

ESSAY

Jaak Valge. Did Hitler Come to Power Democratically?

Adolf Hitler's ascent to power in Germany in 1933 and the subsequent events changed the world suddenly, significantly and by no means not only for the period when he was in power. The ideology and practice of National Socialism has effectively shaped the thinking and framework of activity of philosophers, theoreticians of history, political analysts and politicians, and this influence will no doubt continue in the future as well.

This framework is appropriate provided that it has developed on the basis of the correct interpretation of actual events. The claim that Hitler's ascent to power in Germany demonstrated a "triumph of will", through which the approval of the majority of society was gradually won, was a part of Nazi Germany's own propaganda, but for many reasons has later found a place in slightly altered form in the argumentation of many politicians and political analysts, regardless of their world views. Yet it appears that this claim has been successfully propagated during the last years and decades in particular in connection with the emergence of "post-democracy" when the making of substantive decisions that are important for society has been left as the exclusive domain of a thin stratum of society's elite. Attempts are made to contest the capability of democratic society of making competent decisions on the strength of the example of Hitler's ascent to power.

This essay considers whether Hitler came to power democratically as the result of the will of the majority of the population.

Tracing Germany's political developments in 1930–1933 on the basis of works by reputable historians leads to the conclusion that the greater portion of the German people was unable to influence the political dramas that determined their fate. The key factor in the ascent of the National Socialists to power was the support of the political elite, the aim of which was an authoritarian government. Parliamentary democracy had actually collapsed even before Hitler's ascent to power, and all that remained to be decided was which authoritarian system would replace it.

Germany lost democracy the way dozens of societies have before and after the war – due to the concurrence of many circumstances, which in the case of Germany were especially unfavourable. Hitler's ascent to power cannot be used to justify "post-democracy", that is to justify a situation where a thin stratum of society's elite makes substantive decisions. The situations of the past do not repeat, but if it is desired to use Hitler's ascent to power as an argument, then this paradoxically is an argument not in favour of "post-democrats" who warn against incompetent decisions by the majority of society,

but rather the contrary – a warning to those who wish to keep the majority of society removed from decision-making.

ARTICLES

Kaspar Kolk. Three Sources of Tallinn's Old Library: on Stocking the Library in the 16th Century

Tallinn's former municipal library, which was located at the Church of St. Olaf, was most probably founded in 1552, but no sources from that time period concerning this library have survived. Nevertheless, the lists of books drawn up by two successive librarians who were responsible for the library in the 17th century, Heinrich Bröcker (in office 1658–1667) and Jacob Fellsberg (1668–1684), make it possible to glance at the library's early development. Since the greater part of the books that were in the library in the 17th century have been preserved to this day in the Baltic collection of the Tallinn University Academic Library, it is possible to obtain valuable additional information from the books themselves: from the design of the bindings, from notations concerning donors or former owners, and from notes written by users.

Books "from the old Tallinn Library" (*von der alten Revalschen Bibliothec*) are entered in the first part of H. Bröcker's list on pages 4–8. Bröcker denotes books that had been in the library before his time as librarian with this designation, most of which are from the 15th – 16th centuries. Since this study considers the story of the establishment of the library in the 1550s – 1560s, 28 of the 160 volumes on the list "from the old Tallinn Library", which arrived in the library at the end of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century, are not taken into consideration in the following. These are mostly notes that had still been in use at the Church of St. Olaf in the 17th century. Bröcker has focused his main attention on the books that arrived at the library during his time in office, the entries of which fill the greater part of his list. The books that were previously in the library were most likely entered from time to time over a longer period of time, perhaps over the entire period of Bröcker's tenure, which is indicated by the frequently changing handwriting and the empty space left here and there, which was evidently meant for additional future entries. Some of the books that had previously been in the library have obviously been left out of his list, as is indicated by comparison with the list drawn up by J. Fellsberg, and by information obtained from the bindings of and entries in the books. On top of everything else, Bröcker has not registered a single old book in a format smaller than quarto format; yet considering later preservation rates, it can be assumed that only a few such books had survived "from the old Tallinn Library". Bröcker gleaned all of his information on the books from the books themselves. There is no

reason to assume that any earlier list had served as a model for him.

The previous origin of the greater portion of older books registered by Bröcker is known: it is not known for only 21 books. The books “from the old Tallinn Library” can be divided into three groups according to the sources from where they arrived at the library: the books that had belonged to Reinhold Grist, the last catholic priest of the Church of St. Olaf who died in 1551, which perhaps provided the impulse for the birth of the library; books received in 1564 from among the property that had most likely belonged to the Franciscan abbey in Rakvere; and books donated by Tallinners in the 1550s and 1560s. The heritage of Reinhold Grist has previously been studied the most thoroughly: it is a collection of books that is quite large in terms of its number of books, but in terms of its composition it is rather typical for a pre-Reformation cleric. The list of Grist’s book collection is also deposited in the Tallinn City Archive. Forty-nine of the 137 titles listed there very likely have been preserved to this day. Among other things, the substantive outdatedness of this catholic-oriented collection in Tallinn, which was already long since Lutheran, could have already caused rather extensive losses during the first century of the St. Olaf’s library. Grist’s books are mostly in beautiful and durable, and thus also relatively expensive, bindings, yet are generally without any traces of use. The fact that the newest books of those that have survived were published in 1518 and that the collection was no longer added to after that point in time, even though Grist was well-off through to the end of his life, is astonishing.

Only three of the volumes from Rakvere have been identified according to the entries in them, and another three have been identified by way of Bröcker’s notes, which quite likely refer to entries that have perished by now but were once found written in the books in question. Five volumes from Rakvere have been identified on the basis of the similarity of their bindings. Eleven volumes contain a total of 18 different publications. Additionally, a few more books with content of a similar orientation can presumably be connected to Rakvere. Pre-Reformation books, some of which were published before the founding of Rakvere abbey in 1506–1508, form a typical late-medieval abbey library stratum with something of a humanist aura. On the other hand, the content of the works in identical bindings that were published in 1530–1540 is almost invariably anti-Lutheran polemics – this probably characterises well the abbey’s main field of activity at that time.

Thirty of the 51 volumes that are known to have been donated by Tallinn’s citizens and the city’s commander of the Teutonic Order during the years 1555–1562 have survived. They are all large-format books in light-coloured Renaissance bindings with

typical ornamentation in blind stamping. The similarity of the binding design allows the conclusion that they were all bound in one Tallinn bindery. The name of the donor and the year in which the book was donated are written in the books in the same handwriting. In terms of content, they are mostly the works of Martin Luther and the church fathers. While the former is entirely in accordance with expectations, it is difficult to connect a penetrating interest in the church fathers in Tallinn of that time with any other known cultural currents. The works of Luther’s closest fellow combatants are not represented, yet on the other hand, 10 volumes of the Magdeburg Centuries treatment of the ecclesiastical history of the so-called Gnesio-Lutherans were part of the collection. There is nevertheless also other evidence of Gnesio-Lutheran orientation in pre-Livonian War Tallinn. In any case, this kind of unity in both content and form indicates that wealthy townspeople had acquired these books according to a wish list especially for donating them to the library, and that these were not books that had previously belonged to the private libraries of townspeople. The books were also brand new at the time when they were donated, and most had been published less than five years prior to their donation.

Marten Seppel. The Plague of 1603 in Tallinn on the Basis of Georg Müller’s Revenue Book

A severe famine hit the whole of Livonia in 1602–1603. However, in Tallinn the plague of 1603 had even more catastrophic consequences and clearly constituted a much more acute concern than hunger for the citizens. This article studies the mortality rate caused by the plague in Tallinn on the basis of the revenue book of Georg Müller, a Deacon of the Church of the Holy Spirit (1601–1608). The second main source for the present study is an account book of the revenues from the funerals of St. Olaf’s Church in Tallinn that dates back to January of 1603. Müller’s revenue book shows that the number of funerals grew to more than one burial per day from November of 1601 to September of 1602 (Table 1). The cause for this higher mortality rate was obviously the famine circumstances. It is evident from the sources that the plague arrived in Tallinn in February of 1603. The number of funerals where Deacon Müller was involved increased abruptly from May–June of 1603 and remained high until September of the same year. The same trend of a growing number of burials can be seen in the account book of St. Olaf’s Church (Table 2). Thus it seems that the plague culminated in Tallinn in the two months of July and August, and receded for good in November of 1603. This epidemiological pattern reflects well the seasonal character of bubonic plague (*Yersinia pestis*).

Regarding the number of plague victims of

1603 in Tallinn, two numbers have been repeatedly mentioned in the current historiography. According to a comment by Georg Müller in his draft sermon from July of 1603, 11,130 victims had been buried at the former Chapel of St. Barbara over the previous three years. Secondly, 511 members of St. Olaf's congregation had died between June and September of 1603. However, both numbers cannot be taken uncritically. Müller dated his comment June of 1603, which means that it was made before the culminating months of the plague that raged in July-August, when the number of deaths more than doubled. The account book of St. Olaf's Church mentions at least 656 burials in 1603. An attempt to reconstruct the overall number of official burials in Tallinn in 1603 suggests that it could reach between 3,000 and 5,400. In stark contrast, the number of funerals in Tallinn was strikingly low in 1604. The latter number allows one to conclude that the population of Tallinn had decreased to 2,267 as the total minimum of people who survived the plague in 1604.

Müller's entries concerning funerals also give us an overview of the burial grounds and cemeteries in Tallinn at the beginning of the 17th century. Altogether, Müller mentions ten burial places all over the town of Tallinn (Table 3). Müller conducted almost 40 per cent of the burials outside the town wall. This confirms that the Deacon often buried people from the poorer groups of the town's inhabitants, or immigrants, who suffered most from the famine and plague. Müller's revenue entries show that the Deacon's income increased remarkably during the years of famine and plague, though the nominal fees for the services were not changed in spite of the enormous inflation due to the hunger crisis (Table 4). The number of funeral services simply increased more than tenfold in the summer of 1603. Müller's very high workload of burial services can also be explained by the fact that most of the clerics holding office in Tallinn also succumbed to the plague during 1602–1603. Deacon Müller was one of the few survivors.

Lauri Kann. 1905 in Pärnu. Strikes, Politics and Violence

The fact that the Waldhof factory, which was the largest cellulose factory in the entire Russian Empire, was situated at the Pärnu city limits of that time makes this city notable from the standpoint of the Revolution of 1905. About 1600 workers worked at the factory. This large number of industrial workers made Pärnu a city of potential unrest in 1905, when clashes between workers and the authorities occurred in many places. This article examines the events of the Revolution of 1905 in the city of Pärnu, focusing on the political activity of the townspeople and on violence in public and political events.

While the January strike of 1905 already broke out in Tallinn and Riga on the third day after 9 Janu-

ary, when crowds had been fired on in St. Petersburg, the January strike began in Pärnu on the 22nd day of the month. The demonstration that was held in front of the Waldhof factory escalated into the destruction of property on factory territory, which thereafter spread to the city. The striking workers presented economic demands, a few of which were even met.

While the summer passed relatively peacefully in the city, late autumn developed into a time of radical demands in Pärnu. The rooms of the Valgus (Light) Temperance Society became the centre of prohibited political activity. More serious disturbances cropped up especially in early December when demonstrators clashed with the authorities, shut the post office down of their own accord, and demanded that the passage of trains through Pärnu be halted.

Punitive detachments sent to Estonian territory by the central authorities arrived at the end of 1905. They burned down farms, and hundreds of people were either executed or sent into exile. In Pärnu, the activities of the Valgus Society were halted, many activists fled abroad, and many people were arrested. The repressions carried out in December also brought the restriction of political freedoms and civil liberties.

Aivar Jürgenson. An Estonian as a Member of Abkhazia's Parliament

This article examines the Estonian August Martin's activity in Abkhazian domestic politics, including his time as a member of parliament in 1919–1921. This period was important in Abkhazia's domestic political developments. Abkhazia's national independence, which had been lost in 1864, was restored in 1918. The highest authority in Abkhazia starting in November of 1917 was the Abkhazian People's Council – the first Abkhazian parliament in history. Georgian Mensheviks occupied the territory of Abkhazia in 1918, after which the actual power of the Abkhazian People's Council as Abkhazia's lawful parliament started being reduced. Elections for the third composition of the Abkhazian People's Council were held in early 1919. The country's Estonian settlers who lived in three villages in the Sukhum district of that time nominated their own list of candidates. August Martin, the local schoolteacher in the Ülem-Linda Estonian settlement who had arrived in Abkhazia in 1915, succeeded in being elected to parliament with the support of Estonians, but also of others. He formed a separate one-member colonists' faction that cooperated with proponents of Abkhazian independence and other opposition members in the Abkhazian People's Council (renamed the People's Council of Abkhazia in the spring of 1919). Georgian-oriented politicians formed the majority in parliament and pushed through the will of the Georgian occupying authorities. The activity of August Martin as an Abkhazian-oriented member of the opposition was a thorn in the side for them. The

Georgian Minister of Internal Affairs Noi Ramišvili also invited Martin to a conversation and applied pressure to him to revise his views. As an Estonian nationalist, August Martin supported the aspirations of the Abkhazian people for sovereignty. When this was no longer politically realistic, he stood for extensive Abkhazian autonomy as part of Georgia. The People's Council of Abkhazia was dissolved in March of 1921 when Bolshevik forces invaded Abkhazia and Soviet power was declared. August Martin left Abkhazia for Estonia in May of 1921 and continued to work as a schoolteacher. Current Abkhazian historians highly appreciate August Martin's contribution in standing for Abkhazian autonomy. His written memoirs of his work in the Abkhazian parliament are also an important historical source, with the help of which to reconstruct the sequence of events in a complicated and significant period for Abkhazia.

Lauri Leppik, Allan Puur. Longevity of Estonian Volunteers in the Finnish Army: Impact of Post-War Life Course and Repressions

This article is based on socio-demographic data of 3,352 Estonian volunteers in the Finnish Army during the Second World War. Longitudinal life histories of these men (more than three quarters of them born in 1918–1926) over a period of more than 70 years allow us to analyse the impact of the Soviet regime and repressions on longevity. The war and its aftermath divided this group into four distinct subgroups, creating a situation resembling a natural experiment: 11% were killed during the war, 38% escaped into exile after the war and lived their lives in freedom in Western countries (mainly Sweden, Canada and the USA), 18% were repressed by the Soviet regime, mainly being sentenced to prison or forced labour camps (20% of this subgroup died as a direct result of repressions), and 29% lived in Soviet Estonia. Crucial life history data was missing for only 4% of the total group. Another 4% of the men were still alive, all being over 90 years old. We observe significant differences in the average lifespan across the subgroups. Men who escaped to Western countries lived longest, outliving the group of repressed men on average by 11 years. In addition to the immediate effect, the impact of repressions is manifested in elevated mortality risks of survivors from the latter group over several decades after the end of Stalin's rule. The results also reveal a general negative impact of the Soviet regime on longevity, reflected in excess mortality among those who lived in Soviet Estonia relative to those who lived in Western countries. The comparison of mortality patterns of these two groups indicates a cumulative effect of risk factors arising from the Soviet regime: excess mortality did not emerge immediately after the war, but rather in the later stages of life (after the age of 60).

DOCUMENT AND COMMENTARY

Vladimir Sazonov. Fourth Column of Behistun Inscription of Darius I (522–486 BCE)

This article gives a commented translation of the 4th column of the famous Behistun (Bīsītūn) inscription of the Persian king Darius I (522–486 BCE). As we know, the Behistun inscription was composed in three important languages of the Persian Empire – in the Babylonian dialect of the Akkadian language, in the Elamite language, and the Old Persian language. It is important to note that the Behistun inscription is a very good example of the use of propaganda by the king in Persia, but at the same time it is an important source concerning the history of Early Achaemenid Persia.

The 4th column of the Behistun inscription covers an historical period from the end of 522 BCE, or from the beginning of 522 BCE until the beginning of 520 BCE. During this period, Darius I had fought against several serious enemies in Persia, Babylonia, Media, Margiana, etc, who revolted against his power and did not recognise him as their king. For example, his biggest opponents in Persia at that time were Gaumata (Smerdis), who usurped power in Persia in 522 BCE, and after Gaumata (killed in 522 by Darius I), a new opponent, Vahyazdāta, was killed by Darius I. Vahyazdāta had tried to seize power in Persia and pretended to be king of Persia.

Other serious enemies were the Babylonian usurpers Nidintu-Bēl and Arakha, both of whom usurped power in Babylon, thus leading to rebellions in Babylonia twice in 522 BCE and in 521 BCE. Nidintu-Bēl and Arakha both claimed that they were Nebuchadnezzar – sons of Nabonid (555–539 BCE), the last king of Babylonia. In the end after several battles in 522–520 BCE against enemy forces, Darius I became victorious over all his enemies in Persia, Elam, Babylonia and the far eastern provinces.

Jaan Undusk. Jaan Kross's Correspondence with Alma Vaarman and Huko Lumet in 1951–1954 (II)

Translations from German and Russian (Heinrich Heine, Aleksander Blok, Konstantin Simonov and others), which Kross sent from Siberia to the critic Lumet in Estonia but which were not published, are considered in the second part of Kross's correspondence. Of great interest is Kross's somewhat ironic brief autobiography from 1954, where he also mentions his articles on foreign policy that were published during the first year of Soviet occupation in 1940–1941, but which have hitherto not been identified. Kross continues his criticism of the linguistic ineptitude of Soviet Estonian literary criticism (ideological criticism was inconceivable at that time). His play on American themes, *Marc Edfordi kaitsekõne* (Marc Edford's Defence), which he completed in Siberia, is thoroughly analysed in

the correspondence with Lumet, and Lumet predicts – sincerely or hypocritically, nobody knows – that it would be a great success in Estonian theatres. Naturally, the play did not make it to the stage but it has been preserved in manuscript form. Its plot and structure are publicised here for the first time. Its plot and structure are publicised here for the first time.

Estonian Film Archives: Estonian Isles

CULTURAL HISTORY ARCHIVE

Triinu Ojamaa. Behind the Scenes of Estonian Days: Hain Rebas' Correspondence with the World's Top Politicians

In 2016, Hain Rebas handed over to the Estonian Cultural History Archives the materials of Estival '83: financial documentation, minutes of meetings, and correspondence. Estival '83 was a cultural festival of Estonians in exile, held in Goteborg; such festivals are also called Estonian Days. The programme included concerts, theatrical performances, exhibitions, and a procession, which culminated with a political manifesto. In this manifesto, Estonians in Sweden demanded the right to self-determination to their occupied Estonian homeland.

The tradition of Estonian Days goes back to the early 1950s, and political manifestation has been part of the programme since 1972. The expatriate society developed a practice of inviting an internationally renowned politician as the keynote speaker at the manifestation, as it was believed that this would draw the attention of Western countries to the ongoing occupation of the Baltic States. Based on archival documents, this article demonstrates how complicated it was for the post-World War II expatriate society to gain the public support of top politicians for the demands for freedom of their country of origin.

The organisers of Estival sent an invitation to five politicians asking them to participate in the manifestation, all of whom were unable to accept it for different reasons. The archival documents do not reveal the reasons why the Russian novelist and dissident Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn declined the invitation. Thomas Hammerberg, Secretary General of Amnesty International, had to turn down the invitation since the regulations of his organisation prohibited his participation in events organised by other organisations. Otto von Habsburg, member of the European Parliament, Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden, and Jimmy Carter, ex-President of the United States, were all engaged elsewhere at the time of Estival.

The article focuses on the documents related to Carter's invitation to Estival. The set of documents includes minutes of meetings and Rebas' correspondence with Carter's bureau, as well as with Ernst Jaakson, the Estonian Consul-General in New York,

and Ilmar Raamot, a politician in exile. The letters reveal that the politicians of the older generation considered Estival to be an ambitious and controversial idea; they thought that its implementation would split the expatriate society. The idea was to emphasise the shared identity of all Estonians, irrespective of their country of residence. The Board of Estival (members of the younger generation) sent an invitation to the Estonian Radio mixed choir to participate in the cultural programme, therewith wishing to symbolically unite Estonians. The politicians of the older generation regarded the choir as a Soviet political institution, consequently its participation in the same event alongside Western politicians would not be acceptable. On the pretext of the choir's participation, the Consul-General refused to help the Estival organisers by forwarding their invitation to Carter. The Board of Estival decided to ignore etiquette in communicating with Carter's bureau and, against all expectations, their letter received a benevolent answer.

Estival '83 turned out quite different from what had been planned: the Estonian choir failed to come to Sweden and no star politician was able to participate in the manifestation. Carter, Habsburg, and Hammerberg sent their best regards to the Estival organisers; yet the key speaker was found from academic circles – Professor Erik Lönnroth, an historian.