

# SWEDES PUBLISHING IN ESTONIA UP TO THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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*The ethnic Swedish minority inhabited the islands and Western coast of Estonia for about seven centuries, from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century up to the end of the Second World War. The settlements in remote islands hindered the intercommunication and the development of cooperative movement. However, the national awakening movement which started in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century created the conditions for national self-determination and consolidation of the Swedish community. The schools with instruction in Swedish and libraries were opened, educational and cultural societies established and books in Swedish published. The book culture of the Estonian Swedes was varied and manifold. The number of Swedish publications in Estonia was not big and not all of the print production in Swedish was intended for the use to the Swedish community. A lot of library books and schoolbooks were also obtained from Sweden. As a counterbalance, a lot of books on Estonian Swedish settlements were published in Sweden by people who were engaged in Swedish schools or churches in Estonia.*

KEYWORDS: *ethnic minorities, Estonia, Estonian Swedes, Swedish language, publishing, national awakening movement, book production.*

## INTRODUCTION

The history and culture of the ethnic minorities in Estonia has not been an intensive object of academic research for many reasons. During World War II, Estonia lost a large number of its population as refugees and three of its bigger ethnic minorities: Baltic Germans had to leave at the beginning of the War according to the Molotov–Ribbentrop pact of 1939, the majority of the Swedish population left for Sweden in 1943–1944 and the Jews who could not manage to escape were killed. During the Soviet occupation the topic of ethnic minorities as well as of Estonians in exile was generally ignored or approached only from the point of view of the Soviet ideology. To some extent the research was carried out in the new

homelands of the refugees, as effectively as the economic and social circumstances made it possible. During the years of the “singing revolution” in 1988–1991 and after regaining independence, the societies of Baltic German culture and Estonian Swedes were established, which unite people interested in ethnic minorities’ history and culture, but it will not bring back the ethnic communities. Some academic studies and a lot of overviews and memoirs on ethnic minorities have been published, but a thorough research on the ethnic minorities and their role in the cultural history of Estonia is still ahead.

The article is focused on the book culture of Estonian Swedes, with the aim to characterise the publications issued for and by the Swedish community up to their escape from Estonia. The study is following the approach suggested for the research of ethnic minorities by the historian and political scientist Rein Ruutsoo. He points out four important aspects:

- the historical and geographical background;
- the economic and social relations in the community;
- the legal status of the minority, and
- the relations of the ethnic minority to its country of origin.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempt to study the book culture of Estonian Swedes was made at the beginning of the 1990ies when, in collaboration of the present Academic Library of Tallinn University and the Uppsala University Library, a book exhibition introducing the history of the Estonian Swedes was organised. The exhibition was opened in December 1991 in Tallinn and in February 1992 in Uppsala; the annotated exhibition catalogue was published by the Uppsala University Library.<sup>2</sup>

The overview of the historical and geographical background of the Swedish settlement in Estonia relies on the historical research. The study of the statistical and typological composition of book production in the Swedish language is based on the data derived from the Estonian National Bibliography database.<sup>3</sup> The archival collection of the National Library of Estonia, the *Baltica* collection of the Academic Library of Tallinn University as well as the digital archive DIGAR have made the detailed characterisation of the older publications possible.

1 RUUTSOO, Rein. Rahvusvähemused Eesti Vabariigis. In *Vähemusrahvuste kultuurielu Eesti Vabariigis 1918–1940: Dokumente ja materjale*. Tallinn, 1993, lk. 5.

2 *Rootslased Eestis aastani 1944*. Näitus Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Raamatukogus 2.12–31.12.1991, Uppsala Ülikooli Raamatukogus

3.2–28.02.1992 = Svenskarna i Estland fram till år 1944. Utställning i Estniska Vetenskapsakademiens bibliotek 2.12–31.12.1991, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek 3.2–28.02.1992. [Uppsala]: 1991.

3 *Estonian National Bibliography database*. URL: <<http://erb.nlib.ee/>>.

## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENT

The settlements of Swedes in the Western coast of Estonia and in islands go back more than 700 years. The newcomers called themselves *Aibofolke* – the island people, islanders. The identity of Swedes was in a strongest way connected with their residential area: they were inhabitants of Pakri – *rågöbor*, or of Vormsi – *ormsöbor*, or of Ruhnu – *runöbor*.<sup>4</sup> Among the main population – Estonians – they were called coastal Swedes – *kustsvenskar* (*rannarootslased*), later Estonian Swedes – *estlandssvenskar* (*eestirootslased*).

The earliest documentary record of Swedish settlers in Estonia can be found in Haapsalu town law from 1294.<sup>5</sup> The number of Swedish settlements increased up to the time of the Livonian War. At about 1550, there were three so called main 'Swedish lands': the island Vormsi (Ormsö), the peninsula Noarootsi (Nuckö) and the Western coast, areas Riguldi and Sutlepa (Eyland). Swedes also inhabited the islands Suur- and Väike-Pakri (Rågö), Osmussaar (Odensholm) and Ruhnu (Runö). In Hiiumaa (Dagö) the Swedish areas were Reigi (Röicks) and Kärkla (Kertell). On the Northern coast, the centre of the Swedish inhabitants was Viimsi (Wiems). According to Piirimäe, the immigration took place mainly through Finland, but quite a lot of people came also straight from Sweden. The big losses of Swedish population were caused by the years of famine in 1695 and 1697 and the time of plague 1710–1711, when Noarootsi lost about 65% and Ruhnu island 72, 7% of its population because of the plague.<sup>6</sup> By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Swedish population in Estonia was already in demographic decline: the islands maintained mainly Swedish population while in the coastal areas Swedes merged more or less rapidly with Estonians, with the peninsula Noarootsi as an exception.

The first descriptions of the regions inhabited by Swedes in Estonia appeared together with geographical and historical overviews of the Estonian territory in the 17th and 18th centuries: for example, as described Arvid Moller (1674–1758), the schoolteacher in Tartu and Tallinn, later professor of Lund university in his account of Estonia and Livonia *Kort Beskrifning öfwer Est- och Lifland, jemte Undersökning om dessa länders Inbyggiares*<sup>7</sup> among the inhabitants of the provinces, also Swedish settlements on the Western coast of Estonia and on the islands. Carl Fredrik Berling (1785–1847), the future book printer of Lund University gave as a student in *Topografiska Antekningar* (1803)<sup>8</sup> an overview of Estonian and Livonian natural conditions and administrative distribution. He described a short history of the region and named Estonians, Germans, Russians and Swedes as inhabitants of the country.

The most thorough study on Estonian Swedes was published in 1855 in Tallinn (Reval). Its author, the German historian and ethnographer Carl Russwurm (1812–

1883) took interest in Swedish settlements while working as a school inspector in Haapsalu. He gathered materials about the history, ethnography, folklore and dialects of Estonian Swedes, which he published in a two volume work *Eibofolke oder die Schweden an den Küsten Ehistlands und auf Runö*.<sup>9</sup> His research was highly valued and awarded with the Demidov-prize of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Peterburg. At the same time, the artist Ernst Hermann Schlichting (1812–1890) created several water colors depicting national costumes of Estonian Swedes. 10 water colors were published in Leipzig in 1854 as lithographs and addition to Russwurm's book.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the main work, Russwurm also published the book of Swedish folk tales *Sagen aus Hapsal, der Wiek, Ösel und Runö* (1861),<sup>11</sup> written down from the Swedes in Haapsalu, Noarootsi, Saaremaa and Ruhnu.

The interest in language dialects of Estonian Swedes started to grow at the end of the 19th century in Finland and in Sweden. The interest for Finnish Swedes' history and language was by that time already considerable and the researchers were eager to compare the Swedish traditions all around the Baltic Sea. The linguists of the Helsinki University Axel Olof Freudenthal (1836–1911) and Albert Hermann Vendell (1853–1907) organised several expeditions to Swedish settlements in Estonia as well as to the Swedish community in Ukraine – Gammalsvenskby<sup>12</sup> in 1874–1881. Their research resulted in the voluminous dictionary of Estonian Swedes dialects *Ordbok öfwer estländsk-svensk dialekterna* in 1886.<sup>13</sup> Vendell differentiated four main dialect regions – Pakri islands and Vihterpalu, Hiiu-maa –Gammalsvenskby, Noarootsi – Vormsi and Ruhnu. The dictionary comprised

4 MARIPUU, Eva-Mai. *Estlandssvenskarnas nationella identitetsskifte efter emigrationen till Sverige under 1940-talet*. Magisteruppsats. Tartu, 2015, s. 36.

5 PIIRIMÄE, Helmut. Eestimaa rootslaste ajalooost. In *Rootslased Eestis aastani 1944 = Svenskarna i Estland fram till år 1944*. [Uppsala], 1991, lk. 12.

6 PIIRIMÄE, Helmut. *Eestimaa rootslaste ajalooost*, lk. 14–15.

7 MOLLER, Arvid. *Kort Beskrifning öfwer Est- och Lifland, jemte Undersökning om dessa länders Inbyggjares, i synnerhet det Estniska och Finska Folckslagets Ursprung*. ... Wästerås, 1756.

8 BERLING, Carl F. *Topografiska Antekningar öfwer Lifland och Ehistland*. Lund, 1803.

9 RUSSWURM, Carl. *Eibofolke oder die Schweden an den Küsten Ehistlands und auf Runö*. T. 1–2. Reval; Lepzig, 1855.

10 SCHLICHTING, Ernst Hermann. *Trachten der Schweden an den Küsten Ehistlands und auf Runö*. 2. Abdruck. Leipzig, 1856.

11 RUSSWURM, Carl. *Sagen aus Hapsal, der Wiek, Ösel und Runö*. Reval, 1861.

12 The inhabitants of Gammalsvenskby were descendants of the Swedish peasants from Hiiu-maa, who had to resettle to Ukraine in 1781 according to the order of the emperor Catharina II. The deportation of Swedes has been handled by several authors, for example by Carl Russwurm and Jaan Jung. The Estonian writer Herman Sergo has written a historical novel about the Swedes in 18th century Hiiu-maa „Näkimalad“ (1984), the TV-movie based on the novel was made in 1987–1988.

13 FREUDENTHAL, Axel Olof; VENDELL, Albert Herman. *Ordbok öfwer estländsk-svensk dialekterna*. Helsingfors, 1886.

mainly three of them. The linguists used the help of the Noarootsi parish clerk and schoolmaster Johan Nymann (1859–1933) in editing.<sup>14</sup> On Ruhnu islanders dialect Vendell published a separate study *Runömålet* (1882–1887)<sup>15</sup>, which included, in addition to dictionary, the phonetics and the morphology of the dialect. The linguistic studies of Swedish dialects were carried on in independent Estonia by the professors of the Tartu University Paul Ariste and Per Wieselgren. The linguistic expeditions were arranged together with the students and the articles were published in the academic journal *Svio-Estonica*.<sup>16</sup>

The second main interest of research was the ethnography of Estonian Swedes. The Finnish ethnographer Axel Olof Heikel (1851–1924) studied the farm buildings in Ruhnu (1904),<sup>17</sup> the Swedish ethnographer Ernst Klein (1887–1937) published the overview of the island's history and the islanders' everyday habits and traditions in 1924.<sup>18</sup> The historian Paul Johansen (1901–1965) published the study of Swedish settlements history in the Northern coast of Estonia.<sup>19</sup>

Estonian readers were acquainted with the history of Swedish settlements first by the schoolteacher and writer Jaan Jung (1835–1900), who made a free translation into Estonian from Carl Russwurm's story about the expatriation of Swedes from Hiiumaa.<sup>20</sup> A more detailed overview about Swedish settlements was given by Johan Nymann in the newspaper „Olevik“ supplement in 1886.<sup>21</sup>

The afterwar studies on Estonian Swedes were continued in Sweden under the leadership of the society *Svenska Odlingens Vänner*. Starting from 1961 to 1992, four volumes on the history and culture of Estonian Swedes were published, comprising the history, settlements, ethnography and linguistic studies of the former ethnic minority.<sup>22</sup>

## LEGAL STATUS, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coastal Swedes were mainly peasants engaged in farming, fishing and seafaring. Their legal status differed from the Estonians in maintaining their personal liberty from landlords and having slightly more rights than Estonian peasants, who in the majority were serfs. Swedish farmers had to pay rent to the landlords and to the church. In 1561, North Estonia was incorporated into the Swedish realm and the majority of Estonian Swedes started to live under the Swedish laws. Swedish rulers never attempted to introduce Swedish language as an official language of the province. Neither did they support migration of Swedish colonists to Estonia and Livonia. The legal status of Swedish farmers (personal lib-

erty) was confirmed and the amount of natural products to pay the rent was fixed by King Karl IX in 1600.<sup>23</sup> However, the landlords including the ones of Swedish origin tried in every way not to take into account the privileges of Swedish peasants. The ensuing quarrels and court cases to protect their liberties characterised the relations between the landlords and Swedish village communities throughout the following three centuries.

After the Nystad Peace treaty concluded in 1721, the Estonian territory was incorporated into the Russian empire. The privileges of the Baltic German nobility were confirmed by Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia. The privileges of Swedish peasants were partly confirmed – the personal liberty confirmed by King Karl XI in 1685 and the fixed days of serf labour confirmed by Queen Christina in 1650.<sup>24</sup> The personal liberty of Swedish peasants depended on the area, for example, Swedes living in Vihterpalu (Wichterpal) were serfs like Estonian peasants and the liberty of Swedish peasants in Hiiumaa remained unfixed. The relations between the landlord of Kõrgessaare in Hiiumaa, Carl Magnus Stenbock and his Swedish peasants

14 LAIDMETS, Ruth. Kulturella kontaktter mellan estlandssvenskar och finlandssvenskar. [Åbo, 2014]. [Accessed 27 February 2016]. Access through Internet: <[https://www.academia.edu/8428039/Kulturella\\_kontakter\\_mellan\\_estlandssvenskar\\_och\\_finlandssvenskar](https://www.academia.edu/8428039/Kulturella_kontakter_mellan_estlandssvenskar_och_finlandssvenskar)>.

15 VENDELL, Albert Herman. *Runömålet. Ljud- och formlära samt ordbok*. Stockholm, 1882–1887 (Nyare Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen och svenskt folkklif; II, 3).

16 TIBERG, Nils. Dialekt- och folkklivsforskning bland Estlands svenskar. *Svio-Estonica*, 1936, s. 141–200; Folkmålsstudier från Kors socken = Murdeurimusi Risti kihelkonnast. *Svio-Estonica*, 1938, s. 58–112; WIESELGREN, Per. Bidrag till kännedomen om Runömålet samlade av Tomas Gärdröm, Per Wieselgren och Fridolf Isberg, redigerade av Per Wieselgren. *Svio-Estonica*, 1939, s. 129–158.

17 HEIKEL, Axel Olof. Om byggnadssättet på Runö. *Suomen Museo*, 1904, 4, s. 73–85.

18 KLEIN, Ernst. *Runö. Folklivet i ett gammalsvenskt samhälle*. Uppsala, 1924 (Nordiska Museet).

19 JOHANSEN, Paul. Über die Schweden bei Reval. *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands*. Reval, 1925, Bd. XI, H. ½, S. 42–50.

20 Russwurm had published a story „Die Auswan-

derer. Lebensbild auf der Geschichte Dagö's“ in Rigascher Almanach in 1866. The story formed a basis for Jungs book „Rootslaste väljarändamine Hiioomaalt aastal 1781, ja teiste Eestimaal elawa Rootslaste loust aastast 1345 kunni 1800“. The book was published in Tartu by Laakmann in 1876.

21 NYMANN, Johann. Pildid isamaa pinna. Rootslesed Baltimere saartel. *Oleviku Lisa*, nr. 8–11, 1886.

22 *En bok om Estlands svenskar*. [1], Bosättningsområde. Historia. Andra världskriget och överflyttningen till Sverige. Folklig kultur. Stockholm, 1961; *En bok om Estlands svenskar*. 2, Ortnamn och terrängord, jordbruk och boskapsskötsel, sjöfart och fiske, livets och årets högtider. Stockholm, 1964; *En bok om Estlands svenskar*. 3A, Estlandssvenskarnas språkförhållanden. Stockholm, 1979; *En bok om Estlands svenskar*. 3B, Estlandssvenskar berättar: dialekttexter med översättning och kommentar. Stockholm, 1990; *En bok om Estlands svenskar*. 4: kulturhistorisk översikt av V. Aman. Stockholm, [1992].

23 PIIRIMÄE, Helmut. *Eestimaa rootslaste ajaloo*, lk. 13.

24 Ibid., lk. 14–15.

got strained in the 1770ies when the landlord started to treat Swedes like serfs. The expanded conflict was solved by the order of Emperor Catherine the Great from the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1781, which obliged the Swedish peasants to resettle into the South Ukraine, to the territories conquered during the Russian-Turkish war. In July 1781, about 1200 peasants had to leave their homes. Only about half of them reached the destination and founded the village Gammalsvenskby near Berislav.<sup>25</sup>

It was only in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that due to the administrative and agrarian reforms the economic and social situation of Estonian Swedes started to improve. The agrarian law of 1856 equalized the legal status of Estonian and Swedish peasants. The law was translated into Swedish language<sup>26</sup> and the special supplement concerning the Swedish peasants of Vormsi island was added. The following administrative reform of 1864 divided the government to smaller districts – counties and parishes, giving the local representatives the responsibility for educational institutions, food supply, roads, public health, etc.

The social consolidation among Swedes started slowly with religious and temperance movements which built the basis for gradually growing social activities. The Lutheran pastors organised Sunday schools and confirmation classes. Starting from 1860ies, the parish schools with instruction in the Swedish language were established. The contacts between the motherland and the Swedish community in Estonia tightened.

In 1873, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Society sent two missionaries to Estonia – Thure Emmanuel Thorén (1843–1930) to Noarootsi and Lars Johan Österblom (1837–1932) to Vormsi. Thorén founded a schoolteachers' seminar in Paslepa to prepare teachers for Swedish elementary schools in Estonia and headed the seminar for eight years up to 1881. Seminar courses included religious instruction, teaching of Swedish, Russian and Estonian languages, mathematics, general history, organ playing and singing. Before its closure in 1887 due to the Russification reforms, the school produced the first generation of educated Estonian Swedes – 28 graduates, among them the later Swedish national awakening movement leader Johan Nymann (1859–1933). Österblom founded the Swedish elementary school in Vormsi and initiated the opening of the second school four years later. He propagated temperance, preached piety and a moral way of life and turned attention to health care. Both missionaries represented the religious awakening movement and regarded traditional folk music, dances and even colourful national costumes as sinful elements in life.<sup>27</sup>

Johan Nymann, who became in 1893 a parish clerk and a schoolmaster in Noarootsi, got acquainted with a young schoolboy Hans Pöhl (1876–1930), who studied in Haapsalu and applied for a schoolteacher's post in Österby, but had to

update his knowledge of Swedish. They became friends and leaders of the Swedish national awakening movement. Their first effort was to organise a public library in Noarootsi. The idea was supported by the theology student of Uppsala University, Jakob Blee, who himself was one of the coastal Swedes and his Swedish friend Gideon Danell who initiated the gathering of books for the library in Sweden. On top of that, Nyman and Pöhl published the appeals in Swedish newspapers. To get the permission to open the library, the initiators had to prepare the statute of the library and ask the permission from the Governor. In the beginning of 1902, the permission was obtained, but the precondition was that the books had to be checked by the school inspector before the library could start lending them to the readers. Checking took altogether three years and ended with the decision from the authorities that books in Swedish could not be circulated. Only a year later, after the revolution of the 1905, the library could start its full activity.<sup>28</sup> In 1903, the permission to establish the temperance society was obtained.<sup>29</sup> In summer 1904 Hans Pöhl participated in summer courses for teachers in Sweden and moved in autumn to Tallinn, where he became a parish clerk in the Swedish-Finnish congregation and worked as head of the Seamen's Home.<sup>30</sup>

The most ambitious undertaking of that time was the organisation of the educational society. The preparations for it started in 1906. Similarly to Estonian societies, which aimed to enhance the education in mother tongue, the Swedes aimed to open more schools for Swedish children with instruction in the Swedish language. Thus, the aim of the new society was to enhance morality and education through the establishment of schools and libraries, disseminate good books and journals, increase the well-being of people through teaching the agricultural and household fundamentals and help those in need. The versions of the statute were circulated between the authorities several times, but in October 1908 the statute was finally ratified by the Governor and the society, named *Svenska Odlingens Vänner* – SOV (Friends of Swedish education) could start its activities.<sup>31</sup> SOV became the main cultural organization for the Estonian Swedes, largely shaping the ethnic Swedish identity in Estonia. The new society to support Swedish culture abroad –

25 PIIRIMÄE, Helmut. *Eestima rootslaste ajaloo*, lk. 15.

26 *Ehstländsk Bondeförordning*. Reval, 1860.

27 PLAAT, Jaanus. Kristlike usuliikumiste mõju eestlaste ja eestirootslaste rahvakunstile ja kultuurile. *Mäetagused*, 42, 2009, lk. 10.

28 *Hans Pöhl – Estlandssvenskarnas hövding: en biografi över Hans Pöhl (1876–1930)*, estlandss-

venskarnas främste företrädare och ledare. Stockholm; Tallinn, 2010, s. 67–73.

29 *Hans Pöhl – Estlandssvenskarnas hövding*, s. 71.

30 *Ibid.*, s. 57.

31 HOPPE, Göran. Johan Nymann 1859–1933. En kämpe för estlandssvenskheten. *Estlandssvensk*, 2015, nr. 1, s. 13–14.



*Riksföreningen för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet* – which was founded in 1908 in Göteborg, aimed to support the provision of Swedish textbooks for schools in Estonia and educate teachers.<sup>32</sup>

## THE LEGAL STATUS OF SWEDES IN ESTONIAN REPUBLIC 1918–1940

The period of the Republic of Estonia was a time of rapid cultural and economic development. The Estonian Swedes had the position of Minority Secretary with the Government, and their own representation in the parliament (*Riigikogu*). In 1917 the first Swedish political organisation – *Det Svenska Folkförbundet i Östersjöprovinserna* (Swedish People’s League in the Baltic Provinces) was founded. In the new national government of independent Estonia all the biggest ethnic minority groups – Russians, Baltic Germans, Swedes and Jews had their representatives. In 1918–1919 Hans Pöhl was appointed the minister of Swedish minority affairs. Pöhl was a member of the Provisional Assembly (*Maapäev*) and served in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> term of the Parliament. From 1919 up to 1940, Estonian Swedes were represented in the government by Nikolai Bles (1883–1941) as a minority secretary (*folksekreterare*) responsible for Swedish ethnic minority affairs.

TABLE 1. The biggest ethnic minority groups in Estonia according to the census of 1922, 1934, 1979 and 2012<sup>33</sup>

Population	1922	1934	1979	2012
Estonians	969 976	992 520	947 812	917 075
Russians	91 109	92 656	408 778	335 268
Germans	18 319	16 346	3 944	1 612
Swedes	7 850	7 641	254	375
Jews	4 566	4 434	4 954	2 109
Latvians	1 966	5 435	3 963	1 904
Finns	401	1 088	17 753	8 069

The first constitution (1920) granted the ethnic minority groups the control over their language of education, the right to form institutions for their national and social rights, the right to use their native language in official capacities where they formed majorities of the population, and the free choice of nationality. The law on cultural autonomy for national minorities, adopted in 1925, enabled national minorities, numbering at least 3000, to establish a national cultural self-government. Cultural autonomy was enjoyed by the Baltic Germans between 1925 and

1939, and by the Jews between 1926 and 1940, but the Russians and the Swedes did not take advantage of these new liberties, mainly for economic reasons.<sup>34</sup>

The primary schools for Swedish children were quickly established. In May 1919, there were 15 schools in the islands and on the Western Coast, together with more than 500 pupils.<sup>35</sup> In his report from 1920, the minority secretary Blees noted the need for at least four new primary schools, as the number of registered Swedish schoolchildren extended up to 1060. He also admitted that the majority of teachers had no professional education and special courses for schoolteachers had to be organised. He suggested that young people should be sent to Finland and Sweden to obtain teacher education. He also reported that textbooks and maps for Swedish schools were acquired from Finland and Sweden and that the guidelines and requirements of the Estonian Ministry of Education were translated into Swedish and delivered to schools.<sup>36</sup>

In November 1920, *Birkas lantmanna- och folkhögskola* (Agricultural and Folk High School) was opened in Pürksi, Noarootsi, on the initiative of the educational society SOV. The idea of that type of school originated from the Danish clergyman and writer Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), who had established such a school in Denmark.<sup>37</sup> The aim was to give the youth a possibility to continue the studies after graduating from the primary school and, as Swedes were mainly engaged in farming and fishing, to educate young farmers. The language of instruction was Swedish and the programme corresponded to the fifth and sixth years of the basic school, combined with agricultural courses. The school was supported by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture. During 23 years, 577 young Swedes studied in the school, with the staff and the students engaged in cultural

32 Hans Pöhl – *Estlandssvenskarnas hövding*, s. 85.

33 The table comprises data from: VIHKBERG, Jüri. *Eestis registreeritud rahvused 1881–1989*. [Accessed 15 November 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.nationalities.ee/EST/Artiklid/viikberi\\_taabel.html](http://www.nationalities.ee/EST/Artiklid/viikberi_taabel.html)> ; *Statistics Estonia*. Statistical database: Population. [Accessed 20 April 2016]. Access through Internet: <[http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/I\\_Databas/Population/databasetree.asp](http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/I_Databas/Population/databasetree.asp)>; The statistical data on Estonian Swedes is retrieved from the preliminary result of the census 31.12.2011 [Accessed 15 November 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/Dialog/Saveshow.asp>>.

34 Cultural autonomy of national minorities and cultural self-government in the Republic of

Estonia. In *Estonica: Encyclopedia about Estonia*.

[Tallinn]: Eesti Instituut, 2012. [Accessed 13 September 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.estonica.org/en/Cultural\\_autonomy\\_of\\_national\\_minorities\\_and\\_cultural\\_self-government\\_in\\_the\\_Republic\\_of\\_Estonia/](http://www.estonica.org/en/Cultural_autonomy_of_national_minorities_and_cultural_self-government_in_the_Republic_of_Estonia/)>.

35 Rootsikeelsed koolid Eestis seisuga 19. mai 1919. In *Vähemusrahvuste kultuurielu Eesti Vabariigis 1918–1940*: Dokumente ja materjale. Tallinn, 1993, lk. 163.

36 BLEES, Nikolai. Ülevaade Rootsi rahvussekretäri tegevusest 1919. aastal. In *Vähemusrahvuste kultuurielu Eesti Vabariigis 1918–1940*: Dokumente ja materjale. Tallinn, 1993, lk. 165–166.

37 Hans Pöhl – *Estlandssvenskarnas hövding*, s. 139.

societies and contributing to gathering ethnographic materials and folklore of coastal Swedes.<sup>38</sup> The directors and teachers came from Sweden. Two first directors Kaleb Andersson and Per Söderbäck were humanists, the following directors Emil Adalberth, Nils Danell, Fredrik Erlund and Pelle Byström had agricultural education. The last director of the school was Fridolf Isberg whose family lived in Noarootsi. The school worked up to the year 1943.

In autumn 1921/1922, Tartu University started to teach Swedish language at the university level and the lecturers of the Swedish lectorate were actively engaged in studying the history, ethnography and language of the Swedish community. In autumn 1931, the Swedish private grammar school was established in Haapsalu in the rooms of the Estonian grammar school. The school was supported by the Society of Swedish Culture Abroad, which obliged to help with textbooks and teachers of the Swedish language. Haapsalu became the main cultural centre of the Swedish community.

The difficult period for Estonian Swedes began in 1939. The Molotov–Ribbentrop pact forced the Estonian government to grant the use of land for Soviet military bases. The islands in particular were considered to become the military strongholds and the inhabitants from Osmussaar, Naissaar and Pakri islands had to leave their homes. The Swedes from the Pakri islands requested permission to emigrate to Sweden and, having been given legal permission, 110 Estonian-Swedes arrived in Stockholm on 17 October 1940.<sup>39</sup> The Soviet deportation in June 1941 deprived the Swedish community of their political and cultural leaders. The process of Swedes leaving for Sweden started already in 1941 and by the end of the Second World War the majority of Swedes had left. The after war statistical data refers to only 400 to 300 Swedes in Estonia.

## BOOKS FOR ESTONIAN SWEDES

Books for the Swedish community were published mainly to satisfy the educational and religious needs of the community. The number of Swedish language publications was higher during the Swedish rule in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and quite small at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the territory of Estonia was incorporated to the Russian empire. The Estonian national bibliography database registers 315 Swedish language publications from the period 1632–1710: in the Estonian printing offices 171 publications were produced, in Sweden 84, in Finland 22 and in other countries 5 publications, respectively. 33 publications have no data about the place of publication.<sup>40</sup> The majority of the Swedish language book production belong to occasional publications (funeral sermons, nuptial songs, leaflets

with war news etc.) and had no connection to coastal Swedes. The number of publications in the Swedish language decreased considerably under the Russian rule. During the period 1711–1917, the national bibliography database registers only 98 publications: 37 books were published in Estonia, 50 in Sweden, 9 in Finland and two have no data about the place of publication. Among the Swedish language books printed in Tallinn, about 20 of them were pietistic tracts aimed for distribution in Finland and in Sweden and produced during the years 1718–1726.<sup>41</sup> Especially scarce was publishing of books in the Swedish language in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to the Estonian national bibliography database, only three books and two decrees in Swedish were published in Estonia. In addition, the teacher and pastor of St. Olaf's church in Tallinn, August Ferdinand Huhn (1807–1871), published in Sweden three sermons on Luther's Catechism that could have been used in religious instruction of Swedish schoolchildren in Estonia.

The number of publications aimed to be used by the Swedish community was never high. Primers, catechisms and readers were the first books targeted at the local Swedish population. The first school for peasant children was opened in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Noarootsi (Nuckö) by the Swedish pastor Isaac Svenonis Hasselblatt (1609–1682),<sup>42</sup> but it was quite exceptional. The instruction in reading was mainly based on tutoring at home and the knowledge of Ten Commandments of the catechism was controlled by the pastors during home visits or confirmation lessons.

The earliest documentary record to prove the publishing of Swedish language textbooks – ABC-books and catechisms can be found in the sales advertisement of books, printed and sold by Adolph Simon, the owner of the Tallinn town and grammar school printing office. In 1672, he succeeded in obtaining the publishing privilege from the Swedish authorities that secured the printing office from unlawful re-publication of their output. The list of Simon's publishing and sales articles included 26 books in German, Swedish and Estonian, mainly primers, catechisms, hymnals and other titles of religious content.<sup>43</sup>

38 *Birkas : svensk folkhögskola i Estland 1920–1943*. Stockholm, 1971.

39 KRANKING, Glenn Eric. *Agitating the minority. Propaganda aimed at the Ethnic Swedes in Soviet-occupied Estonia 1940–41*. [Master Theses]. Tartu University, 2004, lk. 7.

40 Data retrieved from the *Estonian national bibliography database*. [Accessed 15 March 2016]. Access through Internet: <<http://erb.nlib.ee/>>.

41 About pietistic tracts see: AARMA, Liivi.

Rääveli traktaadid. In *Raamat on...* Eesti bibliofilia ja raamatuajaloo almanahh. I. Tallinn, 2000, lk. 68–78.

42 AARMA, Liivi. *Põhja-Eesti vaimulike lühielu-lood 1525–1885*. Tallinn, 2007, lk. 105.

43 *Verzeichniß Derer Bücher, so in Reval bey Adolph Simon gedruckt, nebst beygefügeten Taxe, wie sie ungebunden an die Buchbinder verkaufft werden. Im Jahr Christi 1672*. Estonian National Archives, f 1, n 2, s 356, l 337.

The list demonstrates that primers were produced for all ethnic groups living in Estonia: they were published in Estonian, German, Swedish, and also in Latin. The print number was quite big as the printed sheets were sold to binders in packs of 100 copies. The first Swedish primers were probably printed in octavo format and consisted of 16 pages. Although primers were printed regularly from time to time, only a few numbers of them have survived to the present day. The earliest surviving Estonian primers derive from the years 1694 and 1698; they are kept at the Lund University Library.<sup>44</sup> The earliest surviving primer in Swedish derives from the year 1769,<sup>45</sup> the primer in Latin from 1758 and the primer in Finnish from 1754. The primers in Swedish and Finnish belonged to Johann Heinrich Rosenplänter's collection and are nowadays preserved in the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu.

The other main textbook in village schools was the Catechism. As well as primers, catechisms were published for all ethnic groups and consisted of the basics of religious instruction: the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the confession of faith and some prayers. A catechism in Swedish was published by Simon in sedecimo, but it has not survived to the present day. The volume of a catechism depended on the level of comments – it could be a so called small catechism without any commentaries up to a catechism with profound explanations.

The rare copies of three catechisms in Swedish are kept in Stockholm Royal Library. The first one was targeted at the Swedish inhabitants in Ingermanland – *Förnufftennes Miölk För the Narviske, Ingermanlandske, och Allentackiske Kyrckior*, compiled by the superintendent of Ingermanland Heinrich Stahl (ca 1600–1657) and printed in Tallinn in 1644. The other, most probably aimed at serving the needs of the local Swedish community was the translation of Luther's small catechism from German together with a widespread book by the Swedish clergyman Olof Laurelius (1585–1670) that was published in Tallinn under the title *D. Mart. Luth. Catechismus* in 1701.<sup>46</sup> The third, Luther's small catechism, was printed in Narva and included the text both in Swedish and in Russian.<sup>47</sup> The publication of that book is ascribed to Nicolaus Bergius (1658–1706), the son of the Swedish pastor Olaus Nicolai Bergius.

The earliest Swedish catechism in Estonian library holdings derives from the year 1731; it is the widespread work by the Archbishop of Uppsala Olof Svebilus (1624–1700) *Enfallig Förklaring Öfwer Lutheri Lilla Catechismum, Stäld genom Spörs-mål Och Swar*, published by Johann Köhler in Tallinn and kept at present at the Tartu University Library.<sup>48</sup> The religious textbook by the German theologian Matthaeus Judex (1528–1564) *Corpus Doctrinae* was aimed at being used for instruction in confirmation classes. The book was published in Tallinn in German (1636),

Estonian (1662) and Swedish (ca 1685) languages.<sup>49</sup> Primers and catechisms occur in several 18th century publishing reports of the Tallinn printing office, but no surviving copies of these publications are known.<sup>50</sup> The two textbooks were put together by the pastor of Tallinn Swedish congregation Reinhold Johann Böning (1753–1821) at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His *Den Christeliga Lärans Katechismus* (1805) included the translation of Luther's small catechism of the German theologian Gottlieb Schlegel (1739–1810) and a short treaty on the development and importance of religion. Three years later, his reader *Läse-Bok, innehållande Fabler och sedelärande Berättelser för Barn och Ungdom* (1808) was published.

There is no information about religious handbooks targeted at Swedish congregations in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It might be that the Swedish pastors used the manuals published in Sweden. At the time when manual in Estonian became the most often published book in Estonian, there is no evidence of similar books in Swedish. The first surviving small hymnal and prayerbook of 56 pages for the Swedish congregation in Tallinn derives from 1710 – *Christelige kyrckio böner och psalmer, hwilcka uti de wanliga bönestunder så wähl i dom-kyrckian som och i den swänksa församlingen i staden, morgon och afton brukade warda*. A religious pietistic hymnal for Swedish congregations was twice published – in 1742 and 1767.<sup>51</sup> Prepared by the pastors of Swedish congregations, the book comprised a hymnal, prayer-book, extracts from the Gospels and the Epistles as well as the story of the destruction

44 *Eestikeelne raamat 1525–1850*. Toimetanud E. Annus. Tallinn, 2000, nr. 69, nr. 78.

45 *Aabd...* Tryckt i Reval, 1769.

46 *D. Mart. Luth. Catechismus*. Reval, [1701].

47 LUTHER, Martin. *Lutheri Catechismus, medh Affton och Morgon Bönen*, samt Bordlexor, på Ryska och Swenska. Tryckt i Narven af Johann Köhler, 1701.

48 SWEBILIUS, Olaus. *Enfallig Förklaring Öfwer Lutheri Lilla Catechismum, Stäld genom Spörssmål Och Swar*. Reval: tryckt hoos Johan Köhler, 1731.

49 JUDEX, Matthaeus. *Corpus Doctrinae*, Af Matthaeo Judice På Tyska utgången: Men nu På svenska öfwersatt, ... I Reval: Tryckt hoss Christoffer Brendeken, [ca 1685].

50 LINDFORS, Axel Heinrich sen. *Verzeichniß derer Bücher, die zeit 1770. nach erneyen aller Gnästigen Confirmation, des Privilegio, auß dem Druck gekommen sind, alhier in Revall*. Reval d. 27 October 1772. Latvian History Archives: f. 4038,

n 2, s 1640, l 639–640; LINDFORS, Axel Heinrich jun. *Verzeichniß dererjenigen Bücher, welche in der Käyserl. Privilegirten Lindförsischen Buchdruckerey in Reval gedruckt und verlegt werden*. Axel Heinrich Lindfors junior. 1775? Estonian National Archives: f 3, n 1, s 374j, l 1; LINDFORS, Axel Heinrich jun. *Verzeichniß derer bücher so ich... untenbenannten dato eingerichtet habe*. Reval, d.8 Aprili 1783. Tallinn City Archives, f 230, n 1, s Bf78 I, l 19.

51 *Swenska psalmboken eller Kiärnan af Gamla och Nya Psalmer*, som wid swenska Församlingars Gudztiensts Öfning så wäl i Huset som i Kyrckian i Estland och Reval Brukelige och wanlige äro. Reval: Tryckt hos Jacob Johan Köhler, 1742; *Then Swenska Psalmboken*, med the stycker, som ther til höra, och på följande sida upteknade finnas, nödtorftligen förbättrad, och til Swenska Församlingarnas tjenst uti Ehstland å nyo uplagd år 1767. Reval: trykt hos Jacob Johann Köhlers Enka, 1767.

of Jerusalem, and was thus aimed at being used both for liturgical services as well as for personal devotion.

There are several sermons in Swedish from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but in only a few cases the note about the Swedish speaking congregation is mentioned on the title-page. One of the oldest up to the present day surviving booklets, in which the existence of the Swedish rural congregation is mentioned, is the sermon by Gabriel Herlin, the pastor (1671–1688) of Risti (Kors) Church in West Estonia (Wiek) from 1679, dedicated to the peace agreement between Sweden and Denmark, which was first held in Swedish and then in Estonian (...*först på Svenska, och sedan på Estneska, i bägge Församlingernas Närvaro*).<sup>52</sup>

Arisen from the wars, two military laws were published in Tallinn in the Swedish language. The costs for publishing the new edition of *Krigs-Articklar* were covered by the bookbinder and bookseller Peter Tileman Hube in 1658, during the Russo-Swedish war of 1656–1658.<sup>53</sup> The regulations for infantry *Förordning och Reglemente för infanteriet* was published during the Northern war in 1701.<sup>54</sup> The fire-precautionary regulations in Swedish are known from Narva and Tallinn.<sup>55</sup> The decrees which had to be proclaimed to the wide public were usually mediated by the pastors during the Sunday services in churches. In some cases the pastors themselves translated the decrees into the language of their congregation, in some cases an official translation was made. Such a case, for example, was the decree of the Emperor Catharina II concerning the shipwrecks from 1770, which was officially translated in addition to the German language into Estonian and Swedish. The decree forbade anyone to take possession of wrecked cargo and obliged the coast dwellers to help in salvage.<sup>56</sup>

## THE SWEDES AS PUBLISHERS IN ESTONIA 1903–1940

Compared to other ethnic minorities in Estonia, for example to the Baltic Germans or Russians, Estonian Swedes were not active in developing their own printed culture. Their first publishing article was the calendar for the year 1903, published for the Swedish community. The Estonian National Bibliography database (ENB) registers 126 titles in Swedish from the period 1918–1940, but the majority of the publications make up tourist small prints, propagating Estonian resorts in Pärnu, Haapsalu, and Kuressaare, introducing the historical towns like Tallinn and Narva or inviting Swedes to visit Estonia.

The number of titles published by the Swedish community in Estonia is scarce: it involves a calendar, a newspaper and some overviews of the activities of Swedish organisations.

The first calendar *Kalender, eller Almanack* for the Swedish community was published in Tallinn in 1000 copies.<sup>57</sup> Its publishers, school teachers and national movement leaders Johan Nyman and Hans Pöhl regarded the calendar as a means of communication to arouse the national self-consciousness of the coastal Swedes. In addition to the calendar part, the first booklet included a short article about the coastal Swedes history written by Nyman. Dissemination of the calendar started in winter 1903, but the progress was slow. Publishing turned out to be unprofitable for the publishers. In addition, the mere mention of the old privileges granted to Swedish farmers in his article, caused problems to Nyman, as the landlord of Riguldi baron Taube saw it as an incitement of local farmers. Despite the difficulties encountered, the Swedish calendar continued to be published up to 1940. It should be noted that in 1908 the publishing was taken over by the educational society Svenska Odlingens Vänner. Calendar supplements introduced the Swedish settlements and cultural institutions in Estonia, for example, in 1906 the Swedish public library in Noarootsi or in 1909 the establishment of the Swedish educational society. Practical tips for household and short edifying stories were also published.<sup>58</sup> The last edition of the calendar, *Årsbok och Kalender 1943*, described the destiny of the Swedish population in Estonia during 1940–1942: the educational society SOV was closed, its property confiscated; the inhabitants of Naissaar, Osmussaar and Pakri had to leave their homes for Russian military bases; six leaders of the national cultural activities were arrested.<sup>59</sup>

Swedish People's League founded the newspaper *Kustbon*. The first number of the newspaper reached the readers on 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1918. The editors Hans Pöhl

52 HERLIN, Gabriel. *Een Christelig Tacksägelse Predijkian, Förmedelst then slutna Freden, emillan Christenhetenes Potentatex*, ... sammandragen och affkunnat i Korss Kiörkian, den 12. Decembris, Anno 1679. först på Swenska, och sedan på Estneska, i bägge Församblingernas Närwaro ... Reval, tryckt hoos Christoff Brendeken, [1679].

53 *Kriigs-Articlar, ... medh mängd herlige och nyttige Stycker fordom förbättrade och sammendragne äre*. Nu på nytt uplagd, och till Tryckiet befördradt, aff Peter Tileman Hube. Tryckt uthi Refwell, aff Adolph Simon, 1658.

54 *Förordning och Reglemente för infanteriet Som ... Herr Carl den XII. ... af Trycket utgå låtit* ... Reval: tryckt hoos Christoph Brendeken, 1701.

55 *Narfivens Stadz Förnyade Brand-Ordning*, Oprättat Med ... Feldt-Marskalkkens och Gouver-

neurens ... Otto Wilhelm von Fersens, höggunstige approbation. ... Narwa Rådhuus den 14. Martii Anno 1698. Narva: Tryckt och till bekomma hoos Johan Köhler, 1698; *Utdrag af Brand-Ordningen i Kaiserliga Staden Reval* af den 19de Jun. 1797. Reval, 1797.

56 *Hennes Käjserl. Majestäts... Catharina Alexejew-na...* : til at rædda the skepp, som på et olyckelighet sätt igenom storm kunde råka at stöta på Ingermanländska, Finska och Ehstländiska... stränderna. Reval-Slått, den 18. Febr. 1770.

57 HOPPE, Göran. Johan Nyman 1859–1933. En kämpe för estlandssvenskheten. *Estlandssvensk*, 2015, nr. 1, lk. 12.

58 *Hans Pöhl – Estlandssvenskarnas hövding*, lk. 82.

59 *Årsbok och Kalender 1943*. Sammanställd af A. Stahl. Tallinn, 1942.



and Matthias Westerblom (1888–1942) expressed the goal of the newspaper as follows: to strengthen our solidarity and to promote and protect our political and civic rights (*“För att stärka sammanhållningen och befrämja och värna våra politiska och med borgerliga rättigheter utkommer „Kustbon”*). The editorial board consisted of nine persons: agricultural advisor Eric Fait-Fall, director Oskar Ingman, tradesman Carl Berg and Mrs. Elsa Mattson from Tallinn, the school teachers Joel Nyman from Kurkse, Nikolaus Blees and Alexander Heyman from Noarootsi and Riguldi, Johannes Pöhl from Pakri and Anders Lindquist from Vormsi.<sup>60</sup>

The newspaper became an important information channel for the Swedish areas and had an important role in consolidating the Swedish community. The editor of the newspaper from the start (July 1919) was Nikolaus (Nikolai) Blees (1883–1941), a school teacher by profession (he worked in Tallinn Swedish schools also in 1920-ies and 1930-ies) and the secretary of Estonian Swedish affairs. The newspaper mediated the important legislative acts (for example the Agrarian Law of 1920, the Cultural Autonomy Act of 1925), articles on history of the coastal Swedish settlements as well as the news of the Swedish community life. Sharing his duties as the national secretary, Blees worked as the editor-in chief up to 1924, then in the years 1926–1927 and 1933 – March 1935.<sup>61</sup> In 1928–1932, the editor’s post was in the hands of the school teacher Andreas Stahl.

As the secretary of Swedish affairs, Blees sent in the spring of 1934 the circular to the Estonian health resort towns Pärnu, Haapsalu, Kuressaare, and Narva-Jõesuu, proposing them to advertise their resorts in the newspaper *Kustbon*. “The newspaper is sold in all harbours of the shipping lines Stockholm-Tallinn and Helsinki-Tallinn”, he wrote and suggested to advertise 5 to 10 times.<sup>62</sup> It is hard to value the result of advertising, but certainly efforts were made to promote Estonia as a holiday resort in Sweden in the following years. A number of colourful folders and booklets in the Swedish language like “Besök Estland” (1931, 1933, 1934, 1937, 1938), “Pärnu i Estland” (1934, 1936, 1937, 1938), “Kurorten Pärnu i Estland” (1937), “Pärnu: det gamla välkända gyttje- och havsbadet i Estland” (1938, 1939), “Kurort Narva” (1937), “Kuressaare (Arensburg) i Estland” (1931, 1938) were published. Following the coup by Konstantin Päts in 1934 and the outlawing of the political parties, the newspaper was closed. Blees continued the publication of the newspaper as an independent venture under the title *Nya Kustbon* up to the end of 1936.

During the next year, SOV obtained from the new government the permission to resume publication of the newspaper *Kustbon* as a general, largely cultural vanguard. The politician and businessman Matthias Westerblom became once again the chief editor. In 1940 the newspaper was closed and substituted with the

communist organ *Sovjet Estland*, published by the Communist Party West Estonian (Läänemaa) Committee in Haapsalu, the editors were Anton Vaarandi and K. Saarväli. The first number came from the press on October 17; up to the end of the year, 11 numbers were issued.<sup>63</sup> From being a newspaper created by Estonian Swedes it became a newspaper created for Estonian Swedes.<sup>64</sup>

Nikolaus Blees was arrested on 14 June 1941. He died in the Siberian hard-labour camp Severurallag on 25 October 1941.<sup>65</sup> Mathias Westerblom was killed on 5 February 1942 in Ussolje prison camp in Perm province.<sup>66</sup>

Some publications were dedicated to anniversaries of Swedish institutions and societies. The Swedish Teachers' Union *Svenska Lärarförbundet* published an overview of Swedish schools and their history in Estonia, introducing also the activity of the Teachers' union and offering biographical data on Swedish schoolteachers.<sup>67</sup>

A big effort to promote economic and cultural life of Estonian Swedes was done by the teachers of the Folk High School in Pürksi. The directors of the school as well as many teachers came from Sweden. Their contribution to the cultural and educational development of the Swedish community differed according to their interests. Per Söderbäck (1894–1974) took the headmaster's post in 1924. He remained in Pürksi for three years. He had studied theology at the Uppsala University and was mostly interested in the ethnography of Estonian Swedes. Söderbäck was especially interested in the Swedish community of Pakri islands. His books – *Estlands svenskygd* (1939) and *Rågöborna* (1940) were both published in Stockholm. The next head of the school, Emil Adalberth, was an educated farmer and taught agricultural courses in Pürksi already since 1924.<sup>68</sup> He headed the school for two years, from the 1st of August 1927 up to the end of the May 1929. Adalbert enhanced publishing of a small collection of poems by Estonian Swedish authors, titled *Ekon från Österled* (1927), which was published by SOV in Tallinn. Together with his wife Ester they compiled a small songbook *Sånger från Birkas* (1928),

60 Kustbon. *Kustbon*, 1918, nr.1, lk.1.

61 *Eestis ilmunud saksa-, vene- ja muukeelne perioodika 1675–1940*. Tallinn, 1993, nr. 214.

62 Reklamivõimalused rootsikeelses ajalehes „Kustbon“. In *Vähemusrahvuste kultuurielu*, lk. 184.

63 *Eestis ilmunud saksa-, vene- ja muukeelne perioodika 1675–1940*, nr. 376a.

64 KRANKING, Glenn Eric. *Agitating the minority: Propaganda aimed at the Ethnic Swedes in Soviet-Occupied Estonia, 1940–1941*. Tartu, 2004, p. 4.

65 ARJAKAS, Küllö. *Rannarootslased Eestis*. S.I.

2011. [Accessed 1 February 2016]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.koolitaja.ee/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Rannarootslased.pdf>>.

66 *Meie parlament ja aeg: fakte, sündmusi, dokumente, inimesi*. Okupatsiooniaastad 1940–1991. [Tallinn], 2008. Access through Internet: <<https://www.nlib.ee/html/expo/p90/p2/42.html>>.

67 *Svenska Lärarförbundet i Estland 10 år. Minnesskrift*. Haapsalu, 1929.

68 KENNIK, Ahto. *Rootsikeelne põllutöökool Eesti Vabariigis. Õpetajate Leht*, 1990, nr. 33, 25. 08, lk. 6.

which was published by the school in Haapsalu. The booklet contained altogether 60 songs: national anthems of Estonia and other Scandinavian countries, some chorals and patriotic songs and several songs, popular among the pupils. Already in June 1929 Adalberth left Estonia, having accepted the post of an teacher at the agricultural school in Hässleholm in Sweden.<sup>69</sup>

A small booklet dedicated to the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the activities of the Folk High School *Birkas folkhögskola: En estlandssvensk bildningshärd* (1935) was published by Fredrik Erlund (1874–1962), the head of the school in the years 1931–1935. It described the activities of the school staff in organising agricultural and home economics courses for students and summer courses for school teachers.<sup>70</sup>

The Swedish deanery quite regularly published Christmas albums *Julhälsningar till de svenska församlingarna i Estland* for Swedish congregations. In addition to Christmas sermons, the albums traditionally contained some short stories and poems, memoirs of former pastors and overviews of the history of Swedish congregations in Estonia. Four such albums for the years 1927, 1928, 1930 and 1935 have survived up to the present day. In 1928, Nikolaus Blees made an attempt to start a periodical Christmas publication of *Jultidning*. However, two albums of the same content were probably too much for a small community and Blees gave up his plan.

The first textbook of Estonian for Swedish elementary schools *Lärobok i estniska språket för svenska folkskolor i Estland* was compiled by the schoolteacher Anatol Spuhl (1896–1944), it was published by Mart Tamverk in 1920 in Haapsalu. Spuhl was born on Vormsi island, where his father Jaan Spuhl-Rotalia was a teacher and a pomology plant breeder. Like his father, Anatol Spuhl became a teacher and worked in different schools, mainly in Tallinn and Western Estonia. He was arrested by the Nazis in August 1941 and died in Stutthof extermination camp in 1944.<sup>71</sup>

Textbooks of Estonian language for ethnic minorities were also published by the Estonian Ministry of Education. The first textbook, aimed to the German and Russian schoolchildren, was issued as early as 1922. The first textbook to German, Swedish and Russian schools *Eesti keele õpperaamat muulastele = Lehrbuch der estnischen Sprache = Lärobok i estniska språket = Учебник эстонского языка* was published in 1924. The author of the book was the teacher and writer Madis Küla-Nurmik (1890–1969), the textbook contained an elementary course, a reader, the basics of the grammar and spelling instructions.<sup>72</sup> The book was meant for two or three years of teaching. The Swedish glossary was compiled by Hans Pöhl and S. Nyman. This textbook was considered too difficult and therefore elaborated into the form more suitable for children in 1930. The Swedish part of the book was edited by the schoolteacher Martha Blees-Gottkamp. In 1935 and 1936, separate

textbooks for German and Swedish elementary schools *Eesti keel. Saksa ja rootsi algkoolidele* I – II were compiled by Nurmik, Aleksander Anissimov and Edy Mikkel.

Textbooks of Swedish language were put together by the lecturers of Tartu University. Nils-Herman Lindberg started his career as a lecturer of Swedish language at Tartu University in autumn 1927. His textbook *Lärobok i svenska* (1930) became popular and was also used in teaching Swedish at Estonian Swedish schools.<sup>73</sup> The linguist and philologist Per Wieselgren (1900–1989) was the professor of Swedish at Tartu University from 1930 up to 1941. He took active part in the activities of the academic society *Svensk-estniska samfundet*, initiated several linguistic expeditions to coastal Swedish areas and published numerous books and articles both in Estonia and Sweden. His masterpiece – Swedish-Estonian dictionary, compiled together with Paul Ariste and Gustav Suits, was published in six parts during the years 1939–1940. His wife Greta was the main author of the Swedish textbook for schoolchildren *Lärobok i svenska språket* (1939). The book was authorized to be used in schools by the Ministry of Education. Later, at the end of the Second World War, it was also published in Sweden in order to help Estonian refugees to study Swedish.

Two readers *Läsebok för folkskolan* and *Läsebok för mellanskolan* for elementary and basic schools were put together by the Vormsi school teacher Tomas Gärdström (1905–1942) and published in 1941. The books were meant to be used in the Swedish schools in Estonia and included already short stories on Lenin's childhood and Stalin's study years.<sup>74</sup> However, because of the approaching frontline, the books were never distributed and used. Although appropriate for Soviet ideology, they did not save the author from the imprisonment in 1941. He was executed in 1942 in Irkutsk, Siberia.<sup>75</sup>

In December 1931, the Academic Swedish-Estonian academic society – *Svensk-estniska samfundet* – was established at Tartu University. The aim of the society was to develop the relations between Estonia and Sweden, to study the common history, and to intensify the study of coastal Swedes history and language. The society published the yearbook *Svio-Estonica*. The target group of the publication were educated men, as the authors were mainly the university professors and students. In 1940, the society like the other Tartu University academic societies was closed.

69 Pürkse Rootsi koolijuhataja lahkus. *Vaba Maa*, 1929, nr. 147, 29.06, lk. 8.

70 *Birkas folkhögskola*: En estlandssvensk bildningshård. Haapalu, 1935.

71 *Eesti kooli biograafiline leksikon*. Tallinn, 1998, lk. 234.

72 NURMIK, Madis. *Eesti keele õpperaamat muulastele* = *Lehrbuch der estnischen Sprache* = *Lärobok I estniska språket* = *Учебник эстонского языка*.

Tallinn, 1924.

73 LINDBERG, Nils-Herman. *Lärobok i svenska*. Tartu, 1930.

74 GÄRDSTRÖM, Tomas. *Läsebok för folkskolan*. Tallinn, 1941; GÄRDSTRÖM, Tomas. *Läsebok för mellanskolan*. Tallinn, 1941.

75 Poliitilised arreteerimised Eestis. 1.kd. Tallinn, 1996, lk. 62.

In 1944, the history of the ethnic minority of Estonian Swedes came to an end. Although about a 1000 Swedes remained in Estonia, the conditions to maintain and develop the language and culture were gone. The islands like Osmussaar and Pakri were at the disposal of the Soviet army; the other islands belonged to the border area and were manned by the Coast Guard. Contacts of the remaining native population with relatives in Sweden were cut off. The Swedish language schools were closed and the Swedish language continued only as a language spoken at home.

There is no longer an active Estonian Swedish community in Estonia. The Estonian Swedish Cultural Society unites the Swedes living in Estonia and those interested in Estonian Swedish culture and keeps alive Swedish traditions.

### In conclusion

For centuries, the Swedes were one of the biggest ethnic minority groups living in Estonia. Swedish settlements were dispersed and hard to contact. The economic circumstances and limited communication possibilities hindered their social activity. The national awakening movement, which started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, stimulated consolidation of Estonian Swedes, strengthened the contacts with the Swedish community in Finland and with their country of origin Sweden. Schools and libraries were provided with Swedish books, the schoolteachers studied in Finland and in Sweden. The language and ethnography of Estonian Swedes aroused interest in Sweden. Although the impact of Estonian Swedes on the social and cultural life of the Estonian Republic was modest, their national leaders made attempts to increase the cohesion of the Swedish community through printed media. Publications in the Swedish language, especially the newspaper, became the main tool to shape the national identity.

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*Tiiu Reimo*

### Santrauka

Etninė švedų mažuma gyveno Estijos salose ir vakarinėje jos pakrantėje maždaug septynis amžius, nuo XIII a. pabaigos iki Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabaigos. Jų gyvenvietės buvo įsikūrusios nuošaliuose salose, todėl bet koks tarpusavio ryšys ir bendro judėjimo plėtra buvo sudėtinga. Vis dėlto tautinio atgimimo judėjimas, prasidėjęs XIX a. antroje pusėje, sudarė palankias sąlygas tautiškai apsispręsti ir stiprinti švedų bendruomenę. Buvo atidarytos mokyklos švedų dėstomąja kalba ir bibliotekos, įkurtos švietimo ir kultūros draugijos, leidžiamos knygos švedų kalba. Estijos švedų knygų kultūra buvo įvairi. Švedų kalba leidžiamų leidinių skaičius Estijoje nebuvo gausus, ne visi švedų kalba pasirodę leidiniai buvo skirti švedų bendruomenei. Daug bibliotekoms skirtų knygų ir mokyklų vadovėlių buvo gaunama ir iš Švedijos. Reikėtų paminėti ir priešingą tendenciją – nemažai knygų apie Estijos švedų bendruomenes buvo leidžiama Švedijoje. Šios iniciatyvos ėmėsi asmenys, susiję su Estijos švedų mokyklų ir bažnyčių veikla. Estijos švedų kalba ir etnografija imta domėtis pačioje Švedijoje. Nors Estijos švedų poveikis socialiniam ir kultūriniam Estijos gyvenimui nebuvo reikšmingas, šios mažumos tautiniai vadovai ėmėsi pastangų telkti švedų bendruomenę spausdintinės žiniasklaidos būdu. Leidiniai švedų kalba, ypač laikraščiai, tapo pagrindine nacionalinio tapatumo kūrimo priemone.

*Įteikta 2016 m. kovo 20 d.**Priimta 2016 m. balandžio 20 d.*