, which was connected with education, and that is why, a substantial part of their work was connected with corruption; the Russian officials even did not want to go into details of a particular case and could only copy reports and inform against each other. Instead, the image of the French officials was cardinally different: always educated, eager to create prosperity for the southern Ukrainian region; they did everything in a professional manner with prospects for the future (Kholderness, 1810).

M. Hutry also presented a positive image of the Frenchmen in the South of Ukraine. For example, she was greatly impressed by the fact that the head of Kherson was a Frenchman, who did a lot of positive to the city. During her travels she also met a lot of French hoteliers and businessmen; nevertheless, on the whole, the image of the French nationality's representatives in the southern Ukrainian region remained profoundly aristocratic for her, especially in connection with outstanding statesmen. During her own travels the author made a conclusion that the French culture had a positive influence on local inhabitants. For example, she met a lot of Greek women wearing French clothes (Hutry, 2012, pp. 43–78; Hutry, 1810, pp. 24–85).

A proper respect and esteem to representatives of the French nationality were shown by the Russian travellers, too. For example, I. Yzmailov wrote that it were the French who transformed Odesa into a centre of the region (Yzmailov, 1802, pp. 234–289). A. Davydov noted in his travels about the French as being advantageous in the public service; he noticed it were the French who facilitated the flourishing of Odesa. He also noted that many West European languages were spoken in shops, in Odesa. Each nationality had its own favourite places. Someone would spend more time at theatres, somebody at clubs, in parks, gardens or cafes. He compared Odesa with Marseille and in his travels he called Odesa "the Black Sea Marseille". He also noted a significant role of De Ribas in building Odesa; it was he who managed to persuade the first merchants to settle in this town because it was safe there; he also managed to establish an order in Odesa as well as to provide development of the city. According to A. Demydov's descriptions Duke de Richler was an educated leader who continued the work of his predecessor de Ribas and turned Odesa into a centre of the southern Ukrainian region and who became "the father of the city'. At the same time, A. Demydov noted that Duke de Richler and Langeron turned Odesa into an intellectual centre: they established publishing houses, magazines, academic societies, educational institutions (Demydov, 1853, pp. 254-265). A positive role of the French was also noted by Sumarokov. He described the Frenchmen as efficient officials. According to him De Ribas did a lot of good and it was him who transformed a village into a big and modern city of Odesa (Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 128-214).

At the same time, the Frenchmen were also described by the Russian travellers in the image of efficient businessmen who kept the best hotels. For example, a story was told about a Frenchman Ambles, who worked earlier in St.-Petersburg and then took a chance to start a "new life" in the South of Ukraine. He moved to Simferopol where he established his own hotel and restaurant, but he always complained that the Crimean Tatars did not come to his restaurant, because they did not eat pork, and that is why, he regarded them barbarous, as they did not show respect to progress and did not have a good understanding of high culinary art (Vsevolozhskyi, 1839, pp. 31–55).

A. Demydov emphasized an important role of the Italians in the development of Odesa, as it was they who brought their capitals from Italy and invested in the development of a local trade. Their significant contribution to a cultural heritage was evident, too, as it was the Italians who opened their opera house "Italian Opera". A. Demydov also noted that municipal communities of Mariupol had close business contacts with Italy which helped them take the leading positions in the city (Demydov, 1853, pp. 254–265). N. Vsevolozhskyi described the Italian people as good business managers, traders and landlords as well as very hospitable representatives of the southern Ukrainian region. He called the South of Ukraine Italy and here according to him it was better than in the capital, because it was the Italians who could fill life with pleasures, besides, he thought that the best singers were the Italians (Vsevolozhskyi, 1839, pp. 87–95).

During their travels authors paid attention to representatives of other nationalities as well. For example, in Demydov's descriptions there are records on the Hollanders who created model communities in towns of the South of Ukraine being busy with towns' development; they also helped poor strata of the population. It was the Hollanders' communities where people being in an extreme need could find money, food and shelter (Demydov, 185, pp. 254–265).

Travellers also met the British who worked in Mykolaiv, Kherson and Odesa. Descriptions about them were reserved and not verbose. On the whole, they were presented in the image of public officials who stayed for a while and were forced to be in the service; the majority of them did not plan to stay there for life. As an exception, there were some Englishmen in Odesa who lived permanently; they had plans for future and were busy with commerce (Kholderness, 1810). Apart from it, A. Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi wrote positively about the personality of an English doctor D. Howard who paid his own life saving the town from an epidemic, although the author was very astonished at the fact that the Russian population of the city knew about him a little (Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi, 1861, pp. 310–335).

The Poles were represented in descriptions as aristocrats and were considered as one of the largest groups of population in the region. According to the travellers' descriptions foreigners had the right to buy land and serfs in the South of Ukraine and, under certain conditions, to gain a civil rank corresponding to a lieutenant's rank in the Russian Army. For example, M. Kholderness wrote an interesting story about a Polish aristocrat who was able to buy land together with serf villagers, later he let them free supposing they would be happy, because they gained freedom. In that way he wanted to revenge on the Russians for the occupation of Poland. M. Kholderness could not take this fact quietly, because she thought that in the south of Ukraine reappraisal of values already provided understanding that the Russians were "careless and unpredictable" and absolutely not capable of taking care of themselves supposing that their own needs could be realized only at the account of their master (Kholderness, 1810).

N. Vsevolozhskyi wrote about the Poles in his travels, too, in particular he paid his attention to the fact that they presented themselves as aristocrats who planned to found their own town in the South of Ukraine. For different reasons they did not manage to do it, so they invested their capitals in agricultural development (Vsevolozhskyi, 1839, pp. 55–69).

The Greeks were described as one of the most modern nationalities in the South of Ukraine. Their main characteristics were as follows: noticeable craving for civilization, progress, modernization; they constantly took care of new phenomena, spoke many languages fluently and not only European; they also spoke the Tatar and Turkish languages. Towns Greeks were more interested in modernization than those living in the countryside. It was towns Greeks who absolutely quit their traditional costume and system of life; they assumed European manners and style of West European life very fast. It was noted that the Greeks were very hospitable; they were constantly busy with community matters and they wanted to be helpful for others. According to V. Yzmailov the Greeks in the South of Ukraine were always aware of their past and millenniums' heritage and they respected it very much (Yzmailov, 1802, pp. 289–360). The Russian traveller Sumarokov noted that the Greeks were mainly busy with commerce in Kherson, Mykolaiv and Simferopol. They were engaged in wine trade, groceries and fruit. A lot of old Greeks in protest against the incorporation of the region by the Russian Empire moved to the territory of Turkey having left their own property, houses and other things (Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 7–128).

The Germans were characterized as officials, businessmen or colonizers. Many of them settled in towns and became townspeople who were busy with various trades (shoemakers, plumbers, carpenters). Towns Germans differed from other national groups in having more strict moral demands as well as more reserved manners. Owing to the Germans' activity townspeople were satisfied with much more productive agriculture and gardening on towns' lands. In particular, they rented municipal land and grew fruit. Production of the German nationality representatives had a better quality but a higher price at the same time. The greater part of the Germans was successfully busy with industry and trade. In towns environment the Germans showed themselves as competitive and deeply religious people, and that is why,

they enjoyed public respect. They were also advantageous in regard to developing a town life, which was a properly German feature, but were not so fast in adapting to surrounding circumstances: it was difficult for them to learn the Russian language.

For example, P. Sumarokov met representatives of the German nationality. He characterized them as efficient businessmen working in hotelier business. He noticed that they were rather economical and had a very careful attitude to money (Sumarokov, 1800, pp. 7–128). A. Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi in his travels described representatives of the German nationality as too accurate, hospitable and hardworking. In particular, the houses, which were built by them in Aleksandrovsk, became the pride of local inhabitants. They were very hospitable: always suggested schnapps, ham and coffee, but they used Prussia's good mostly. On the whole, they were busy with trade, industries and workshops. They were different from other nationalities in doing everything of a superior quality (Afanasyi-Chuzhbynskyi, 1961, pp. 137–138).

N. Vsevolozhskyi noted that although all the nationalities lived peacefully and adapted to new conditions of life together rather quickly, nevertheless they lived as separate national communities. People opened their own shops, schools and religious institutions. N. Vsevolozhskyi noted in his narratives a lot of examples of West European and Asiatic stylistic influences in the life of townspeople. For example, in Simferopol a public garden designed in the English style was opened where the Crimean Tatars sat playing French games. We have memoirs in travellers' narratives about the Bulgarians; in particular, a lot of attention was given to characteristics of representatives of this nationality by N. Vsevolozhskyi. In his records it was the Bulgarians who stood out for a hardworking lifestyle. They lived in the southern Ukrainian towns enjoying equal rights with the Germans and were freed from taxes by the Government. They always showed loyalty towards the Government, for which they were not loved by the Tatars. In their everyday life the Bulgarians were economic and did not show their prosperity; they were also too superstitious. They were rarely busy with gardening. They were hospitable with foreigners. N. Vsevolozhskyi noticed an interesting fact: the Bulgarians were almost the only nation who did not suffer from various epidemics that were constantly breaking out in the region. In towns the Bulgarians had their own national self-government: the community matters were done by the elders. The Bulgarians were also engaged in police service. Their religious life was very similar to the Orthodox Ukrainians and Russians; the more so that they had close relations with the Russians with whom they hardly felt the language barrier (N.Vsevolozhskyi, 1839, pp. 87-95).

The Armenians were represented in the image of shopkeepers. In towns of the region they lived in their communities and almost everyone was busy with trade; they were included into various merchants' groups. In their everyday life they led a secluded life and behaved reservedly especially towards foreigners. As for their social environment one could see a wish to be interested in something new and up to date, but at the same time they demonstrated a traditional lifestyle to much more extent than other nationalities. They were proud of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem after which they were given an honorable name "Hadji". The most honorable among the Armenians were the Catholics, because they were regarded as successors of the Arians. The most popular games were chess and trik-trak (Kholderness, 1810).

The Conclusion. Thus, the conclusions can be made that descriptions of a town's environment in the South of Ukraine took the central place in travellers' narratives by foreigners. On the whole, visitors saw towns in the southern Ukrainian region as multinational. According to their descriptions there lived the French, the English, the Italians, the Greeks, the Germans, the Armenians and representatives of other nationalities. All the groups of population

being of a foreign origin were represented as ethnic formations who lived in compact groups having established special national associations for solving their own problems. In the southern Ukrainian towns the customs, everyday life and lifestyle of various nationalities were mixed. Both the Russian and foreign travellers noted in their descriptions that the southern Ukrainian region differed substantially from Russia's inland regions. The foreigners did a lot of good especially for the development of home and foreign travellers' narratives the southern Ukrainian region was characterized as more modern and quite different from Russia's inland.

It was the foreigners who invested money in trade; they opened cultural and educational institutions, built houses which eventually became the pride of local inhabitants. Owing to their endeavors the power in the region was more independent of the central government, as foreign administrators themselves developed projects of reforms, struggled against corruption, bribery and other misdoings. In a town's environment in the South of Ukraine foreign colonizers were represented in the image of public servants, officials, businessmen, merchants and intellectuals. Cultural and educational centres opened in towns by foreign colonizers were regarded as more popular and aimed at elite. Thus, it may be concluded that foreign colonizers made a great contribution to towns development of the region and they became "builders of a new life"; they also influenced organizational, cultural, economic and intellectual potential. Foreign visitors also noted that local self-government was much more independent of the central government in comparison with other regions of the state. It was explained by the presence of foreign administrators in public service. In fact, it was foreigners in power in the region who worked out projects of reforms, struggled against corruption and "misdoings in the service". However, their positive activity was brought to naught, when the Russian officials were appointed in their place.

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