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BRITISH VICE-CONSUL IN BERDYANSK JOHN EDWARD GREAVES

The article is devoted to the biography of the last by chronology official representative of Great Britain in Berdyansk, who was in the consular service in the city in the early 20 century.

In 1883, the British subject opened a small factory on Vorontsovskaya Street in Berdyansk. By 1886 John Greaves was the first in the list of main merchants (not importers or exporters) of Berdyansk, presented by the British Consul William George Wagstaff in the annual report on the trade of the ports of the Sea of Azov. In 1894, the plant of Greaves passed into the hands of the Trade and Industrial Association, but that did not mean that the founder had lost control over it: he became a member of this company. In 1896 the plant of Greaves was awarded at the All-Russian exhibition with the right to use the coat of arms of the Russian Empire on its advertising and products. Two years later, John Greaves himself was awarded with the gratitude of the Emperor Nikolai II. When signs of revolution appeared in Russia, John Greaves went to Petrograd and sold his plant to the Artillery Department; by 1917 he moved to England with all his relatives.

Details of activities of John Edward Greaves have been studied on the base of archival materials and a wide range of English-language sources, including consular reports of Greaves to London.

Keywords: consul, Great Britain, international relations, entrepreneurship.

The list of research papers and books about the history of Berdyansk of imperial period today is already quite lengthy [28; 32; 35; 39-45; 47; 50-54; 56-58; 60]. But for a long time all information about British Consuls in Berdyansk available to local researchers was limited to several mentions in the diaries of Vasily Kryzhanovskiy [29] and in publications of «Odesskiy Vestnik» [46; 62; 68]. Recently, thanks to the international project «The Black Sea and its port-cities, 1774–1914. Development, convergence and linkages with the global economy», we got a

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I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

chance to make a real breakthrough in the study of biographies of British Consuls, who served not only in Berdyansk [48; 49; 55], but also in other cities of the region. One of them was John Edward Greaves. Our article is dedicated exactly to the biography of this person.

«The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book» for 1908 claimed that John Greaves had a diplomatic post in Berdyansk starting on July 15, 1880 [10, p. 141]. The same edition for 1917 informed that Greaves had been a Pro-Consul from 1880 to 1907, and was appointed as the Vice-Consul in Berdyansk on December 10, 1907 [21, p. 295].

According to one classification, which was described in detail in a report of the British Consul James Zohrab, foreign diplomats in the Russian Empire were divided into non-trading and trading. The attitude of both the authorities and the local population to the representatives of these two categories was very different. Under the statement of Zohrab, a non-trading Consul, which was called in French «Consul de carrier», was regarded by imperial officials as a government officer and colleague, whose appeals should be met with attention. This was not necessarily the case with a trading Consul («Consul honoraire»), with whom government officials usually did not like relate: «He is regarded as a person who holds a position which gives him an official rank and standing which he has no right to hold but which must be acknowledged»[1, p. 74-75].

According to this classification, John E. Greaves, unlike his predecessors, was a «Consul honoraire». However, he managed to earn the respect from state authorities and local people. Berdyansk inhabitants referred to him in a semi-local manner – John Eduardovich.

Viktor Petkau from Dortmund, relying on the database «Datenbank Grandma», writes that the father of John Greaves, Edward Greaves, was born around 1818 and had, besides John Edward, two other sons – George Turton and Joseph Jackson. Viktor Petkau informs that John Greaves was born around 1855 [18, c. 14]. Research to confirm or refute the information about the year of birth of this native of Sheffield

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

[13, p. 172] have brought us to the materials of the National Archives (the United Kingdom). These archives store a passport issued in Rostov-on-Don on March 31, 1908 to the British subject John Edward Greaves, a civil engineer and the British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk. The age of the passport holder is 62 [26]; therefore, John Greaves was born in 1845 or 1846.

In the «Whole Berdyansk and Its Uezd. Address-Reference and Commercial-Industrial Book» there is information on the British subject John Edward Greaves, that in 1876 had a warehouse of foreign agricultural implements and a workshop at the warehouse in Berdyansk [34, c. 29]. It is clear that Greaves was not a pioneer for Berdyansk and its uezd in this field: in the early 1860s the Scotsman, George Hume, acted there as a dealer of British reapers. However, while Hume did not stay in Berdyansk for a long time and did not organize a production there, Greaves, who initially was a representative of the British company «Clayton & Shuttleworth», went much further. The edition of 1911 stated that starting in 1876, due to the energetic nature of John Greaves and «the extremely favorable moment in the history of agricultural machinery in Russia», the production had begun to develop in Berdyansk, which was later characterized as the first on the territory of Taurian province. The demand for agricultural machinery was constantly growing on the Russian Empire, which naturally resulted in the appearance of proposals: attempts were done to establish production of such machines already there, and ideally, from local materials, without buying anything abroad. However, even the edition of «Whole Berdyansk and Its Uezd. Address-Reference and Commercial-Industrial Book» was forced to state that the mental obstacle for implementing such attempts was the widespread belief that local products were worse than the foreign equivalents. To overcome this belief, energy and talents were needed. The cited edition, even though admitting that the skepticism about the domestic machine building was still present, wrote that it was not necessarily to be a prophet to predict foreign products would be completely ousted from the Russian markets in the near future [34, c. 29]. Paradoxically, the optimistic «prediction» of the provincial edition

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

of 1911 almost came true, although in a way that Berdyansk entrepreneurs would have just in nightmares: the Bolsheviks seized power and started to isolate the country from the rest of the world and, consequently, from foreign products (even though, despite all efforts, they failed to do so completely).

Meanwhile, the distrust of local agricultural producers to Russian machine-building was overcome by John Greaves, which, however, could hardly be attributed to Russians efforts. In 1883, the British subject opened a small factory on Vorontsovskaya Street in Berdyansk [34, c. 29]. By 1886 John Greaves was the first in the list of main merchants (not importers or exporters) of Berdyansk, presented by the British Consul William George Wagstaff in the annual report on the trade of the ports of the Sea of Azov [7]. Perhaps because of the close contacts of John Greaves with his relatives and colleagues in Sheffield, the British Vice-Consul Harvey Robert Lowe wrote in the report for 1887 that Berdyansk received reaper knife sections and chaff-cutter knives from this English city [8]. The same Vice-Consul wrote in the report for 1889 that although British goods were rarely seen in this part of the Russian Empire, a considerable amount of orders had been received from Sheffield [9].

In 1886, «Odesskiy Vestnik» reported that the mechanical foundry of John Greaves managed to sell more than 300 reapers, many threshers and other agricultural machines. Moreover, according to the newspaper, Greaves had begun to compete successfully with well-known foreign producers: a reaper, invented by John Greaves, was compared in tests with Wood's reaper, which was well known for its good quality. «It turned out that the reaper, invented by Greaves, does not concede to the reapers of Wood in work. By price the machine of Greaves is much cheaper and may well replace reapers of Wood» [69].

In 1894, the plant of Greaves passed into the hands of the Trade and Industrial Association, but that did not mean that the founder had lost control over it: he became a member of this company. Apart from John Eduardovich, two of his close relatives (A.L.Greaves and G.I.Greaves), as well as A.R.Zukkau were members of the Trade

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

and Industrial Association [34, c. 30]. The next year «Note about the Need for the Construction of the Railway for Berdyansk» wrote about two «foundry-building» plants in Berdyansk, where reapers alone were manufactured annually up to 4000 units for 700000 rubles [37; 67, c. 24].

While the characteristics of the plant of John Greaves («the largest works in Europe...»), attributed to Vladimir Lenin, was widely popularized in the Soviet times, the similar characteristics, which presented in a work of the famous theoretician of anarchism Peter Kropotkin, remained out of sight of Berdyansk inhabitants and the Soviet public in general. It is of relevance the work «Fields, Factories, and Workshops», which was first published in Great Britain in 1898, before Lenin's «The Development of Capitalism in Russia». In that work, Kropotkin wrote that thanks to some British Consular reports it was known that reapers and ploughs manufactured in the Russian Empire were comparable to those produced in the United States and Great Britain. In the 1880s–1890s the industry developed in the South of Urals and especially «on the plains sloping towards the Sea of Azov». Kropotkin specified that in the latter region the Vice-Consul Greene («Green») reported that apart from 8-10 factories of importance, the whole territory of the consular district was scattered with small mechanical workshops (engineering works), mainly engaged in manufacturing of agricultural machinery and implements; but, as Kropotkin quoted the Vice-Consul Greene saying that «the town of Berdyansk... can now boast of the largest reaper manufactory in Europe, capable of turning out three thousand machines annually» [16, p. 37-38]. Interestingly, the report of Greene was published in 1894, that is, 2 years earlier than the volume of «Herald of Finance, Industry, and Trade» that was quoted by Lenin.

In 1896 the plant of Greaves was awarded at the All-Russian exhibition with the right to use the coat of arms of the Russian Empire on its advertising and products. Two years later, John Greaves himself was awarded with the gratitude of the Emperor Nikolai II «for a very energetic and fruitful activity in the sphere of Russian agricultural machine building» [34, c. 30].

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

When in 1899 the Belgian Anonymous Company bought the plant, John Greaves remained as manager [34, c. 30]. Fred V. Carstensen interpreted the relevant change of ownership somewhat differently: «John Greaves, whose firm ranked fifth in Russia, began in that country with just a trading house. In 1883 he established his own factory in Berdiansk to provide some of his own goods. In 1899 he reorganized his company under Belgian law, in part apparently to avoid some Russian corporate profits tax» [6, p. 156].

According to the edition «Whole Berdyansk and Its Uezd. Address-Reference and Commercial-Industrial Book», even before the great social upheavals of «the First Russian Revolution», in 1904 the administration of the plant, by its own initiative, reduced the duration of the working day for its employees to 9 hours, afterwards arranged the reading room for workers, created dramatic and musical groups and introduced a number of other measures which improved the working and leisure conditions [34, c. 30]. However, the authors of the book «Berdyansk. A Look through the Centuries» argue the opposite causality: in 1905 the largest strike began in Berdyansk, after which the nine-hour working day was established and salaries were increased by 10 percent [60, c. 127]. As for the attitude of John Greaves to his workers, according to the recollections of Gennady Bleher, his grandfather, tinsmith Grigory Abramovich Bleher, often said he conscientiously worked for Greaves. When John Greaves found out that the roof leaked in the house of the Blehers, he gave materials and sent workers to recover the entire roof [35, c. 92].

Being the President and manager of the Belgian Anonymous Company, Greaves was awarded for this. In October of 1912 «The Edinburgh Gazette» informed that the King George V «has been pleased to give and grant unto John Greaves, Esq., ... His Majesty's Royal licence and authority to accept and wear the Insignia of Chevalier of the Order of the Crown, which Decoration has been conferred upon him by His Majesty the King of the Belgians, in recognition of valuable services rendered by him»[27].

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

The edition of 1914 «Factories of the Russian Empire (excluding Finland)» wrote that the trade and industrial company «John Greaves & Co» with the plant of agricultural machines and the foundry had a fixed capital of 3 million francs and a reserve capital of 123082 francs. The managing directors were John Greaves and G.I. Greaves, the manager – G.I. Greaves. P.I. Sudermann was in charge of commercial affairs. They were in charge of 1500 workers. The company had warehouses in Kharkov, Chelyabinsk, Omsk, and Semipalatinsk.

However, in that same year, 1914, the First World War changed the path of the plant of Greaves. The plant lost many workers because of their conscription to the Russian army. In addition, the demand for agricultural machinery reduced, so the company had to reorient partially to supply the needs of the army [60, c. 127]. Nevertheless, despite all difficulties workers of the plant of Greaves managed to help those most affected by war: in September of 1915 workers, on their own initiative, collected donations and handed them to refugees who had arrived to Berdyansk [30].

The First World War hit John Greaves personally: he, as a British diplomat, was arrested by German authorities at Dresden. Later on, as a result of an agreement achieved by the British and German governments the exchange of arrested diplomats of these two warring states took place (these negotiations were partially mediated by the United States). There is a message in the British parliamentary papers of 1916: «E.Greaves, British vice-consul at Berdiansk, who has been arrested at Dresden, are released by the German Government» [17]. Documents about these events are stored in the National Archives (the United Kingdom). They are mentioned in the descriptions as «John E. Greaves, British vice-consul at Berdiansk: report of his treatment when detained in Germany» [23] and «John E. Greaves, British vice-consul at Berdiansk: ill-treatment when detained in Germany» [24]. In the absence of John Greaves in Berdyansk the Acting Vice-Consul was Graham, who wrote the report for 1914 [3]. However, that is the only mention about this person which we have found.

According to a report of a representative of Great Britain, in the publication «Documents on Foreign Affairs – Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

Confidential Print: Soviet Russia and Her Neighbours, Jan. 1917 – Dec. 1919», at this time the wife of John Greaves stayed in Berdyansk and was in straits. The author of the report, despite all efforts, could not come in contact with her, although he found out that she had received financial support from one of the relatives of her husband in Berlin. As for the fate of John Greaves, the author failed to get information and was even inclined to conclude that Greaves was dead [4]. As for the wife of John Greaves, Anna Lyudvigovna, she died and was buried on December 21, 1916 in Berdyansk [31]. A monument on her grave remains until now [60, c. 338].

It is appropriate to examine in more detail the family of John Greaves and its links with other known families of Berdyansk. According to the database «Datenbank Grandma» and Viktor Petkau from Dortmund, John Greaves had three children: George, Patricia, and Emilie. Emilie was born on October 8, 1878 in Sheffield [18, c. 13] (or, according to «Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization», in Berdyansk) [5], and on September 8, 1899 she married the Mennonite Peter Isaakovich Sudermann, who later was in charge of commercial affairs of «John Greaves & Co». The son-in-law of John Greaves, Peter Isaakovich Sudermann was born in Berdyansk on January 21, 1874 in the family of Isaac Yakovlevich Sudermann. He studied at the Law Faculty of Kharkov University [18, c. 13, 14] and during the First World War he was a deputy of the Berdyansk City Council as a «Berdyansk merchant» [36; 65, c. 18-19]. Peter Isaakovich Sudermann and the daughter of John Greaves had four children, of whom a daughter (Emilie) died 2 months after birth, and a son (Johann) died in Krasnodar, fighting for the White Army. Peter Isaakovich Sudermann was arrested by the Bolsheviks as a hostage and after a fictitious trial was shot in Kerch (December 24, 1920). His wife and two children (Johanna and Peter) emigrated to Canada in 1925¹, where she died in Windsor, Ontario in 1974 [18, c. 13].

The older brother of the son-in-law of John Greaves was Jacob (Yakov) Isaakovich Sudermann, who was born in Berdyansk on September 4, 1867. On April 16, 1900 he married Amy Evelyn Greaves, born in Sheffield on January 1 [18, c. 7]

¹ According to «Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization», this took place in 1924 [5].

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

(14) [2], 1878. Amy Evelyn Greaves, in turn, was the niece of John Greaves and the daughter of George Turton Greaves, who inherited a small firm «Greaves & Son» in Sheffield and belonged to a middle class family. When Amy Evelyn was nine years old, her mother, Annie Youle Greaves, died. At 15, Amy Evelyn enrolled in Mrs. Shrubsole's School, where she studied for about five years. By the time she was 21, Amy Evelyn considered herself well prepared for life («Standing on the threshold of life itself, I had been well instructed and had quite a number of certificates, diplomas, and prizes to march into life with me») [20, p. 16]. Soon John Greaves invited her niece to come from Sheffield to Berdyansk: Amy Evelyn had to be a bridesmaid in the wedding of the daughter of the British Vice-Consul, Emilie Greaves, and Peter Isaakovich Sudermann. At this wedding, Amy Evelyn met with the older brother of Peter Isaakovich, and despite his low proficiency in English and her bad German he soon asked her to marry him. So the girl from Sheffield remained in the Southern Ukraine, even though she did not speak Russian nor Ukrainian and did not know the traditions and customs of the Mennonites, whose family she joined. Amy Evelyn ventured to move to a country which, according to her estimation, was 50 years behind civilized England. She was ready for new challenges. The Sudermanns lived not only in Berdyansk but also in numerous Mennonite settlements of the region. In one of them, Toretskaya, which was situated on the Kryvyj Torets' River, near Konstantinovka, Amy Evelyn began to live with her husband. At first things went well, the family had servants. But in 1904 Toretskaya went bankrupt and was eliminated, so the family of Amy Evelyn and Jacob was forced to move to a small house in a nearby settlement. John Greaves helped them: he hired Jacob Isaakovich as a travelling salesman of reapers «Swallow» produced in his plant. Thanks to this the Sudermanns were able to get back on their feet, although in a more limited budget than before. Amy Evelyn recalled: «These next years were the happiest that I had experienced» [20, p. 21].

Amy Evelyn and Jacob Isaakovich had four children: George Turton, Mary Evelyn, Joanna, and Jacob. After Jacob Isaakovich died of typhus on March 12, 1909,

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

in June of 1912 Amy Evelyn remarried the then-student Gustav Heinrich Enss (1885–1965), who was 7 years younger than her. Amy Evelyn had with him six children. Soon the family moved to Berlin, where Gustav Heinrich Enss enrolled in an Evangelical Bible School and attended lectures at the Humboldt University. The family had a firm intention to return to the Russian Empire, where Gustav was planning to organize a Mennonite school. But the First World War changed these plans. When Gustav and Amy Evelyn realized that the road to the Russian Empire was closed for them, they quickly decided to go to England. In Sheffield the Greaves warmly received the big family. But Amy Evelyn and her husband did not want to be a burden for their English relatives. So very soon they began to look for alternatives. George Turton (the father of Amy Evelyn and the brother of John Greaves) proposed: «Do you know anyone in America? I understand that there are many Mennonites over there in the States» [20, p. 23]. Gustav recalled that a half-brother of his father had emigrated somewhere in America, called «Beatrice». After finding with help of a travel agent on a detailed map a settlement called Beatrice, located in the far West of the United States, Gustav wrote a letter with the address: «Uncle Wiebe, Beatrice, U.S.A.». After a few weeks a response of Gerhard Wiebe was received in Sheffield, in which the uncle urged Gustav and his family to join him. In October of 1914 Amy Evelyn, Gustav and their children sailed from Liverpool to Quebec City, Port Huron, and from there moved to Beatrice (Nebraska) [20, p. 24]. Amy Evelyn died in Newton (Kansas) on November 2, 1975 [18, c. 7]. Some of her memoirs were published in 1993 under the eloquent title «Winding Trails: From Sheffield to the Steppes and Beyond» and under the triple surname of Greaves Sudermann Enss [11].

Perhaps Greaves' close family connections with the Germans were among the factors which influenced characteristics given by him to German colonists in the region.

Regarding George Greaves, the son of the British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk, there are several mentions of persons with this name or its local equivalents. For example, according to the «Circular on the Management of the Odessa School

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

District» in 1884 Georgy Greaves dropped out the first class of Berdyansk boy's gymnasium [66; 32, c. 257]. Evgeny Denisov wrote that on January 18, 1895 the son of John Greaves, Georgy married a Greek girl, Vera Lazarevna Zbandutto [35, c. 189-190]. Another publication stated that on October 5, 1905 the British subject Grigory Ivanovich Greaves was an usher at the wedding of the 29-year-old Cleopatra Ioannovna Greaves and Alexander Ivanovich Rudyj [60, c. 338]. The edition «Berdyansk. A Look through the Centuries» mentioned some other facts about the spiritual and blood relationships between the Greaves and other families of Berdyansk. For instance, on December 25, 1894 John Greaves baptized Eugenia, the daughter of the Berdyansk merchant P.L.Zbandutto; on March 30, 1883 Anna Lyudvigovna Greaves became the godmother of the son of the peasant Ignat Pivovarov [60, c. 338].

We should pay attention to a detail about the name of the wife of John Greaves. While all local sources and literature call her Anna Lyudvigovna, Viktor Petkau, relying on the database «Datenbank Grandma», writes that her name was Jinny, but he places a question mark next to this name [18, c. 14]. In the passport, issued in Rostov-on-Don on March 31, 1908, the name of the wife of the British subject John Edward Greaves was written as «Jane» [26]. When, as we have noted above, the wife of John Greaves died in December of 1916, the newspaper «Sheffield Daily Telegraph» published the obituary on January 8, 1917, where the name of the wife of the British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk was given as «Greaves Jane W.» [12, p. 32]. Both variants of the name of the wife of John Greaves are written on her grave in Berdyansk. There is an inscription in both English and Russian: «Sacred to the memory of Jane Greaves the beloved wife of John E. Greaves engineer British Vice-Consul. B. Munich Jan. 1845 D. Berdiansk Dec. 1916. Her children arise up and call her blessed. Her husband he praiseth her. Prov. XXXI. V. 28. Анна Людвиговна Гривевз. Встают дети и ублажают ее, муж и хвалит ее: «Много было жен добродетельных, но ты превзошла всех их». Притч. Соломонов. XXXI СІІ». The facts that Munich is indicated as the place of birth, the middle name is

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

Lyudvigovna, and that the grave is located in the Lutheran part of the cemetery of Berdyansk point out that the wife of the Englishman John Greaves was German. In this context, it must have been more tragic that her grandson was killed in the First World War, fighting for Great Britain against Germany (see details below).

The list of homeowners of Berdyansk published in 1911 contained addresses of the British Vice-Consul (four buildings in the 16th quarter and some real estate beyond the city plan), G.I.Greaves (in the 30th quarter), and A.L.Greaves (also in the 30th quarter) [34, c. 72].

Representatives of the family of John Greaves were among those who stood at the origins of popularization of football in Berdyansk². However, the publication «Berdyansk. A Look through the Centuries» provides statements about this, which, to some extent, are not consistent with each other. In particular, it is reported that two grandsons of John Greaves got carried away by football while they visited England. At their return to Berdyansk they often played football in the courtyard of the plant established by their grandfather. A young turner Pavel Malykhin saw it and began to gather a team. So the first football team in Berdyansk appeared in 1911, and within two or three months, another team was formed in the plant [60, c. 227]. However, it was been written in the same publication that the first recorded football match in Berdyansk was held on April 25, 1910. Nikolai and John, sons of John Greaves, played for the team and won 2-1 [60, c. 226]. Therefore, in this other text, the two players appear, not as grandchildren, but as the sons of the British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk.

We have another mention of two brothers from the family of John Greaves who were football players. On September 2 (August 20), 1913 the newspaper «Mariupolskaya Zhizn'» («Mariupol Life») published a report about a match between a team from Berdyansk and the team «Nikopol», held on the field of the plant «Providans». Although «Nikopol» won 2-0, the newspaper wrote, the forward players of the Berdyansk team, brothers Greaves and Kolesnikov, played perfectly [59].

² Interestingly, the world's first-ever official football club was formed in 1857 exactly in Sheffield.

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

Thanks to the book «Oundle Memorials of the Great War MCMXIV-MCMXIX» we know that the football player Nikolai (Nicholas) was son of George Greaves and, therefore, grandson of the Vice-Consul John Greaves³. As for John Greaves junior, an application for his child's passport (Form 'B') is preserved in the National Archives (the United Kingdom). According to the application, John Greaves junior was born in Berdyansk on October 23, 1895. The application was compiled in Harrogate (England) on July 2, 1909. The guardian of John Greaves junior was Edgar Lawn, a schoolmaster of the Modern College (Harrogate) [25].

Going back to the British Vice-Consul John Greaves himself, we should note that before 1905, as a local representative of industrialists, he was member of the Taurian Provincial Presence of Factory Affairs. He was also elected chairman of the Charitable Society of Berdyansk [18, c. 14] and in 1911 was listed as a member of the Berdyansk Exchange Committee [34, c. 37].

For John Greaves, as well as for the whole Russian Empire, everything began to change rapidly in 1917. The Bolshevik Georgy Dorofeev, who had worked at the plant of Greaves until April 1915 and then went to work as a skilled turner at the Azov-Black Sea plant, recalled that the news about the revolution in Petrograd were known in Berdyansk already by February 23, 1917. The next day workers of both plants stopped their activities and organized a rally with placards and banners saying «Long live the revolution!» [33, c. 3, 10-13]

As the British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Greaves was listed in the book by C.E.W.Petersson under the title «How to Do Business with Russia...», a preface to which was completed by W. Barnes Steveni in April of 1917, after the beginning of fundamental changes in the country, which was the subject of the edition.

³ «Nicholas Greaves was the second son of Mr. and Mrs. George Greaves of Berdiansk, Russia, and Sheffield. Born in December 1897, he entered Oundle in January 1912, leaving in July 1914. He was a member of the XI. On leaving school he joined the works of John Greaves and Co., in Russia, as an apprentice. During the war he was entrusted with responsible munition work, and had to erect a special department for making Hotchkiss quick-firing shells, and to manage a shop of 700 workers. When the Revolution came in Russia, he undertook the long and difficult journey to England (3,000 miles). Joining the Royal Flying Corps on November 5, 1917, he went through training at various centres. During this time he showed himself a skilful boxer. He joined the 70th Squadron R.A.F. (in France) on August 11, 1918, and from that date to the time of his death near Tournai on October 28, he was engaged in much difficult and dangerous work» [14, p. 380].

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

Interestingly, the book was a synthesis of the rich experience of doing business in the Russian Empire, gained by C.E.W.Petersson in trading machinery and kindred goods.

Describing in the series of novels “The Red Wheel” the events of April 1917 using quotes from the newspapers, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn mentioned John Greaves. So, under the subtitle «Fragments of Democracy – Provincia» we can read: «In Berdyansk a local factory owner, supernumerary British Consul Greaves fired some of his workers and refused to appear when summoned to their meeting. He was brought there by force. But he refused to renew an agreement with the workers, sent a telegram to the British ambassador in Petrograd, put up the British flag on his house and declared the inviolability of his dwelling» [63].

In 1917 events connected with the plant of Greaves occasionally were mentioned by the newspaper «Izvestiya Berdyanskogo Soveta Rabochih, Soldatskih i Krestyanskih Deputatov» («News of Berdyansk Council of Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies»). In particular, on August 27 the investigative commission published a list of secret collaborators of the provincial gendarmerie in Berdyansk and Melitopol uezds, among which was Spiridon Evstafievich Konstantinopulo, a worker of the plant of Greaves. Since December of 1915, this Greek subject, also known as «Doctor», informed the police about actions of other workers of the plant and received from the gendarmerie 15 rubles a month. The publication informed that this secret agent was arrested [64]. On September 10, 1917 the newspaper cited deputy Fedorkov saying that 1200 workers of the plant of Greaves should be fired soon [38]. On December 24, 1917 the newspaper reported on a meeting of the local executive committee with representatives of Berdyansk entrepreneurs in order to raise fund to liquidate the debt owed to the workers of the plant of Greaves. An author of the article stated that the plant should return to manufacturing civilian goods, including agricultural machinery, because «demobilization of the industry is inevitable» [61].

According to authors of the book «Berdyansk. A Look through the Centuries», «when signs of revolution appeared in Russia», John Greaves went to Petrograd and

I. Lyman, V. Konstantinova British Vice-Consul in Berdyansk John Edward Greaves

sold his plant to the Artillery Department; by 1917 he moved to England with all his relatives [60, c. 127]. But the London edition «The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Year Book, 1920» contains information stating that the Vice-Consul John Greaves left Berdyansk and moved to England in May of 1918 due to the prevailing political situation [22]. In 1919 the «*Board of Trade Journal*» published the article «South Russia. Future of British Trade» with information: «From the British Vice-Consul at Berdyansk, who was «ntil recently a prisoner in Germany» [19].

The plant established by John Greaves in Berdyansk, continued to work for the Bolsheviks under government ownership. Until our times several former buildings of Greaves have survived: a house of his family on the former Vorontsovskaya Street (now – Consuls Street), a building of the plant management and the British Vice-Consulate, several abandoned plant buildings, and a summer cottage, which was once the sixth building of the sanatorium «Berdyansk» and then the mini-hotel «South cottage». According to authors of the book of 2010 «Berdyansk. A Look through the Centuries» descendants of John Greaves live in the United States and Russia [60, c. 338].

Some reports of John Greaves we have published in the book «European Vector of the Northern Azov in the Imperial Period: British Consular Reports about Italian Shipping» [15]. Much more detailed information about Wagstaff could be found in our book «From Cumberbatch to Greaves: British Consuls in Berdyansk», forthcoming.

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Стаття присвячена біографії останнього офіційного представника Великої Британії у Бердянську, який перебував на консульській службі у цьому місті на початку 20 століття. Подобиці діяльності Джона Едварда Грієвза вивчені на підставі як архівних матеріалів, так і широкого комплексу англомовних джерел, включно із консульськими рапортами Грієвза до Лондона.

Ключові слова: консул, Велика Британія, міжнародні відносини, підприємництво

Статья посвящена биографии последнего по хронологии официального представителя Великобритании в Бердянске, который находился на консульской службе в этом городе в начале 20 века. Подробности деятельности Джона Эдварда Гривеза изучены на основании как архивных материалов, так и широкого комплекса англоязычных источников, включая консульские рапорты Гривеза в Лондон.

Ключевые слова: консул, Великобритания, международные отношения, предпринимательство