Death and Marriage
World War I Catholic Prisoners in the Urals

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Introduction

While there is an extensive historiography of captivity in Russia and the Urals region, our paper focuses on one aspect of this phenomenon—the marriage strategies of the Catholic POWs of Austro-Hungarian and German origin. The cases of Slavic Orthodox prisoners’ marriages to Russian Orthodox Church members have recently been summarized. However, the demographic behavior of non-Orthodox POWs in Russia has not been studied and their participation in the demographic life in the Urals may have been underestimated.

Historically, the Urals region has been one of Russia’s multi-ethnic and multi-religious areas. Its extensive colonization by the Russians started in the 17th century when it became a territory (then a part of Siberia) receiving immigrants, and Russia sent its prisoners of war there. The first groups were soldiers and officers from Sweden and Germany.

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German and Austrian Prisoners in Russia, photo negative, Russian Empire, c. 1915. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, lc-dig-ggbain-18281.
captured during the Northern War with Sweden (1707–1721). In addition, Ural metal producing plants attracted engineers and technicians as voluntary migrants from Russia’s western provinces and from abroad, making up the nucleus of Ekaterinburg’s Catholic community. This became an established city institution in the late 19th century.

After the beginning of World War I, Perm Gubernia in the Urals, the third largest province in Russia, started to receive both refugees and prisoners of war, many of whom were Catholic. When the Pows arrived in Ekaterinburg, the local priest, Joseph Vilkas, apparently took responsibility for them and included information on them in church books. Naturally, most of the entries registered the Pows’s deaths. However, many survivors participated actively in Ekaterinburg’s demographic life, establishing families and fathering children. We have transcribed the data from St. Anna’s Catholic Church books into a database, encoded and analyzed them. This is the first paper that analyses the marriage strategies of the Catholic Pows kept in Ekaterinburg between 1914 and 1919. We start with a short description of Ekaterinburg’s Catholic community and then analyze the size of the Pows groups placed in the area, the conditions of their captivity, their nationality (ethnicity), death rate and marriage activity, age at marriage and preferences when choosing brides.

The History of Ekaterinburg’s Catholic Community

While there were few Catholics living in the Urals since the beginning of the 18th century, this number increased after the termination of Poland’s autonomy and the partition of its territories among the Kingdom of Prussia, the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy and the Russian Empire. Its eastern territories (nowadays western Ukraine, Lithuania, and Byelorussia) with predominantly Catholic populations became the western provinces of the Russian Empire.

Exiled participants in the national liberation movements of the former Polish territories, including Catholic priests, were often settled in Perm Gubernia. Ekaterinburg, being the second largest city in the gubernia, did not receive exiles, for it was excluded, due to its special status as metal producing center, from the list of territories where the political exiles were allowed to settle. However, the gradual integration of Poland into the Russian economic system led to more Poles coming to the Urals on their own initiative in search of jobs. These newcomers usually settled in the cities with established Polish communities, relying on their experience and support in the process of adjusting to the new place. As a result, the existing communities became even larger, stronger, and more confident.

Although Russian legislation guaranteed the religious rights of Catholic citizens, the conversion to Catholicism by its Russian subjects was persecuted. Catholic men could marry Russian Orthodox women, but the weddings had to be performed by the Russian Orthodox priests and the offspring were to be baptized and brought
up in the Russian Orthodox faith. This practice, common until 1905, prevented the Catholic population’s natural growth.

The Ekaterinburg Catholic community had 143 members (90 males and 53 females) in 1873 according to the Ekaterinburg City Census, and represented 0.5 percent of the entire city’s population. They got permission to build a stone church in the center of Ekaterinburg in 1884. The church was consecrated as St. Anna’s and had an organ, a school, a chapel, and a hotel. Given the vastness of the territory and the number of believers, the community of Ekaterinburg received independence from the Perm Catholic parish, which consisted of five uyezds (districts): Ekaterinburg, Verkhotur’e, Kamyshtov, Shadrinsk, and Irbit. According to the First All-Russian Census, Ekaterinburg’s Catholic population had doubled by 1897, and reached 323 members: 167 males and 156 females. Most of them had migrated from the western parts of the Russian Empire, present-day Poland, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Latvia. However, there was also a notable proportion of Catholics of local Ural-Siberian origin—the descendants of those who had arrived earlier. In addition, there were Catholics from Austria-Hungary, France, Switzerland and Italy, employed by the Ural plants and railways, and their family members.

The revolutionary events of 1905 and the adoption of the Decree on Strengthening of Religious Tolerance strengthened the Russian Catholics’ status as a religious community. The number of parishioners continued to grow, now also due to natural growth, and reached 1,000 in 1913. Thus, a small community of foreigners developed into an established religious institution.

POWs in the Urals: Statistics, Nationality, Ethnicity

The first group of 76 mainly Austro-Hungarian and German civilians, who had been employed in Russia for years, were detained as citizens of enemy countries and arrived in the Urals already in 1914. However, the real wave of POWs taken captive on the battlefields hit the Urals in 1915. There is no reliable and consistent statistics about the number of POWs kept in the Urals, which the scholars can agree upon. Problems with registration due to World War I, the Revolution and the Civil War in Russia, together with administrative border changes made the estimation difficult. According to Perm Gubernia preliminary and incomplete data, there were over 22,000 prisoners of war employed in the area’s plants and enterprises in August 1915. This number increased to almost 79,600 in 1917. To register all the POWs, Russian authorities initiated an extra “Census of POWs” in October 1917. They prepared instructions for the census takers and devised the bilingual registration cards, which the POWs had to fill and sign. The POWs registration card contained fourteen questions: name, title, and occupation, place of capture, age, nationality and religion, among others. However, due to the turbulent times the plan failed in most places, including in Perm Gubernia.
According to local statistics, the number of war prisoners, registered in five cities/uezds (district) centers of Perm Gubernia fluctuated and reached its peak of more than 54,000 persons in 1917. After that, the Pows were relocated from the Urals due to the repatriation campaign or in an effort to move them away from the Civil War battlegrounds. Ekaterinburg and its surroundings hosted the largest amount of Pows in Perm Gubernia, and their number steadily increased until 1919 (see Table 1).

**Table 1. Number of War Prisoners Stationed in Ekaterinburg Gubernia, 1917–1919**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of registration</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01.1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekaterinburg</td>
<td>19,332&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verkhnotur’e</td>
<td>29,564&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibit</td>
<td>1,982&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamyshtov</td>
<td>3,316&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krasnovimsk</td>
<td>No data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>&gt;54,194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Including all the Pows employed in every uezds (district).
<sup>b</sup> Excluding those sent out to work.

**Source:** Natal’ia V. Surzhikova, *Vennyi plen v rossiiskoi provintsii (1914–1922 gg.)* (Military prisoners in 1914–1922 Russian province) (Moscow; 2014), 122.

The Pows’ nationality and religion played a significant role during their captivity, as Slavs and Romanians received preferential treatment. Their privileges included greater freedom and superior accommodation and were expected to encourage defection from the enemy army. Among the Catholic Pows kept in Ekaterinburg, the majority were Austro-Hungarians, however there were also Germans, Poles, Czechs, as well as Pows from Moravia and Galicia.

**POWS, Religion and Death**

After Russia entered World War I, the number of parishioners in St. Anne’s Church doubled due to the arrival of refugees and Pows, even if not all of them retained their Catholic religion. For example, 33 former Austro-Hungarian officers of Czech origin decided to switch to Russian Orthodoxy, and the Archbishop of Ekaterinburg performed the baptismal ritual for them in 1916. They likely decided to change their religion hoping to improve their living conditions. According to St. Anna’s Church book records, the death rate among Catholic Pows was high due to scurvy and other diseases. Until 1915, the local priests regis-
tered one, maximum two deaths per year. In the first year after the POWs arrival, father Joseph Vilkas reported 44 deaths of young Austro-Hungarian men. Then in 1917, he reported almost 80 deaths of Austro-Hungarian POWs (see Figure 1). According to St. Anna’s Church book data, 224 Catholic Austro-Hungarian POWs aged 19 to 46 died in Ekaterinburg, Irbit and Turinsk uezds in 1915–1919; 202 of those who died in Ekaterinburg city were buried in the local Catholic graveyard.

**Fig. 1. Number of Catholics who died in Ekaterinburg, 1898–1919**

The death rate decline among the POWs after 1917 could be explained by several factors. First, there was possibly an improvement of their living conditions after the Bolsheviks proclaimed them free citizens. Some POWs could have dropped their association with the Catholic Church completely or in favor of the Russian Orthodox Church, like the Czechs did, as mentioned above. Finally, the Church was separated from the State and hence was deprived of the right to register vital events. The very fact of POWs death registration in St. Anna’s Church book allows us to assume that even if there could have been an Austro-Hungarian Catholic military chaplain among them, as was usual practice at the time, the Catholic POWs were under the responsibility and hopefully in the care of the local priest, father Joseph Vilkas. However, there are grounds for skepticism, for there was only one entry in the Church book about a burial ceremony appropriate for the case, which father Joseph Vilkas performed for the most senior POW. That person was the 39 years old Joseph Storm, Oberleutnant in the 38 Landsturm regiment. The priest reported that the Oberleutnant had a wife and a daughter in Austria-Hungary.
**POWS, Religion and Marriage**

The numerous group of prisoners (4,000–5,000—the number is likely underestimated due to registration difficulties) affected a city with a population of less than 72,000 in 1917.18 The prisoners accommodated in Ekaterinburg’s two schools, rented rooms and a hotel apparently enjoyed a certain freedom. Some of them, Slavs and Orthodox in particular, were able to communicate with the Russian citizens. Their presence in Ekaterinburg affected its demography, marked by a wartime gender imbalance with a surplus of 41,033 women over 30,454 men, and thus a lack of grooms. Already in 1916, Ekaterinburg’s public knew cases of Russian teachers secretly corresponding with and apparently dating Austro-Hungarian POW-officers of Czech origin at Tikhii Don Hotel, the place of their incarceration.20 That qualified as an offense punishable by fines or short imprisonment according to the regulations issued by the Perm Governor in July 1915. The authorities had to lift the ban on POW marriages to Russian women in mid–1917; however, this resolution was applied exclusively to POWs of Slavic origin ready to apply for Russian citizenship. They also considered allowing marriages with non-Slavic POWs in exceptional cases like pregnancy or children already born to such couples.21

While it is rather difficult to follow all the cases of POW marriages registered in the Orthodox Churches of Ekaterinburg and make reliable estimates about their frequency, there is no doubt that Russian women married POWs.22 Several cases became known when the former POWs applied for Russian citizenship or requested to return home in 1921–1922. The form they filled contained among other data information on marital status, wives and children.23

There were cases when the POWs married Russian women despite being already married in Austria-Hungary. One such case was revealed in Severouralsk city (some 400 km north of Ekaterinburg) in the late 1950s. The former Austro-Hungarian prisoner Nikolai Kostreba confessed to his family that he had another family in Austria-Hungary. Nikolai was born in 1884 and lived in Western Ukraine close to the Romanian border, then part of Austria-Hungary. He had two daughters and a son and his wife expected to have another child when he was conscripted for World War I. Nikolai was captured by the Russian troops as early as 1914 and transferred together with other POWs to the Urals. He apparently lost his documents, which was quite common at the time, and got stuck in the Urals together with other unlucky fellows who could not document their foreignness after the War ended. He settled in the Peter-Paul town to the north of Ekaterinburg, worked as a smith and eventually married the Russian woman Klavdia who was 20 years younger. Nikolai had children with her, survived arrest and imprisonment in 1937, was brought home in 1938 in a very poor condition, and managed to survive due to Klavdia’s nursing and good care. He lived a long life and dared to disclose details of his Austro-Hungarian past to his Russian family only in the 1950s, after Stalin’s time was over, along with the danger of punishment for having relatives abroad. Nikolai’s daughter
Faina identified his first family, corresponded with them for several years and finally visited his Romanian daughter, who was born after his conscription, in Brașov in 1982. Nikolai’s case could be considered as a happy ending story, but there were many Pows who did not survive the “foreigner hunting” campaigns in 1937–1940. See for example the case of Fredrik Hofmann, a German-Czech shoemaker from Braunau, a former Pow, who settled and married in Ekaterinburg until WWII when he was arrested, accused of being a German spy and shot in October 1941.

While we only have occasional information on the Orthodox or Lutheran Pows’ demographic behavior, the local priest in St. Anna parish carefully registered the information on Catholic prisoners of war. According to the entries in the church books, Catholic prisoners tried to establish connections with local co-religionists, and the most usual was through marriage.

While on average there were less than six marriages in St. Anna’s Church per year in 1898–1915, the number of weddings in 1916 increased to five times the average. We suspected that to be due to the Pows’ arrival; however, analyses of the Church book data proved that it was mainly due to the war refugees from the Western part of Russia and Poland.

The Austro-Hungarian and German Pows entered Ekaterinburg’s marriage market in 1917. Almost half (64 out of 148) of the fiancés in 1917–1919 were of Austro-Hungarian origin (see Figure 2). That can be explained by the fact that the authorities lifted the ban on marrying Pows in 1917. When the Bolsheviks proclaimed the Pows free citizens and especially after the Brest Peace Treaty in March 1918, the former enemies became more confident on the city’s marriage market. The real number was likely higher due to the reasons described above in connection with the number of deaths among Pows registered in the church book.

**FIG. 2. NUMBER OF CATHOLIC MARRIAGES REGISTERED IN EKATERINBURG, 1898–1919**

![Graph showing number of marriages](image)

**SOURCE:** gao, f. 6, op. 13, D. 13, 316.
Ekaterinburg Catholic Marriage Market

We can distinguish four main groups, according to the origin of the Catholics who registered their marriages in Ekaterinburg between 1898 and 1919. Since the POWs could not possibly affect the Ekaterinburg marriage market before 1916, we split the data in two periods: before and after 1916. The most numerous was the group from Russia’s western provinces; the second most numerous group came from Poland; both represented the first generation of Ural Catholics. The third largest group of foreigners consisted of Austro-Hungarians, Germans, Frenchmen and Swiss; and the forth group was of local Ural and Siberian origin—the second and later generations. The first two groups had balanced sex ratios, while the number of men prevailed in the “Austro-Hungarian” group due to POWs, and the number of women prevailed in the Ural-Siberian group due to men’s conscription (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth places</th>
<th>1898–1915</th>
<th>1916–1919</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grooms</td>
<td>Brides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Russia</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary/Germany</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ural and Siberia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing data</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GAsO, f. 6, op. 13, D. 12, 316.

Due to a significant male surplus in the “Austro-Hungarian” group, their marriages could not likely be based on the grooms’ primary preference. A majority of them married either Western Russian women, or the Ural and Siberian Catholics. Likely, the local marriage market situation dictated their choice to a large degree. Catholic POWs also married Lutheran and Russian Orthodox women. After the 1917 Revolution and the proclamation of Religious freedom, St. Anna priest Joseph Vilkas started registering such marriages. According to his data, twelve POWs married Russian Orthodox women,28 and one POW married a Lutheran women.29 In addition, some Catholic POWs registered their marriages in St. Paul’s Lutheran Church of Ekaterinburg. According to the Lutheran Church book, there were ten Catholic30 and thirty-five Lutheran31 men of Austro-Hungarian/German origin (likely POWs)
married to Lutheran women in 1916–1919. Almost all single Austro-Hungarian/German women in Ekaterinburg married Pows.

St. Anna’s Church book’s data proves that the Catholics followed the traditions and restrictions of their Church not to marry during Easter and Christmas Lents. However, during World War I’s last stage, the Revolution and the Civil War, several weddings occurred in the unconventional months—March and December (see Figure 3).

**Fig. 3. Number of Catholic Marriages Registered in Ekaterinburg by Month, 1898–1919**

Source: GAsO, f. 6, op. 13, D. 13, 316.

According to the Catholic Church book data, both men’s and women’s mean ages at marriage became lower during the war. However, there was a difference depending on their origin. Grooms and brides, who arrived from the West (mainly Pows and refugees) started to marry at younger ages as compared with the prewar period. The change was especially significant among Austro-Hungarian Pows (see Table 3).

**Table 3. Average Age at First Marriage of Ekaterinburg Catholics Before and After 1916**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Grooms’ mean age at marriage</th>
<th>Brides’ mean age at marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Russia, Poland</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary/Germany</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ural and Siberia</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing data</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GAsO, f. 6, op. 13, D. 13, 316.
At the same time, the Ural and Siberian Catholic grooms’ and brides’ mean age at marriage increased, as the young Ural-Siberian Catholics had to postpone their marriage because of conscription. That allowed the more senior men to join the marriage market. The Ural and Siberian women, who had to postpone marriage because of the war, as well as the widows, got a chance to establish a family with the refugees from the western provinces and Pows after 1916 (see Figure 4).

**Fig. 4. Origin of grooms for Ekaterinburg Catholic Ural/Siberian brides, 1898–1919**

- Western Russia/Poland: 49%
- Austria-Hungary/Germany: 43%
- Ural/Siberia: 8%

*Source: GAO, f. 6, op. 13, D. 13, 316.*

It seems that the Austro-Hungarian and German Pows were quite popular on the marriage market in Ekaterinburg: twenty-five out of their sixty brides were 21 years old (the mean age at marriage) or younger. Two of the brides were only 16 years old. The only case of possible mésalliance was 29 years old Leon Iks from Western Prussia, who married the 39 years old widow Mikhaila. Her “advanced” age for a bride was an exception (see Figure 5).
Conclusions

Ekaterinburg was one of the Russian cities receiving prisoners of World War I and had a numerous group of captured Austro-Hungarian officers and soldiers, reaching a maximum of five thousand. Many of them, especially ethnic Slavs and members of the Orthodox Church stationed in the city, enjoyed certain freedoms and had contacts with the local population. As to the Catholic Pows, they were taken care of by the priest of St. Anna parish, who included them in his flock. The high mortality rate among the Pows forced them to search for ways out of their miserable state and some found it by marrying. Some apparently managed to get around the Perm governor’s official ban on marriages of Russian women with Pows already in 1916 by registering the marriage in St. Anna’s Catholic church. However, it was only in 1917 that the former Pows really entered Ekaterinburg’s marriage market. The Catholic Pows registered their marriages in St. Anna’s Church between 1916 and 1919, until the secular offices took over the registration of vital events from the Church. Thus, despite their former status, the Pows participated in the city’s demographic life during the War.

On the basis of St. Anna’s Church book records, we may conclude that the majority of the Catholics, who married in St. Anna’s Parish in Ekaterinburg, migrated from the western parts of the Russian Empire, including Poland. This first generation of immigrants had balanced sex ratios. In distinction, the local Ural-Siberian Catholics—a second generation of immigrants—had a significant surplus of females due to wartime. The Pows marriage strategies depended on the population structure...
and state policy towards religions and was heavily influenced by World War I. While the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Pows were quite popular on the Ekaterinburg marriage market, their marriage was often a survival strategy; they married younger and were ready to establish ethnically and even religiously exogamous families.

Notes


5. N. A. Troinitskii, ed., *Perviaia vseobshchaia perepis’ naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii, 1897 g.* (First All-Russian Census, 1897) (Sankt Petersburg, 1904), 92.

6. State Archive of Sverdlovskia oblast’, Ekaterinburg, Russia (hereafter cited as GASO), f. 6, op. 13, D. 12.


9. Ibid., 114.

10. Pows Registration card, GASO, f. 24, op. 20, D. 2819, l. 38.


21. Ibid.
27. Ibid., l. 40–67.
28. Ibid., l. 37 v, 57 v, 61, 62 v, 63, 64, 64 v, 65–66 v, 67 v.
29. Ibid., l. 64 v.

Abstract
Death and Marriage: World War I Catholic Prisoners in the Urals

The paper focuses on World War I Catholic prisoners kept in the Urals in 1915–1919: their numbers, nationality, mortality and marriage strategies. The multi-ethnic and multi-religious Urals, along with Siberia, was a territory where Russia had systematically sent prisoners of war and in addition received voluntary migrants from the west. During World War I, the Urals received both refugees and prisoners of war, many of whom were Catholic. Their vital events were registered in Ekaterinburg church books, which we have transcribed into a database and analyzed. Our main finding is that religious affiliation played an important role for the rows’ demographic behavior. We argue that the Catholic rows not only joined the marriage market of Ekaterinburg in 1916, but also influenced the city’s demographics.

Keywords
Ural Catholics, First World War, church books, prisoners of war, mortality, marriage strategies