

ABOUT THE BIRTH OF MODERN LIFE IN ESTONIAN VILLAGE (AN ATTEMPT OF METHODOLOGICAL STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF PERIODIZATION)

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Attempts at defining the meaning of modern life are rare in historical literature. This article focuses on finding out the new phenomena and their appearance that designated the beginning of modern life in the Estonian countryside in the 18th and 19th centuries.

While explaining the word "modern", most reference books define it (somehow tautologically) as "contemporary". In the Estonian-German dictionary edited by F. J. Wiedemann and first published in 1893, one cannot find this word, but it is clearly documented that the Estonian language made a difference between old (outdated) "vana-moodne" and new (one can understand the meaning of this word also as modern) "uue-moodne".¹ It seems that this word of French origin is best defined in Larousse-Encyclopedia, which says that in every epoch modern means something that is **contrasted** with traditional.²

The historical development of human life is extremely multidimensional and many-sided, transitions from old (traditional) to new (modern) take place in different spheres at different times and in different ways. They either take place or do not both in the countryside and in towns, in material production and in ideology, in everyday life and in science. When they sum up in such a way that one can speak about radical transition (one can call it also a revolutionary change), then it can be characterized as a birth of modern society.

The transitional period to modern society has often been termed "industrial revolution". According to C. M. Cipolla, it was a revolt of urban centres "... against the predominant agrarian-feudal order".³ About the same definition was given by Toivo U. Raun, who stated that, broadly speaking, "... modernization refers to the transformation from an agrarian society to an industrial society with all the significant ramifications in all the aspects of life that this process entails".⁴

¹ Wiedemann, F. J. Estnisch-deutsches Wörterbuch (Fachsimplie). Tallinn, 1973, v. 612

² Petit Larousse en couleurs, 646.

³ The Fontana Economic History of Europe. Vol. 3 — The Industrial Revolution. Glasgow, 1978, 9.

⁴ Raun, T. U. Modernization and the Estonians, 1860—1914. — In: Ziedonis, A., Winter, W. L., Valgemäe, M. (eds.). Baltic History. Ohio, 1974, 135.

T. U. Raun deals with the processes going on in Estonia in a broad historical-geographical framework. He pays his main attention to the processes of urbanization and industrialization. "The decisions for or against transformation were made in central governmental circles in St. Petersburg or in those the ruling Baltic Germans in the homeland."⁵ We have in this case chosen a different way. We leave out the "external factors" and do not try to grasp the development of the society as a whole, leaving out the urban-industrial spheres of development. We are interested in the problem of how the more or less pure Estonian village society "responded" to the "outer changes". We are making an attempt to find out when the important changes (modernization) took place in the Estonian countryside, among the peasants (who in the past made up the bulk of the Estonian nation). This limited question is also rather complicated. The Estonian peasantry in the 16th—19th centuries did not represent a homogeneous unit consisting of standardized persons. One must take into account significant regional differences (different at different times) as have been rightly pointed out by Harry and Alice Moora and recently by Matti Klinge.⁶

The Estonian peasantry consisted of a multitude of individuals and they did not "march in step with each other" all the time, or changed the direction of their movement at one and the same time.

History practically consists of the actions of the most active parts of the population that has left marks in the annals of history. In the following, we will deal in many cases with the actions of the relatively small groups of peasants (the number of peasants taking part in peasant rebellions never surpassed 30% of the whole number of peasants)⁷, which nevertheless were typical of and important for their time. In other cases we can base our comparisons and conclusions on statistically more representative information.

As was already mentioned, we have tried to find cases in the development and behaviour where the opposition of old (traditional) and new (modern) reveals itself most clearly. The disposable information allows us to study this in the following spheres: religious beliefs, social mobility, changes in agricultural production, attitude to land ownership, demographic behaviour.

Radical changes took place in the beliefs of peasants.

In the middle of the 17th century, the lord of Sõmerpalu estate in Urvaste parish built a water-mill on the river Võhandu which was considered a holy river by local peasants. After this, unexpected cold nights in spring caused crop failure, and in 1642 local peasants attacked the mill and estate; they tried to punish the lord, and in the end they burnt down the mill. The uprising of peasants could be suppressed only by military forces.⁸

When the Swedish authorities (from 1645 on, the whole Estonian territory was incorporated into the Swedish Kingdom) tried to strengthen the authority of the Lutheran Church, and for this purpose carried out a major visitation in almost all parishes in southern Estonia in 1667—68, they found examples of idolatry at sacred graves and stones everywhere and learned the names of numerous *pagan* witches. One peasant had said — according to the information gained in the

⁵ Ibid., 136.

⁶ Moora, H., Moora, A. Baltimaade ajaloolis-kultuuriliste allvaldkondade ja vähemate alajaotuste kujunemisest. — Etnograafiamuuseumi aastaraamat, 1960, 17, 20—83; Klinge, M. Kaksi Suomea. Helsinki, 1982.

⁷ Какх Ю. «Остзейский путь» перехода от феодализма к капитализму. Таллинн, 1988, 362.

⁸ Eesti NSV ajalugu, I. Tallinn, 1955, 337.

process of this visitation — that pastors "... entice people to receive the sacrament only in the hope of getting money from them, otherwise it is useless".⁹

All this information about the attitude of Estonian peasants to church up to the end of the 17th century testifies to the fact that "idolatry" was quite strong and widely spread among them.

After the Great Northern War, in 1732, a pastor was appointed to the same Urvaste parish that was mentioned above in connection with the 1642 uprising. Pastor Quandt was an ardent follower of the Herrnhuter movement, so in a short time he succeeded in provoking an intensive "religious awakening". In 1737, according to his words, the whole parish was full of peasant-preachers, "... on Sundays the rooms, even buildings were too small and the religious meetings were held in the open air, in forests: the whole parish was in this holy fire..." Quandt had information about 60 to 80 "places for *pagan sacrifices*" — in two weeks he and his peasant followers destroyed 24 of them.¹⁰

The missionaries of the so-called Herrnhuter Brothers arrived in Estonia in the second quarter of the 18th century. Their adherents were not too numerous. The movement spread at first mainly in South-East Estonia, on the Island of Saaremaa and in Tallinn. But the ardent religious zeal of even a part of peasantry, who only a generation earlier had quite openly despised the official church, demonstrated a significant change (or rather the beginning of a change) in their mentality.

The records of church visitations from the 1820s show rather convincingly that by that time the ancient pagan customs and beliefs all over the countryside had lost their strength and survived only as various forms of harmless superstition.¹¹

From 1840s on, we are already in the third stage of the development of the religious mentality — now the peasants tried to use the official forms of religion (the Greek Orthodox Church versus the Lutheran Church) to gain some material favours. Thousands of peasants in Southern Estonia and on the Island of Saaremaa joined the Greek Orthodox Church in the naïve hope to get land from the Orthodox monarch.¹² After the collapse of their hopes, in 1860s—70s, they tried to convert back to the Lutheran Church. From 1860s—70s on the mentality of peasants acquired new features — now side by side with religious ideas, political and romantic-nationalistic ideas begin to spread.

Rather significant evolution took place in the field of education. Thanks to the studies in the field of Estonian School history (conducted by a team led by E. Laul), we have quite exact statistical data about the number of schools in Estonia. A longer "time-series" has been preserved from the counties of Tartumaa and Võrumaa. The number of village schools is given as follows:¹³

1736	— 29	1784—85	— 205	1846	— 326
1750—52	— 41	1813—14	— 217	1852	— 346
1774—77	— 220	1834	— 286	1859	— 388

⁹ Kahk, J. Estonia II: The Crusade against Idolatry. — In: Early Modern European Witchcraft, Centres and Peripheries. Oxford, 1990, 279—281.

¹⁰ Plitt, H. Die Brüdergemeinde und die lutherische Kirche in Livland. — In: Schutzschrift für das Diasporawerk. Gotha, 1861, 102—103.

¹¹ Kahk, J. Eesti talupoegade religioossetest tõekspidamistest ja kultuuritasemest kahe sajandi eest. — Keel ja Kirjandus, 1979, 1, 19.

¹² See Kruus, H. Talurahva käärimine Lõuna-Eestis XIX sajandi 40-ndail aastail. Tartu, 1930.

¹³ Eesti kooli ajalugu, I. Tallinn, 1986, 217—220, 242, 264, 265, 317, 318, 357—359, 362.

In North Estonia 41% of adult persons could read in 1790—94, in 1800—04 the number was — 36%, 1815—19 — 35%. In South Estonia the same indicators fluctuated (in different counties) between 62 to 72 per cent in 1798.¹⁴

L. Aarma has come to the conclusion that the literacy of peasants at the end of the 18th century in Government Estland was about 40%, in the Estonian part of Government Livland about 55%. In 1830s the literacy in Estland was about 64%. In the 1860s a new level was already achieved — from among Estonian peasants the percentage of those who could not only read, but also write was about 20—40% in Estland and 50—60% in Livland (continent).¹⁵

Step by step the mentality of Estonian peasants became influenced by printed word.

Up to the middle of the 18th century the local preachers reported that the Holy Bibles and hymn-books were very scarce in villages — the pastor from Viru-Nigula reported in 1745 that in his parish there were only three Bibles.¹⁶ But in the second half of the century books did appear in Estonian countryside — “Home and Church Book of Estonia (*Eesti-Ma Kele Koddo ning Kirko-Ramat*)” appeared in 1721—71 in 16 publications in 94 000 copies. In large editions were also published readers and catechisms.¹⁷ Quite popular were almanacs and the “edifying stories” published in them. Already in the 1820s there was such a broad reading public in Estonian villages that O. W. Masing dared, in 1821, to start a first Estonian weekly.¹⁸ In the middle of the 19th century the circulation of Estonian newspaper *Eesti Postimees* reached 2500 copies. K. Noodla has demonstrated that already by the beginning of the 19th century peasants’ reading taste had shaped itself — they favoured some books and declined to read others.¹⁹

Up to the end of the 18th century the social mobility in the Estonian village was quite intensive and the borderlines between different social layers were rather “diffusive”. A man could be born as a younger son of the farm-master, writes H. Liigi, he could be at the start of his working age a hired farmhand in another peasant’s household, and he could end up as a cotter. The juridical documents and contemporary writers quite often mix up a son of a farmer and a “hired farmhand” even up to the second quarter of the 19th century.²⁰

From the second quarter of the 19th century, the situation began to change. Having studied, together with H. Uibu, the “individual careers” of all the peasants in Sangaste parish in South Estonia in the periods 1816—1834 and 1834—1850, we came to the following conclusions. In the first period, the chances of a son of a farmer to become a farmer were only twice greater than the chances of a young hired farmhand, whereas in 1834 his chances were already 5 times greater. The fate of 2/3 of the sons of the farmers was to become a farmer; 2/3 to 4/5 hired farmhands continued all their lives as farm-

¹⁴ Ibid., 285—287, 326.

¹⁵ Aarma, L. Kirjaoskus Eestis 18. sajandi lõpust 1880. aastateni (nekrutinimekirjade andmeil). Tallinn, 1990, 222, 224, 228.

¹⁶ Kahk, J. Eesti talupoegade religioossetest tõekspidamistest ja kultuuritasemest kahe sajandi eest, 15.

¹⁷ Eesti kooli ajalugu, I, 212.

¹⁸ Noodla, K. Eesti raamatu lugeja XVIII sajandi lõpul ja XIX sajandi algul. — In: Paar sammukest eesti kirjanduse uurimise teed. Uurimusi XI. Tallinn, 1986, 14.

¹⁹ Ibid., 14—16.

²⁰ Лиги Х. Социальная мобильность крестьян в Эстонии при феодализме накануне отмены крепостного права. Проблемы развития феодализма и капитализма в странах Балтики. Доклады исторической конференции 14.—17. 03, 1972, Тарту, 1972, 281.

hands. So, by the 1840s—50s the social barriers between different layers of peasantry became quite marked and continued to grow.²¹

In 1867 J. Samarin, who for some time had worked in the Government Livland and had some knowledge about the life of local peasants, wrote: "A local peasant must go after the plough or go to another farm as a hired farmhand; but a farm-master would rather hang himself than become a hired farmhand."²²

But the most important changes took place in the attitudes of peasants to landed property. According to the new Livonian agrarian reform laws promulgated in 1816 in the province of Estland and in 1819 in Livland, after a three-year period of preparation half of the farmers were to be "liberated" in the spring of 1823 and the other half a year later. The squires were told to summon the peasants to the manor at the preceding Martinmas (November 10) and ask them whether they were willing to rent their farms for another three years for the old *corvée* obligations marked down in *Wackenbücher* (= registers of socage holdings and taxes imposed on them), or would they rather leave their farms by the next St. George's Day (April 23) to become farmers or hinds elsewhere. The peasants were duly summoned and told by the barons that even when liberated they would still be subjected to statute labour — to the same extent as before, and that the barons would now have the right to turn out of their farms those who would not comply with it. No wonder that when the peasants were thus provoked simultaneously at all manors of all the guberniyas, it triggered a new powerful protest movement.²³

According to the information received by the end of 1822 by the Marquis Paulucci, Governor General of Estland, Livland and Kurland, out of the 20,000 liberated peasants in the Livonian Guberniya about 4000 (about 20%) had refused to further perform the statute labour set out in the *Wackenbücher*. At the same time, however, they had no intention of leaving their farms.²⁴

After 30—40 years the Baltic nobility and Czarist government had to carry out a new agrarian reform by which the peasants' land (with the exclusion of a minor quota of it) belonged to the peasantry as a social group, but every individual farmer had to buy out his land in perpetuity from his lord. If he was not capable of doing so, he had to give up his land and some other peasant could buy it.

The number of peasant households who bought their property in perpetuity increased significantly from 1861 in South Estonia and from 1871 in North Estonia.

The peasants who, a generation before, had ardently denied the principle that land could be sold and bought willingly agreed to do this in this case. Up to 1871 in more than 8000 households in South Estonia and Saaremaa the process of buying perpetual property had begun — about 1000 of them were in Tartumaa county. In quite a great number of cases the peasant household was bought by an "outsider" and the former farmer had to leave his home where his forefathers had lived for centuries. According to the law, peasants could protest against this in the county court of justice. But from 1830 to 1879 we find only 90 such protests in the Tartu County Justice (*Kreis-Gericht*).²⁵

²¹ Kahk, J. Murangulised neljakümnendad. Tallinn, 1978, 35.

²² Juri Samarins Anklage gegen die Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Leipzig, 1869, 79.

²³ Kahk, J. Eesti talurahva võitlus vabaduse eest. Talurahva vastuhakud ja rahutused aastail 1816—1828. Tallinn, 1962, 60.

²⁴ Ibid., 77.

²⁵ Estonian Historical Archive (EHA) in Tartu, Collection (C) 918, Rõll (R) 1.

Number of households in the process of buying their property
in perpetuity as begun by the governments of *

	Livland	Estland	
	in the mentioned years		
1852	25	}	
1853	32		
1854	38		
1855	7		
1856	35		5
1857	72		
1858	15		
1859	6		
1860	16		
1861	100	1	
1862	149	18	
1863	123	28	
1864	236	24	
1865	946	58	
1866	556	42	
1867	761	22	
1868	958	31	
1869	407	61	
1870	750	44	
1871	1442	111	

* **Baron Engelhardt, H.** Zur Geschichte der Livländischen adeliger Güterkreditsozietät. Riga, 1902, 209—210; **Samson, E.** Beitrag zur Statistik des Bauerlandverkaufs in Estland. — Baltische Monatsschrift, Bd. XXX (1883), 43—44.

Quite often the peasants were fully aware that their households had been “in the family” from times immemorial (from Swedish, Polish, Danish times on — that is beginning with the 13th—14th centuries)²⁶, but they never claimed that they therefore had “ancient rigts” to own that land or refused to pay something to their landlords altogether. They just asked for lower prices or they claimed that they should have the privilege to buy that land in preference to some “outsider”. Thus they already had adopted some principal features of the market economy mentality. Dealing with the protests of Russian peasants against the dividing of the land into farms as a result of Stolypin’s reform from 1906 Japanese historian M. Kunitaka pointed out quite correctly that these “...complaints witness that the (modern — J. K.) concepts of justice and ownership had already spread among the peasants”²⁷.

Up to the middle of the 19th century the agricultural production in Estonia was relatively stable. The yields of the traditional winter-crops had not significantly increased. The new culture — potato — was known already from the end of the 18th century, and in 1805 a special book was published in Estonian on potato growing.²⁸ But it did not

²⁶ ЕНА, С. 867, R. 1, Document (D) 525, p. 1; С. 2054, R. 1, D. 2064, p. 185—186; D. 2418, p. 1; D. 2846, p. 1.

²⁷ **Кумитака М.** Столыпинская реформа и Российская агротехническая революция. — Отечественная история, 1992, 6, 196.

²⁸ **Eesti talurahva ajalugu**, I. Tallinn, 1992, 371.

spread in the countryside. A radical change took place beginning with the middle of the 1860s when an explosive increase in the production of potatoes began (first of all as a raw material for the manorial distilleries). At the same time the more enterprising farmers in South Estonia began to raise and sell in ever increasing quantities such a market commodity as flax.

Having thoroughly studied all the remained data from the demographic development at the end of the 18th century in Estonia, H. Palli came to the conclusion that in this period the main demographic indices were approximately the following: marriage rate 8—10, birth rate 40, death rate 30.²⁹ These indices were similar to the respective data in Northern and Western Europe. Peasants had many children (about 5—6), but the mortality (basically children's mortality) was very high.

The situation changed radically in the second half of the 19th century. Having used the — unfortunately — relatively scarce data, S. Vahtre found that: "The 70s were a turning point: the number of births decreased and the birth rate fell quite significantly in the following decade".³⁰ In the 1880s the marriage rate was 7, but the birth and death rates fell significantly: they were approximately 30 and 22.³¹

The information analysed so far can be presented in the following summary chart:

Traditional	Modern
Action (state)	
1642—68 — peasants' actions against church ideology	From 1730s actions of peasants (members of the Herrnhuter brotherhood) against "idolatry"
1730s — low number of village schools and low level of peasant literacy	From the end of the 18th century significant increase in the number of village schools and the peasants' literacy level; the printed word influenced peasants mentality
Up to the end of the 18th century — "diffusive" borderlines between different social layers of peasants	Second quarter of the 19th century — borderlines between different social layers of peasants are "strengthening".
1822 — peasants in South Estonia refuse to buy their households	1860—70s — the beginning of intensive buying of farms in perpetual property by peasants.
Beginning of the 19th century — low, traditional level of agricultural production End of the 18th century — high birth rate, high death rate	1860—70s — intensive increase of agricultural production From 1870s — lower birth and death rates.

²⁹ Палли Х. Естественное движение населения Эстонии (1650—1799). II, Таллинн, 1980, 88, 91—95. Marriage, birth and death rates mean yearly number of respective cases per 1000 persons of population.

³⁰ Vahtre, S. Eine neue Gesellschaft — neue Erscheinungen in der Demographie. — In: National movements in the Baltic countries during the 19th century (Studia Baltica Stockholmiensis, Vol. 2), 240.

³¹ Ibid., 238.

In trying to sum up all this evidence one cannot help noticing that quite a lot of important changes in the Estonian countryside took place at one and the same time: the peasants began eagerly and on a massive scale to buy their land, to reduce the number of childbirths and to increase the agricultural production in the 1860—70s. And these twenty years have a right to claim the title of the beginning of modern life in the Estonian village.

But at the same time we can see quite a significant "pre-history" to these changes in the socio-economic and biological behaviour. More than half a century before this, the attitude of peasants towards Christian ideology changed. Already in the middle of the 18th century the number of schools in villages increased radically, and in this connection the literacy level of peasants began to rise.

All this shows that important changes in the beliefs, the mentality and attitudes preceded the changes in socio-economic behaviour and development.

And these "preceding changes" were without doubt connected with the influences from the "outer world".

The activity of the missionaries, who came from far away Saxony to preach to Estonian peasants, was an "outside factor" *inso facto*.³²

In 1822 some Estonian peasants in Võrumaa county in the Ruusa estate — provoked by the liberation reform of 1819 — had secretly discussed the corresponding reforms in Prussia and had expressed hopes that in the end the emperor would give land to the peasants in Estonia as well.³³

Fr. R. Kreutzwald says in his memoirs that he and Fr. R. Faehlmann were stimulated to collect folklore — aiming at "giving their history back to the people" — by German romantic literature.³⁴

The first all-Estonian Song Festival in 1869, the importance of which for the national awakening cannot be overestimated, was, as recently has been pointed out in her radio-lectures by M. Salupere, preceded by the Tallinn Baltic-German song festival in 1866, which in its organization and form was very similar to the future Estonian song-festivals.

Thanks to S. Vahtre, the thoughts of the highly merited Estonian medical doctor M. Nõges about the causes of birth limitation in Estonia were published. M. Nõges had thoroughly studied the materials of Viljandimaa county from the years 1801—1910 and his data also speak about the falling birth-rate from the 1870s on. What caused this? M. Nõges points out quite a lot of factors: changing conditions of life, spreading of monetary economy, the preference to use labour force of unmarried hired farmhands, bad living quarters, permanently rising prices for foodstuffs, rising of the age of first marriage, increasing demands caused by the rise of education level, the rising difficulties in giving children a proper education, the wish not to divide the property by heritage, the obligatory elementary education, the growing knowledge and use of contraceptives, the diminishing of the authority of the Church, the example of families with small numbers of children, venereal diseases and the decrease of children's mortality.³⁵

The picture given by M. Nõges is in some way a little disorganized. But at the same time it describes the "harsh reality" of the "modern

³² Põldmäe, R. Kultuuriloolisi vahelugemisi. Tallinn, 1979.

³³ Kahk, J. Eesti talurahva võitlus vabaduse eest. Talurahva vastuhakud ja rahutused aastail 1816—1828. Tallinn, 1962. 26—27.

³⁴ Kreutzwald, Fr. R. Maailm ja mõnda. Tallinn, 1962, 24—31.

³⁵ Vahtre, S. Eine neue Gesellschaft, 240.

world" very vividly, concretely and expressively, which from that time on was felt by the majority of countryfolk. This "brave new world" was rather different from the "idyllic world" about which the leaders of national awakening (Fr. R. Kreutzwald, J. W. Jannsen, C. R. Jakobson, J. Hurt, et al.) had dreamt — where the liberated farmer built up his "own home" living in perfect harmony with his hired farmhands and with the "outer world".

But in some sense the leading actors of Estonian national movement had quite rightly understood the essence of the "modern life" — it was a new world for **individuals** (as opposed to the traditional world of village **communities**). "Precisely in the development of individuality and in the use of all the powers that one can find one's blessing", said J. Hurt in 1899 in one of his speeches. "This has shown us the course of history, this is what everyday experiences show us."³⁶

³⁶ Hurt, J. Kõned ja kirjad. — Loomingu Raamatukogu, 1989, 1/2, 83.

UUELAADSE ELU SÜNNIST EESTI KÜLAS

Juhan KAHK

Uuelaadse (vastandina vanamoodsale; see sõna leidub juba Wiedemanni sõnastikus) elu tekkimisest annab tunnistust see, kui inimesed hakkavad käituma või olema otse vastupidiselt endisele. Uue ja vana vastandumise kohta eesti maarahva hulgas õnnestus leida näiteid ja statistilisi andmeid järgmistest valdkondadest: uskumused, vahekord kirjasõnaga, sotsiaalne mobiilsus, põllumajanduslik tootmine, suhtumine maaomandisse ja demograafiline käitumine.

Veel 17. sajandi keskel ja teisel poolel olid eesti talupojad korduvalt üles näidanud vaenulikkust ristiusu vastu, kuid juba 18. sajandi teisest veerandist alates ründasid mitmel pool Eestis vennastekogudustesse kuuluvad eesti talupojad usulises ekstaasis «paganlikke ohverdamispaiku» ja hävitasid neid.

Kui veel 1730. aastail oli Eestis külakoolide arv väga väike ja talupoegade kirjaoskus vähene, siis 18. sajandi lõpust peale hakkas koolide hulk kiiresti kasvama, talupoegade kirjaoskuse tase tõusma ning nende huvi trükisõna vastu suurenema.

Kuni 18. sajandi lõpuni olid rajajooned talupoegade eri kihtide vahel üsnagi haprad — peremehe pojana sündinu võis elu aeg olla sulane ja elupäevad lõpetada popsina. Alates 19. sajandi teisest veerandist on andmeid, et siirdumine ühest talupojakihist teise muutus üha raskemaks.

Seoses 1819. aasta talurahvareformiga keeldusid 1822. aastal Lõuna-Eestis tuhanded talupojad rendilepinguid sõlmimast, sest maa rentimise või ostmise mõisted olid neile arusaamatud ja vastuvõetamatud. Vaevalt pool sajandit hiljem — 1860.—1870. aastaist alates hakkasid nad oma talusid massiliselt päriseks ostma.

Kuni 19. sajandi keskpaigani olid eesti külale omased suur sündimus ja suremus; alates 1870. aastaist hakkasid mõlemad näitajad langema.

Kuni 19. sajandi keskpaigani oli põllukultuuride toodang eesti talumajapidamistes suhteliselt väike; kuigi kartulit tunti, ei levinud selle kasvatamine. Kuid 1860.—1870. aastail algas otse plahvatuslik kartulikasvatuse laiendamine, kusjuures teraviljakasvatus jäi endisele tasemele.

Kõik eeltoodu räägib sellest, et mitmed olulised muutused leidsid aset just 1860.—1870. aastail: talupoegade põllumajandustoodang suu-

renes, nad hakkasid oma talusid päriseks ostma ja laste sündimus külas vähenes. Et nii palju olulisi muutusi sotsiaal-majanduslikus arengus ja käitumises ajalisel ühte langes, võib just 1860.—1870. aastaid pidada Eesti külas uue, ajakohase elu alguseks. Samal ajal räägivad toodud andmed ka sellest, et sotsiaal-majanduslikele muutustele eelnesid ja valmistasid neid ette muutused talurahva elu vaimsetes sfäärides (uskumustes, mentaliteedis ja kultuuritasemes).

О ЗАРОЖДЕНИИ НОВОГО (СОВРЕМЕННОГО) В ЖИЗНИ ЭСТОНСКОЙ ДЕРЕВНИ

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Сопоставлением новомодных и устаревших понятий (эти выражения встречаются в словаре эстонского языка Видемана, изданном в 1893 г.) автору удалось найти примеры и статистические данные, отражающие огромные перемены в различных сферах жизни эстонского крестьянства в XVIII—XIX веках. Статья раскрывает, когда и как менялись религиозные убеждения народа, его образовательный уровень и отношение к печатному слову, социальная мобильность, сельскохозяйственное производство, отношение к земельной собственности и демографическая картина.

Так, еще во второй половине XVII в. эстонские крестьяне враждебно относились к ритуалам христианской веры, но уже с середины XVIII в. братская община т. н. герригутеров стала активно выступать против идолопоклонства и даже, впадая в религиозный экстаз, уничтожала прежде считавшиеся святыми места жертвоприношений.

В 1730-е годы в сельской местности было сравнительно мало школ и, следовательно, много неграмотных. С конца же XVIII в. сеть деревенских школ значительно расширилась, и образовательный уровень сельского населения стал быстро подниматься, в связи с этим повысился интерес и к печатному слову.

Если до конца XVIII в. крестьяне при желании легко могли перейти из одного сословия в другое, то со второй четверти XIX в. «границы» между сословиями стали для большинства непроницаемыми.

По крестьянскому закону от 1819 г. крестьян принуждали вступить в арендные отношения с помещиками. Но при введении закона в жизнь в 1822 г. тысячи крестьян-дворохозяев Южной Эстонии отказались заключать арендные контракты, так как понятия аренды и земельной собственности были им чужды и непонятны. А уже через полстолетие — в 1860—1870-е годы — начинается массовый выкуп хуторов в собственность.

До середины XIX в. эстонскому селу были симптоматичны высокая рождаемость и высокая смертность. Начиная же с 1870-х годов рост рождаемости резко замедлился.

До середины XIX в. производство сельскохозяйственной продукции оставалось традиционно низким, картофель как культура был крестьянам известен, но не выращивался. Рост его производства тоже пришелся на 1860—1870-е годы.

Все вышеизложенное свидетельствует о том, что 1860—1870-е годы стали переломными в социально-экономическом развитии Эстонии: быстро наращивалось производство сельскохозяйственных продуктов, массово выкупались хутора, падала рождаемость у крестьян. Но все эти социально-экономические изменения были подготовлены переменами в духовной жизни — в религиозных представлениях народа, в его менталитете и культурном уровне.