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**RUSSIAN MIGRATION TO ESTONIA:
THE CASE OF TARTU, 1855-1897**

Master's thesis

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Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Russian population in Estonia (according to present-day borders) doubled. By 1897, it numbered 46,026.¹ Where did they come from, and when? Why did they come? Did they intend to impose Russian cultural and administrative norms on the German elite and the numerically dominant Estonians, strengthening Russian territorial claims to the Baltics? Did they come rather seeking a livelihood and better living conditions, because they faced difficulty providing for their families in their homelands? Contemporary and historical events make these questions compelling and their answers enlightening.

Russian Orthodox confessant lists provide insight into why Russians came to Estonia. Acting much like membership rolls, the lists document places of origin for individuals in various classes. When tracked over time, the total number of persons appearing in the lists provides an overview of shifts in presence. Juxtaposing this data and region- and empire-wide phenomena, it reanalyzes the current claims of the reasons behind Russian migration to Estonia. The results suggest the need for a more variegated view of the principal factors that promoted migration; some factors appear to have affected the movement more than others. In particular, these findings challenge the claim that Russification, which peaked in the Baltics in the latter half of the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s, played an essential role in the migratory movement.

1. Historiography

Some historians have treated Russian migration to this area in terms of Russian migration to Estonia as it stands today, consisting of northern Livland, Estland, and Narva (formerly St. Petersburg province). Toomas Karjahärm, Professor Emeritus of Tallinn University's History Department, wrote the most comprehensive study on Russian settlement in Estonia during the imperial period. In *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, Karjahärm provided a brief overview of what caused the increase of the Russian population during the late imperial period. He stated,

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¹ Toomas Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, trans. Kaja Toomel (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1998), 484.

The movement of the population gained momentum from the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861. Immigration into the Baltic provinces was promoted by modernization, urbanization, industrialization and militarization of the region, as well as by the central government's policy of administrative and cultural Russification and the all-round strengthening of Russia's influence.²

He also included the extension of transportation networks, particularly the railroad, and the increased development of a market economy throughout Russia, as additional factors promoting migration. Noting that Russification brought government officials, educators, and others, he wrote that there was no mass relocation of Russians to Estonia. While he gives multiple factors as having stimulated Russian migration to Estonia, he does not go much further in elucidating them, leaving the reader to guess how and to what extent these factors promoted migration to Estonia. It seems as though all factors had equal value in promoting migration. Factors such as industrialization and urbanization seem to be on par with Russification.³

This paper contributes to an understanding of Russian migration to Estonia by proposing to add two unconsidered factors that promoted migration, including proximity and population increase. While Karjahärm noted that proximity played a role in discouraging Russians from integrating with the local population, he did not include any analysis of proximity in its affect on migration. The present study also adds an overview of the legal framework for regulating migration, which neither Karjahärm nor other authors have done. As per sources, Karjahärm analyzed Russian settlement in Estonia primarily by using census data, at least for the late imperial period.⁴ This is problematic in analyzing migration because the available secondary census data does not contain information on places of origin, which can contribute to an understanding of why people migrated to one place or another. The confessant lists, as yet untreated by other historians, can help us understand what pushed or pulled them in one direction or another. The census data also fails to track fluctuations in migration over shorter periods, such as 1881-1897, during which time Russification was most intense. While this study only analyzes data for Tartu, it is likely that records for Russians of various social groups in other cities would present similar findings.

² Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 484.

³ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

The most detailed analysis of Russian migration to Tartu is Veiko Berendsen and Margus Maiste's *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897* (The First All-Russian Population Census in Tartu, 28 January 1897).⁵ This only considers primary census data for Tartu, as most other census forms for Estonia have not been located. In analyzing the census, Berendsen and Maiste wrote that the percentage of Russian Orthodox Russians born in Estonian lands was very small. Of those ages 20-24, over 90 percent of men were born outside of Estonia. The majority of older men, 59 percent of these in their 50s, were likewise born outside of Estonia. The percentage of women born outside of Estonia was smaller, 52-68 percent of women ages 20-50. Only a small percentage of Old Believers were born outside of Estonia.⁶ Additionally, migration of Old Believers apparently stopped in the first half of the nineteenth century, so an analysis of their demographic characteristics is beyond the scope of this paper.⁷ In the analysis of data, reference to Russians refers to Russian Orthodox migrants from the interior provinces. This may not always be the case when referencing literature.

Evidence that the majority of Russian Orthodox Russians came from outside Estonia can be found in the fact that the percentage of those born elsewhere was greatest for men and women in their 20s. Some of these were, of course, students, but the majority were not. Other proof of this mobility lies in the fact that 38 percent of children under ten years old were born outside of Estonia, and Russian Orthodox people in Tartu were fairly young and often single.⁸

Like Karjahärm, Berendsen and Maiste did not, indeed could not, include a more detailed analysis of places of origin. While the censuses provide a gauge for analyzing increases in population size, indicating growth due to natural increase or immigration, temporal and spatial information regarding migration is lacking. In regards to Tartu, the census administrators (who were a combination of Germans and Estonians) created a substitute sheet specifically for Tartu. Much like a bubble sheet, it seems to have been designed for quick enumeration. The enumerators could then take more time to fill out the official sheets at home or in an office. The

⁵ Veiko Berendsen and Margus Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897* (Tartu, Estonia: Eesti Ajalooarhiv, 1999), 237-238. The city's name changed several times, depending largely on the ruling power at the time, from Dorpat to Iur'ev to Tartu. I will refer to it as Tartu throughout this paper.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 237-238.

⁷ S. G. Isakov, *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)* (Tartu: Kripta, 2001), 21. Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 24, 484.

⁸ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 237-238.

official forms, which included a blank space for places of origin, have not been preserved. These “bubble sheets” are all that remain.

The bubble sheets, unfortunately, did not include a space for marking the birthplaces of those who were born outside of Estonian lands. If someone was born outside of Estonian lands, the enumerators either left this section blank or wrote in the appropriate answer. The same is true of places of registration. Berendsen stated that such hand-written entries were rare.⁹ Thus, the census data on birthplaces is only useful to the extent that it documents whether Russians were born in- or outside of Estonian lands, and to provide information on other characteristics of the inhabitants.¹⁰ Fortunately, other sources containing places of origin can shed light on the origins and dating of Tartu’s Russian migration.

2. Confessant Lists

During the tsarist era, two Russian Orthodox congregations existed in Tartu. The Tartu Uspenski Parish appeared sometime after the Great Northern War. The first building was dedicated 28 January 1754. A stone building was completed in 1783. During the conversion movement of the 1840s, the Uspenski Parish became a mother parish to several parishes, which consisted mostly of Estonian converts in the region.¹¹ One such was the Holy George Parish, established in 1845 as an independent Estonian parish. In 1857, the Russian Orthodox Estonian community joined with the rest of the Russian Orthodox community. In 1870, the Russian Orthodox Estonians obtained permission to have their own parish, the Holy George parish.¹²

Confessant lists from Tartu’s Russian Orthodox parishes can help fill in the gap for places of origin and time of migration.¹³ The records, which the clergy used to record attendance at Communion and Confession, categorize parishioners by place of residence, gender, class, age, and place of registration. We can equate place of registration with origin. We must bear in mind,

⁹ Veiko Berendsen, personal interview, 22 April 2014.

¹⁰ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 237-238.

¹¹ Urmas Klaas, “Õigeusu kirik Lõuna-Eestis 1848-1917: halduskorraldus ja preesterkond” (Master’s thesis, University of Tartu, 1998), 114-15, 150.

¹² *Ibid.*, 148.

¹³ Eesti apostliku õigeusu Tartu Uspenski kogudus, “Pihiliste nimekirjad”; EAA.1979.1, items 155-157 and 432-434, Estonian National Archives, *saaga* <http://www.ra.ee> (accessed November & December 2014). Eesti apostliku õigeusu Tartu Jüri kogudus, “Pihiliste nimekirjad”; EAA.1980.1, items 20-27, Estonian National Archives, *saaga* <http://www.ra.ee> (accessed November & December 2014). Records are either partial or missing for the Uspenski Parish for years 1877, 1880, 1890-1893, and for the Holy George Parish for 1857-1870 and 1874.

however, that people could change their places of residence. We can also equate the appearance of parishioners on the lists with immigration, using their presence to estimate the time when they came to Tartu. An analysis of the data, all of which has been extracted from the confessant lists, will follow a few background sections.

Following is an 1883 entry from the confessant lists:

Ч И С Л О			Дѣтѣ въ рождѣніи.	П о к а з а н і я д ѣ й ст в і я .				
Домовыхъ вѣдѣній.	Душъ.			Дѣтвѣ рожд.	Женѣ рожд.	Кто были утѣшители и свидѣтели причастія.	Кто въ исповѣданіи, а не причастіи, и въ какому исповѣданіи.	Которые утѣшители не были.
	Мужчинъ.	Женщинъ.						
	Крестовые раз- казы церквямъ.							
	Новгородской г.							
		Михаиломъ Владимировичемъ						
592		Ковалевъ. —	32					
677		Меланіе Васильевичъ.	21					

A diverse group of people representing a variety of classes appeared in the Uspenski Parish confessant lists. In 1855, 1,124 persons appeared on the rolls. Twenty-five members of the clergy attended to the flock, which included 105 military personnel, 42 servants, 108 peasants, 56 citizens, and 788 merchants, petite bourgeoisie, and other city-dwellers. At the end of 1896, the Uspenski parish confessant lists recorded 57 members of the clergy, 238 military personnel, 186 citizens, 259 peasants, and 697 merchants, petite bourgeoisie and other city dwellers. The total number of persons recorded equaled 1,437.

The confessant lists do not account for several hundred people when compared with census data. There are large discrepancies between the classes as well. It appears that the Uspenski record-keepers and census enumerators labeled persons differently, often confusing class with occupation. Berendsen and Maiste wrote that the enumerators likely experienced

confusion over how to differentiate between the various classes.¹⁴ For example, clergy may have labeled peasants as merchants or artisans. The same was probably true of citizens. The military squadrons were supposedly enumerated separately; hence a discrepancy between 22 in the census and 238 in the confessant lists.

Recognizing that there may be inaccuracies in class and actual number of Russians in Tartu, this study will employ the data from the confessant lists to analyze fluctuations in presence and place of origin. Acting much like membership rolls, the lists recorded who appeared at confession, as well as who did not. That being said, there were others who did not appear in the lists for some reason or another. It may simply be that some Russian Orthodox persons remained unknown to the clergy. The author proposes that, while this may not represent the community as a whole, it presents a sample of a sizeable portion of the population. A more comprehensive analysis of the places of origin, occupations, classes, and year of migration for all Russians in Tartu requires further investigation and correlation with other primary source documents. A later section provides suggestions for further research.

The scribes who kept the confessant lists recorded places of registration for the peasantry, servants, and merchants, petite bourgeoisie, and artisans. Scribes did not record places of registration for clergy, military personnel, and citizens (except on rare occasions). The latter three groups appear to have registered in Tartu. It is likely that even those who registered in Tartu, Livland, and Estland came from the interior provinces of the empire and officially changed their places of registration. As information on servants is fragmented, and Old Believers appear only as a collective (and were mostly born in Estonia), an analysis of places of registration for peasants and petite bourgeoisie only will follow. These constitute the most significant groups in both Tartu and the rest of Estonia.

The years 1855 and 1897 act as something of a framework. 1855 seemed appropriate because the Uspenski Parish had not yet been combined with the predominantly Estonian Holy George Parish (1857). Also, Alexander II came to power in 1855, during whose reign a number of modernizing reforms were implemented. 1897 is an appropriate limit, because in 1897 the government carried out an empire-wide census. Comparing data from the confessant lists with

¹⁴ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 102.

the census data helps to clarify more clearly what actually happened. The census was carried out in the winter of 1897, so the data for the confessant lists has been calculated from the end of 1896. Also, perhaps more significantly for this study, historiography considers the major wave of Russification to have occurred from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s.

3. Russification

3.1. The Prevalence of Russification in the Historiography

Scholars have tended to place an emphasis on the impact of Russification in the migratory movement of Russians to Estonia during the second half of the nineteenth century. Karjahärm's approach to Russian settlement is couched within a larger study of imperialism and Russification, of political relations, and of the Russian government's views of the Baltics. In large part, Karjahärm drew on the writings of politicians and *literati*, many of whom held Slavophile attitudes, who saw Russian rule in the Baltics as enabling access to the sea, as liberating the indigenous populations, and as fulfilling a divine mandate of civilization. The mere inclusion of a socio-demographic analysis of migratory patterns couched within a study of Russification and Russo-Baltic political relations can give readers the impression that Russification played a more significant role in the migration than it actually did. Indeed, he called it "an essential factor."¹⁵

Regarding Russians in the Baltics, Karjahärm wrote, "The identity of Russians . . . was grounded on national, cultural, and linguistic unity and the Greek Orthodox faith." He continued, "At the root of their privileged status was the fact that their language was the official language of the state and their church, the established church. Only Russians received instruction in their mother tongue in all state schools."¹⁶ Common Russian folk, such as artisans, industrial workers, and peasants, seem unlikely to have cognized this in deciding to migrate to Estonia. It is true that their status may have been higher compared to that of non-Russians, but did they consciously hold themselves higher than non-Russians? This may have been the case of educated, prosperous, and government-employed Russians, and perhaps those merchants, artisans, and industrial workers who had settled in the cities and lived their for a time, but what of illiterate

¹⁵ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10, 487.

peasants coming from the countryside? Did they see their ethnicity as a privileged status? Karjahärm's approach seems to unfairly tie common peasants to a nationalistic movement motivated by cultural and military might.¹⁷

Karjahärm's views appear to have coincided with those of Sergei Isakov, Professor Emeritus of philology at the University of Tartu. Isakov spent much of his career contributing to a now large wealth of academic literature on Russian culture in Estonia.¹⁸ In *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)*, he contextualized Russian culture in Estonia with against the backdrop of Russian settlement in Estonia. He wrote that it occurred gradually throughout the centuries, but that the Russian population increased significantly only at the end of the nineteenth century. The reasons for this, he wrote, included an increase in socio-economic ties with the interior provinces of Russia, industrialization, and urbanization. Industrialization in Estonia demanded a large number of workers, apparently more than the local population could provide. He also wrote about the role of Russification in migration.

Similar to Karjahärm, Isakov claimed that political Russification played a significant role in promoting migration, resulting in an influx of government officials, teachers, entrepreneurs, merchants, and others. He noted, however, that it did not include a mass relocation of Russians. One may argue that these scholars were referring to the wartime industrialization and militarization of World War I that brought in large numbers of Russians, but it seems clear from context that they were referring specifically to the period prior to the upheavals of the twentieth century.¹⁹

Isakov wrote that it was not until the late nineteenth century that the Russian population again experienced significant growth. Vladimir Kabuzan showed that (without citing causes for) the Russian population increased significantly during the first half of the nineteenth century, rising from 3,800 in 1795 to 19,100 in 1858.²⁰ While the first half of the nineteenth century falls

¹⁷ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 484.

¹⁸ See, for example, S. G. Isakov, *Путь длиною в тысячу лет. Русские в Эстонии: история культуры. Часть I* (Tallinn: Ingri, 2008). Also see I. Belobrovseva, ed., *Русские в Прибалтике* (Tallinn: Tallinn University, 2010).

¹⁹ Isakov, *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)*, 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22. V. M. Kabuzan, *Формирование многонационального населения Прибалтики (Эстонии, Латвии, Литвы, Калининградской области России) в XIX-XX вв. (1795-2000 гг.)* (Moscow: Institute of Russian History, 2009), 59, 126.

beyond the scope of this paper, it will be treated to some extent in the section on merchants and artisans. This shows, though, that Isakov's interpretation of Russian migration was different from that of some, that Russian settlement increased most at the end of the nineteenth century, when Russification policies were in the process of being implemented.

Other authors have written about the effects of Russification on migration. Toivo Raun wrote, "A new element in the middle and upper echelons of urban society was created by the influx of Russian officials beginning in the mid-1880s."²¹ This was his only reference to Russian settlement in Estonia during the period, illustrating again the predominance of Russification in the historiography. Although Thaden's work focuses primarily on the politics of Russification, he did include some references to Russian migration to Estonia. Like others, he wrote that Russification did not result in a mass resettlement of Russians. He shed light on the extent to which Russification did bring Russians to Estonia, writing, "Although a number of Russian police officials were imported into the Baltic Provinces, a large part of the staff of the district (*uezd*) police continued to consist of Baltic German noblemen . . . Many Estonians and Latvians occupied the lower ranks of the district police."²² He and his co-authors did not write about what other factors in Russian migration to the Baltics and Finland as a whole.

To a small extent, historians have treated Russian migration to specifically Tartu. Berendsen's analysis of Tartu's demographic composition during this period also favors Russification as the major factor motivating the migration. He wrote that the group of Russian Orthodox Russians "consisted largely of state officials, soldiers, clergy, and students and faculty who came during Russification . . . [along with] their family members."²³ He continued, "There were merchants and artisans to some degree, but they constituted a minority not only in the city, but in the minority group itself."²⁴ Malle Salupere's history of Tartu likewise mentions Russian migration to Tartu only with a statement about the Russification of the University of Tartu.²⁵ Of the histories of Tartu herein considered Raimo Pullat's Marxist *Tartu Ajalugu* is the only one

²¹ Toivo Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, second ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2001), 73.

²² Edward Thaden, ed., *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 63.

²³ Heivi Pullerits, ed., *Tartu: ajalugu ja kultuurilugu* (Tartu Linnamuuseum: Ilmamaa, 2005), 129.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁵ Malle Salupere, *Tuhandeaastane Tartu: nooruse ja heade mõtete linn* (Tartu: Vanemuise Seltsi Kirjastus, 2011), 54.

that does not frame Russian migration to Tartu within the context of Russification (it does not directly consider the causes of Russian migration to Estonia at all, only noting their presence).²⁶

Eesti ajalugu V appears to be the only work that favors another factor over Russification. It recorded that the growth of the Russian population in numbers and relative percentage resulted in part from the influx of Russian officials due to Russification, but that the majority came to work in industrial enterprises. This is a very general description, failing to describe other underlying causes of the migration. It also fails to mention Russian participation in artisanship and trade.²⁷ Partially agreeing with and expounding upon *Eesti ajalugu V*, this research seeks to reevaluate and reinforce existing claims regarding the factors that promoted Russian migration to Estonia, synthesizing the research of several authors and primary data from the confessant lists to suggest that socio-economic factors played a much larger role than Russification in Russian migration to Estonia.

3.2. Background on Russification

In the nineteenth century, government-sponsored Russification took place throughout much of Northern and Eastern Europe. This entailed a “series of administrative and cultural reforms by the central government . . . that were intended to unite the area much more closely than before with the interior of the Russian empire.”²⁸ In the Baltics, it occurred in the latter half of the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s.

Russification in the Baltics is supposed to have stemmed from several factors. The Baltics lay between an autonomous Finland, a fractious Poland, and the capital, St. Petersburg. As in the former two, the upper classes were non-Russian (German in the case of the Baltics), whose kin resided in adjacent empires and nations. The Polish revolts instigated Russification in those lands (some might argue that it was the other way around) in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Alexander III and his government were compelled by a need for greater national security after the unification of Germany. Nationalization after the German and French models

²⁶ Raimo Pullat, *Tartu ajalugu* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1980), 149.

²⁷ Sulev Vahtre, ed., *Eesti ajalugu V: pärisorjuse kaotamisest Vabadussõjani* (Tartu : Ilmamaa, 2010), 60.

²⁸ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 59.

appears to have been the goal. Social unrest in the Baltics also caused the authorities to question the integrity of Baltic German dominance.²⁹

The purpose of Russification was two-fold. Administratively, it was to curtail Baltic powers of legislation and overhaul the somewhat archaic form of government to conform to that of the interior provinces. The nobility lost some of their privileges (but clung to many). Some of the reforms were intended simply to modernize outdated forms of government, such as the judicial system, upon which the nobility held a monopoly. Culturally, Russification was to decrease the influence of German, Estonian, and Latvian cultures with Russian culture, mainly through linguistic, educational, and religious reforms. Perhaps most significantly, the language of the schools was to become Russian. While allowing for the “preservation of a certain measure of national, cultural, and religious distinctions,” such as the practice of Lutheranism, the government hoped to draw the Baltics further under Russian influence.³⁰ But did this entail a relocation of Russians to the area?

3.3. Migration to Estonia Resulting from Russification

The government did pursue a policy of resettlement elsewhere in the empire during this period. David Moon wrote that the Russian government wanted to settle the borderlands with a “preferably Slavonic population” as early as the seventeenth century.³¹ It promoted the resettlement of other ethnic groups, such as Jews, Germans, and Estonians to these areas as well. In the 1880s, the government actively encouraged the settlement of Russia’s borderlands. It sought to “promote the economic development of these regions, and it saw migration as a solution to economic distress among some peasants in overcrowded provinces.”³²

Resettlement of Russians in the empire appears, however, to have been primarily agricultural, originating from the European provinces of the empire and aimed at the southern and eastern borderlands, especially Siberia.³³ Karjahärm wrote that, due to the already scarce

²⁹ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 486. Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, 39, 56.

³⁰ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 490. Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 59.

³¹ David Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” in David Eltis, ed., *Coerced and Free Migration : Global Perspectives* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 335.

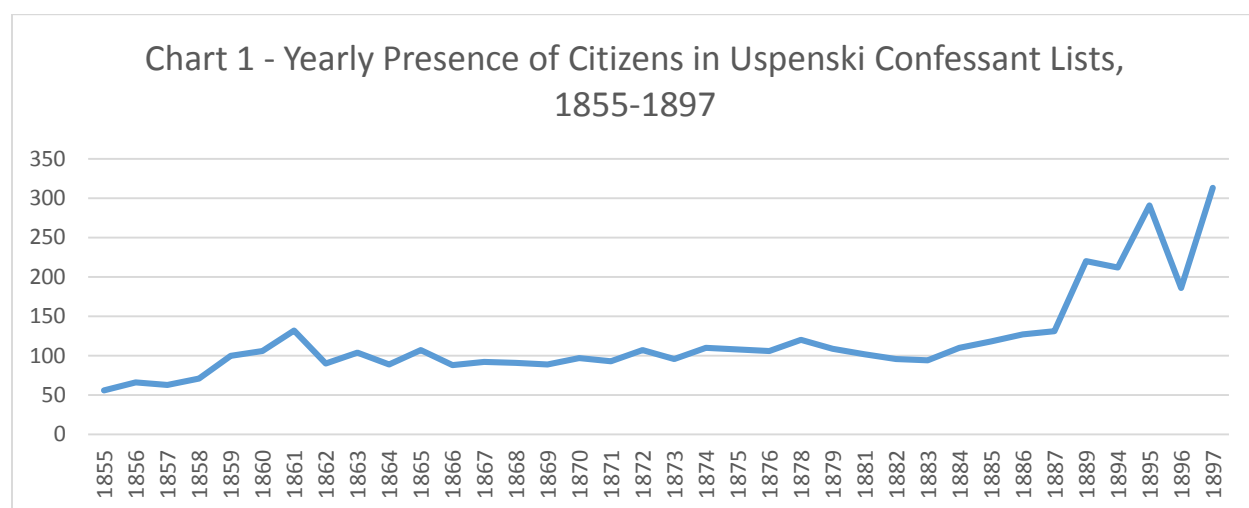
³² *Ibid.*, 335.

³³ *Ibid.*, 335.

agricultural space in ethnic Estonian territories, Russian migration to Estonia consisted almost entirely of urban migration. Karjahärm wrote that there was no mass relocation of Russians to Estonia, but, as noted before, both he and others wrote that Russification brought government officials, educators, and others.³⁴ To what extent did this occur?

3.3.1. Citizens

The presence of a group of people classified in the Uspenski confessant lists as Citizens increased the most during the era of Russification. The following chart illustrates:



During the period of intensified Russification, the presence of citizens rose from about 100 to over 300. This elite class consisted of a number of different people.

One group of people consisted of administrative officials. Russification affected changes in the police and judicial systems in 1888 and 1889, making them conform to the Russian pattern and placing them under ministries at the central government.³⁵ Russification integrated the local population into the political sphere of the empire, granting suffrage at the municipal level, though the *zemstvo* system was never introduced.³⁶ Many Germans were replaced by Russian authorities at higher levels.³⁷ Bradley Woodworth's research shows that the number of Estonians in the administration grew significantly during the latter half of the nineteenth century,

³⁴ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 484. Isakov, *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)*, 22.

³⁵ Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, 39.

³⁶ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 59.

³⁷ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 490.

particularly during Russification. A more complex, urbanizing society required a larger presence of the bureaucracy, and the decreasing German influence allowed aspiring Estonians to enter the service. In Tallinn, “the number of Russians increased, [while] their share among all officials actually fell slightly.”³⁸ In the Estland province, “the number of Estonian state officials increased from 85 in 1881 (15.6 percent of all officials) to 673 in 1897 (52.3 percent).”³⁹

It follows that the number of Russian officials who began employment in the Estland province during this period could not have exceeded more than a few hundred, though Russification did make an opening for Russian officials to enter the bureaucracy in the Baltics after the Russification initiative came to a halt. According to the 1897 census, only fourteen out of 2157 Russian Orthodox Russians in Tartu were listed as officials, though this number may not represent the actual number due to confusion as to how to record class and occupation.⁴⁰

Another group of citizens was classified by their affiliation with educational and religious organizations. The intent of cultural Russification went beyond integrating the Baltics into the administrative system to attempting to make non-Russians more Russian in language, culture, and values. One method of doing this was establishing Russian as the main language of instruction at educational institutions. Grade-school children were to learn in Russian already before the age of ten. This often failed, as many of the teachers were Estonians, some of whom did not know or did not care to learn Russian.⁴¹

In 1893, Russification of the University of Tartu occurred. Russian replaced German as the language of instruction. The *History of Tartu University* recorded that many Germans either quit or were released if they refused or could not teach in Russian. Russian administrators and faculty took many of their places. The number of German professors dropped from 86.9 percent in 1889, to 39.4 percent in 1895, to 19.4 percent in 1900. The number of Russian Orthodox professors (including some Ukrainian Jewish converts) rose from 8.7 percent in 1889 to 54.9 percent in 1895, reaching 75.5 percent in 1900.⁴²

³⁸ Bradley Woodworth, “Paljarahvuselisus ja eestlastest riigiametnikud Eestimaa kubermangus aastatel 1870–1914,” in Tõnu Tannberg, ed., *Vene aeg Eestis: uurimusi 16. sajandi keskpaigast kuni 20. sajandi alguseni* (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2006), 359.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 359. Also see Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 73.

⁴⁰ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 382.

⁴¹ Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, 7.

⁴² K. Siilivask, ed., *History of Tartu University 1632-1982*, trans. H. Piirimäe (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1985), 137. Anu Raudsepp, “Eesti kool venestusajal (1880.-algus-20. S. algus),” lecture, University of Tartu, 31 October 2014.

The number of German students dropped significantly, not because they were denied admittance, but because they did not want to study in Russian. Many Jewish and Polish students also came to the university; apparently *numerus clausus*, the quota that determined how many students of certain ethnicities were allowed to enroll at the university, was apparently less stringently enforced in the Baltics.⁴³ Russians constituted the largest ethnic group who studied at the university after its Russification and until World War I. Russian Orthodox students among the student body reached 55.4 percent in 1900. This number likely represented many Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian students, but also many Russian Orthodox Estonian students from the seminary in Riga.⁴⁴ The percentage of ethnic Russian (as opposed to Russian Orthodox) students has been measured as having grown from 6 percent in 1891 to 63 percent in 1905. This appears to have resulted mainly from the influx of students from spiritual seminaries, who at this time obtained permission to study at the University of Tartu.⁴⁵ The 1897 recorded 389 Russian Orthodox Russians who were students.⁴⁶

Over the years, many other students came, because many of the reforms remained in force even after the Russification wave of the 1880s and early 1890s had diminished. While the influx of students of other ethnicities serves to negate any claim that the Ministry of Education pursued a policy of entirely changing the composition of the student body to ethnic Russian. Yet without the change of the university's official language and the allowance of students from spiritual seminaries, it is unlikely that the number of Russian students would have increased so quickly. Most of the students who came from outside the Baltics left after completing their studies.⁴⁷ Other people in this category included the nobility, who in 1897 constituted 8.6 percent of the Russian population in Estonia. Some 2.5 percent were landowning gentry. A small, influential number were involved in banking and industrial capital.⁴⁸

⁴³ The percentage of Jewish students in the student body reached more than 20 percent, more than two times the limit allowed by the Russian authorities.

⁴⁴ Siilivask, *History of Tartu University 1632-1982*, 141. Salupere, *Tuhandaastane Tartu: nooruse ja heade mõtete linn*, 54.

⁴⁵ Raudsepp, "Eesti kool venestusajal (1880.-algus-20. S. algus)."

⁴⁶ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 382.

⁴⁷ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 486.

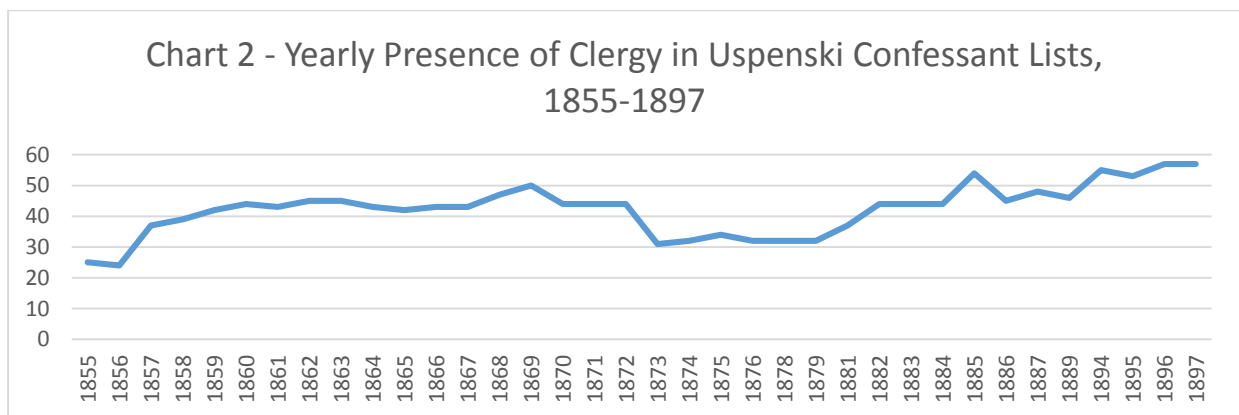
⁴⁸ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 35. The 1897 census recorded over 14,000 citizens, but only 325 merchants. It is likely that many of those deemed citizens in the census were deemed merchants and artisans by the Uspenski clergy, so they will be treated herein as such.

3.3.2. Clergy

Orthodox proselytizing encouraged the native population to accept Russian religious values. Whether proselytizing constituted part of Russification is up for debate, as it has occurred throughout the centuries. Estland's governor-general Zinoviev promulgated conversion to Orthodoxy during the 1880s and 1890s, so much of the success of the Orthodox movement occurred among Estland's Estonians in the late nineteenth century. In Livland, the most conversions occurred in the 1840s. Russian clergymen took up more posts as number of parishioners increased, but many clergymen were ethnic Estonians.⁴⁹

The 1897 census listed 955 Russian clergy.⁵⁰ This number seems quite large compared to Urmas Klaas's statement that 275 priests served in northern Livland 1848-1917. Of this, 180, or 65.5 percent, were non-Estonians. Fifty-six priests studied at the Riga spiritual seminary, and 53 in the Pskov spiritual seminary. Fourteen non-Estonian priests completed studies at spiritual academies, mostly in St. Petersburg, but a few in Moscow.⁵¹ Their places of birth are to this author unknown.

The confessant lists provide some insight on fluctuations during Russification.



Looking at the chart, it is presumable that the increase from 1857 to the 1870s resulted in the combination of the Estonian Holy George Parish with the Uspenski Parish. After the split in 1871, the number of clergy dropped to 30 by the mid-1870s, but the number of clergy began

⁴⁹ Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, 55. Aleksius II, *Õigeusk Eestimaal* (Tallinn: Revelex, 2009), 269-70.

⁵⁰ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 35.

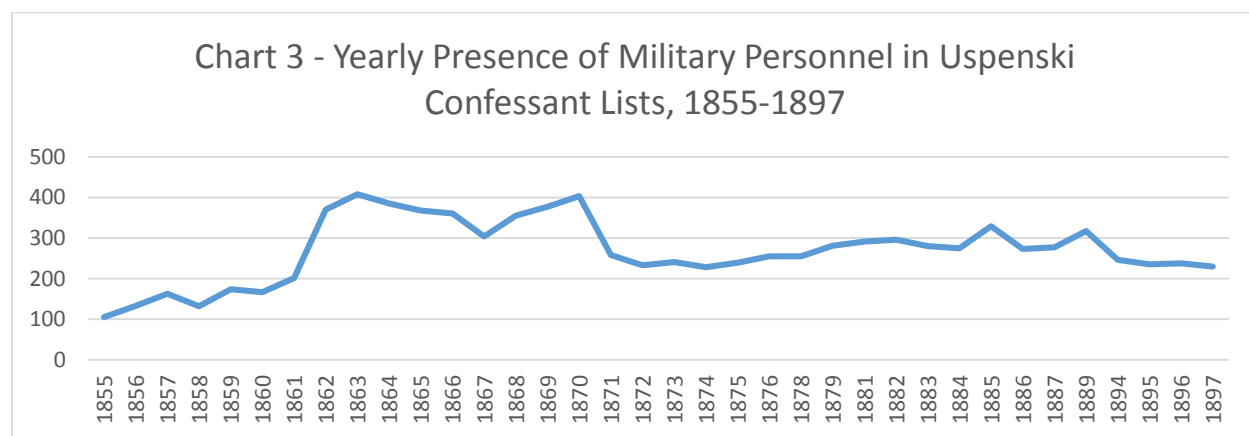
⁵¹ Klaas, "Õigeusu kirik Lõuna-Eestis 1848-1917: halduskorraldus ja preesterkond," 114-15.

rising about 1880. It fell slightly at the outset of Russification, but increased to about 60 by the middle of the 1890s. Again, it is difficult to determine if Russification played a direct role. It may be that the number of clergy increased as the number of parishioners increased, although the rate of increase in the number of clergy exceeded the rate of increase for the parish as a whole. It may have been that the influx of students from spiritual seminaries led to an increase in the number of clergy. This hypothesis requires further investigation.

3.3.3. Military

According to the 1897 census, soldiers comprised 15.6 percent of the Russian population, numbering 7,200. Approximately 1,500 family members of military forces lived in Estonia. More than half of the military forces lived in Tallinn, while the rest were mostly stationed in Narva and Tartu. They formed a large percentage of the military in relation to other ethnic groups. In the Estland province, more than two-thirds of the armed forces consisted of Russians.⁵²

Karjahärm wrote that military presence rose as a result of Russification. In contrast to citizens and the clergy, the number of soldiers present in Uspenski's confessant lists rose slightly, only to fall by the end of Russification, as the chart below illustrates:



Again, it is possible to see the sudden rise and fall of the military presence in conjunction with the division of Tartu's parishes. The number gradually increased until the mid-1880s, when the number spiked in 1885 and 1889, only to decrease to about 200 by the end of Russification.

⁵² Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 31, 33, 35, 47-49.

Other cities, particularly Tallinn, may have experienced a more dramatic increase in military presence. Further investigation might uncover this.

3.4. A Reassessment

Russification, at least in the case of Tartu, appears to have directly influenced a couple hundred students, a few hundred officials, a relatively small number of clergy, and a small number of Russian teachers and faculty. One of the major groups often connected with Russification, the military, appears to have decreased during this period. Out of a total growth in the Russian population of around 10,000 between 1881 and 1897, this may have numbered about 1,000. One of the largest groups, the students, were not permanent, but so were many other migrants, such as merchants and peasant laborers (more on this to follow). Some of the others may have been locals who had migrated years before for some other reason. Excepting students and faculty at the University of Tartu, it is likely that other cities experienced similar patterns.

Can we consider Russification as having played an essential role in the migratory movement? In the lives of some, yes. But many others came to Estonia for reasons unconnected to Russification. The intent of cultural Russification was to Russify the indigenous population, not to replace it with ethnic Russians or settle the area with Russians. The Russian population increased more than the numbers of those who came because of Russification account for. It is for this reason that we should make a clearer distinction between the factors that promoted migration, especially among the various social groups and classes. Some factors may not have played a role in one migrant's decision to come to Estonia, whereas the same factors would have played huge roles in the decision of others. The import of some factors may have exceeded others. Many of those who came because of Russification likely came more for the educational and employment opportunities afforded them by Russification than with an intent to pursue a government agenda (while some, such as the Estland governor-general Zinoviev, certainly did). The impact of socio-economic and geographic factors thus appears to have exceeded significantly that of Russification, for as Ravenstein declared in his "Laws of Migration," no other factor "can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects."⁵³

⁵³ E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LII (June, 1889), 241-301; as cited in Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1966), 47.

Following is an overview of Russian migration to Estonia during the period in question, comparing socio-demographic and geographic factors at imperial and regional levels, existing literature on Russian migration to Estonia, and data from the confessant lists. The result is a reformulated analysis of the reasons behind Russian migration to Estonia.

4. Increasing Internal Migration in the Russian Empire

For the most part, it appears that Russian migration to Estonia was part of a larger phenomenon of Russian migration. Internal migration in the Russian Empire increased rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of passports issued is one indicator of how mobility increased during the nineteenth century. The average number issued each year grew steadily from a little over one million in 1860-1870 to seven million in 1890–1900. This doubled the rate of natural population growth.⁵⁴ Millions of migrants settled in the southern and eastern parts of the empire. The provinces, which now constitute much of Latvia and Lithuania, experienced significant increases in Russian populations. Vladimir Kabuzan recorded that the number of Russians living in Latvia rose from 27,400 (3.1 percent) in 1795, to 71,800 (5.7 percent) in 1858, to 154,700 (8 percent) in 1897. In Lithuania, the number grew from 1,500 (.1 percent) in 1795, to 35,900 (2 percent) in 1858, to 139,300 (5.1 percent) in 1897.⁵⁵ Estonia's Russian population increased at about the same rate.

This increasing migratory movement resulted from many factors. While other factors also promoted migration, this study focuses on the demographic transition, proximity, urbanization, emancipation, changes in the passport system, industrialization, expansion of transportation networks, and the increasing development of a market economy. Some conditions, such as overcrowding in the countryside, acted as pushes, prodding the population to seek better lives elsewhere. Some factors, such as a job at a certain factory or the availability of land, pulled individuals in one direction or another.

⁵⁴ Moon, "Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914," 343.

⁵⁵ Kabuzan, *Формирование многонационального населения Прибалтики (Эстонии, Латвии, Литвы, Калининградской области России) в XIX-XX вв. (1795-2000 гг.)*, 124.

4.1. The Demographic Transition

A change in the demographic situation in the empire acted as a push, persuading many migrants to leave their permanent places of residence. Between 1795 and 1834, the population increased from approximately 46 million to 66 million. By 1857/8, the population increased to 80 million, growing almost as much in twenty years as it had over the entire preceding century. By 1897, it had increased to 128 million. Over the course of a little over half of a century, the population had doubled.⁵⁶ The main cause of this was the decrease in the infant mortality rate, a result of improved nutrition, hygiene, medical care, and sanitation as a whole. While the infant mortality rate decreased, the birth rate stayed at approximately the same levels. In 1860, 40 of the 74 million subjects in the Empire were peasants. On average, a peasant woman in the Russian Empire gave birth to nine children throughout her life. This so-called demographic transition gave birth to a rapidly rising population size.⁵⁷ For example, the peasant population of the northwest provinces (including those adjacent to the Baltics), the peasant population increased by only 80,000 between 1811 and 1857. By 1897, it had increased by over one million.⁵⁸

Wilbur Zelinsky wrote, “For any specific community the course of the mobility transition closely parallels that of the demographic transition.”⁵⁹ Peasants, struggling to provide for larger families, sought temporary agricultural work in nearby lands. Their land parcels did not produce enough to meet their obligations and individual needs. Increasingly, they sought permanent agricultural settlement in the southern and eastern parts of the empire and in the growing cities.⁶⁰

4.2. Urbanization

In conjunction with the demographic transition, emancipation, industrialization, enlarging transportation networks, movement to cities, and Russia’s urban population increased rapidly. It nearly doubled in size during the first half of the nineteenth century. The increase accelerated in

⁵⁶ Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 351.

⁵⁷ Gur Elroi, *1924-1875 מהאימפריה הרוסית היהודית: ההגירה השקמה* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2008), 25-27.

⁵⁸ Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 347.

⁵⁹ Wilbur Zelinsky, “The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition,” *Geographical Review*, vol. 61, no. 2 (Apr., 1971), 223.

⁶⁰ Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 346.

the second half of the century, rising from 9 million in the 1850s to 25 million in 1913, with the proportion growing from 10 to 18 percent. Peasants, as they migrated for work and trade, and as they increasingly settled permanently in the cities, contributed most significantly to this growth. In the northwest, St Petersburg's population increased from 335,600 in 1811, to 539,500 in 1863, to 1,264,900 in 1897. Moscow experienced similar growth. Odessa grew the most rapidly, increasing from a population of 11,000 in 1811 to 403,800 in 1897. Riga did not lag far behind, growing from 32,000 in 1811, to 60,000 in 1863, to 282,200 in 1897. By 1914, it was the fourth largest city in the empire.⁶¹

Similarly, urbanization grew apace in Estonia. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the urban population tripled, from 64,031 in 1862/3 to 189,582 in 1897. The proportion of the urban population rose from 8.7 to 19.2 percent of the population as a whole. Raun wrote,

The pace of urbanization in the larger cities was greatest in the 1860s and 1870. The overwhelming source of urban growth was immigration from the surrounding countryside, a reflection of both the attractiveness of the cities and the economic problems of the rural areas.⁶²

In 1897, Tallinn's population numbered 64,572, and Tartu's numbered 42,308. Narva came in third, numbering 16,577 (29,882 with the factory suburbs). The proportion of Estonians in the cities grew most during this period. While Estonian peasants had been emancipated in 1816/19, it was not until the passage of the 1863 passport law that they could freely settle in cities. The relative percentage of urban Germans declined, while Russians became the largest minority.⁶³

4.3. Russians in Estonia

The Russian population in Estonia doubled during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1858, they numbered 19,100.⁶⁴ According to the 1881 census, they numbered approximately 31,979, or 3.3 percent of the total population. According to the 1897 census, they numbered 46,026, or about 4 percent of the population.⁶⁵ The table below shows this growth:

⁶¹ Moon, "Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914," 345. Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, 56.

⁶² Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 73.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁶⁴ Kabuzan, *Формирование многонационального населения Прибалтики (Эстонии, Латвии, Литвы, Калининградской области России) в XIX-XX вв. (1795-2000 гг.)*, 126.

⁶⁵ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 484. The 1881 census excluded Narva, as it was in the Petersburg province. Tõnu Parming gives 3.3 as the percentage of Russians in Estonia, in "The Jewish

Table 1 – Growth of the Russian Population in Estonia, 1858-1897 ⁶⁶		
1858	1881	1897
19,100	31,979	46,026

Similar to the urban population of the Baltics and European Russia as a whole, the urban population of Russians in Estonia grew dramatically during the late imperial period. In 1863, the urban Russian population numbered 12,895. In 1897, it numbered 24,243, constituting 13.8 percent of the urban population. It totaled 4.7 percent of the population as a whole.⁶⁷ Between 1863 and 1897, it rose by 188 percent. The rural Russian population, which numbered 21,783, had grown by only 11 percent since 1863. Karjahärm noted that a significant portion of the “rural” population around Narva worked in Narva’s factories, so the urban population was closer to two-thirds of the Russian population as a whole.⁶⁸

There appears to be some discrepancies in the numbering of Russians in Estonia during this period, especially in regard to Narva. The censuses excluded Narva, because it was in the Petersburg province, but most Estonian scholars use numbers adjusted to include Narva for the 1897 census data. The 1881 census only pertained to the Baltic provinces, so Narva’s numbers have remained out of the data. Although some might argue against including Narva in the data for the period, we might adjust the number given in the 1881 census to include Narva. In 1868, Narva’s Russian population was approximately 4,000, and 7,217 in 1897. A rough estimate that 1,500 new migrants had arrived by 1881 would put the number of Russians in Estonia at 37,479.

Community and Inter-ethnic Relations in Estonia, 1918-1940,” *Journal of Baltic Studies*, vol. X, no. 3, 1979, 244. Vahtre, *Eesti ajalugu V: pärisorjuse kaotamisest Vabadussõjani*, 60.

⁶⁶ Kabuzan, *Формирование многонационального населения Прибалтики (Эстонии, Латвии, Литвы, Калининградской области России) в XIX-XX вв. (1795-2000 гг.)*, 126. Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 484. Kabuzan listed the number of Russians living in Estonia in 1897 as 37,800, as opposed to the given number from Karjahärm. He likely excluded Narva’s Russian population, 7,217, as Narva was in the Petersburg province.

⁶⁷ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 484. Isakov, *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)*, 22. Seppo Zetterberg recorded the number of Russian-speakers at 31,979 (3.6 percent) in 1881, and at 47,290 (4.8 percent) in 1897. See also Seppo Zetterberg, *Eesti ajalugu*, trans., Helga Laanpere (Tallinn: Tänapäev, 2011), 288-289. The additional thousand Russian-speakers were likely Estonians and representatives of other ethnic groups, who, perhaps as a result of Russification or a desire to affiliate themselves more with the Russian cultural realm listed Russian as their mother tongue.

⁶⁸ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 26, 484.

This adjusted number presents a new twist to the story of Russian migration to Estonia. For 1858-1881, the population grew by approximately 18,379 persons. The average rate of annual growth would thus be about 800 persons per year. For 1881-1897, the population grew by approximately 8,547 persons. The average rate of annual growth comes out to be 534 persons per year. If these numbers are accurate, the rate of increase in the Russian population dropped after 1881, during the era of Russification.

It is possible to make a number of conjectures as to what caused this. It may be that Russian migration to Estonia benefited from progressive reform and administrative decentralization, as did the western provinces and the empire as a whole. The rapid urbanization of the 1860s and 1870s attests to this. The 1880s witnessed a reaction to previous reform movements, which included stricter control over local organization.⁶⁹ This may have stifled migration. Tõnu Tannberg suggested the possibility that more Russians, as a result of Alexander III's slogan that Russia was for Russians, led some Russians to stay in traditional areas of Russian settlement. It may be that increased migration to the southern, central, and eastern parts of the empire, especially with the completion of railroads, led to a decrease in Russian migration to Estonia. Further research could shed light on this issue.

In any case, it is clear that the vast majority of Russian migrants in Estonia went to the cities. Tallinn and Narva's Russian populations grew the most, as they demanded labor for growing industries and infrastructure. While the majority of workers consisted of local Estonian peasants (84.4 percent in the Estland province in 1897), others were brought from the interior provinces and from abroad. From 1881 to 1897, Tallinn's Russian population, the largest in any Estonian city, grew from 8,861 to 10,057. In 1897, Russians constituted 10.2 percent of all Tallinn's residents.⁷⁰ From 1868 to 1897, Narva's Russian population grew from about 4,000 to 7,217. Out of all cities in present-day Estonia, Narva's Russian population formed the largest relative percentage, 43.5 percent, of the total population. Russians constituted more than half of the workers in the cloth and flax factory, and one-third of the Krenholm textile factory.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 76.

⁷⁰ Kabuzan, *Формирование многонационального населения Прибалтики (Эстонии, Латвии, Литвы, Калининградской области России) в XIX-XX вв. (1795-2000 гг.)*, 59.

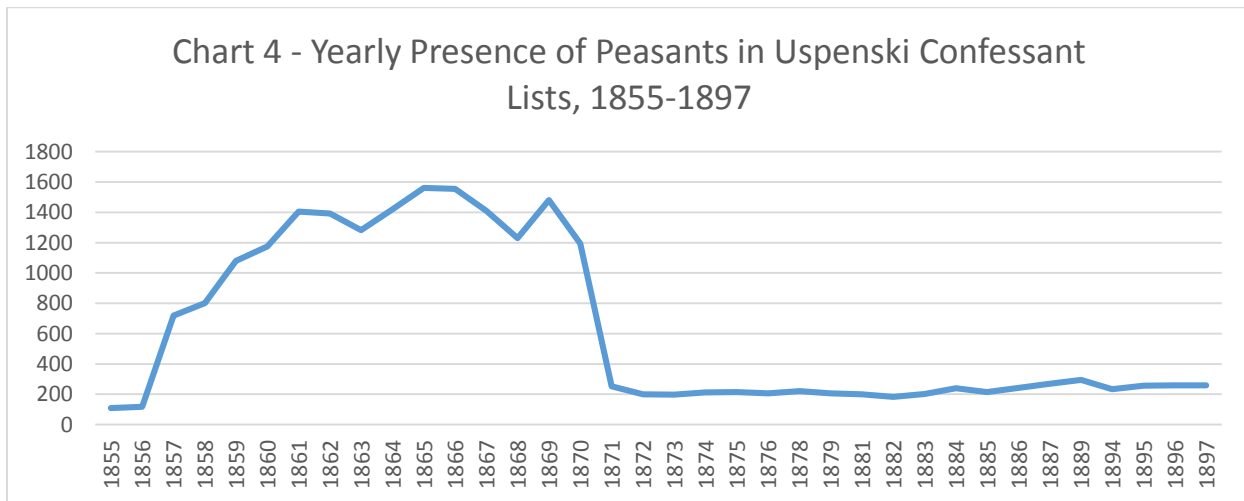
⁷¹ Isakov, *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)*, 37, 484-85.

The Russian populations of other cities also grew. Between 1881 and 1897, Võru's Russian population grew from 215 to 243, Kuressaare's from 248 to 341, Pärnu's from 549 to 677, and Valga's from 309 to 1,210 (apparently in conjunction with the construction of the railroad). Tartu's Russian population grew from 1,818 to 3,640 between 1881 and 1897.⁷² Berendsen and Maiste, differentiating between Russian Orthodox Russian-speakers and Old Believers, put the number of Russian Orthodox Russian-speakers in Tartu at 2,108.⁷³ The largest group of Russians in Estonia consisted of peasants.

4.4. Peasants

The majority of the internal migration in the Russian Empire during this period consisted of peasant migration. The 1897 census documented approximately 12 million peasants living outside of their native districts of provinces.⁷⁴ In Estonia, a survey of passport books showed that at the turn of the century, one-third of peasants lived outside their official places of residence.⁷⁵

According to the 1897 census, 24,475 Russian peasants lived in Estonia, though different parties may have recorded class differently.⁷⁶ Tartu's peasant group was relatively small, but data for them may be applicable to peasants in other localities. The following chart illustrates:



⁷² Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 28. Interestingly, the Russian populations of many smaller-sized cities fell, including those of Paldiski, Rakvere, Paide, Haapsalu, and Viljandi; this will be discussed in greater detail below.

⁷³ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 364-65.

⁷⁴ Saunders, 313.

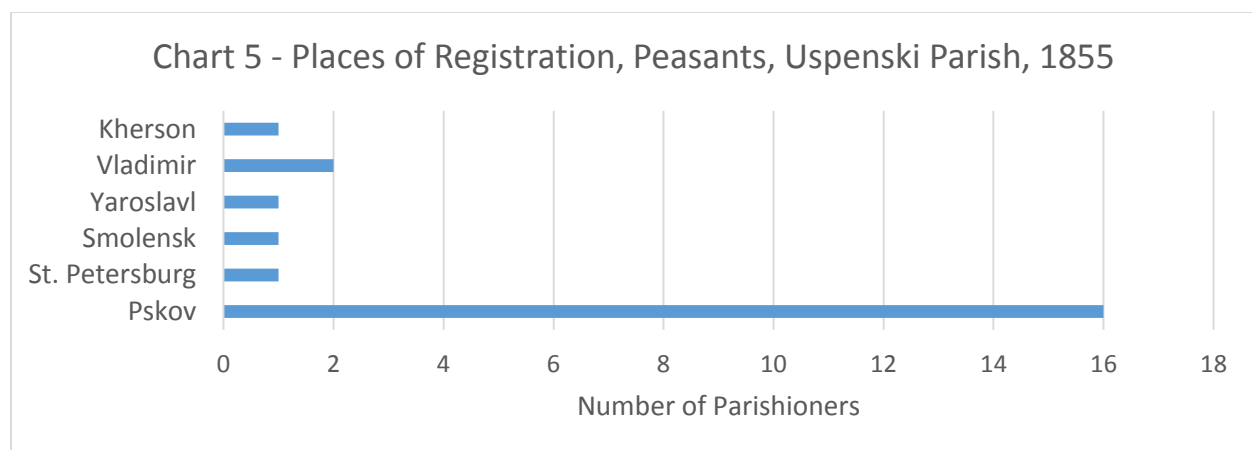
⁷⁵ *Eesti Ajalugu V*, 65.

⁷⁶ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 35.

One immediately notices the sharp rise in 1857 and the equally sharp decrease in 1871. The numbers are deceiving, because in 1857, the Russian Orthodox Estonian community joined with the rest of the Russian Orthodox community. In 1870, the Russian Orthodox Estonians obtained permission to have their own parish, the Holy George parish.⁷⁷ The numbers for 1857-1870 represent both Russian and Estonian Russian Orthodox parishioners. 1871-1897 appears to represent mostly ethnic Russians. While the years immediately preceding and following emancipation may have seen an increase in Russian peasant migration to Tartu, differentiation between the Russian and Estonian parishioners for 1857-1870 requires further investigation.

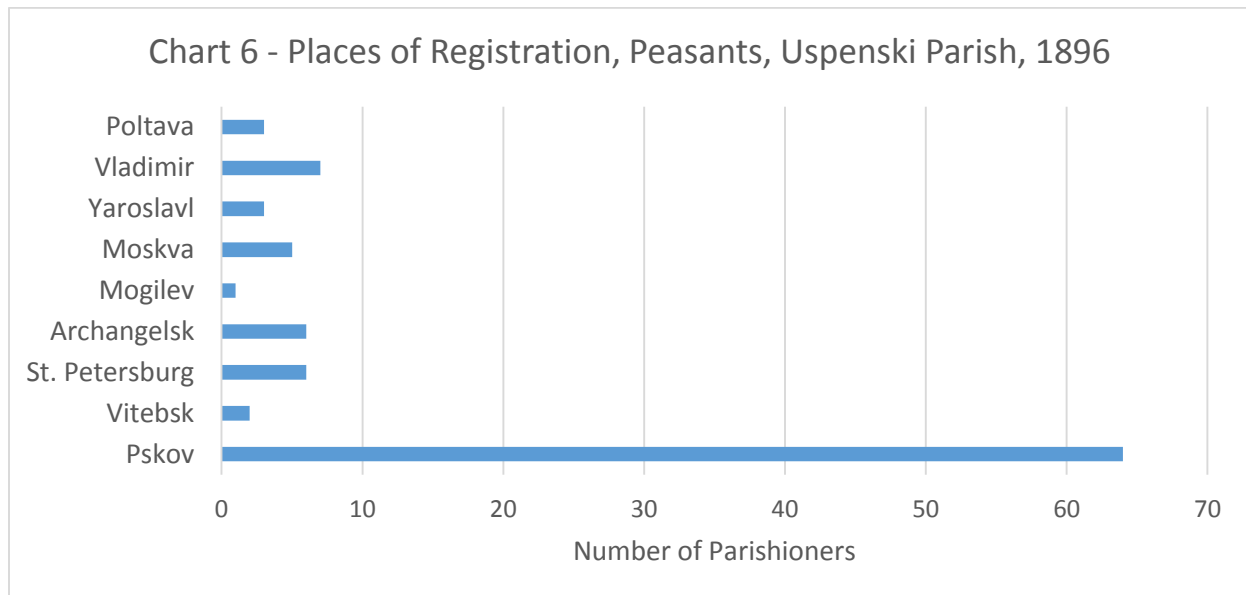
While the peasant group in Tartu was not very significant (unless some peasants were classified as merchants or artisans), the data for peasants is valuable. The lack of a rise during the period of Russification contributes to the argument that Russification left this group of people largely untouched, in their decision to migration. It is also valuable in its documentation of places of origin. This data can be used to make assumptions about peasant groups elsewhere. Documenting places of origin can suggest where Russians in other Estonian and peripheral provinces came from, during the late nineteenth century and up through the interwar period.

In 1855, twenty-two out of 117 peasants were registered outside of Estonia. These came from several provinces, mostly in northern European Russia. The majority, sixteen, came from Pskov Province, as might be expected of the peasant population preceding emancipation, industrialization, and construction of extensive transportation networks. Surprisingly, several came from other provinces in European Russia. The following chart shows places of registration:



⁷⁷ Klaas, “Õigeusu kirik Lõuna-Eestis 1848-1917: halduskorraldus ja preesterkond,” 148.

By 1896, a few other provinces appeared in entries for places of registration, but the following chart shows a notable increase in the number of peasants from Pskov:



In 1855, only sixteen peasants registered in Pskov, but in 1896, sixty-four out of 259 peasants registered in Pskov. The remainder registered in the Livland province, likely peasants from nearby provinces who may have, after years of living in the Livland province, finally registered in the Livland province. It is likely that others came from the Pskov province.

4.4.1. Proximity

The first of Ravenstein’s famous “Laws of Migration” is that the majority of migrants only proceed a short distance. “The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it.”⁷⁸ Berendsen and Maiste reported that the majority of migration to Tartu occurred from the surrounding countryside in Tartu County.⁷⁹ It seems logical that the same phenomenon would reach peasants in adjacent provinces as well.

The vast majority of the population in Pskov Province was rural. Out of a population of 1,136,540, only 70,936 lived in cities. Nearly 30,000 people resided in the city of Pskov, but the populations of all other cities in the province numbered less than 10,000.⁸⁰ Perhaps the lack of

⁷⁸ Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration,” 47.

⁷⁹ Berendsen and Maiste, *Esimene ülevenemaaline rahvaloendus Tartus 28. jaanuaril 1897*, 230.

⁸⁰ “Население Империи по переписи 28-го января 1897 года по уездам,” Центральный статистический комитет Министерства внутренних дел (St. Petersburg, 1898), 13.

urban opportunities led some to leave for Livland, where cities with more than 10,000 people were more numerous. This map shows the Pskov province in relation to Tartu, circled in blue:⁸¹



Estonia lay just west of St. Petersburg, Pskov, and Vitebsk Provinces, which are part of the Non-Black Earth Region, where peasants spent more of their time in non-agricultural activities than those in southern regions that have better soil and climate.⁸² Much of this movement consisted of temporary migrant labor. Peasants left their villages both temporarily, yet increasingly permanently, to work as migrant laborers. An increasing number settled in the industrializing cities of the empire.⁸³

This phenomenon prevailed more throughout the northern parts of European Russia, especially in what is called the Non-Black Earth region, but also in the other northern provinces, including those next to the Baltics. Due to poorer soil quality and climate, peasants engaged in work besides agriculture in order to make a living, often leaving their home villages for a short time. For this reason, industrialization developed quickly here, so much so that this region also came to be known as the Central Industrial region. They also worked in “mining, forestry, construction, transport, trade, and domestic service.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ “Карта Европейской Россіи,” Универсальное Издательство С-Петербурга; Estonian Historical Archives, EAA.2072.9.870 leht 1, Saaga <http://www.ra.ee/kaardid/index.php/et/map/saveOrPrint?id=232163&page=1> (accessed : 7 May 2015).

⁸² Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 339, 342-4.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 324.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 339, 342-4.

Historians have disputed the claim that poverty drove peasants to migrate. Migration required resources, including the acquisition of means of transportation, a passport, and provisions, especially when traveling long distances. In the late nineteenth century, most migrants were of middling prosperity.⁸⁵ They could meet the prerequisites to migrate. On the other hand, it was those impoverished peasants who by necessity had to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Nearby cities provided an opportunity, and did not require obtaining pricier train tickets, passports, and provisions. While transportation networks, especially the railroad, provided access to distant cities and lands, they also provided access to closer localities. Roads made accessible many areas that were as yet unconnected with the rest of the empire by rail.

These findings, that the majority of Russian Orthodox Russian peasants in Tartu originated in the province of Pskov, suggest that short-distance migration was prevalent among peasants coming to Estonia. Strengthening this argument, data from the Krulli factory in Tallinn show that, after workers hired from Estland and Livland, Petersburg represented the most workers.⁸⁶ As Narva was in the Petersburg province, a large number of Narva's Russians likely originated in Petersburg province. It seems likely that many Russian migrants in other provinces on the western periphery of the empire originated from nearby provinces.

The theory that a significant number of Russian peasants came from adjacent provinces, if proven true, is also indicative of the motives that led to their migration. Only 12.1 percent of peasants in the Pskov province were literate, making it seem unlikely that they would have been affected by ideological journalism relating to Russification.⁸⁷ They likely held fast to their Orthodox beliefs and Russian language, but instilling a love of these in others does not seem likely to have been their motivation to migrate to Tartu. They were likely driven by socio-demographic factors. Narva especially would not have seemed like a foreign destination. Emancipation and migration legislation played significant roles in enabling migration.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Moon, "Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914," 352.

⁸⁶ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 38.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁸⁸ David Saunders, *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801-1881* (London: Longman, 1998), 208-234.

4.4.2. Emancipation

The low number of peasants in Tartu in 1855 is uncharacteristic of the rest of Estonia, because emancipated peasants, classified in the literature as industrial workers, likely contributed most significantly to Russian settlement in Estonia during the late imperial period. While serfs were quite mobile, taking products to market and working as migrant labors, travel to different provinces was less common. Until 1861, most of Russia's population was prevented from permanent migration by the confines of serfdom. Peasants, who constituted 85 percent of Russia's population, were bound to the estates of the nobility, the state, the royal family, and the church. As of 1850, approximately half of the peasants were bound to noble estates, and half to the state estates. Peasants were not allowed to leave their places of permanent residence or the estates without the permission of their owners, stewards, or parish priests (more on regulation will follow). With permission, peasants often left the estates to take their and their masters' surplus produce to market or engage in wage labor to make additional income. varied by region, season, and period. Nobles also hired out their peasants, and the state sent peasants to work frontier lands, mines, and in factories. Both the nobility and the state could send unwanted peasants to Siberia. But landlords were not eager to part with their means of production. Some peasants thus migrated illegally, risking capture and often harsh punishment.⁸⁹

In 1857, the tsarist government began to seriously consider emancipation of the serfs. Reasons for this included a realization that serfdom was unjust, economically impractical, and likely to abolish itself from below. Some liberal-leaning authorities in the tsarist government considered this form of abolition a possible solution to the serf problem in other parts of the empire. The so-called Nazimov Rescript appeared in print at the end of 1857, declaring that the process of emancipation was soon to take place and calling for the formation of gentry committees to consider how peasant emancipation should take place.⁹⁰

In 1861, after much debate and disagreement over the terms of emancipation, the peasants received personal freedom. For two years, they were to fulfill their same obligations in return for land allotments. Thereafter, they entered a forty-nine-year period of "temporary

⁸⁹ Moon, "Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914," 324.

⁹⁰ Saunders, *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801-1881*, 208-234.

obligation.” During this period, they were to pay back loans, so-called redemption payments, to the government, which had compensated landlords for their lost land. The majority of peasants continued to work for their landlords, receiving monetary dues which they could use to make their redemption payments. Although 85 percent of peasants had received their land by 1881, the land allotments they had received were often smaller, averaging 20 percent in some regions, and of lower quality than the lands they had worked prior to emancipation.⁹¹ This and the aforementioned demographic situation led to a shortage of land in much of European Russia.

Peasants had to pay higher dues, between 10 and 16 percent, for the use of their land than they had under serfdom. In highly populated regions, their incomes did not provide enough money with which to pay their dues, so some participated in migrant labor out of necessity for extra income. Peasants were now free, theoretically, to leave the estates of their now former owners. According to David Moon, they gained increased confidence to leave the estates, realizing that they could retain extra income for themselves.⁹² The passport system, however, restricted mobility, which is one of the reasons why peasant migration to Estonia did not increase drastically until the end of the nineteenth century.

4.4.3. Migration Legislation

Russia’s passport system regulated migration. Serfdom made legal provision for wage labor, and in 1719, Peter the Great instituted a system of internal passports. Those travelling within thirty *versty* (approximately thirty kilometers) of their homes were to obtain a pass. Those travelling beyond thirty *versty*, or to another district, were to have their passes registered with the local authorities, who issued them permits, valid up to three years. Peter supposedly intended to regulate movement to better obtain manpower for his military, people for his projects, and taxes for his treasury. For this reason, not only peasants, but all of the empire’s subjects were to travel with passports, with laws differing.⁹³ This section will mainly focus on legislation regarding peasant migration, as peasant migration to Estonia was most noteworthy.

⁹¹ Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 353.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 350-54.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 326.

In the 1830s, the government codified legislation regarding population movement in the *Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire*. As of 1857, the updated law authorized peasant movement outside their places of permanent residence after having received a permit, a pass on official paper, or a printed passport. A permit allowed peasants to travel within their own districts and less than thirty *versty*, unless performing some function for their masters. Otherwise, travel beyond this limit and for less than six months required a pass (*bilet*). Estate owners, estate managers, and local state authorities could issue these. Travel of more than six months required a passport, which could last for up to three years. A three-year passport cost 4 rubles and 35 kopecks, about one half of the average amount of annual dues required by nobles of their peasants. District offices of the state treasury could issue passports, and the police registered the passports at the places of destination. In some instances, both passes and passports could be renewed away from home.⁹⁴

The emancipation of serfdom in 1861 did little to change regulations on movement. Travel still required the procurement of travel permits, passes, passports. In some regards, permanent migration became more difficult, as responsibility for the payment of taxes and the fulfillment of the “temporary obligations” was communal. If one person did not fulfill his obligations, the community had to cover his share of the obligations. Moon wrote, “After 1861, heads of peasant households and elders of village communities took over from nobles in seeking to control migrant laborers and ensure they remitted part of their earnings back to them.” Indeed, it would appear that many did not intend to settle in the city, preferring to retain their rural properties and maintain social ties in the village.⁹⁵ This altered passport system of 1863 did little to ease movement for peasants.

In the Baltics, similar to migration legislation in the interior provinces, a law was passed June 9, 1863, which allowed every parish member over the age of twenty-one to obtain a passport and residence in any part of the empire. This law permitted peasants to travel up to 30 *versty* away from their places of permanent residence without any sort of document.⁹⁶ It does not

⁹⁴ Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 327-329.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 341.

⁹⁶ Aadu Must, *Eestlaste perekonnaloo allikad* (Tartu: Kleio, 2000), 183-185, 198.

seem that laws on migration prevented migration between the Baltic and interior provinces any differently than they did between other interior provinces.

Permanent migration, if done legally, required passing several criteria. Seigniorial heads of peasant households had to renounce and return their allotments of land to the community, pay their taxes in full, meet existing obligations to their landlord, and present confirmation that another community was willing to receive them. Likewise, they could not be involved in any court proceedings. Persons other than heads of household were required, most importantly, to obtain permission from the head of the household. If heads of household wanted to leave the community, they needed to either obtain permission from the landlord and the community or pay the redemption payment in full. In 1870, a changed law required peasants wishing to leave to pay for half of their allotments, with the community agreeing to take charge of the other half.⁹⁷

While ostensibly granting freedom to live and do as one pleased, the government maintained tight control over movement. It was the intent of the reform settlement that peasants continue to work for their former owners in return for wages. The government also wanted to maintain public order and ensure the receipt of taxes and military conscripts. Gradually, some of the motives for controlling movement disappeared. The 1874 military service reform instituted universal service, so that class differentiation no longer made much difference. The replacement of the poll tax with more indirect taxes in 1887 (for the European provinces) also served to abrogate, in part, the need for strict control of movement.⁹⁸

The disappearance of some of these motives, along with the prospect a mobile labor force might bring to economic development, convinced the government of the need for reform. In 1881, peasants were no longer required to obtain an agreement from a destination-community granting acceptance. As of July 1889, hopeful migrants had to obtain permission to migrate from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and State Domains. Migration to the southern and eastern borderlands accelerated as the central government distributed land and released applicants from their redemption payments, provided the applicants renounce their land allotments. In the summer of 1894, the Statute on Residence Permits enabled peasants (excluding factory workers)

⁹⁷ Moon, "Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914," 331-3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 332-36.

to be absent from their places of residence within their home districts or 50 *versty* for up to six months. Finally, in 1897, passports could be obtained freely. Although supposedly meant to curb pre-existing illegal migration, this legislation encouraged migration.⁹⁹ This legislation was meant to stimulate industrialization, and it did.

4.5. Industrialization

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the government increasingly promoted economic and industrial development. For example, coal production increased from 400,000 ton in 1860-64, to 1 million in 1870-74.¹⁰⁰ Industrialization accelerated during the 1890s, especially with Sergei Witte acting as minister of finance. Industrial production increased at an average rate of 8 percent per year. Foreign investment in Russian industry played a large role in this, increasing from 100 million rubles in 1880, to 200 million in 1890, to more than 900 million in 1900.¹⁰¹ Russia, in part due to its vast size, became one of the world's main industrial powers.¹⁰²

The Baltic provinces ranked among the leading industrialized and urbanized regions of the empire.¹⁰³ Perhaps their more advanced socio-economic conditions attracted Russians to the area.¹⁰⁴ As with the rest of the empire, the pace of industrialization in Estonia accelerated most during the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1860-1900, the number of industrial laborers grew from 6,500 to 24,000, with half of this increase occurring in 1895-1900. The textile industry, centered in Narva, retained its dominance up to 1900, but the metal and machine industry, centered in Tallinn, narrowed the gap after 1895. As of 1900, 41 percent of Estonia's industrial laborers worked in Narva and 33 percent in Tallinn. Pärnu and Tartu played secondary roles as industrial centers, though they increasingly demanded artisanal labor and trade goods throughout the period in question.¹⁰⁵ Pärnu played an important role in export, while Tallinn ranked among the most important import centers during the late nineteenth century, especially following the completion of the Baltic railroad.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Jansen, *Eestlane muutuvast ajast: seisisühiskonnast kodanikuühiskonda*, 334-37.

¹⁰⁰ Elroi, *1924-1875 מהאימפריה הרוסית: ההגירה היהודית מהאימפריה הרוסית*, 12.

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Valentine Riasanovsky and Mark D. Steinberg, *A History of Russia*, eighth edition, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 425.

¹⁰² Peter N. Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution in World History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2007), 127.

¹⁰³ Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 2.

¹⁰⁵ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 66, 70-71.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

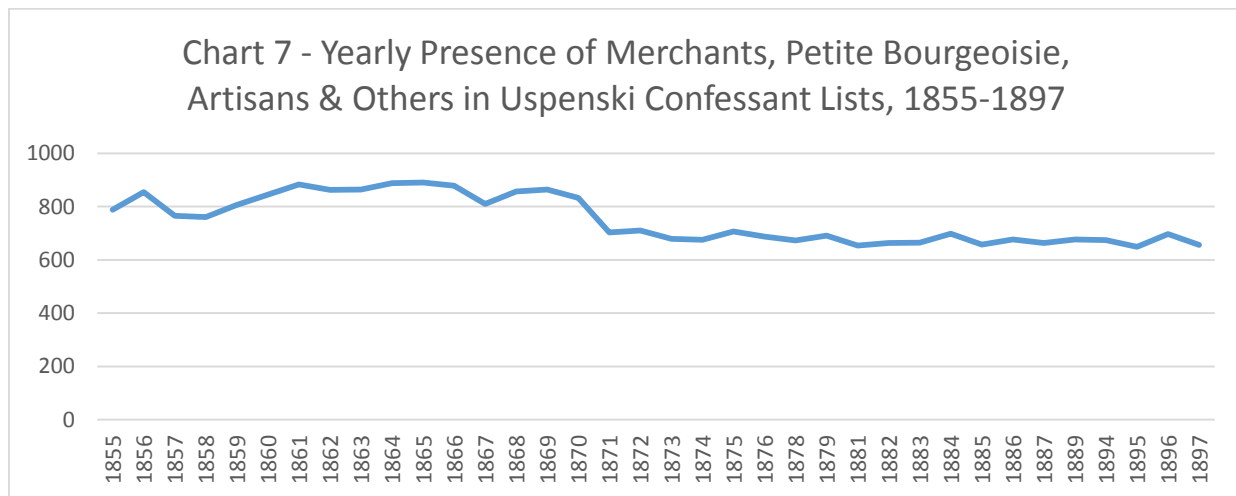
4.6. Transportation

Industrialization stimulated and was stimulated by increases in transportation networks. In Russia as a whole, the total mileage of railroads increased from 850 in 1855 to 48,000 by 1914.¹⁰⁷ The Trans-Siberian railroad linked European Russia with the eastern lands in 1904, with other railroads linking more westerly parts of Siberia earlier. Much railway construction occurred in and after the 1890s, as part of the push for industrialization initiated by Sergei Witte, who was himself a former railway administrator. This made travel easier and more affordable.

In Estonia, the Paldiski-Tallinn-Narva-St. Petersburg line opened in 1870. It came to Tartu in 1876 and Riga and Pskov in 1889. Pärnu became linked with the rest of the region by rail in 1896.¹⁰⁸ This made migration easier and more affordable, and it stimulated industrialization. Noted previously, the rapid increase in Valga's Russian population resulted in part from railroad workers settling down. The relatively late arrival of the railroad and industrialization lead us, however, to seek for additional factors that promoted migration.

4.7. Merchants and Artisans

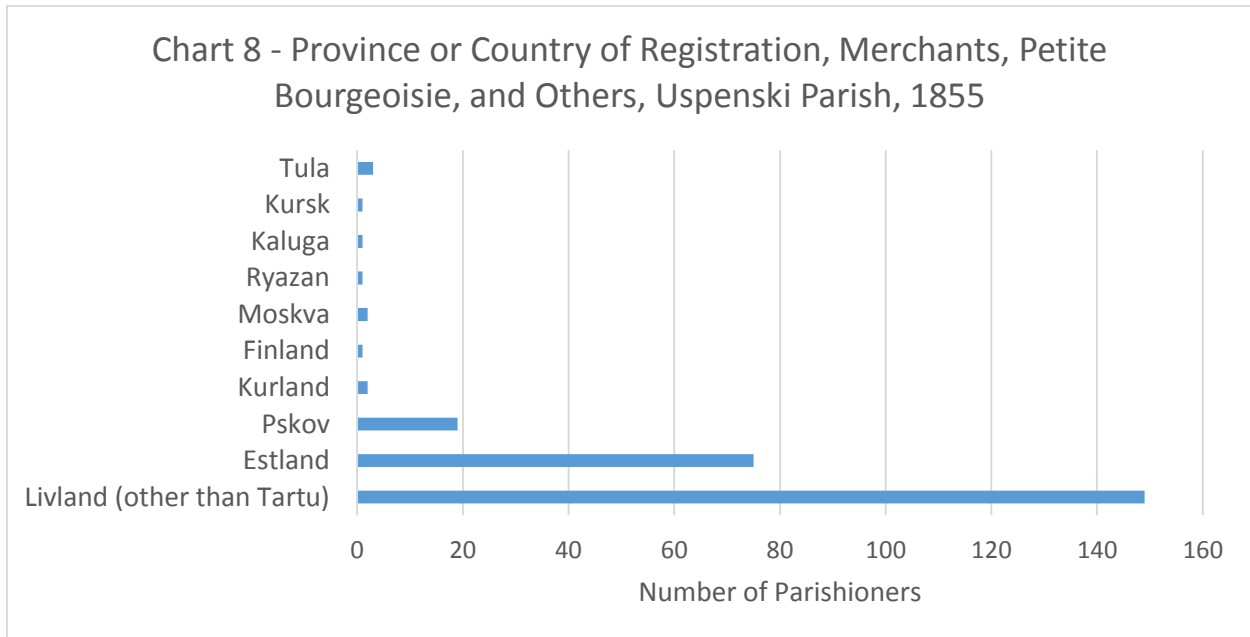
The largest class of parishioners in the Uspenski confessant lists were merchants, *petite bourgeoisie*, and artisans. The following chart shows fluctuations in their presence:



¹⁰⁷ H. Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernisation and Revolution, 1881-1917* (London, 1983), 105.

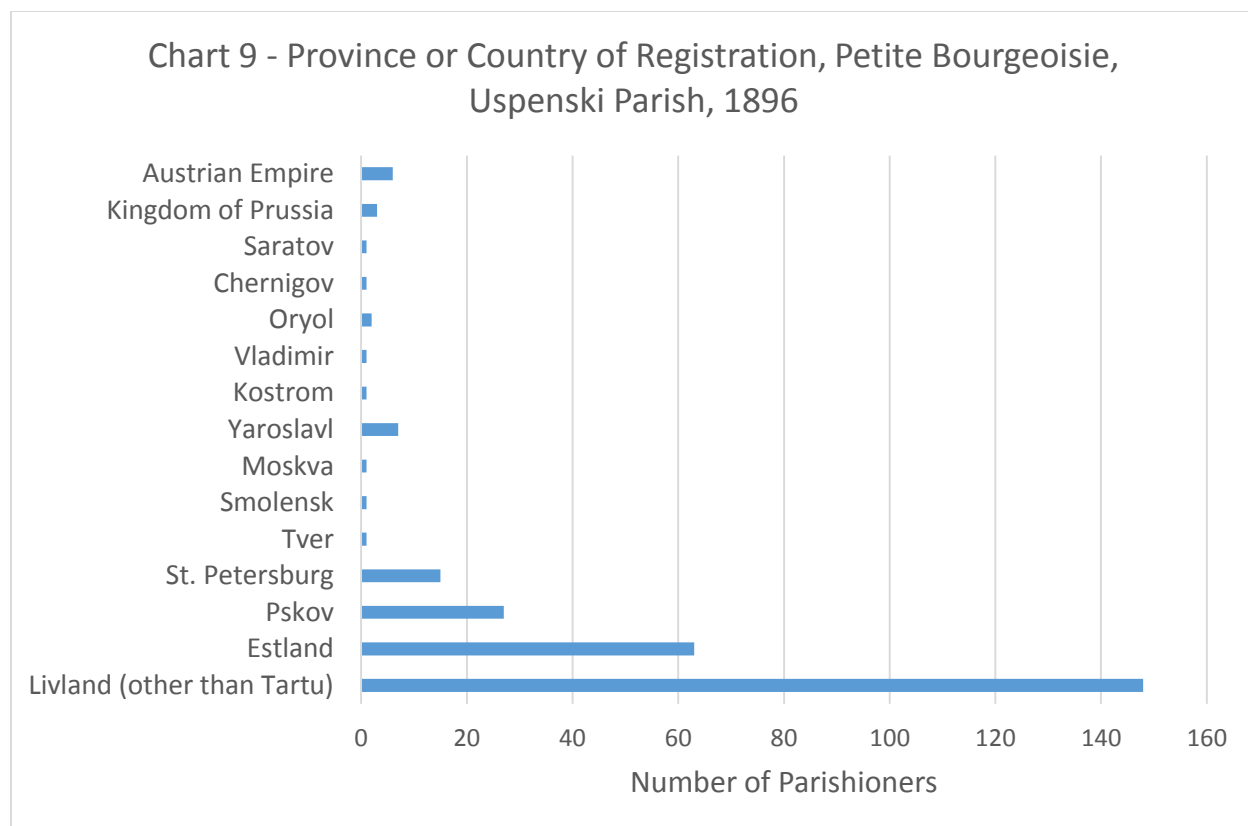
¹⁰⁸ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 71.

Documentation for places of registration shows how mobile this group of Russians were. They came from all over the empire. The following charts show their places of registration:



While the majority of persons in this category were registered in Tartu, Livland, or Estland, thirty persons were registered outside of Estonian lands. Most of these persons were likely ethnic Russians, being registered in ethnic Russian lands excepting a few from Kurland and Finland. It is interesting to note that those registered in ethnic Russian lands were registered in either Moscow Province or a province adjacent to Moscow, perhaps a result of transportation or information connections. That the majority of this group were registered in Livland or provinces adjacent to Livland shows that, prior to technological advancements which had not yet made headway in Russia, close-proximity migration was predominant.

By 1896, the merchants, petite bourgeoisie, and other city-dwellers were registered in a larger number of provinces, indicative of the increase in transportation networks. The following chart shows this:



The provinces most represented still included Livland and Estland, followed by Pskov. In these provinces, people were registered in a wide array of cities, including Walk, Fellin, Werro, Lemzal, Wolmar, Shlok, and Riga in Livland Province; Weissenshtein, Wenden, Baltiskii Port, Gapsalya, Wezenberg, and Revel in Estland Province; and Pskov Toropets, Opochetskiy, Ostrovsky, Pechery in Pskov Province. From St. Petersburg Province, a large number of persons (fifteen) registered in Narva, and twenty in St. Petersburg. Other cities represented included Kronstadt and Tsarskoye Selo.

Provinces of registration represented all parts of European Russia, from St. Petersburg and Kostrom in the north, to Chernigov and Samara in the south (three persons came from Parkhovskskii and Astashevskii, provinces for which this author was unable to determine). Some persons even came from Austria and Prussia. This illustrates how increases in networks of transportation enabled more people to travel more places.

The Russian population in Estonia increased significantly not only during the second half of the nineteenth century, but also during the first half. It rose rising from 3,800 in 1795 to

19,100 1858.¹⁰⁹ The majority of migrants during this period were merchants and artisans.¹¹⁰ The story of why the number of Russian merchants and artisans rose is related in part to guilds. Guilds, which allowed merchants and craftsmen to control the practice and profits of their craft, barred Russians from participating in much of the economy until Russia conquered Estland and Livland in 1710. They obtained a foothold thereafter, but only to a small degree. In 1785, a proclamation announced that all city residents, except for serfs and servants, were now citizens, members of the community. Russian merchants and artisans could now become citizens of cities in Estonia and receive the right to practice his trade. Travelling merchants also obtained the right to sell their goods, encouraging mobility among merchants.¹¹¹

At the end of the eighteenth century, 50 Russian merchants were registered in Tartu. The first half of the nineteenth century saw a much-increased presence of Russian tradesmen. The war with Napoleon served to sever ties in foreign trade, providing Russian merchants with a space to fill.¹¹² Raun wrote, “Among the lower classes in the cities, despite industrial expansion, artisans remained more numerous than industrial workers until the end of the nineteenth century. There was still a significant demand for such skilled artisans as shoemakers, seamstresses, and carpenters.”¹¹³ Ea Jansen wrote that the demand for the artisans’ skills actually increased during this period.¹¹⁴

The end of the closed-guild system in 1866 appears to have opened up opportunities for merchants and artisans, including Russians, upon paying a certain sum. The opportunity for monopoly was ended.¹¹⁵ Indeed, the numbers of merchants and craftsmen in Uspenski’s confessant lists rise for a short time after 1866. The Russian city law, applied to the Baltics in 1877, diminished the political power of the guilds and opened up artisanship and trade opportunities even further.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Kabuzan, *Формирование многонационального населения Прибалтики (Эстонии, Латвии, Литвы, Калининградской области России) в XIX-XX вв. (1795-2000 гг.)*, 126.

¹¹⁰ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 25. Isakov, *Русское национальное меньшинство в Эстонской Республике (1918-1940)*, 22.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹¹³ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 73.

¹¹⁴ Ea Jansen, *Eestlane muutuv asjas: seisusühiskonnast kodanikuühiskonda* (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2007), 485.

¹¹⁵ Pullat, *Tartu ajalugu*, 142.

¹¹⁶ Jansen, *Eestlane muutuv asjas: seisusühiskonnast kodanikuühiskonda*, 485.

Nevertheless, as data from the confessant lists confirms, the numbers of Russian artisans and merchants began to decrease during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A significant factor in this was the rise of an Estonian presence in trade. Jansen wrote, “New economic demands were increasingly met by Estonians flowing into the towns.”¹¹⁷ This was likely what caused the decrease in the Russian populations of Paldiski, Rakvere, Paide, Haapsalu, and Viljandi.¹¹⁸ Still, by the beginning of the twentieth century, Russian artisans and merchants constituted more than 12 percent of persons involved in trade, though the actual number was likely larger, as travelling salesmen do not appear in sources as frequently as more permanent merchants do.¹¹⁹

5. Russian Orthodox Estonians

Although not the focus of this paper, the story of the Holy George Parish is an enlightening in regard to ethnic relations. The parish was established in 1845 as an independent Estonian parish. Until then, they belonged to the Uspenski Parish. Fjodor Berezski requested a priest who could speak Estonian. Joann Jelenin, who completed the Pskov spiritual seminary, became the parish priest. They did not, however, obtain their own building at that time. They rented rooms for their services until a stone building was completed in 1870. It was dedicated 23 April 1871.¹²⁰ According to Klaas, the parish had 682 members in 1850, 583 in 1855, 1160 in 1870/73, 1327 in 1875, 1493 in 1880, 1613 in 1885/82, 1671 in 1890/91, and 1716 in 1895.¹²¹

The Holy George Parish consisted almost entirely of peasants. Only six clergy and twenty-seven military personnel appear on the registers for 1855. It appears that a little over 200 peasant parishioners were registered in Tartu. The vast majority, about 450, came from nearby estates and villages in Tartu County. It is not known whether these peasants resided in the city of Tartu on a permanent or temporary basis. The following chart illustrates the parish’s class composition:

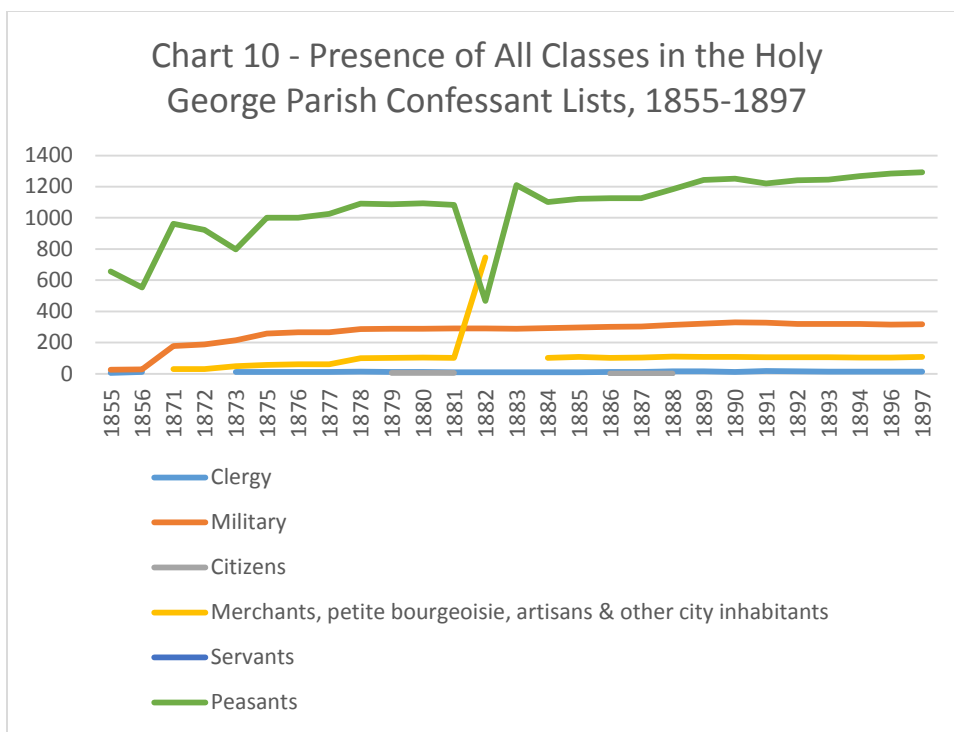
¹¹⁷ Jansen, *Eestlane muutuvast ajast: seisisühiskonnast kodanikuühiskonda*, 485.

¹¹⁸ Karjahärm, *Ida ja Lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850-1917*, 28.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹²⁰ Klaas, “Õigeusu kirik Lõuna-Eestis 1848-1917: halduskorraldus ja preesterkond,” 149.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 149.



After peasants, a substantial amount of military personnel appears in the lists. The drop in the number of peasants in 1882/83 coincides with an increase in the number of merchants and artisans. This illustrates further how the clergy confused classes. The number of artisans and merchants never exceeded more than 150, but it is likely that many of these peasants participated in craftsmanship or trade, as suggested by Jansen (see section on merchants and artisans).

Many of these peasants likely converted to Russian Orthodoxy in the mid-1840s. In 1845, after a famine and tough winter, a rumor spread throughout much of Northern Livonia that those who converted to Russian Orthodoxy would receive land from the Tsar and escape serfdom. Between 1845 and 1848, over 66,000 peasants, constituting 17 percent of the peasantry in the Estonian portion of Northern Livland, converted. This makes differentiating between Estonians and Russians difficult, but other records can help in this regard.¹²²

In the Baltics, the specter of serfdom continued to exist, despite its official abolition a quarter of a century previously. The emancipation did not grant land to the peasants, and earning a sum large enough to purchase land and become self-reliant proved for many too great a task. David Saunders wrote,

¹²² Vahtre, *Eesti ajalugu V: pärisorjuse kaotamisest Vabadussõjani*, 84.

“The ‘Baltic path’ to emancipation – the landless variant – was discredited at the very time disagreements [in the interior provinces] over the way forward were at their height. The year 1858 witnessed about 100 peasant disturbances in Estonia, almost as many as the 123 which, according to one estimate, took place in all the Russian provinces of the empire put together . . . The free but landless peasants of Estonia were dissatisfied with their lot.¹²³

These disturbances followed agrarian reforms of 1856 purported to improve the lot of peasants in the Estland Province, based on a similar reform instituted in Livland in 1849. These reforms were meant to remove one-sixth of every estate’s land, as the emancipations of 1816 and 1819 did not include land, and make it available to peasants for rent or sale. Peasants were unhappy when they found out that these reforms would take effect ten years hence. Many believed that the new law and the Tsar’s recent proclamation had freed them from corvée labor, and they refused to work. Interestingly, this unrest supposedly influenced the Russian officials who were preparing the Statutes for the abolition of serfdom, helping to convince them to create a landed peasantry.¹²⁴

Eesti Ajalugu V made no mention of a direct connection to Livland peasants, but it is apparent that they likely disliked the reforms for the same reason. What affected them even more included the 1863 passport law, permitting them to go wherever they chose, and also the rescinding of corvée labor in 1865. Landlords could only employ laborers by paying wages.¹²⁵ Voting with their feet, hundreds of thousands left for other lands. 7000-8000 people departed for Samara and Crimea in the 1860s. By 1897, 110,000 lived outside of traditional Estonian lands, especially St. Petersburg and Pskov provinces (perhaps taking the places of Russian peasants who had left their places of origin).¹²⁶ Many chose to go where there was a growing amount of work: the cities.¹²⁷ For these reasons we see a sharp rise in the presence of peasants in the Holy George Parish at the end of the 1850s and the early 1860s, which continued throughout the

¹²³ Saunders, *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801-1881*, 228.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 232-234. Moon, “Peasant Migration, the Abolition of Serfdom, and the Internal Passport System in the Russian Empire, c. 1800–1914,” 334.

¹²⁵ Tiit Rosenberg, “Mõisarahvast,” lecture, 8 May 2015. Interestingly, many professional farmers from Germany took the places of Estonians who left.

¹²⁶ Artur Vassar, *Uut maad otsimas: agraarne ümberasumisliikumine Eestis kuni 1863. aastani* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1975), 5.

¹²⁷ Vahre, *Eesti ajalugu V: pärisorjuse kaotamisest Vabadussõjani*, 95-97.

period. The relatively stable level of presence hints at how successful Orthodox proselytizing was among Estonians during the period of Russification.

Conclusion

This case study set out to answer the following questions: Where did Russian migration to Estonia during the second half of the nineteenth century originate? When did Russians come, and why? Did Russification play an essential role, as some scholars have posited? What socio-economic factors played a role? Did their impact exceed that of Russification? Employing information compiled from Tartu's Russian Orthodox attendance rolls, this research documented shifts in presence. Policies of Russification, influencing about 1,000 people to come to Estonia, promoted migration to a small extent compared to other factors. These results suggest the need for a change of perspective regarding the causes of Russian migration to Estonia than most scholars have heretofore held.

Many Russians, particularly peasants, merchants, and artisans, came to Estonia as part of an empire-wide migratory movement, with no apparent connection to Russification. Socio-demographic factors had a greater impact in promoting migration. The demographic transition, urbanization, emancipation, migration legislation, industrialization, and increases in transportation networks promoted their migration to Estonia. In documenting places of origin, the research also showed that proximity played a very significant role. Most of the peasants in Tartu appear to have originated in Pskov.

This raises questions regarding ethnic relations, historical presence, and territorial claims. If Russians migrated to Estonia in pursuit of better socio-economic conditions, why did many stay there? Did similar motives lead some to refuse a return to Bolshevik Russia after World War I? Can historical presence justify claims to territory, when several ethnic groups may have dwelt in the same area?

These findings have implications for other regions on Russia's periphery. What were the origins of the 154,700 Russians living in Latvia, the 139,300 in Lithuania (as of 1897), and the many others who settled in other parts of Eastern and Northern Europe, such as Eastern Finland? Confessant books, census returns, tax registers, provincial statistical reports on migration, and other documents might shed light on this, as well as related historical and contemporary issues.

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Resüme

Vene sisseränne Eestisse Tartu linna näitel, 1855-1897

Magistritöös otsiti vastuseid eelkõige järgmistele küsimustele: kust tulenes vene sisseränne Eestisse 19. saj. teisel poolel? Millal ja miks venelased rändasid Eestisse? Kas venestamine mängis selles protsessis olulist rolli, nagu mõned ajaloolased on väitnud? Millist rolli mängisid sotsiaalmajanduslikud tegurid ja kas nende mõju ületas venestamise mõju taseme? Kasutades Tartu Uspenski ja Püha Jüri õigeusu koguduste pihiliste nimekirjadest kopeeritud informatsiooni dokumenteerib käesolev uurimistöo rahvastiku kohaloleku muutusi. Pihinimekirjades jaotati inimesed seisuste järgi: vaimulikud, sõjaväelased, kodanikud, kaupmehed, petite bourgeoisie, käsitöölised, talupojad ja teised. Ligikaudu tuhande venelase Eestisse sisserände puhul edendas venestamispoliitika rännet, võrreldes teiste teguritega, vähesel määral, Enamik teadlasi on varem pidanud venestamist oluliseks mõjuteguriks sisserändel pööramata eriti tähelepanu teistele teguritele. Nad ei ole eristanud põhjuste tähtsuse vahel. Magistritöö tulemused osundavad vajadusele seda perspektiivi muuta.

Palju venelasi (eriti talupojad, kaupmehed ja käsitöölised) rändasid Eestisse suurema üleimpeeriumilise rändeliikumise raames, nende rändel puudus otsene seos venestamispoliitikaga. Seega sotsiaalmajanduslikutel teguritel oli suurem mõju rände ergutamisel. Demograafiline üleminek, linnastumine, pärisorjuse kaotamine, migratsioonialane seadusandlus, industrialiseerimine ja transpordivõrgustikud ergutasid venelaste rännet. Sisserännanute päritolu osas näitas see uuring, et geograafiline lähedus mängis väga olulist rolli. Enamus Tartus asuvaid vene õigeusklikke talupoegi pärinesid Pihkva kubermangust.

Ühtlasi tõstatuvad ka küsimused seoses etniliste suhete, ajaloolise kohaloleku ja territoriaalsete väidetega. Kui venelased rändasid Eestisse püüdes leida paremaid sotsiaalmajanduslikke tingimusi, siis miks nad siia jäid? Kas sarnased motiivid võisid olla põhjuseks keeldumaks bolševistlikule Venemaale naasmast pärast Esimest maailmasõda? Kas ajalooline kohalolek õigustab väiteid territooriumile, kui mitu etnilist rühma on samas piirkonnas elunenud? Pihiliste nimekirjad, rahvaloenduste andmed, oklaadiraamatud, kubermangude statistilised aruanded ja paljud teised dokumendid on heaks allikmaterjaliks valgustamaks rändega seotud ning samuti teisi ajaloolisi ja kaasaegseid küsimusi.

Appendices

Chart 11 - Total Number of Parishioners (including Estonians) in Tartu Russian Orthodox Parish Confessant Lists, 1855-1897

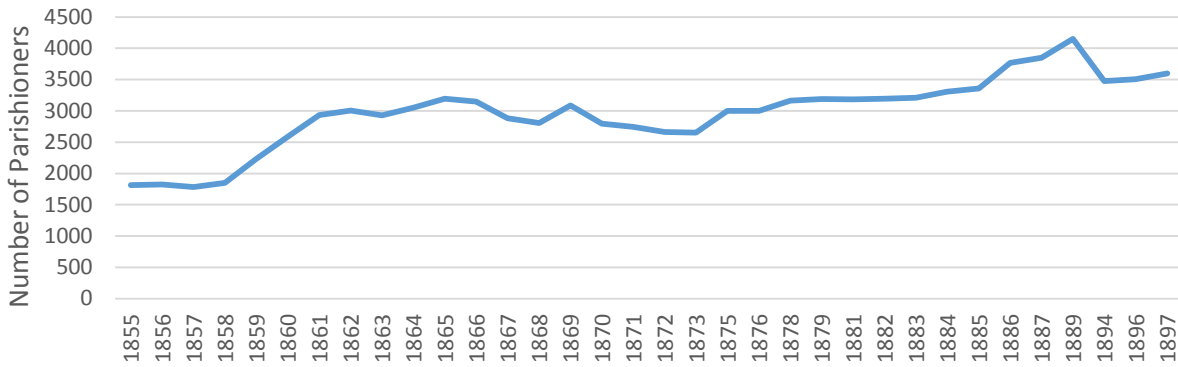


Chart 12 - Presence, by Class, in Tartu's Uspenski Parish Confessant Lists, 1855-1897

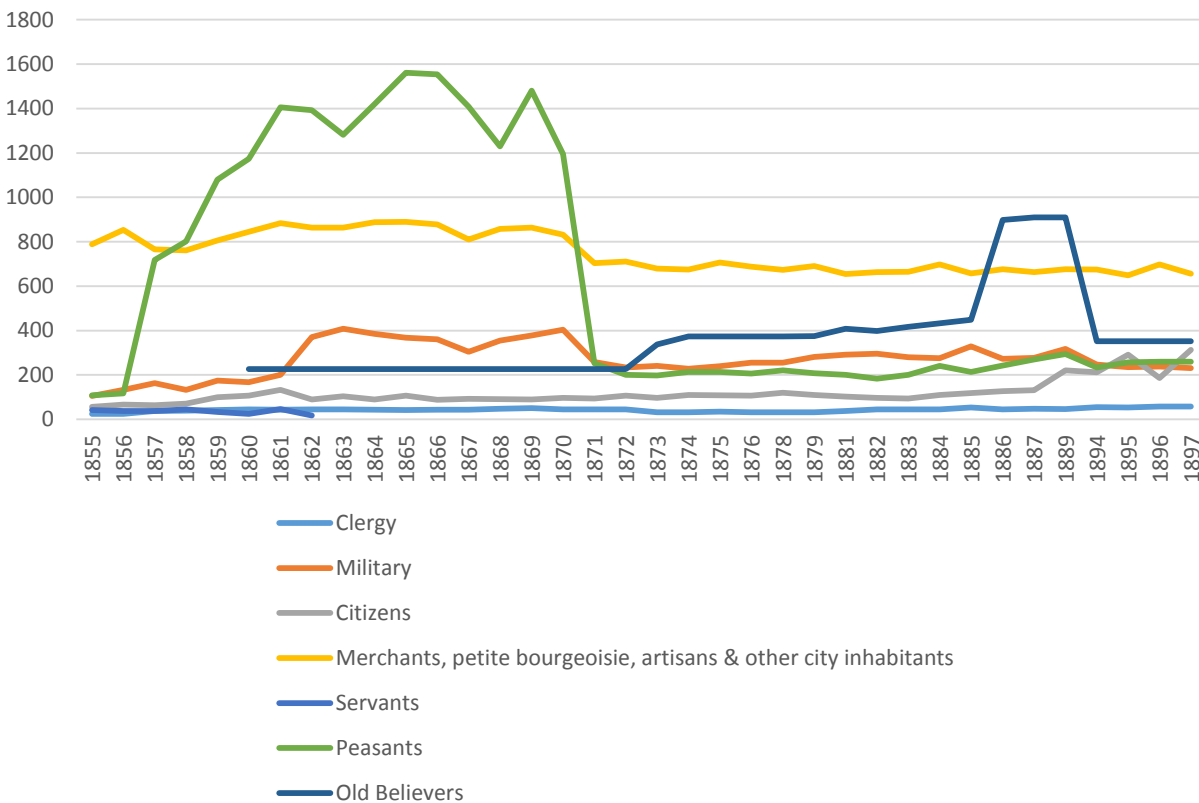
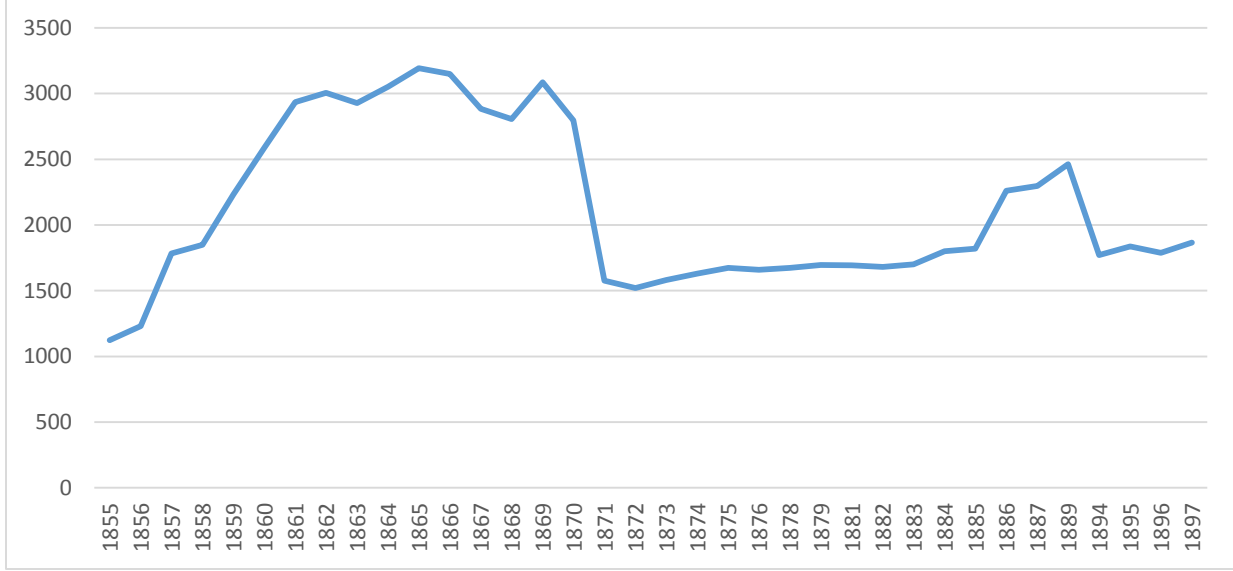


Chart 13 - Total Presence, Uspenski Confessant Lists, 1855-1897



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