

## ESSAY

**Linda Kaljundi, Ulrike Plath. Estonian Historical Writing from an Interwoven Perspective**

This essay discusses the possibilities offered by studying Estonian and Baltic historical writing from an interwoven perspective. Although some interwoven research projects and projects with themes on supranational history have been initiated in Estonia as well, more extensive discussion on these themes has thus far not begun among historians. Newer interpretations that would examine the history of Estonian-Baltic historical research from a broader and comparative perspective also appear to be lacking. Studies from a couple of decades ago of the indisputably significant effect of the Enlightenment on Estonian interpretation of history have overshadowed the effect of more conservative trends in Baltic German historical research on the Estonian nationalist treatment of history.

The authors argue that Estonian nationalist history is also closely interwoven with those treatments of history to which it is ideologically opposed, and that these interweavings merit broader discussion than has hitherto occurred. Having jointly taught the history of this region's historiography for several years, they have arrived at the conviction that 1) different versions of Baltic historical writing have a number of definite and shared *topoi* that need to be made sense of from the perspective of interwoven history; that 2) the themes that are considered the most characteristic of and inherent to Estonian nationalist history, and which have often generated sharp controversy, are also the most supranational and interwoven, tying together the narratives of the Estonian people with those of the other peoples of the Baltic region; and that 3) these very same themes are comprehensible not only in a regional context but are interwoven with considerably more global issues. Three examples are given to illustrate these claims. The first example touches on the fixation on colonial history: conquest and the differences in the civilisation of the conquerors and that of the conquered. The second example is connected with the narrative of the long night of slavery, and the third with the theme of rebellion and people's uprisings, which needless to say is closely connected to the discourse on slavery.

## ARTICLES

**Jürgen Geiß. The Preacher Johannes Block from the City of Stolp and his Library from his Tartu Period: a New Source on the History of the Early Reformation in Livonia**

The new evangelical religious movement unleashed by Martin Luther already found favour in Livonia in the early 1520's. Compared to the old-established

territories of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, development here in Livonia was quite rapid. This can partially be explained by the peculiarities of Livonia's history: here ecclesiastical feudal lords traditionally had a very strong influence on secular matters. Growth in the self-awareness of the towns and the nobility, however, inevitably brought with it conflict with the church.

By that time the Catholic Church had started realising more and more the need to raise the level of education of parish priests and to improve pastoral work among the laity. The spread of humanism intensified this notion. Several editions of a high standard of works by church fathers and other recognised ecclesiastical authorities, and also entirely new theological and devotional literature were published at the outset of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, the movement unleashed by Martin Luther and other reformers intensified. At its centre was the notion that reform of religious life was not possible within the framework of the Catholic Church and that a completely new approach was needed both doctrinally and organisationally.

There is no precise information on the content of the message disseminated by such reform-minded clergymen in the Livonia of the 1520's. Information on Reformation-era Tartu is especially scant since most of Tartu's document collections were already destroyed in early modern wars. Thus every new opportunity to become more familiar with Tartu's Reformation history is extremely important. One such opportunity is the book collection of the preacher Johannes Block from the town of Stolp in Pomerania, which is preserved almost without any losses. Block's collection is deposited at the Barth ecclesiastical library. The greater portion of Block's books is digitised.

Block was active in Tartu in the interval 1514–1528, working initially as a catholic preacher at the Church of St. Mary as well as at Tartu's cathedral. After losing both of these positions in the tumult of the Reformation events of 1524/25, Block initially remained in Tartu, rebuffed by new, radically disposed evangelical preachers, until in 1528 he was given the position of evangelical preacher in the service of the Count of Hoya, the Viceroy of Vyborg. At the end of his life (1532/34–1544) Block was active in the Pomeranian ducal city of Barth, rising to the position of reformer there. Johannes Block's library, including entries found in books concerning the purchase of the works, and also the various ways Block calls himself, make it possible to cast more light on Block's biography, which is known very fragmentally on the basis of other sources. The chance to follow his gradual spiritual development, however, from a clergyman who respected the doctrine and hierarchy of the Catholic Church to a Lutheran preacher is especially important and exceptional. This also allows us a glance at the history of Tartu's early Reformation period, which was fraught with conflicts.

## Aivar Niglas. How the Word *küüditamine* (meaning deportation) Found its Way into the Estonian Language

*Küüditamine* is a Swedish loanword derived from the Swedish word *skjut*, meaning conveyance, passage, that made its way into the Estonian language at the outset of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in connection with the state-run courier postal service established in Sweden. *Skjut* and compound words formed from it associated with conveyance were used quite a lot in the working language used in the postal service. For this reason, it was adopted by other peoples that lived under Swedish rule at that time into their own languages. It found its way into Estonian as the word *küüt*, from which the verbs *küütima*, *küüditama* and other dialectal equivalents were derived. Public conveyance, generally for purposes of the state, carried out as duties owed by the peasants performed in kind using one's own means of conveyance, started being referred to as *küüt*. The duty to provide such conveyance existed in Estonian territory until the end of the 1940's. The nominal form *küüt* was the most widely used form until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The verb form *küüditama* began spreading in Estonian newspapers in the early 1930's under the influence of Finnish by way of the raw translation of news reports connected with the Finnish so called Lapua movement because the *d* at the end of the root word in the Finnish word *kyyditys* denoting *küüditamine* does not change when it is conjugated or declined. The meaning of the forcible mass relocation of people was added to *küüditamine* as a result of the operation carried out by the Soviet Union on 14 – 16 June 1941, in the course of which nearly 10 000 arrested persons and their close relatives were forcibly taken to the Soviet Union. From that point onwards, *küüditamine* started being differentiated from *küüt*. The duty to provide conveyance (*küüdikohustus*) disappeared evidently at the end of the 1940's in connection with the establishment of the collective farm system and from then on, there was no particular reason to use the word *küüt* anymore, although it is still used to this day to a small extent. The word *küüditamine* was in disfavour during the period of Soviet rule and its use was not particularly allowed because it would have drawn attention to the mass resettlement operations of 1941 and 1949. It was definitely used more in people's private conversations. Post-war deportations, especially the deportation of 1949, and the ensuing rumours, correspondence with persons sent to Siberia, the release of people from exile during the era of de-Stalinisation, and the annulment, and attempts at annulment, of decisions banishing people into exile provided reasons for the continued use of the word. *Küüditamine* returned to public use in Estonia in 1987 in connection with reforms that had begun in the Soviet Union, and nowadays *küüditamine* is understood to mean the forcible relocation of a large group of people with the attributes of a crime against humanity.

## Margus Maiste, Veiko Berendsen. Registration of the Population in Estonia on 1 December 1941: Background, Organisation, Sources

This article looks at the sources and organisation of the population registration conducted on 1 December 1941 in Estonia. Although the event was referred to as *Registrierung der Bevölkerung* it was by its methodology and organisation a population census. The gathered data is a principal source concerning what had happened to the population before the war and in the beginning of the war. As a census, it provides the best structural overview of the population immediately after the battles in Estonia ended.

The Nazi regime organised this kind of census in many occupied territories. The census in Estonia was quite unique because local authorities organised it very quickly after the battles. The census in Latvia in August was unsuccessful. The statistical office led by A. Pullerits was instrumental in the preparation work. He was also head of the Statistical Office before the war and had both a known name and good contacts with people in local government. Local organisers were the heads or clerks of the parishes, towns and villages.

Organisation of the census began even before all Estonian territory had come under Nazi control. Battles on Estonian soil began on 5 July. Tallinn was captured on 28 August and some territories were not occupied until the beginning of December. Census lists were already printed at the end of October and preparations began even at the end of June.

Census results were published in statistical journals in 1942 and 1943 but are barely used. Results were published in several issues of the journal "Statistische Monatshefte für den Generalbezirk Estland // Eesti Statistika: kuukiri" in 1942. The published figure for the population was 1 017 811 (450 569 men and 567 242 women). The population figure was 1 133 917 on 1 January 1939 and on 1 January 1940, it was 1 133 917. The decrease was 116 106 and 104 264 respectively. The population had decreased by 9.5%. There has been no source criticism of this published data.

Primary sources of the census are in the different archives and their collections (fonds). We can establish quite a good picture of census lists, instructions and correspondence concerning census organisation. Sources with aggregated data also support the argument that this census data is a reliable source. Still, there are only fragments of individual census lists in the archives. It is impossible to reconstruct population structure at the individual level. On the other hand, aggregated data in primary sources can successfully be compared with published data.

The census list consists of 11 questions: 1. Name; 2. Current place of residence; 3. If current place of residence is temporal, where is the person's permanent place of residence (at the parish level,

the temporary time period was 2 weeks); 4. Date of birth; 5. Sex; 6. Confession; 7. Nationality; 8. Educational vocation; 9. Working subsistence (divided into 6: 1. Main income; 2. Place of employment; 3. Working status; 4. Vocation; 5. Unemployment; 6. Is work needed); 10. Household; 11. If the person came to Estonia after 21 June 1940 (date of Soviet occupation), then place of origin.

Instructions were detailed and special attention was paid to questions about vocation and work. It goes without saying that this was due to interest in the population as a labour force. Another category that attracted special attention was agriculture i.e. people who earned their income from soil.

Data management was organised in such a way that local authorities had to make preliminary aggregations and send the results to the county administration (there were 11 counties; the basic aggregation unit was the parish or town). There was no plan to collect the individual lists into one composite file. With no public transportation, and the telephone and postal systems hardly functioning, it would not have been possible anyway. County administration had to send tabulated data to the statistical office in 3 stages: 1. Table with total figures categorised by sex; 2. Tables categorised by age and sex, number of unemployed and number of people who needed work; 3. Temporary inhabitants i.e. mostly displaced persons due to combat activity.

Sources concerning the census found in the archives provide certainty that published data might be used as reliable information, and the primary sources found provide additional information concerning population structure at the local and individual levels.

### **Eli Pilve. The Families of “Exploiters” and “Enemies of the People” in the Fetters of the Soviet Regime**

According to the platform of the Russian Communist (Bolshevist) Party passed in 1919, the nature of every kind of state is founded on class until classes are done away with. All manner of measures, including violence, were permissible in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union. Class struggle was not at all limited to doing away with private property alone, rather it also extended to the persecution of so called exploiters and their descendants or other relatives. Representatives of the bourgeois class had to be replaced in the Soviet Union with ideologically trustworthy people of suitable social origin. These were not merely theoretical principles of the Comintern, they were practical precepts. Background checks were employed in institutions to ascertain people's social origin, and personnel departments were formed for this purpose. When applying for a job, financial support, a permit, or in order to enrol at an educational institution, applicants had to fill out a comprehensive form concerning themselves and their relatives, and they were warned not to submit

inaccurate information. Yet even the “confession of the sins” of people close to the applicant was not necessarily of any help. Quite often, being related to an “enemy of the people” brought fateful consequences and the desired job or education was denied.

After Stalin's death, indirect repression grounded on the pretext of class struggle became milder and more covert, yet never really disappeared until the collapse of the Soviet Union. The many variations of forms that still had to be filled out were no longer as detailed, yet even in the latter half of the 1980's, applicants still had to list their foreign relatives living both in Estonia and abroad in order to visit a foreign country or to apply for a permit to travel abroad. At the same time, for instance, the arrest of the applicant's father for political reasons at some time in the past was no longer necessarily a factor preventing the applicant from travelling.

## DOCUMENT AND COMMENTARY

### **Valdur Ohmann. The Number of Estonians that Participated in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939)**

The Spanish Civil War, which started in 1936, drew the attention of practically the entire world. The war started being compared to the struggle that the working class was waging against fascism. Volunteers hurried from east and west, Canada and the USA, the Soviet Union and China to join international brigades. Even Estonians did not remain untouched, although the Estonian government declared Estonia neutral in this war and participation in the war (on either side) was considered a crime. The greater portion of Estonians went from the Soviet Union, but they also went from the American continent, Western Europe and naturally from Estonia. Several articles and even the book *Hispaania tules* (In Spain's Flames, 1965) were published by Communist Party historians in the Soviet era. Unfortunately, the numerical estimates provided in them of the Estonians that participated in the Spanish Civil War are hypothetical, even misleading. Soviet Communist Party historians have estimated that about 200-300 Estonians were in the Spanish Civil War. They did not even attempt to calculate their actual number and there were several reasons for this. Individuals who went to fight in the Spanish Civil War from the French Foreign Legion or who later acquired a French Foreign Legion background did not fit in with Soviet ideology. At the very least, many Estonians who had participated in the Spanish Civil War were later arrested by the NKVD. Some were very fond of alcohol, others did not appear to be interested in communist ideology, etc. At the same time, more realistic numerical estimates could have been established half a century ago already by using Estonian and Russian archives since the Party historians of that time were not subject to any restrictions on

the use of those archives. Soviet historiography attempted with amazing persistence to claim that participation in the war was due to ideological convictions. The characterisations of the participants in the Spanish Civil War that were drawn up by the Soviet state security agencies, Spaniards, or Polish commanders of military units do not unambiguously confirm this. According to this study, 93 Estonians or Spanish Civil War participants from Estonia were successfully identified. This is no doubt not a final and fixed figure, yet this number cannot possibly extend to 200-300 persons, as has been endeavoured to insist to us for over 50 years. In working through the data on individuals, the attempt has been made to identify the dates of their birth and death. There are differences in information and in the case of some persons only their name is mentioned because no additional information has been found. Eighty years have passed since the Spanish Civil War. People went to fight in that war for different reasons. They are in many cases not the kinds of people who have been presented to us, not by a long shot, but their memory merits perpetuation, regardless of whether they were representatives of any kind of ideology or not.

#### **Tiit Noormets. On the Fall of Mihkel Havi's Band of Forest Brothers**

Mihkel Havi's band of forest brothers fell in combat on 23 June. Different researchers have written about their fate on the basis of documents and recollections. Nevertheless, some questions remain unanswered. How did the enemy get to the forest brothers? Was there a traitor among them? Who was the man among them who was known only by a nickname? Is it at all possible to find answers to these questions now, decades later? The selection of relevant documents of Soviet state security institutions from archives in Estonia and Russia published here answer all these questions thoroughly and precisely.

#### **Estonian Film Archive: the Secret Era of German Occupation, or the S-Collection**

### CULTURAL HISTORY ARCHIVE

#### **Eve Annuk. Parade! Parade? Photographs of the first post-war May 1 and October Revolution parades in the Estonian SSR**

The source publication presents photographs of the first post-war May 1 and October Revolution parades in the Estonian SSR, which are preserved in the personal archive of Johannes Vares-Barbarus (12.01.1890–29.11.1946), Estonian medical doctor, poet, and politician, in the Cultural History Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum. After Estonia had been occupied in June 1940, Barbarus became Prime Minister. On August 24, 1940, he was appointed

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, and he held the post until his death. On November 29, 1946, he was found dead in his apartment. His wife Emilie Vares (née Roode, 1897–1947) also died under mysterious circumstances.

Johannes Vares-Barbarus' materials in the Estonian Cultural History Archives include two photo albums once given as a gift to him. These albums were submitted to the archives by Emilie Vares-Barbarus in 1947. One of them contains photographs taken of the military parade and demonstration dedicated to the 28th anniversary of the October Revolution, held in Vabaduse Square in Tallinn, Estonia, in 1945, and the other photographs taken of the May 1 military parade and demonstration held in the same square in 1946. The photographs depict military technology and servicemen, ordinary working people walking briskly, women wearing Estonian national costumes, various fantasy-laden imitations, such as vehicles designed as ships, trains, wooden fairy-tale huts, etc. Both of the albums present also photographs depicting Johannes Vares-Barbarus in the grandstand and among the marchers.

The album dating from 1945 includes 95 photographs of relatively poor quality; the quality of the 75 ones in the album from 1946 is somewhat better. The photographs are not furnished with names of photographers or any other information.

These photographs are of crucial importance as source material as they come in great numbers and therefore provide quite a good overview of the two parades. The majority of them have probably not been published so far. Only a few of them, taken of the same events by different photographers, have appeared in the press, and usually the most ordinary ones have been selected for publication, such as pictures of the grandstand, military technology, or the marching crowds, interlarded with snapshots of some more vivid decorations. The selection made by the author presents, alongside ordinary shots, the ones depicting the most vivid and fantasy-laden moments of the parades.

The photographs highlight the parade as a means of propaganda, meant to create the required image of reality and depict the Soviet regime in a positive light. On the other hand, the Stalinist parade could be viewed even as a kind of carnival characterised by the use of fantasy-laden, yet ideologically relevant paraphernalia. In their essence, however, the first post-war parades in Estonia still focused on demonstrating the establishment of the Soviet regime.