

## RUSSIFICATION REFORMS IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES AND THEIR IMPACT ON BOOK PRODUCTION IN ESTONIA

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The 19<sup>th</sup> century is known as a century of nationalism. It brought along the destruction of empires and the formation of nation states. The principle of a nation state presupposes existence of ethnically and linguistically even population. In Russia national minorities formed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century more than 50 % of its inhabitants [17, 71]. To accomplish the idea of a modern state required the policy of integrating and assimilating foreigners. The desire of Russian governing elite to form a modern nation state came into contradiction with national minorities and their aspiration to self-determination. In the Baltic provinces (Estonia, Livonia and Kurland) the principal weight of Russification reforms fell on the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the autonomy of Finland started to be restricted at the very end of the century.

Since 1970ies political and social developments in the Baltic provinces in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been studied by Toivo Ü. Raun, who has comparatively treated the national movements in Estonia and Latvia [22] and published articles about national movement and modernization of the Estonian society [21, 23]. He is also one of the authors of the collective monograph *Russification in the Baltic provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, edited by Edward C. Thaden and published in Princetown, New Jersey 1981 [24]. During the years of regained independence Estonian historians have treated mainly political and social issues of Russification. The Baltic policy of the Russian government and the Estonians' attitude towards Russia starting from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the formation of the independent state has been thoroughly studied by Toomas Karjahärm in his monograph *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917* ("Between East and West: Estonian-Russian Relations 1850-1917") [17]. He and Väino Sirk are the authors of an interesting investigation of formation and ideology of the Estonian intellectual elite of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century [18]. Issues connected with Estonian public opinion, censorship and importance of local press in formation and preserving the national identity at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have been discussed by Ea Jansen in the articles *Tsaristlik tsensuur ja eesti ajakirjandus venestamisajal* ("Czarist

Censorship and Estonian Journalism in the First Russification Period (1880–1890)” [14], *Aleksander III venustusreformid ja Eesti avalikkus* (“Russifying Reforms of Alexander III and Estonian Public Opinion”) [12] and *The National Awakening of the Estonian Nation* [13]. Lembit Andresen has studied the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Estonian school system, including Russification period [1].

Although some aspects connected to printed matter, especially concerning the local press, are also handled in the above named books and articles, there is still lack of a thorough study of book production in Estonia during the Russification period. The short overview given in the collective monograph *Eesti raamat 1525–1975* (“The Estonian Book 1525–1975”), published in 1978 could not present the objective evaluation of the period both on the ideological ground as well as on the ground of lacking the statistical data about what was published during these decades. Uno Liivaku concentrates in his monograph *Eesti raamatu lugu* (“The History of Estonian Book”) which was published in 1995, on the social aspects of literacy and book distribution without a detailed analysis of the content of printing production. Dissemination of book production, especially the development of book trade and foundation of book shops in Estonia has lately (2004) been treated by the young researcher Signe Jantson in her master thesis *Raamatukaubandus Eestis 1850–1917: raamatukauplused ja nende omanikud* (“Book Trade in Estonia 1850–1917: bookstores and their owners”).

The article aims to analyze the situation in printing and book publishing in Estonia during the years of Russification reforms with an emphasis on the most severe period of Russification, 1885–1892, in order to find out what kind of impact reforms had in these cultural areas. The objectives are to analyse statistically the development in foundation of printing offices, to characterize the quantity and thematic range of the title output during the most severe years of Russification and to bring out the trends in the book production of the period. The necessary factual data for statistical analysis derive from the retrospective national bibliographies *Eestikeelne raamat 1851–1900* (“Estonian Book 1851–1900”), *Eestikeelne raamat 1901–1917* (“Estonian Book 1901–1917”) and *Eestikeelne ajakirjandus 1766–1940* (“Estonian-language Press 1766–1940”). When available, comparative data to characterize situation in Estonia and Latvia is used.

### **The aim and patterns of Russification**

The so called *Baltic question* arose in the Russian press already during the 1860s. The Baltic policy of the Russian government was influenced by many circumstances. The geopolitical situation of the provinces at the west border near the capital of the empire, which enabled to control the Baltic Sea, was vitally important for the economy and trade: the Baltic ports handled about 30 % of Russian foreign trade [24, 56].

Economically were the provinces noteworthy modern both in industrial and agricultural development; urbanization and the social structure of the population were more like to industrial society than in Russia generally. However, Russian intellectual and cultural influence on these provinces was small, the local upper class consisted of non-Russians (Germans, Swedes), population of the provinces was mainly of Lutheran or Catholic religion, the nobility and the educated men were culturally orientated to Germany. These circumstances together with the fear of growing separatism awoke the central government's desire to restrict the autonomy of the Baltic provinces and strengthen their unity to the empire. Toivo Ü. Raun has pointed out the tsarist government and the Baltic German ruling elite as two main struggling powers, indicating that Estonians and Latvians although native population of the provinces, were minor actors in the conflict [23, 138]. Russian nationalists were of the opinion that Russification of the Baltic nations (Estonians and Latvians) was inevitable and quite easily performable.

In 1882–1883 the senator Nikolai Manassein was sent to control and revise the situation in Livonia and Kurland which resulted in 1884 in the very critical report and recommendations of reforms. This report became a basis to Russification – *reorganization of state institutions and the society whereby the Russian influence and presence grew and local administration was modernized* [17, 490]. In 1885 the new governors were named: prince Sergei Shakhovskoi to Estonia and lieutenant general Mihhail Zinovjev to Livonia [17, 80]. 1885–1892 are considered the most severe period of reforms, since then the Russian government clearly weakened its pressure over local administrative and economical sphere. Education was the single area in which active Russification policy was followed up to the revolution of 1905.

Historians Andrejs Plakans, Toivo Raun, Edward C. Thaden et al. have differentiated two patterns of Russification:

- Administrative Russification (state institutions, law),  
Cultural Russification (language, education, religion, printed word) [24, 9].

Administrative Russification was fulfilled by reorganization of state institutions and by demand of exclusive use of Russian in government offices no later than 1885 [24, 57]. Russian police institutions were extended to the three Baltic provinces in 1888. The state police offices were founded, the landowners retained the right of jurisdiction only on their own territories. Local courts were subordinated to the St. Petersburg Court Chamber in 1889, class privileges were abolished, the lawsuits and trials were made public. In 1892 the new town law was enforced which enabled the bourgeoisie to take more active part in municipality activities [17, 81]. Russians with no knowledge of local situation and languages were nominated to high political posts instead of Germans. Still the administrative reforms did not include the reformation of autonomous administration of rural district, the privileges of local nobility survived until 1917.

The cultural Russification touched the exertion of language, school, church, press and social life. The educational reform was introduced in 1885–1887. According to the so-called *Temporary regulations*, Russian became the language of instruction in rural elementary schools, starting from the third grade in spring 1887, in 1892 Russian was required already from the first year [18, 141–142]. The use of mother tongue was allowed only in lessons of Estonian and Latvian, in instruction of religion and church singing. The loss of elementary education in the native language was regarded as the bitterest blow of Russification. The centre of the Baltic educational region was moved to Riga, elementary schools and teachers' seminars were subordinated to the Ministry of Education; of 6 teacher-training seminaries in Estonia only 2 (Dorpat and Kaarma in Ösel) survived Russification [24, 318]. The new school types – ministerial and urban elementary schools with Russian as instruction language – were favoured by the state. In 1884 the Committee for founding the Estonian language secondary school – *Eesti Aleksandrikool* – was suppressed. In 1893 the Society of Estonian Literati, one aim of which was to provide rural schools with textbooks and reading lecture, was closed [4, 288]. Demand of Russian gave a painful blow also to German educational institutions: Baltic German circles protested and tried to evade the law; the public opinion was that better was to close the schools than to accept educational reform. In 1892 the Livonian grammar school in Viljandi (*Livländisches Landesgymnasium zu Fellin*) and at the beginning of 1893 the famous Dome School in Tallinn (*Domschule zu Reval*) which had given to Russian science the Pleiad of well known explorers as Krusenstern, Wrangell, Toll et al. were closed [12, 54]. German gymnasia were in 1892 also shut in Berzaine (Birkenruh) and Kuldiga (Goldingen) [24, 170].

In 1889 the autonomy and privileges of the Tartu university were repealed, German professors were replaced by Russian ones, more students were accepted from the other regions of the Russian empire. In 1893 the town Tartu and the university were renamed to Jurjew [24, 175–176]. Proceedings of the university which started to be published in the same year, were up to the 1917 edited in Russian under the title *Ученые записки императорского Юрьевского университета* [25, 49–56].

Orthodox activity in the Baltic provinces began already in the 1840s. The conversion movement was facilitated by peasants' hope that changing the faith will free them from the landlords' power and help them to acquire land. The new agrarian reform laws of 1849 and 1856 showed the failure of these hopes and the conversion faded away. The new attempt of proselytizers had but modest success. By 1904 only about 10 % of the Baltic population were Orthodox Christians; about ¼ of them were native Russians who lived in the Baltics [24, 162]. The Russian state supported the building of new Orthodox churches, the conversion to Orthodox religion and the activities of Orthodox brotherhoods. The two most noteworthy achievements in this area were the formation of a convent in Kuremäe (Püchtitz) and the construction of Alexander Nevsky Cathedral

atop the Domberg in Tallinn [4, 288]. The government also tried to interfere in the internal affairs of the Lutheran Church. Active Orthodox proselytism came to an end with beginning of the reign of Nicholas II.

### Printing offices in Estonia during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

According to the printing decree of 1865 the permission for opening a printing office was to be granted by the governer, the control over printing enterprises and bookshops was given in jurisdiction of police. Simplified procedures and the growing need for reading lecture inspired people to engage themselves in the field of book production and dissemination.

The number of printing offices was steadily growing. In 1861 Tallinn (Reval), Tartu (Dorpat), Pärnu (Pernau) and Narva had altogether only 9 printing offices, by 1880 the number of printing offices grew up to 20 and printing enterprises were also opened in smaller towns like

Kuressaare (Arensburg), Rakvere (Wesenberg), Viljandi (Fellin), and Haapsalu (Hapsal). The most rapid development in printing can be observed during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: during 1880–1900 ten printing offices were opened in Tallinn, six in Tartu, four in Narva; from smaller towns first printing shops were opened in Valga (Walck), Võru (Werro), Paide (Weissenstein), Põltsamaa (Oberpahlen), Kilingi-Nõmme. New offices in addition to earlier ones were founded in Kuressaare, Viljandi and Pärnu (see Chart 1) [10, 137–144]. Printing offices in small towns made local cultural life more lively and active, gave additional possibilities to issue regional newspapers and to publish books. This phenomena asserts the eminent fact that during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century printing activities reached from big centres to

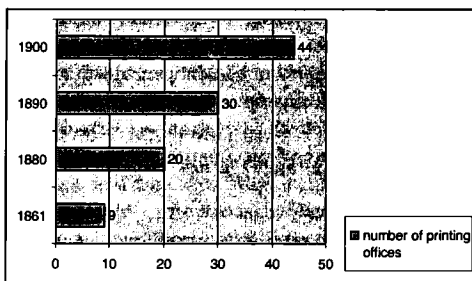


Chart 1. Number of printing offices in Estonia 1861–1900

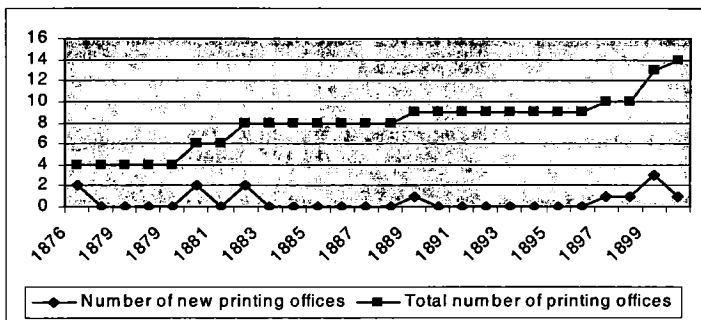


Chart 2. Number of printing offices in Estonia 1861–1900

smaller regional towns. The time for action of printing shops in smaller places was in many cases quite short due to economical difficulties.

If we draw attention to the founding years of printing offices, it turns out that from 1883 to 1889 and from 1890 to 1897 there were no new offices opened in Tallinn (see Chart 2); from 1888 to 1895 there were also no new offices founded in Tartu [10, 138–141], which leads to the conclusion that during the most severe period of reforms the foundation of printing offices in bigger centres was hindered by the authorities.

Still, the steadily growing number of printing offices indicates that despite of difficulties it was possible to get a permission for founding a printing enterprise and these opportunities were actively used. Majority of workmen in printing offices (63 % in 1897) and owners of printing offices at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were already Estonians, for example in 1900 seven offices from 14 in Tallinn belonged to Estonians [4, 542].

The same tendencies can be observed in Estonian book trade: the number of bookshops grew steadily (from six shops in 1850 to 64 in 1900) and shops were opened in smaller towns. However, about 60 % of bookshops could do business less than ten years. Estonians started to acquire and open shops since 1870s [15, 94].

### Estonian-language newspapers

Opening of printing offices was closely connected with publishing newspapers. Printing possibilities in smaller towns denoted also the era of founding regional newspapers. Journalism played a decisive role in Estonian public life since national awakening. The national consciousness was developed by Jannsen's *Perno Postimees* and *Eesti Postimees* and by Jakobson's *Sakala*. In 1880s and 1890s the strict censorship was established,

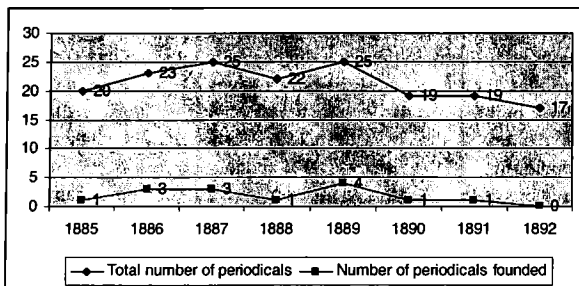


Chart 3. Periodicals in Estonian 1885–1900

about 50 requests for new Estonian newspapers and journals were rejected by the Chief Press Administration in St. Petersburg, usually on the ground that a sufficiently large Estonian press already existed [24, 333]. The total number of periodicals in Estonian grew from 11 titles in 1880 up to 24 titles in 1900 [5, 825–826]. The most significant facts are, that in 1886 Karl August Hermann got permission for publishing the newspaper *Postimees* which became the first Estonian daily newspaper in 1891 and in 1897 Lilli Suburg was permitted to issue the first journal for women – *Linda* [11, 38]. The average circulation of newspapers reached up to 3000 – 4000 copies, the newspaper *Valgus* (“The Light”), published by Jakob Kõrv, could even circulate in 8000 copies in 1890ties [14, 30]. Observing the years of the most severe Russification (1885–1892), it is seen that the total number of Estonian periodicals even fell and the number of new periodicals was not reaching five titles per year (see Chart 3). Toivo Ü. Raun has in his comparison of development of journalism in Latvia and Estonia pointed out that the Latvian development was more rapid: the total circulation of Latvian newspapers by the end of the 1870s was about three times as high as in Estonia, the Latvian daily newspaper *Rīgas Lapa* (1877) appeared 14 years before as the *Postimees* (1891) in Estonia [22, 73]. The real boom of the Estonian-language journalism came after the 1905 revolution when over 100 new Estonian newspapers were published [13, 98].

Krista Aru emphasizes also changes in the content of newspaper articles of the time: ideological discussions and standpoints promoting the national identity were replaced by educational and cultural overviews pertaining the enlightenment of people [3, 27]. Although the newspapers lost the significance they had performed in political and social life of Estonians in the years of the national awakening, they maintained enormous importance preserving the self-confidence and favouring rising of peoples’ educational level.

## Book-production of Russification period

Between books and education there is a direct relation: the ability to read and write create a thirst for knowledge which in its turn gives rise for demand of books. All historians have pointed out the very high rate of literacy in the Baltic provinces. According to the results of 1897 census 91,2 % of the Estonian population was literate, the corresponding figure for Latvians was 80 % and for Lithuanians 54 %. In comparison with other regions of the Russian empire these figures were more than twice higher (in Russia the percentage of literate population was 30, in Ukraine 28, in Poland 41) [19, 86].

Regarding Estonian-language book production, the impact of Russification reforms is at the first glance not observable: the overall trend in total number of title output was strongly upward. The Estonian retrospective national bibliography registers 5623 books and brochures in Estonian, published in the years 1885–1904 (see Chart 4) [7, 895–902; 8, 1204–1207].

The small decline in the number of titles can be seen in the years 1886–1887 and 1893–1894, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century more than 400 Estonian books were published per year. According to Uno Liivaku, the number of titles printed in Estonia during 1887 – 1900 was 3500 (the retrospective bibliography registers 3599 titles); the number of books in Latvian was a bit smaller – 3147 titles [19, 88]. If we take into account that in some parts of Latvia printing books in Latvian was prohibited, it can be suggested that the book production in native languages was quite similar. U. Liivaku also gives comparative statistical data on book production in Estonia and Finland, bringing out that publishing activity was more lively in Finland: 400 titles in 1895, 530 titles in 1900 [19, 88].

Hence, to observe the influence of Russification, we must have a more detailed look at the content of printing production. Analysis of the printing production during

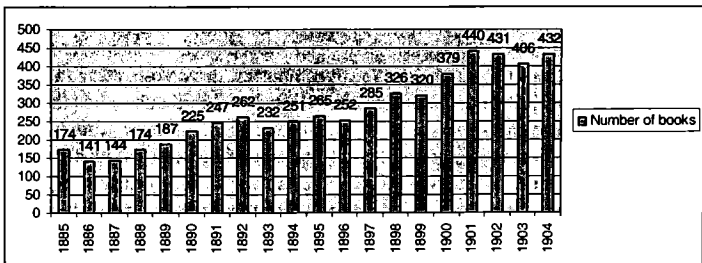


Chart 4. Book publishing in Estonian 1885–1904



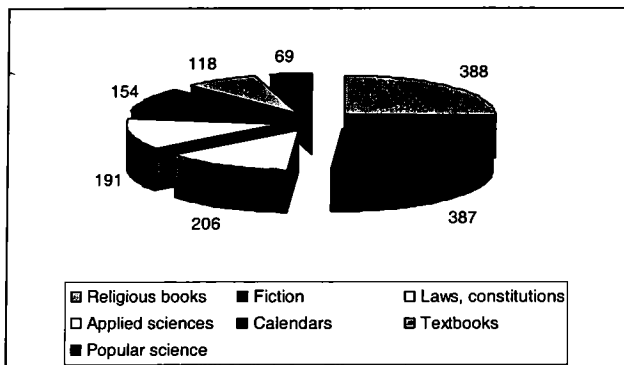


Chart 5. Typological and thematic analysis of Estonian book production 1885–1892

1880–1900 shows that the most popular publications were calendars. In 1880 18 different calendars were published, in 1900 the number of calendars was already 32 [6, 11]. The usual circulation of calendars was 6000–10 000 copies, although there were also calendars with circulation of 200–5000 copies. The most popular calendar “Tõnissoni Tähtraamat” was published by Mats Tõnisson in Vändra, its number of copies extended during the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from 60 000 to 100 000 [2, 136]. Calendars were peasantry’s most common reading lecture, which offered across the compulsory part of the calendar, general weather forecast and information about the annual fairs, the appendix with practical advices for agriculture, health care and everyday life.

Observing the typological and thematic analysis of the printing production of the most severe years of Russification, that is 1885–1892, it turns out that the biggest number of titles printed were books of religious content and belletristic literature, accordingly 26 % and 25 % of the book production (see Chart 5). Both types were also preferred in advertising Estonian books in newspapers [16, 67].

Books of religious content dominated in book advertising up to the middle of the 1890s, since then the first place was taken by belletristic literature [16, 69]. Books on religion were represented by Bible elucidations, collections of sermons, hymnals, prayer books, catechisms and Bible editions. Among the books of religious content the rising importance gained accounts of missionaries which presented the nature and people of exotic countries, their habits and customs, which became especially popular at the very end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

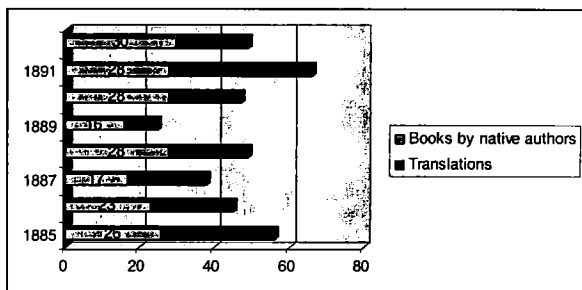


Chart 6. Fictions published in Estonian 1885–1892

In 1880ies romantic-heroic fiction of historical content gave a boost to cultural aspiration and national liberation, arousing interest in history. The popular historical story *Tasuja* (“Avenger”) by Eduard Bornhöhe, first printed in 1880, was reprinted twice (1888 and 1900) up to the end of the century. The second story by E. Bornhöhe, *Villu võitlused* (“Fightings of Villu”) was published in 1890. Historical stories were also published by Jaak Järv (a novel *Vallimäe neitsi* [“The Maiden of Vallimäe”, 1885] and *Karolus* [1892]) and Andres Saal (*Hilda* [1890], *Aita* [1891], *Leili* [1892–1893]) [9, 105–108]. In 1892 publication of this kind of literature was prohibited by the censor on the pretext that it helped spark off the national liberation movement. Prohibition of written works about Estonian freedom fighting against foreign conquerors was suggested by the governor S. Shakhovskoi as means against the national spirits [11, 38]. Belletristic writing also served as the function of helping to hold up for public attention certain social problems. Andrejs Plakans has pointed out the importance of intermediating the social and cultural reality in the characters of the first Latvian novel *Mērnieku laiki* (The Era of Land-Surveyors; 1879) [20, 111], T. Raun indicates that the importance of education is a topic of major concern in many Estonian belletristic writings of that time (*Bob Ellerhein* by Maximillian Pödder 1884; *Ennosaare Ain* by Elisabeth Aspe 1888) [21, 122].

The importance of fiction by native authors grew steadily, but still made only half of the total output of belletristic titles. From 387 fictions printed in 1885–1892 translations made up 49 % (see Chart 6). The majority of translations were still sentimental and adventure stories with a didactic bias like those of Genevieve and other virtuous and unhappy women. In the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also classics and contemporary masterpieces were translated. The most frequently translated authors were the Germans Christoph von Schmid and Franz Hoffmann [6, 22]. There were also several adaptations of German originals which authors could not be disclosed.

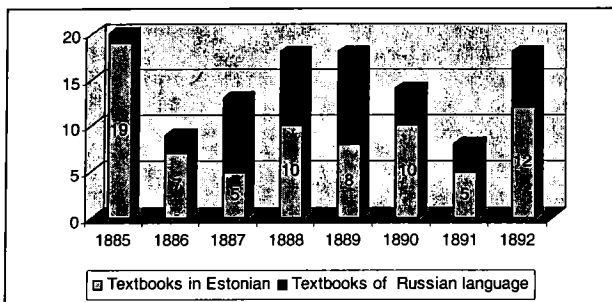


Chart 7. Textbooks published in Estonia 1885–1892

The number of translations from Russian also increased during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but in this case the impact of Russification hardly can be seen. The preferred authors were Lev Tolstoi and Ivan Turgenev; works of Puschkin, Krylov, Dostojevski, Gogol and Korolenko were also translated. The growing interest in Russian history was caused by the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878 which personally touched many Estonian families.

By the end of the century the overwhelming majority of Estonian population was literate. In the 1860s a network of village schools was established and since 1867 the elementary education became compulsory [1, 187]. In the situation of reforms the knowledge of Russian was required. To achieve it, many Russian language textbooks and dictionaries were published which were meant to be used in schools and for independent study. Some books for rural schools were bilingual. In secondary schools Russian language textbooks which were printed in Russia were taken in use. Altogether 118 textbooks were published during 1885–1892 (see Chart 7). If from 20 textbooks which were printed in 1885 only one was the Russian language textbook, then in 1887–1889 the number of Russian language textbooks and dictionaries was even bigger than of textbooks in Estonian: in 1887 five books of Estonian language and eight books of Russian language were published; in 1889 eight Estonian textbooks and ten Russian textbooks were published.

Three editions were published from the textbook of Russian *Vene keele õpiraamat* by Karl August Hermann (two 1887 altogether 7800 copies and one 1888 in 3000 copies) [6, 203], several small dictionaries in order to help studying Russian were put together by the teacher and author of children books Timotheus Kuusik [6, 351–352]. Journalist and the author of textbooks Ado Grenzstein compiled compendiums for studying both Russian and German languages; two parts of his bilingual three-part

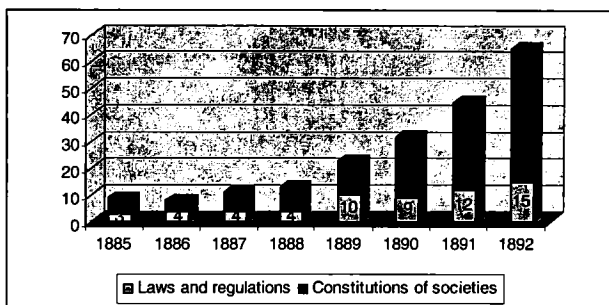


Chart 8. Laws and constitutions published in Estonia 1885–1892

textbook *Rüigikeele õpik Eestlastele* = *Учебник государственного языка для эстов* were printed three times in 1889–1892, the number of copies extending from 2000 to 4000 copies [6, 170]. Twice was published the translation of the history book *История России* by D. Ilvaski (editions of 1885 and 1890) [6, 223].

From 206 books and brochures of juridical content 145 were mainly bilingual (in Estonian and Russian languages) constitutions and reports of the societies with an average circulation of 100–400 copies. Foundation of societies based on the new stratum of village school teachers who started to take active part in public and cultural life in the 1860s. The first objectives of the societies were usually quite simple and state-aided; soon however the leaders of national movement began to encourage the national-aided and political activities of the societies. Russification program did not manage to slow down the ongoing foundation of different associations. Russian law did not specifically forbid such societies, but their activities fell under the strict police control.

Foundation of a society was strictly regulated, the constitutions had to correspond with model documents which were in use in Russia, and statutes had to be ratified by the ministries in St. Petersburg. The best way to achieve ratification was to publish constitutions both in Estonian and Russian languages. The societies who most printed constitutions and reports were insurance societies, agricultural societies, temperance and religious societies. As an example of curiosities it can be mentioned, that in 1889–1898 in Tallinn there was even the society for saving drunkards and prostitutes (*Эстляндское общество попечения о лицах предающихся пьянству и проституции*) [6, 121].

## Conclusions

By the early nineties the Russian government had clearly decided not to follow a consistently anti-German line of policy. After 1895 the officials followed a policy of coexistence with the Baltic Germans who continued to participate actively in the administration of education, recruitment, higher peasant courts, local taxation, economic and municipal affairs and road building. Historians have pointed out that Russification also had positive and unforeseen influences on Estonian culture. By the end of the century it was clear that the Orthodox proselytizing and Russified schools had had very little impact on Estonians. As expressed by Ea Jansen the educational reform did not bring along the integration of the intellectuals with the Russian culture. The tsarist authorities overestimated the power of Russian culture in the Baltic and underestimated the reaction to forced Russification. For Estonian intelligentsia the pressure of Russification awakened a greater sense of maintaining national identity. Printed word, especially the local press played a significant role in shaping the ideological principles of the national movement. Administrative reforms gave Estonians little but still more possibilities for economic and social activities which were effectively used also in book production and dissemination. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century majority of printing offices and book shops were already owned by Estonians. The number of printing offices was steadily growing, although during the most severe period of Russification there were difficulties in obtaining permissions for printing enterprises. In 1900 there were 44 printing offices in Estonia. The decades of national awakening formed a steady need for books in Estonian language. The overall trend in total number of title output was strongly upward, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century more than 400 books in Estonian were published every year. A small decline can be observed only in two years of the period 1885–1892 and as the same phenomena also occurs later, it can not be concluded that it was caused by Russification. Typological analysis of the book production indicates that Russification had the biggest impact on publishing textbooks. The number of bilingual books and brochures also increased, especially due to publishing numerous constitutions of societies. The analysis allows to conclude that in the area of book production in Estonian Russification had only short-term and temporary effects.

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## RUSSIFICATION REFORMS IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES AND THEIR IMPACT ON BOOK PRODUCTION IN ESTONIA

TIIU REIMO

### Abstract

The article gives an overview about administrative and cultural Russification in the Baltic provinces and focuses on the analysis of printing activities and book production in Estonia during the most severe period of Russification 1885-1892.

According to 1865 printing decree the permission for opening a printing shop was to be granted by the governor, control over printing enterprises and bookshops was in jurisdiction of police. According to statistics the number of printing offices in the second half of the 19th century grew steadily. The most rapid development can be observed during the last decades of the century. By 1900 there were 44 printing shops in Estonia. Printing activities reached from bigger centres Tallinn and Tartu to smaller towns. Observing the foundation of printing shops during 1885-1892 it is noteworthy that during many years there were no new enterprises opened which allows concluding that the process was hindered by the authorities.

Opening of printing offices was closely connected with publishing newspapers. Printing possibilities in smaller regional centres brought along foundation of regional newspapers. Impact of Russification on publishing newspapers in Estonian was performed by censorship. About 50 requests for new journals and newspapers were rejected during 1880s and 1890s. The researches have also pointed out changes in the content of newspaper articles: ideological discussions and standpoints promoting the national identity were replaced by educational and cultural overviews which contributed in enlightenment of people.

Regarding Estonian language book production in general the impact of Russification reforms is not observable. The overall trend in total number of title output was strongly upward. The Estonian national retrospective bibliography registers 5623 books and brochures in Estonian, published in the years 1885-1904, at the beginning of the 20th century more than 400 Estonian books were printed every year. Thematical and typological analysis of the printing production shows that the biggest number of titles printed were books of religious content and belletristics. The importance of fiction by native authors grew, but still translations made up more than half of belletristic titles. The number of translations from Russian also increased during the last decades of the 19th century. The impact of Russification is most obvious in publishing textbooks. From 118 textbooks published during 1885-1892 42 were textbooks and dictionaries of Russian language. The total number of bilingual books grew also due to constitutions of societies which made up the majority of juridical literature of the time.

In conclusion the author points out that analysing the statistical data, typological and thematical content of book production it can be concluded that Russification had little and temporary impact on Estonian book production.

## BALTIJOS PROVINCIJŲ RUSIFIKACIJOS REFORMOS IR JŲ POVEIKIS ESTIJOS KNYGŲ LEIDYBAI

### TĪTU REIMO

#### Santrauka

Straipsnyje apžvelgiama Baltijos provincijų administracinė ir kultūrinė rusifikacija, analizuojama Estijos knygų leidybos ir spausdinimo būklė intensyviausios rusifikacijos laikotarpiu – 1885–1892 metais.

Pagal 1865 metų spaudos dekretą leidimą steigti spaustuvę išduodavo gubernatorius, o policijos pareiga buvo kontroliuoti spaustuves ir knygynus. Statistikos duomenys rodo, kad XIX amžiaus antroje pusėje spaustuvių nuolat daugėjo. Sparčiausiai ši veikla plėtojosi paskutiniaisiais to amžiaus dešimtmečiais. 1900 metais Estijoje buvo 44 spaustuvės. Iš didžiųjų centrų – Talino ir Tartu – spaudos darbas pasiekė mažesnius miestus. Verta pažymėti, kad duomenys rodo, jog 1885–1892 metais neatsidarė nė viena nauja įmonė. Tai leistų teigti, kad valdžia sustabdė šį procesą.

Spaustuvių atsiradimas glaudžiai siejosi su laikraščių leidyba. Mažesniuose regionų centruose spausdinimo galimybės buvo pasinaudota regioniniams laikraščiams steigti. Cenzūros įstaigos vykdoma rusifikacija veikė Estijos laikraščių leidybą. XIX a. 9 ir 10 dešimtmečiais buvo atmesta apie 50 prašymų steigti naujus žurnalus ir laikraščius. Tyrimai taip pat atskleidė laikraščių turinio pokyčius: ideologinės diskusijos ir nacionalinės tapatybės įtvirtinimo medžiaga užleido vietą auklėjamoji ir kultūrinio pobūdžio apžvalgoms, skirtoms liaudžiai šviesti.

Rusifikacijos reformos ncurėjo įtakos knygų estų kalba leidybai. Bendras antraščių skaičius nuolat ir ženkliai augo. Estijos nacionalinė bibliografija užregistravo 5623 knygas ir brošiūras estų kalba, išleistas 1885–1904 metais, o XX a. pradžioje kasmet pasirodydavo apie 400 knygų estų kalba. Spausdintos produkcijos tcminė ir tipologinė analizė rodo, kad daugiausia buvo leidžiamos religinio turinio ir grožinės literatūros knygos. Paskutiniaisiais XIX a. dešimtmečiais taip pat padaugėjo vertimų iš rusų kalbos. Rusifikacija labiausiai paveikė vadovėlių leidybą. 1885–1892 metais iš 118 vadovėlių 42 buvo rusiški vadovėliai ir žodynai. Dvikalbių knygų bendras skaičius augo, nes atsirado nemaža draugijų, rengusių juridinę literatūrą.

Pagal knygų leidybos statistinių duomenų, tipologijos ir turinio analizę autorius daro išvadą, kad rusifikacijos poveikis knygų estų kalba leidybai buvo menkas ir laikinas.