LITUANUS

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Horse-drawn trolley at Cathedral Square. See article on page 62.

Long Ago and Far Away – Revisiting Big Stories from Small Countries

ANTANAS ŠILEIKA

Part I: Baltic Stories in a Global Context

Before I begin speaking of Baltic fiction in a global context, I'd like to tell you a little about myself. I am a Canadian-born writer of Lithuanian heritage. In my youth, I had no intention of writing on Lithuanian themes because I was an ardent anglophile and loved the English language very dearly. I felt I belonged in the world of the King James Bible, Shakespeare, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Somerset Maugham. As a teenager, I could spend summer afternoons in the basement of my parents' house, listening to the rhythms of Dylan Thomas's poetry rolling out from the turntable of the record player. I had internalized my membership in the British Commonwealth, that relic of the British Empire.

Although I grew up and left behind these childish enthusiasms for all things British, I have kept a love of the English language so intense that certain poems can still force me to hide my face for the emotion it shows. Yet all of my fiction writing is now set in Lithuania, and often it has to do with Lithuanians going out beyond their borders and sometimes returning. My instrument is the English language, but my melody is Lithuania.

Since I am the child of Lithuanian immigrants, it takes no deep psychological insight to understand my subject matter and its persistent exploration of dividedness. But

unlike my parents' generation, which was traumatized by the war and its result, I am paradoxically enriched by this tragic event and its aftermath.

First, I have the gift of a form of exile, a certain distance from the material that lies in Lithuania; I am an exile not only of place, but of time as well because my settings are mostly in the past. Exile has proven useful to some writers, but we haven't often thought of the second generation as possessing a sense of exile.

Second, because I grew up in the postwar era, I suffered a form of invisibility, as all people of Baltic origin did at a time when our countries did not exist on a world map. This sense of invisibility compelled me to become a writer in order to become visible, in order to exist in some fashion. All aspiring writers long to see their names in print, but this need of mine verged on the desperate because it did more than affirm my existence – it seemed to make it possible in the first place.

Finally, I have the good fortune to have the ability to read and speak (although not write) an intermediate level of Lithuanian. I therefore have a reasonable facility in the Lithuanian language, enough to open a window in the culture and history of Lithuania, and as a result, I have been delighted to find a rich vein of material in Lithuanian oral stories and books, often in self-published memoirs and obscure biographies.

Lithuanian stories are what I write, but who reads them? I live and work in a Canadian literary milieu, and that is my audience. I am read in translation in Lithuania, but I write for a Canadian audience, and to a much lesser degree, an American audience. One of my books was even translated into Chinese and is now being translated into Italian, so something about the Lithuanian story reaches out beyond its borders.

The stories of events in the Baltics suffer from certain impediments yet also enjoy certain opportunities in a global context, by which we really mean the English-speaking

world. Which brings me to the heart of this talk. What does it mean to write of the Baltics in Canada, or any English-speaking context?

But just before we discuss that, let's ask ourselves the question, "Why do we want people to know our story?"

If the answer is that we suffered in a particular way and the world should know, we should be aware that a form of suffering Olympics seems to exist, and if our suffering is to be measured, some of the judges will not be sympathetic. To paraphrase this idea, just because you want someone to hear you doesn't mean that anyone has to listen unless you have something to offer.

I would say the plea, "Please listen to me!" is a bad one. It reeks of neediness and people flee from neediness. On the contrary, if you say, "Have I got a story for you!" then people will want to hear what you have to say.

I think the Baltic stories do have something to offer, and of course, everyone feels validated by being known. The invisibility that I suffered from as a postwar child remains true of the cultures of the Baltics today. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are on the map, but not in the consciousness of the English-speaking world. So let's move on to the impediments to the telling of Baltic stories.

First, the geography and history of the Baltic States are *terra incognita* in North America. I would say that most Canadians and Americans know as much about the Baltics as they do about Kazakhstan, unless, of course, their neighbours happen to be Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian. By the way, when speaking of ignorance, let's not exclude our own. It might be worth asking ourselves how much we know about Belarus, the Baltics' near neighbour, and to ask ourselves if we shouldn't know a little more.

Thus, the place is obscure, as are many other places. Related to obscurity is the lack of interest in the Baltics. Not

only are we pretty much unknown, but nobody cares that we are unknown. In a way, we are known unknowns, to borrow a phrase from Donald Rumsfeld.

Second, those who do know about us might not like us very much. If I look on Amazon.com for books about Lithuania, for example, I find that most are about the Holocaust. Just as the Baltics feel wary at best about their Russian near neighbours, Jews do not, for the most part, remember the Baltics with any fondness. Quite the opposite.

Indeed, there is one theory raised by some Jewish thinkers which says the attempt by the Baltics to highlight their suffering under the Soviets, a major theme for the Baltics, is a mask to cover their crimes under the Nazis. I don't want to get sidetracked by this thread. Anne Applebaum, the noted historian of Eastern Europe has said to me at a book signing that this position is marginal anyway. But my point remains that not all of our audience will be predisposed to like us in any way.

A third impediment to Eastern European stories in general is that the place seems strange and remote to the West. This perception usually comes as a shock to Eastern Europeans, who feel a pull of attraction toward the West and some sort of repulsion, to a greater or lesser degree, to the East. Westerners, however, feel no reciprocal warmth toward Eastern Europe. Our quest for Baltic independence was an expression of this attraction to the West, and inclusion in the EU shows a lessening of Western reservations about the East, but not entirely.

The region has a bad reputation. In 1985 there was an academic conference in which Eric Hobsbaum, the noted leftist historian read a paper entitled "On the Backwardness of Eastern Europe", and if you look on Amazon, you will find a book with this title.

In general, all of Eastern Europe seems strange to Westerners, mostly because it is unknown. But people do

have their opinions. A poker-playing friend of mine said his wife would never set foot in Eastern Europe. Neither he nor she explained why, but the subtext was that the places are somehow uncivilized.

At worst, we get comic stereotypes, like Borat, or darker stereotypes, like the dystopia depicted in Jonathan Franzen's *The Corrections* or the character of Hannibal Lecter of *Silence of the Lambs*. He is a fictional serial killer and cannibal from Lithuania.

Thus we have ignorance, indifference, and stereotypes dominating the view of Eastern Europe, in which the Baltics find themselves.

By the way, no one seems to like the phrase, "Eastern Europe". Poles believe they are in central Europe, and so do the Baltics. Some people even take offense at this term because everyone seems to understand that "East" means bad and "West" means good. I consider this to be an unnecessary sensitivity that continues to promote stereotypes. Eastern Europe, from a western point of view, includes all the nations that were once part of the so-called Eastern Bloc and western part of the Soviet Union.

Opportunities

So when it comes to publishing poetry, fiction, or memoirs about Eastern Europe, there are certain problems. But where there are impediments, there are also opportunities.

First, I have found the stories that come out of Lithuania to be extremely dramatic, especially for what people repeatedly went through there in the middle of the twentieth century. With the arrival of each new occupier, the Baltics might well have quoted Dorothy Parker to ask, "What fresh hell is this?" The Baltics lie inside what historian Timothy Snyder's calls *The Bloodlands*, a place where life became

nasty, brutish, and short. In this place of few good choices, people had to act under extreme pressure and thus their stories are intense.

Second, Eastern Europe has more than once been an interesting place to be *from*. Again and again we meet historical characters who come *out* of the East and face the West to enrich it or be tempered by it.

For example – Petras Rimsa was a sculptor who left Lithuania, studied with Rodin in Paris, and returned to become locally famous. On the other hand, Jacques Lipchitz left Lithuania at about the same time, befriended Picasso, and went on to become a world-famous sculptor. Yet curiously, both of them were shy when they first had to sketch nude models. A fellow-student of Rimsa, when asked if he had ever seen a naked woman before, admitted that he had, once, by accident, but then turned away in modesty and embarrassment. Interestingly, people like Lipchitz and Chaim Soutine, both from Lithuania, and Constantin Brancusi from Romania, ushered in an era of nonfigurative sculpture, bringing their folkloric native traditions to Paris, and transforming them into something modern. In other words, the experience of Eastern Europe enriched the culture of the West.

Incidentally, the lives of the two sculptors of Lithuanian origin excited my interest and gave birth to a novel I called *Woman in Bronze*.

Another unusual person to consider, one who could only have come from a place like the Baltics, is the Lithuanian postwar children's writer, Kostas Kubilinskas. This man was the Dr. Seuss of postwar Lithuania, the man whose poems can be recited by a whole generation of readers who remember them fondly as part of the landscape of their childhood.

But what a complicated, even twisted man! He had written satires of Stalin during the first Soviet occupation

and when the Soviets came back, they held him to account for doing so. Yet he wanted to be a poet more than anything else. He considered himself to be above morality, and the needs of literature to be above morality as well. In order to prove himself reliable to the regime, he infiltrated the postwar partisans, shot one of them himself, and revealed another bunker where four more men were killed. And then he went on to write the Lithuanian equivalent of "The Cat in the Hat Comes Back."

Kostas Kubilinskas was like a character out of Czeslaw Milosz's *Captive Mind*. I could not have imagined such as man, one whose life was an example of the terrible compromises people make to get what they want.

I find my Lithuanian subject matter to be a gift, as I have said, but a gift to literature, not necessarily to Lithuania itself, by which I mean that I do not diminish the suffering of people in Lithuania by considering their stories a gift to me.

I write of Lithuanian subject matter not necessarily to tell the sad story of Lithuania. Every country has a sad story of some kind. In my last three novels I have written of Lithuania because it is a dramatic place where the actions of men and women in impossible situations help to illuminate the human condition, and not just the condition of Lithuania or the Baltics.

Let me insist on this. Neither do I write historical stories; I write forever stories, ones that apply to men and women through time. In *The Iliad*, Andromache begged Hector not to fight outside the breached walls of Troy, yet he did so in the knowledge that he would widow his wife and orphan his child. This ancient agony is the same agony of the Canadian wife and mother who begs her husband not to volunteer to fight in Afghanistan, or Iraq, or Syria. Similarly, it is the agony of a mother whose son has gone into the

postwar anti-Soviet partisans. Men have gone to war and women have wept for millennia, and so this problem, this pain and incomprehension repeat across time in different places, including the Baltics.

Another opportunity in stories from the Baltic lies in their very remoteness. Like it or not, those places are somewhat exotic to North Americans. That is precisely why the fictional mass murderer, Hannibal Lecter, comes from there. The Baltics are not exactly Transylvania yet, but they are some version of it. The strategy for a writer here, I believe, is to embrace the exoticism of the place. There is no need to demonstrate that the Baltic peoples are just like the inhabitants of Mississauga, a suburb of Toronto. What's different about the place is what's interesting.

For example, in some of my reading of the history of this place, I discovered that bridges were rare in czarist Lithuania because they were expensive to build. What bridges there were functioned as funnels, gathering people from far and wide into a single, narrow route. Where there are travellers, there are thieves, who often hid under bridges, waiting for unsuspecting passersby. Thus was born the myth of the troll. In order to discourage thieves, Catholic Lithuanians would carve large wooden religious figures and place them in glassed boxes to overlook the bridges. The idea was that the saint or Christ figure would protect the travellers, or, failing that, shame the thieves into withdrawing. But thieves, it turns out, are practical and not easily frightened. In some cases, they would throw the religious statues out of their miniature houses and get in there themselves to stay out of the rain.

This behaviour is profoundly funny to me, and profoundly human. I could never have imagined such behaviour if not for access to Lithuanian source material.

Fourth, Eastern Europe is becoming far less obscure as far as historical reevaluation goes. Many Western historians

have been writing about the place in the last two decades. Among the books on this place are Norman Davies's *Europe*, the late Tony Judt's *Postwar*, Anne Applebaum's *Iron Curtain*, Timothy Snyder's *Bloodlands*, and Marci Shore's *Taste of Ashes*, to name only a few.

Historians lead the way, and the novelists and nonfiction writers follow.

Fifth, while memoirs by Baltic persons have always been written, the relatively new genre of life stories makes these books easier to publish and their acceptance more widespread. Life stories are the stories of ordinary people and what they went through. Life stories are different from biographies in that the subject is usually not famous and the shape of the life is recounted in less literary fashion. The market for life stories is small and mostly academic, but I am encouraged by the appearance of more and more of these books, such as the work of Irena Praitis of California State University who wrote the story of her mother, *One Woman's Life*.

Sixth, while the Baltics are not very well known, the Nazi and Soviet regimes certainly are, and interest in these regimes remains lively. The Baltics lay between the hammer and the anvil, and people continue to want to read about the place where the sparks flew most hotly.

Finally, the openness to multiculturalism that began several decades ago has become so commonplace now that stories of faraway places are less unusual than they used to be, so much so that the success of the writers of former British colonies has been called "The Empire Strikes Back".

Moral and Technical Issues

So much for the impediments and the opportunities of Baltic subject matter. Writing stories set in the Baltics or

with Baltic themes presents some technical and at least one moral issue as well.

The moral issue deals with the Holocaust. Any North American fiction set in the Baltics in the last century must address the Holocaust in some way. One need not write about the Holocaust – others have done that and continue to do it, but one cannot overlook it. Otherwise, the accusations that some are whitewashing Baltic history will be justified. My last novel, *Underground*, had to do with the anti-Soviet underground resistance in the postwar era. It was not about the Holocaust, but it acknowledged the shadow of the Holocaust. At least one of my Canadian colleagues took issue with me, saying that I did not say enough on the subject. Others accused me of unnecessarily introducing the Holocaust. In the end, some were unhappy with what I did, but I cannot imagine that any story set in the Baltics can exist without the shadow of the Holocaust cast both backward, before the event, and afterward, after the event.

The technical issue about writing about the Baltics has to do with writing historical fiction in general. As a writer, I am forbidden to bore my readers, and so I must address the history and geography of Lithuania in such as a way as not to seem like a lecturer droning along in front of a class of bored students. Unlike students who must attend lectures, readers will abandon your book in the flick of the wrist. American writer, Elmore Leonard, famously said that to write a good book, you have to leave out the boring parts.

But how do you do that?

In my last two books, I used different strategies.

The most recent strategy, in *Underground*, was to use compression and comparison. I did address the history of Lithuania as briefly as possible, and then attempted to make it interesting by comparing its difference with that of the West.

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Another technique I used in *Woman in Bronze* was to turn the place into a kind of fairy tale land. I thought at the time that if Lithuania was perceived as the land of Baron Munchausen, then I would embrace this characterization and push it forward.

In conclusion, let me say that the stories found in the Baltics or inspired by them are well worth telling because they illuminate the human condition. Let's tell those stories and tell them in a compelling fashion, and if the aesthetic strategies I have laid out based on my own work don't find favour, then I invite creators to explore new ways of adapting their aesthetics to capture the imagination of the world.

Part II: From Invisibility to Visibility

Living in postwar North America, I found Eastern Europe and the Baltics to be practically invisible in popular space that included history and literature. Hardly anyone knew about them and fewer cared. Much of my life has been searching for traces of the Baltics in writing in English, as if for acknowledgement of their existence, and by extension, of my own.

This ignorance fell away for a couple of years during the Baltics' quest for independence and the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Lithuania was in the news as much as any country in Western Europe. But this existence in the popular mind diminished practically to invisibility soon after.

In 1988, Hannibal Lecter, the evil central character in *The Silence of the Lambs* was depicted as a Lithuanian traumatized by the cannibalism of his daughter by foreign soldiers who fought for the Nazis. Shortly after, in 1991 Jonathan Franzen in his novel, *The Corrections*, depicted Lithuania as

a post-Soviet Dystopia, a place where everything was for sale and the rule of law was very weak.

So far, so bad for a picture of Lithuania and the Baltics in the popular imagination.

Around that time, many less well-known books came out on the subject of the Holocaust in Lithuania, often depicting Lithuanians as enthusiastic supporters and perpetrators of the massacres. Most of these Jewish memoirs were read by people interested in the Holocaust, a subgroup of the reading public. Notwithstanding the smallness of this group, it can generally be said that after a moment of glory in the late eighties and early nineties, Lithuania and the Baltics were not known, and when they were, the picture was dark indeed.

Baltic émigrés did not write and publish widely enough in English to make an impression on the Western popular mind, if such a thing can even be said to exist. However, many, many Jews emigrated from the Baltics and Poland and Lithuania in particular at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some to South Africa, from which their children and grandchildren often emigrated to North America. Some of their heirs did go on to write and publish.

When it comes to history, Eastern Europe has become more illuminated as a series of historians from Norman Davies, to Timothy Snyder, Anne Applebaum, the late Tony Judt and others began to take an interest in Eastern Europe and the Baltics.

But not many people read history

The first really international English language book to be a big success was Ruta Sepetys's *Between Shades of Grey*, worldwide bestseller about the Lithuanians in the gulag. However, the tremendous success of this novel was lim-

ited in a way because it was categorized in bookstores as a young adult book, and although Lithuanians of all ages read it, generally speaking, adults do not read books in the category of young adult. Thus the impact of this novel was unfortunately limited in what I will call the popular Western consciousness. Perhaps that consciousness will expand when the film version of the novel comes out. Her next book, *Salt to the Sea*, deals with the tragedy of East Prussia and has already garnered excellent reviews. It is a plot-driven page-turner which should probably be made into a film as well.

More and more books with Lithuania settings are beginning to appear, and I wanted to point out some of them.

The first is a book called *Epistolophilia*, a biography written by Julija Sukys. This book was published in the USA by Northwestern University Press, an academic press which has recently begun to make a strong impression with its nonfiction line. Julija Sukys is an academic, born in Toronto, who now teaches at the University of Missouri.

Epistolophilia tells the story though letters of Ona Simaite, a Lithuanian librarian who smuggled Jewish children and books and documents out of the Vilnius ghetto. She was discovered by the Nazis, tortured, and imprisoned in Dachau but survived the war. She lived primarily in France although for some years in Israel too, a place she could not bear because she found the climate too hot.

This is a remarkable book about a remarkable person: eccentric, moral, uncompromising. The book went on to win a Jewish book award in Canada and to be long-listed for two other nonfiction awards. It will be coming out in Lithuanian translation in 2016.

Julija Sukys also will be bringing out a book next year in English about her grandmother, who was deported to Siberia. Sukys is an important writer of Lithuanian subject matter in English, someone to keep an eye on because she

is serious and talented and we can expect much from her in the future.

Next is a novel by Kenneth Bonert, a Canadian with South African and Lithuanian Jewish roots. His novel, *The Lion Seeker*, came out in 2014 and won the Jewish book award that year and was nominated for one of Canada's most important literary prizes.

The novel is a vast and sweeping bildungsroman of a boy who grows up in South Africa before and after the Second World War. It is a truly voluminous novel featuring an uneasy young man learning about life as he drifts from auto body repair to travelling across the countryside as a salesman.

But much of his life is defined in relation to his parents, especially his mother, who had an ugly wound on her face that was so bad, she kept her face covered as much as she could until she had an operation to give her some semblance of normality.

The mother has been traumatized, and we find out eventually she was maimed in a pogrom in Rokiškis in 1906 during which the Lithuanians attacked the Jews, killed one, and disfigured the woman by cutting her face. This pogrom, incidentally, is historically true. If this attack is the opening bookend of the novel, the closing bookend is even more terrible, because it occurs in the Lietukis garage massacre of Jews in Kaunas in 1941.

The mother, in short, was maimed by history, and so the protagonist lives endlessly in the shadow of the terrible crimes visited upon the Jews by Lithuanians.

A new book of nonfiction has just appeared this year in New York by the American poet, Rita Gabis. She comes across in the memoir as an extremely sensitive person whose late father was Jewish and whose mother is Lithuanian. Thus she was torn between two families which did not mix comfortably at all.

On her Jewish side, she has fond memories of her late father, a real academic and thinker who spent most of his life in books. Her paternal grandmother, however, was a powerful and sometimes angry force. Once, when Rita was a young teenager, her grandmother saw her on the street wearing a cross on a chain around her neck, just like the other girls that Rita hung out with. Rita saw the cross as a form of jewelry. The furious paternal grandmother stopped her car to rip the chain from her neck. On the other side, however, her Lithuanian family of aunts and uncles encouraged her not to identify with her father's Jewish people, to be Lithuanian instead.

At the centre of this memoir lies the character of her Lithuanian Grandfather, *Senelis*, whom she remembers somewhat fondly, and her grandmother who was sent to Siberia. What did her grandfather do during the war? He was head of *Saugumas*, which is to say the security police, in the town of Svencionys under the Nazis in a time when many Jews were shot.

So Gabis's central question is – was her grandfather a war criminal, or did he save some Jews and protect them?

This memoir is very, very well informed. The research Gabis did is thorough. She went to book talks given by Ruta Sepetys and remembers Šepetys being called "The Lithuanian Anne Frank". At a Jewish dinner party in New York, however, someone says to her that all Lithuanians are fascists, a view that some people hold to this day.

This memoir is agonizing to read and it probes very deeply into the massacre both of Jews and Poles in Svencionys. And it is very subtle, very thorough. It tries to see everything through as many lenses as possible while searching for the truth. It is also very understanding of the suffering of Jews, Poles, and Lithuanians during the war.

All of the books mentioned so far have made or will make some impact on the "popular view" of Lithuania and

the Baltics, but the next two books I want to talk about are bestsellers, and thus have much bigger audiences.

The first is by the British writer, Samantha Harvey, called *Dear Thief*. It is an intensely romantic story about a love triangle. A young woman's friend, the thief of the novel, steals away the narrator's husband. The novel is a long letter to the thief, a study of their relationship, their friendship, and the betrayal.

The thief of the novel is a Lithuanian woman. Her name is Nina, but she is called Butterfly, perhaps because she flies in and out of the narrator's life mysteriously. Butterfly is a profoundly bohemian person, a photographer, but also a person deeply committed to Lithuania, as is her brother and a third Lithuanian in the novel, an old man in a nursing home.

The glimpses we see of Lithuania in the novel are of a country seeking freedom, fighting for liberty, and suffering under the Soviets.

Some of the Lithuanian details are ahistorical, because Butterfly and her brother seem to steal into and out of Lithuania very easily during the Soviet period. Her brother even goes to Lithuania to work as a scientist during the Soviet period, and as far as I recall from that time, there were not many Lithuanian émigrés who worked and lived in Lithuania.

Butterfly is a mysterious figure in the novel, and so is Lithuania.

In an interview with the author, Harvey said she became fascinated by Lithuania, and visited it. She said she identified Lithuania as a place where eco-nationalism developed. She said it was a place where the people were nationalists and fought for freedom because of their love of nature, as exemplified in the sand dunes of Nida as well as the forests of Lithuania. The character of Butterfly in this

novel has a powerful, mystical life force associated with Lithuania itself.

The book was reviewed in the New Yorker, a very important place that will make the writer widely read. Indeed, some of my friends wrote to me to ask if Harvey is Lithuanian because she seemed to know so much about it.

I just want to note that this is a mythical Lithuania being represented in the novel. Just as France might be depicted as the home of *joie de vivre*, and Spain the home of blood sport, so Lithuania is depicted here as a place of mystical, ecological life force. We are seeing not historical Lithuania, or contemporary Lithuania, but a mythical Lithuania depicted in a fresh way.

Next is a novel not in English, but recently translated into English from the Finnish.

It is called *When the Doves Disappeared*, and it is written by Sofi Oksanen, whose father is Finnish and whose mother is Estonian. Sofi Oksanen is a hip young writer, very popular, and some people say she is going to be the next Stieg Larsson, the latest American best-selling Nordic writer.

Oksanen's novel tells the story of three people during the German and Soviet occupations of Estonia.

Edgar is a collaborator with whomever is in power. He was trained in Finland to fight the Soviets, but when the Germans arrive, he becomes a collaborator with them. Later, he hides his past and works for the Soviets. His cousin, Roland, is a more determined resister, one who becomes a partisan and continues to fight the Soviets.

Judit is Edgar's wife. She suffers because Edgar is not interested in her sexually and we assume he is a closet homosexual. She goes on to have an affair with a German officer, only to be reunited unhappily with her husband after the Soviets return.

This is a fantastically popular writer, translated into many languages and winning prizes all over the world. Her

story of the Estonian resistance to the Soviets has probably done more than any other book to bring out the narrative of the Baltics and their search for independence.

Another novel that is on the horizon at this writing is American Rufi Thorpe's *Dear Fang, With Love: A novel*. This is the promising young American's second novel, presumably inspired by her stay in Vilnius some years ago as a student in the Summer Literary Seminars run there by Mikhail Iossel of Concordia University. The novel will tell the story of a psychologically wounded young woman who goes to Vilnius with her estranged father. The preliminary reviews of this novel have been raves.

The books I have just mentioned above are intended to give an impressionistic view of the Baltics in the popular mind in the West. Of course, not so many people read any more, so until a movie is made of any of these books, those people who are conscious of the Baltics will remain a minority.

The reality of Lithuania and the Baltics is complicated, of course. There are many layers to any society, and the books I have mentioned address only some of the layers. Nevertheless, I hope these snapshots have given some idea of Lithuania and the Baltics in the popular imagination in the West.

The Idea of the Union in the Boyar Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania During the Period of the Rule of Stanisław August (1764–1795)

RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

Introduction

Stanisław August Poniatowski as the elected monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1764, considered the centralization of the state the most important task of his policies. His policies for the consolidation and unification of the executive and court authorities and the creation of a unitary Republic of Poland confronted the efforts of the representatives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to maintain the union relations of Lithuania and Poland – with both countries seeking to find in public discourse the most acceptable alternative projects for the reform of the "renewal" as well as the "compression" of the Union of Lublin. The representatives of the political elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was set against the demands of the "preservation of the union". When the creation of the confederations became, in effect, an inherent part of the nobleman's life, the question of the reform of the country's organizational model remained in the political agenda during the whole period of his rule.

Evaluating, up to the present, the nature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the period of the rule of Stanisław

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August, one can discern two fundamental directions in the historiography. The representatives of the first direction, considered the starting points to be: the equalization of the caste privileges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's society, of state and church institutions, and of the economy and finance systems after the Union of Lublin. This implies that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the eighteen century, became ever more similar to a third province of the Republic, rather than one of two states coupled by the union.[1] The second direction of the historiography affirms that until the disruption of the state in 1795 there existed a federal two state – Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – Republic. This direction is represented by the works of Juliusz Bardach, Jerzy Malec; and in Lithuanian historiography – of Adolfas Šapoka, Mečislovas Jučas, and Zigmantas Kiaupa.[2]

To illustrate the federative nature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it is appropriate to glimpse at the history of the union – confederation – of the sworn noblemen. The creation of the confederations was an especially frequent phenomenon in the period of the rule of Stanisław August. During the incomplete 31 years of this monarch's rule, 11 general unions of sejm and non-sejm sworn boyars were formed. In 1767, after the general confederation of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1764 that brought Stanisław August to the throne and lasted until 1766, two dissident confederations were created under the inspiration of Russia: the Protestants of Torun and the Orthodox of Sluck. On June 2, 1767 in Vilnius, the General

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[1] Michalski, "Zagadnienie unii polskolitewskiej," 97–131; Augustyniak, *Historia Polski, 1572–1795*, 838; Rachuba, "Lietuviai ir integracija į bendrą Respubliką," 302–313.

[2] Bardach, "Konstytucja 3 maja a unia polskolitewska," 383–410; O Rzeczpospolitą *Obojga Narodów*, 27–63; Malec, *Szkice z dziejów federalizmui myli federalistycznej*, 56–146; Šapoka, *Lietuva ir Lenkija po 1569 metų Liublino unijos*; Jučas, *Lietuvos ir Lenkijos unija*, 294–358; Kiaupa, *Lietuvos istorija*, 57–86.

Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed (in other words – the Vilnius Confederation) and positioned against Stanisław August and the reforms of the state's rule. On June 23, 1767 in Radom, the General Confederation of the Kingdom of Poland led by Karolis Stanislovas Radvila (Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł) was announced. In 1768–1772 the broad confederative movement of Bar encompassed the entire state. On April 19, 1773, immediately before the sejm legitimizing the first partition, the confederation led by Adam Poniński (in other words – the Warsaw Confederation) was formed, which was active until 1775. Also right before the sejm in the summer of 1776 in the apartment of the Bishop of Plock, Michał Jerzy Poniatowski, the confederation at the Permanent Council was created, to which manifesto the king, senators and envoys signed. This confederation was active in the sejm from September 26 to October 31, 1776.

After these confederations, there followed more than a decade-long period of common (ordinary) sejms. A new sejm confederation was formed only on October 7, 1788 at the Warsaw Sejm, which operated until May 29, 1792. This sejm holding sessions four years in a row, entered history with the name of the Great or Reform Sejm, and it adopted the essential laws of the reconstruction of the state. However, already in the summer of 1792, the road to reforms was cut by sworn boyars in the Poland pro-Russian union of Targowica, which on September 11, 1792 united the unions of the sworn boyars of Poland and Lithuania into the General Confederation of both nations. Exactly one year later, on September 15, 1793, at the Hrodna Sejm, the act of the dissolution of the Targowica Confederation and the formation of the new Confederation of the Hrodna Sejm was signed. This, the last confederation in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, discontinued its activities with the sejm ending its work on November 23, 1793.

The members of all these confederations considered it a legitimate form of state authority. The creation and consolida-

tion of this authority took place in keeping with a certain model: the nobility, agreeing with the ideas of the confederation, organized themselves within the borders of the district and province, and later united into the general confederation of its nation, i.e. of the Poles (Kingdom of Poland) or Lithuanians (Grand Duchy of Lithuania). The movement for confederation encompassed the whole Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth only when the general unions of the sworn boyars of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania united into the General Confederation of Both Nations and their representatives formed a joint command – the generals.

The merger of the joint confederations in Poland and Lithuania symbolically repeated the determination of the Polish and Lithuanian nations consolidated in the Union of Lublin. The dominate conviction was that in view of the particular situation created in the state, and with each nation joining the confederation of its own free will, the "natural situation that existed prior to the Union of Lublin", returned to in 1569, accomplished the joining of the sejms of Poland and Lithuania into a joint sejm. Therefore in the words of the Bar Confederation member Casimir Pułaski, "at the time of the confederation each nation ought to confirm anew that it along with the other nation wants to create a common fighting Republic".[3] On the other hand, the phenomenon of the making of the general confederations indicated that next to becoming a stronger state by this duality, that the other priority in the self-consciousness of the nobility was a conviction for integrating the political nation concerning common rights and freedoms in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[4]

Our goal here, based on the comparison of the formation of the confederations in the period of the rule of Stanisław August, is to reveal the positions of Lithuania's nobles on joining

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[3] Cited according to: Konopczyński, *Konfederacja Barska*, Vol. 2, 781.
[4] Stanek, *Konfederacje generalne koronne*, 98.

the confederation in regard to the idea of the Union of Lublin. We will devote the greatest attention to the examples of the most fully investigated, brightest confederations of the period.

Renewal of the Polish-Lithuanian Union in the Non-sejm Confederations

The abundant narrative sources of the period show that the above mentioned model for the forming of the general confederation was deeply rooted in the consciousness of the nobility of Poland and Lithuania in the second half of the eighteenth century. In accordance with this model, the general Confederation of Lithuania was proclaimed on April 16, 1764. Confederations of thirteen districts signed the manifest (act) of the Union.[5]

On June 2, 1767, the Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed (alias – of Vilnius) uniting now the confederations of 24 districts, and seeking to abolish the state rule reforms passed by Stanisław August. The group of the Czartoryskis under Stanislovas Bžostovskis (Stanisław Brzostowski) became the leader of the Confederation. The nobility of Poland was organized into particular confederations in the sejmiks of May 25–27, 1767. On June 23, 1767 in the congress taking place in Radom the formation of the Confederation of the General Crown of Poland was announced, uniting 20 particular unions and taking a stand "to rescue the Homeland" in the fight against "the abolition of fundamental rights, and the threatening despotism and absolutism".[6] Karolis Stanislovas Radvila became the marshal of the General Crown Confederation. On July 27, 1767 the generals of the Confederation of Lithuania, responded to the invitation of the "confeder-

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[5] Karvelis, "1764 metų Vilniaus generalinė konfederacija," 63.
[6] "Act of the Radom Confederation, see Kraushar," *Książę Repnin i Polska*, 384–394.

ated estates of the Crown's provinces" to renew the union, and stressed that "happy are the results of the efforts of our ancestors when the Constitution of the Nation's *Unionis* arising from the three Provinces merged into the body of one Republic". They appointed its representatives in the name of the "confederated province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" to declare the

> "common agreement to adopt the desired merger" and "to pass on to the general marshal of the Crown's province the brightest duke His Grace Karolis Radvila and to the gracious Senators as well as the Lords, the Marshals and Advisors of the confederated provinces and lands, deep brotherly esteem/respect and love along with the common aspiration to maintain the Cardinal truths and old [ruling] form of the Republic".[7]

On February 29, 1768 the confederation announced in Bar "against the humiliation and insult of the faith of the Catholics of Holy Rome, the abolition of the old rights, the statutes of the Jagiellons, the Constitutions of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania <...>"[8], initially was only a union concentrating the nobility of Little Poland, which later grew into a broad confederation movement encompassing the whole Polish-Lithuanian Confederation. In his memoirs, the confederation marshal of the Duchy of the Samogitians Jacekas Antanas Putkameris (Jacek Antoni Puttkamer), noted that "after the news of the confederation formed in Bar spread, various persons in the provinces and lands of the Crown

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[7] Instruction for the Delegates of the Confederation of Lithuania, see Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD), Tak zwana Metryka Litewska, IX, 37, l. 11–13.

[8] Copy of the manifesto of the Bar Confederation, see http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5785&dirids=81. Accessed on February 11, 2016.

Province began to create unions, and those panting after the Warsaw spirit founded the most confederations".[9] The nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the words of Putkameris, also united into their confederations of counties:

"in Hrodna (on July 18, 1769), a confederation was formed, led by the Hrodna nobleman Daškevičius (Daszkiewicz), *in favorem* palace scribe [Karolis] Chreptavičius (Karol Chreptowicz), who <...> was elected marshal. Afterwards in Lithuania, the influence of both the Pułaskis as well as that of Bierzyński subsided, but the Confederation of Lithuania arose.[10] Its activities reached even Jurbarkas, when general marshal [Mykolas Jonas] Pacas (Michał Jan Pac) and army leader [Juozapas] Sapiega (Jósef Sapieha) were elected and declared as the first leaders of Lithuania, and received from the Bishop of Kamenec [Adam Krasiński] the charge to travel to Belsk as quickly as possible and to form the generals".[11]

Therefore, when the news about the Bar Confederation reached Lithuania, the confederations of districts began to be established. In the documents about the formation of the societies of the local nobility, the conjugation into the general confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was emphasized. Representatives were elected to this union even though the formation of the general conference at that time was very complicated. For example, in the manifesto of the Oshmiany Confederation it is stressed that the nobility of the district is joining a union with the confederation of the Province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania "led by the joint feeling of the

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[9]   [Puttkamer Jacek Antoni], "Krótkie zebranie okoliczności". In *Polityka i ustrój Generalności Konfederacji Barskiej*, 48.

[10] Act of the General Confederation of Lithuania announced on July 26, 1769 in Dowspuda.

[11] [Puttkamer Jacek Antoni], "Krótkie zebranie okoliczności," 50.

universal misfortunes", and it delegates two representatives
of the district to the common leadership of the Confederation
of Lithuania.[12] This document speaks not about joining the
Bar Confederation, but about adjoining the organization of
the Grand Duchy of Lithuania supported by the ideas of the
Bar Confederation. The creators of the particular confedera-
tions of the Kingdom of Poland went along the very same
road. For example, the act of the confederation of the Kulm
Province dated on July 27, 1769 announced that supporting
the aspirations of the Bar Confederation and keeping solidar-
ity with the nobility of the neighboring provinces, the Kulm
Province joins the common union of the Crown seeking "to
defend our gracious Homeland, the holy dominant religion,
the rights of the Province and the whole Crown of Poland".[13]
Therefore the local confederations of Poland were joining the
confederations of their province, and only later – the general
confederation of the Kingdom of Poland. A further stage in
the organizing, was the formation of the general confedera-
tion of both nations. It was meant to symbolize the renewal
of the union.

One can notice the prerequisite last stage of the making
of the confederation of the nobility of the Republic of Poland
and Lithuania – the future joint council of the two united na-
tions – is mentioned already in the August 23, 1768 dated
act of the confederation of the Kaunas district, signed by
marshal, Chamberlain of Vilkmergė (now – Ukmergė) Dom-
inykas Medekša (Dominik Medeksza). However, while edit-
ing the text of the manifesto of the general confederation of
Lithuania in 1769 a separate accent on the union tie of Poland
and Lithuania was not made. This tie, or more accurately, its

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[12] Copy of the manifesto of the Oshmiany Confederation, see Bibli-
oteka Książąt Czartoryskich (BCzart), Rkps. 1799 IV, 19–21.
[13] Act of the confederation of the Kulm Province, see BCzart, Rkps.
1799 IV, 41–42.

renewal, was expressed in the act of the union of the general confederations of Lithuania and Poland announced on November 7, 1769.[14]

It is interesting to note that in the period of the movement of the Bar Confederation in the supreme leadership of the general confederation of Both Nations formed in Biala in Silesia – the generals – the representatives of Lithuania dominated. These were marshal Mykolas Jonas Pacas (Michał Jan Pac), military commander Juozapas Sapiega (Józef Sapiega), and secretary Ignotas Bogušas (Ignacy Bohusz).[15]

Meanwhile, at the confederation in 1792, arising as a reaction to the reforms of the structure of the state, the demand "to preserve the union rights of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Crown of Poland" was entered not only in the act of Lithuania's general conference of Vilnius, but also in that of the confederation of Targowica. The declaration of this aspiration created favorable conditions for developing the issue of the distinction of Lithuania in the activities of the confederation. The restoration of the rights of Lithuania as one of the main issues was already raised when forming the first local unions of the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in June 1792. In the acts of the first local confederations repeating the postulates of the Targowica confederation, as the fifth of ten goals of the confederation, it was written that it was the aspiration "to restore completely the union rights of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in its relations with the Crown".[16]

Exclusive attention was devoted to the unitary trends of the Four Year Sejm regarding the act of the Vilnius province

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[14] Act of the union of the general confederations of Poland and Lithuania, see http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5785&dirids=81. Accessed on February 11, 2016.

[15] Dolinskas, Simonas Kosakovskis. *Politinė ir karinė veikla*, 229.

[16] For more see: Šmigelskytė Stukienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės konfederacijos*, 137–141.

confederation in 1792. In it, it was stressed that due to the deci-
sions of the latter sejm "the Lithuanian nation, connected by
a solemn union treaty with Poland, became as if a conquered
province, meaning little more than a conquered country, be-
cause it sees all its rights gradually broken and its magistracies
transferred to Poland".[17] The organizers of the Vilnius confed-
eration invited the citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania
to begin to settle their own fate "in the manner of forming a
confederation as is practiced under special circumstances for
the Republic, as such [circumstances] are today, and join the act
of our general confederation of the Lithuanian nation".[18]

In the act of the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy
of Lithuania proclaimed on June 25, 1792, the union of Lithu-
ania and Poland was raised to the first place. The act's preamble
declared "the rights, privileges, prerogatives of authority, the
representative right in the institutions of the nation in their own
state, and equal importance of the citizens and nobility of the
Lithuanian nation connected by union ties with the Crown of
Poland", and at the same time noting the general care "for the
general good, the rights of the land and the spirit of freedom".[19]

The celebrations of the formation of the general confed-
erations of both nations both in 1767, 1769, as well as 1792 were
an example of the renewal of the Union of Lublin during the
time of the confederation. During these celebrations, a cer-
tain ceremonial aspect was maintained. The delegates of the
Crown Kazimierz Szydłowski and Bartłomei Wydżga arriving
at a meeting of the general confederation of Poland on Sep-
tember 3, 1767, already sent from Radom to the confederates
of Lithuania, announced about the arrival of envoys of Lithu-
ania's Confederation to Warsaw. The marshal of the Crown's

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[17] Ibid., 138.
[18] Ibid.
[19] *Akt konfederacyi Generalney wolney W.X. Litt.*, 1792, 1–2.

Confederation sent his envoy Ignacy Morawski "with appropriate solemnity, attention and assistance" to invite the envoys of Lithuania to the meeting of the confederation. The envoys were "accompanied into the hall and seated in the first rows *ex jure hospitalitatis*".[20] After the brief introductory word of Lithuania's envoy, the general advisor from the confederation of the Breslau district, Tomas Sviatopelk Mirski, and his colleague the general advisor from the confederation of the Pinsk district, Mykolas Damanskis (Michał Domański) read the instruction of the legation, composed on July 26, 1767 by Lithuania's General Confederation, expressing the agreement to make a "union act" with the Crown's Confederation and obligating the envoys to act in the name of the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. "Due to the leadership of Lithuania's Confederation being busy at sejmiks and not being able to participate directly", the right to appoint the date of the merger of both confederations was handed over to the Crown's generals.[21] At the next meeting of the Crown's Confederation on July 5, with the participation of Lithuania's envoys "delegated by the confederated estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to conclude the Union act", the act of the merger of the Crown's General Confederation with the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was read. It was signed by Karolis Stanislovas Radvila as the marshal of the Crown's General Confederation and the united estates of the Republic.[22]

During the meeting of the members of the Bar Confederation in Silesia's Biala, a solemn ceremony of the renewal of the act of the union of Poland and Lithuania was also held. The act of the union of the general confederations of Lithuania and Poland was announced on November 9, 1769 in a sepa-

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[20] Kraushar, *Książę Repnin i Polska*, 333.

[21] Ibid., 333–334.

[22] Union of the general confederations of Lithuania and Poland, see AGAD, "Tak zwana Metryka Litewska," IX, 37, l.14v–35.

rate manifesto. The federation model was anchored when the General Confederation of Both Nations adopted the decision on the management of the state:

> "in all the joint congresses (sejms, general meetings etc.) of the united provinces both general marshals will sit at the same common table, each one with his rod in front of him; in the Provinces of the Crown the right hand will belong to the Crown's marshal, in the provinces of Lithuania to the General Marshal of Lithuania; the Marshal of the Crown will lead all the marshals and advisors of the Crown (of the districts) and the Marshal of Lithuania – all the representatives of Lithuania. <...> the Marshals and advisors of Poland's Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania will comprise the twenty four member generals, including in its composition also the representatives of Prussia's provinces".[23]

During the Targowica Confederation, the merger of the general confederations of Poland and Lithuania was celebrated in Brest Litovsk. On September 6, 1792 in the former college of the Brest Jesuits in a joint meeting, assembled leaders of the confederations of Poland and Lithuania discussed the details of the merger. The generals of Lithuania agreed that the Marshal of the Crown's Confederation Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki would lead the united confederation. On September 9 in a *universale* (universal statement) Lithuania's Confederation stated that its Marshal Aleksandras Sapiega (Aleksander Sapieha) and his deputy Juozapas Zabiela (Józef Zabiełło) would grant priority to the Marshal of Poland's Confederation and "while the confederation was in session, no one will be able to argue with him". In the *universale*, it was also reassured that "this free and modest pliancy of the Lithuanian nation in the future will not be

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[23] Konopczyński, "Polityka i ustrój Generalności Konfederacji Barskiej," 98–100.

able to hinder an alternative of the duties of the marshal".[24] Such a decision of Lithuania's Confederation was a considerable concession, because, according to the resulting tradition, with the confederation being active in Lithuania, a representative of Lithuania had to lead it.[25] On the other hand, the example of the period of the Bar Confederation showed that the steering wheel of the authority of the union begun in the Crown's united generals was handed over into the hands of the representatives of Lithuania.

The solemn merger of the confederations took place on September 11, 1792 in the former church of the Jesuits in Brest Litovsk. The journal of the merger of the confederations announced in 1792: on the eve of the congress in the field of the Brest market tents were erected in which on the day of the ceremonies already at 8 a.m. the members of the confederations assembled. With military marches echoing the Marshal of Poland's Targowica General Confederation, Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki, arrived, and somewhat later the Marshal of Lithuania's General Confederation, Aleksandras Sapiega, joined him. After the marshals greeted each other, the members of the confederations assembled in the church. The heads of the confederations entered the church accompanied by advisors and nobles, carrying the rods of the marshals while music was played. The event began with a Holy Mass. After the mass, the marshals and advisors took their places at the tables erected in the middle of the church. The representatives of the Crown on the right side, of Lithuania – on the left. After Reverend Sierakauskas (Sierakowski) gave a sermon appropriate for the occasion, the Act of the Union – the merger of both confederations was read. Having listened

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[24] Šapoka, *Lietuva ir Lenkija po 1569 m. Liublino unijos*, 309.

[25] 1792 09 09 decision of the general confederation of the GDL, Summaryusz Generalny Czynności Konfederacyi Targowickiey, nr. 128, p. D2.

to the act the assembled cried out: "We agree!", then Rev. Sierakauskas read the act of King Stanisław August joining the confederation. After signing the Act of Union, the assembled sang the hymn of thanks *Te Deum laudamus*".[26]

In the act of the convergence of the confederations of Poland and Lithuania, it was stated that

> "the union, uniting both nations into one body, begun by Jogaila (Jagiełło), and strengthened by Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania Aleksandras (Aleksander) and Žygimantas Augustas (Zygmunt August), guaranteed the free election of the king and all the other freedoms of the nobility. However now, seeing all that destroyed, we felt the need to unite anew and to strengthen the broken union <...> so that the Republic destroyed by a conspiracy would be restored by our forces".[27]

Despite the solemn demonstration of unity, one can see certain disagreements between the leaders of Lithuania and Poland, in which one side or the other was charged with violating the union. In this way in 1769, the first conflict of the confederations of Lithuania and Poland arose immediately after the formation of Lithuania's generals, when the approach to further war actions differed. The heads of Lithuania's Confederation supported retreat, while Kazimierz and Franciszek Ksawery Pułaski sought to begin an armed fight. When the opinions differed, Lithuania's generals demanded back and obtained the 'taken' property of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the cavalry regiments (*owych pułków konnych*). By the time of Rajgród, "the Crown split with Lithuania": members of Lithuania's Confederation withdrew to the Lower Nemunas and there crossed the border into Prussia. In this way, – from the point of view of Poland's Confederation, – "during

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[26] *Dyaryusz aktu złączenia się konfederacyi wolnych Oboyga Narodów*, 16.
[27] *Akt Unii czyli połączenia się Konfederacyi Obojga Narodów*, 1–2.

one week the Lithuanian political figures liquidated the whole uprising in the Grand Duchy".[28] Angered by such behavior of the Lithuania's generals, the members of the Poland's Confederation hastened to announce "The Journal in the Name of the Polish Nation Describing the GDL Confederation" (*Dyaryusz przez głos Narodu Polsk. Opisujący Konfederacyą WXL*), in which Lithuania's generals were blamed for the military failures of K. Pułaski.

The dissatisfaction of Poland's confederates with the independent activities of Lithuania's generals, was especially expressed in the General Confederation of Both Nations in 1792-1793, into whose formation the generals sent only a special delegation, while continuing to reside in Hrodna.

Despite the internal disagreements in the leaderships of the Confederations of Both Nations, the demonstrated aspect of the renewal of the ties of the state union was very important for the nobility of the districts. The examples of the unions of the nobles, formed already when the General Confederations of both nations existed, confirm this assumption. For example, the union of the nobles of the Orsha district formed on October 11, 1771 in the camp of the confederates in the Lukomka parish, declared that joining the confederations of the nations - the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania - connected by the links of the union, raising the goal to defend the holy faith, rights and freedoms, the nobility of Orsha promise to fight for the welfare of the Homeland, to chase out from the territory of the state the army of foreigners. In their activities, the confederates committed themselves to follow the directions of the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[29]. Two days later (on October 13, 1771), the proclaimed manifesto of the Marshal of the Confederation of the

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[28] *Dyaryusz przez głos Narodu Polsk.* Opisujący Konfederacyą WXL, see BCzart, Rkps 1799 IV, l. 106–110.

[29] Анішчанка, *Народжаны рабаленнічаць*, 347.

Orsha district Tadas Otnaras Šteinas (Tadeusz Otnar Sztejn) about the merger of the Orsha district into the confederation also stressed the union ties of Lithuania and Poland.[30]

Union Ties of Lithuania and Poland in the Sejm Confederations

If the traditional non-sejm confederations during this whole period, exhibit a desire to maintain the union ties of Lithuania and Poland entrenched in the Cardinal rights, which asserted that "the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, linked for ages in union ties with the Crown, just as the other provinces and lands, form a single integral body of the Republic",[31] then the confederations being formed at the time of the sejm was that road which enabled one to seek the legalization projects, raised by Stanisław August, for the "compression" and "renewal" of the union. The sejm that formed the confederation would adopt decisions by majority vote and could not be suspended. In accordance with the federal governance model of the Republic there were two confederations – one of the Crown and another of Lithuania, each with their own marshals.[32]

Until 1764, the confederating of sejm members was not a common phenomenon. It developed mostly during the rule of Stanisław August, when nine of the fourteen sejms took place while the General Confederation of the two nations existed, or the same sejm itself formed a "sejm confederation".[33] The beginning of the rule of Stanisław August was marked by a "universal" confederation of the elected sejm, formed on September 15, 1764 and led by marshals Augustus Czartoryski and Mykolas Bžostovskis (Michael Brzostowski). The sources of this con-

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[30] Ibid., 349–351.
[31] *Cardinal rights*, 1768, see *Volumina Legum*, Vol. VII, 595–606.
[32] Bardach, *O Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów*, 55.
[33] Cf.: Karvelis, "1764 metų Vilniaus generalinė konfederacija," 68.

federation date back to the period of the convocation sejm. Already on July 3, 1764, i.e. only a few days after the end of the work of the sejm, the Warsaw Confederation appealed to the Vilnius Confederation to merge. Until the electoral sejm, both unions acted independently, and made their own decisions and persecuted their enemies. In the act of the

"merger of the confederated estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the confederated estates of the Crown it is noted that we are joining 'a single universal amalgamation of the whole nation' in order to preserve all that is achieved during the interregnum period and in order to work in unison to 'protect the free election of the most enlightened Lord from possible machinations".[34]

In the coronation sejm on December 3, 1764, Stanisław August confirmed all the resolutions of the General Confederation of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Confederation formally existed even until the 1766 sejm, during which it was released.[35]

The sejm of the Republic active from October 5, 1767 until March 5, 1768, was also bound by the ties of the General Confederation of both nations. The Marshal of the sejm confederation became the leader of the General Confederation of the Crown (Radom), Karolis Stanislovas Radvila; Stanislovas Bžostovskis led Lithuania's General Confederation.[36] Concluding its work, the sejm approved all the resolutions and declarations, circulars, appropriations et al. of the General Confederations of Poland's Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It also acknowledged that the Confederation had implemented its objectives, and announced that it was releasing all the unions of the nobility in the provinces, lands and

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[34] *Volumina Legum*, Vol. VII, 140.
[35] Ibid., 221–222.
[36] Ibid., 246.

districts of Poland's Crown and in the Grand Duchy of Lithu-
ania, as well as the General Confederation. It was decided to
present the acts of the Crown's Confederation to the Crown's
Metrica, and those of the Lithuanian Confederation – to Lith-
uania's Metrica.[37]

Unlike the electoral or coronation sejm in 1764, the sejm in
1766 or in 1767–1768, in their activities, which relied on the con-
federations concluded before the sejm, the sejms in 1773–1775,
in 1776 and 1788–1792 joined in confederations on the eve of the
sejm work or even during the very sejm.[38] Their activities did
not rely on prior particular unions of the nobility of Poland and
Lithuania. However, in the framework of these sejm confedera-
tions, the union ties of the two provinces confederation – Poland
and Lithuania are striking. All these confederations were treated
as the General Confederation of the two nations. Just as in tradi-
tional confederations as well as in the sejm confederations, two
marshals, having equal rights and powers, were elected.

Three days before the start of the work of the partition
sejm, on April 16, 1773, the General Confederation of both na-
tions was formed. The act of the confederation proclaimed "to
all the citizens of our states Crown and the Grand Duchy of
Lithuania as well as the provinces belonging to them" that

> "those entering this union, until then already wanting to have a
> sejm and confederation, while the treaty with the neighboring
> Powers (states) for their claims/pretentions to the states of the
> Republic, the form of rule and all works demanding decisions
> of the current sejm are not completed."[39]

Adam Poniński was declared the marshal of the Crown's
Confederation; Mykolas Radvila (Michał Radziwiłł) – the mar-

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[37] Ibid., 402.
[38] Stanek, *Konfederacje generalne koronne*, 186.
[39] *Volumina Legum*, Vol. VIII, 5.

shal of Lithuania's Confederation. This confederation, extended six times, was released only after two years – on April 11, 1775 when it had completed all of its works.

Also, in 1776, right before the start of the sejm's work, a confederation, for which was raised the task to ensure the preponderance of the ruler's group in the sejm, was formed. The act of the General Confederation of both nations was adopted at the meeting of the Permanent Council on September 23, 1776. The king and the members of the Permanent Council were the first to sign it. Only later were the ministers, senators, and envoys invited. The act of this confederation repeated the formulations of the manifestos of the traditional non-sejm confederations and invited (all) to join the union "for the faith of the Catholics of Holy Rome, the preservation of the meaning of the throne of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stanisław August, and the rights, privileges and freedoms of both nations, and free republic management"[40] etc. The sejm confederation of 1776 was released on October 31 of the same year.

The Warsaw Sejm that began its work in 1788, joined into the General Confederation, having become the Great (Reform) Sejm. Despite the fact that in the Act of this General Confederation, the union relations of Poland and Lithuania were not clearly identified, and the maintenance of the

> "most holy rights guaranteed by the faith of the Catholics of Holy Rome, the integrity of the states of the Republic, free republican governance, the prerogatives of the person, rank and throne of most enlightened King Stanisław August, like the protection of all conventional obligations of the magistratures as well as the property of citizens"[41]

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[40] Ibid., 526–527.
[41] *Volumina Legum*, Vol. IX, 46–47.

was only emphasized, the binomial structure of the state was reflected in the approval of the two marshals of the sejm confederations. This represented the sejm confederations of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The General Sejm Confederation of both nations formed in 1788, also continued its activities after the new corps of Sejm members elected in the sejmiks in 1790 swore to its Act.

As already mentioned, the coming into effect of the principle of the majority of the votes in the confederated sejm allowed the adoption of certain laws centralizing the state. However, one should note that every attempt to revise the relations between Lithuania and Poland met the opposition of Lithuania's sejm confederation, leading to the termination of the session, possible boycott of the sejm work or even threats to end the very union. In this way already in the 1776 sejm, Stanisław August invited the Lithuanian representatives to abandon the plans of "ending the union" and by joint efforts to address the issues of public administration.[42] The implementation of the reforming and strengthening of the state became possible when only both Member States – Lithuania and Poland – went down the path of overall consensus. Such a path, with mutual concessions and compromises, was chosen during the time of the confederated Sejm of Four Years. However, also during this sejm the idea of the Union of Lublin was not abandoned. One can regard the law "of the mutual commitment of both nations" adopted on October 20, 1791 as an Act of the Renewal of the Union of Lithuania and Poland.[43]

At the confederated Hrodna Sejm in 1792, the representatives of Lithuania continuing the aims of the 1792–1793 confederation movement to bring back the state institutions of Lithuania that existed until the May 3 Constitution, continued to call to embed in laws the dualistic model Polish-Lithuanian Confederation. The is-

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[42] *Dyaryusz Seymu, ordynaryinego pod związkiem konfederacyi generalney Oboyga narodow,* 1776, 215.

[43] Malec, *Szkice z dziejów federalizmu i myli federalistycznej,* 137.

sue of the union of Lithuania and Poland rose to the forefront during the discussion of the project of the Treasury Commission, reflecting the aspirations of Stanisław August to centralize the management of state finances. At the sejm session of August 27, 1793 Lithuania's Grand Treasurer Mykolas Kleopas Oginskis (Michał Kleofas Ogiński), submitted a draft amendment to the law desiring, "that each province would maintain its treasuries".[44] Also, opposed to the formation of joint institutions was the representative of Lida, Aleksandras Narbutas (Aleksandr Narbutt), who in the same sejm session stressed that "reading the laws of 1775 and seeing in them the separate expenditures of Lithuania's province", it "would be a sin if we would allow the treasuries to be combined into one".[45] The position of Lithuania's representatives raised the resistance of the Crown's representatives. Representative of Poland Józef Młodzianowski defended the Crown's interests affirming that "even though the Crown's union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania also established separate prerogatives, it is always the same to be a Lithuanian or a Pole, because always [one and the other] it meant being the son of one homeland." Seeking to demonstrate the unity of Polish-Lithuanian relations, he affirmed that he was determined to call himself a "Lithuanian":

> "And although the Crown then consisted of two provinces, and now, due to the divisions part of it was lost, we, the citizens of the Crown, although not being very abundant, will go to Lithuania. And if we call ourselves Lithuanians, let the Lithuanians not seek to separate from us as from their fellow citizens".[46]

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[44] On September 27, 1793, Journal of the 51 Sejm session. http://www.bkpan.poznan.pl/biblioteka/ELITY/SEJM1793/s51.htm (Accessed on February 11, 2016).

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

The Bishop of Livonia Juozapas Kazimieras Kosak-
ovskis (Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski), was not indifferent
to such an escalation of the union issue, having noted that
"the union itself is nothing other than the nation's contract
with the people, which ultimately one must follow. Therefore
such accents are not necessary when discussing important
issues here because no one here is talking about separation,
but only about a totally innocent addition that must be ac-
cepted, despite the fact that it [was presented] by some envoy
of Lithuania's province, rather than its honorable minister".[47]
The representative of Lida, Narbutas, continued the discus-
sion, reminding the sejm of the history of Lithuanian-Polish
relations and the treasury:

> "The province of Lithuania with its freedoms, rights and privi-
> leges is connected with the Crown, and since time immemorial
> the province of Lithuania has had its own treasury. And only
> after the preceding sejm joined the treasuries of the two nations
> and the Targowica Confederation again separated them, were
> separate commissions established. Moreover, the Treasury of
> Lithuania has its expenditures fixed by a law of 1776".[48]

Passionate speeches at the sejm and the united position
of Lithuania's senators and envoys yielded tangible results:
the sejm passed a law on the establishment of two Treasury
commissions – of the Crown and of Lithuania.

The posture of Lithuania's representatives determined that
the Hrodna Sejm in 1793 enshrined the dualistic model of the state.
The cardinal rights adopted by the sejm in its essence were not
different than the laws adopted in 1569, 1768 and 1775, in which
it was declared that "Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania
consist of a single and indivisible forever connected body – The

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

Republic of the Two Nations", in which "all the rights and privileges, namely, those which the provinces possessed when merging into the Republic <...>, have to be maintained".[49] The internal structure of the Federal Republic remained unchanged – that is, until the territorial losses from the two provinces – Greater and Lesser Poland – in the second partition, when the formed Crown became the homogeneous Province of Poland.

Conclusions

The history of the general non-sejm confederations indicates that the nobility of Poland and Lithuania held especially close and deeply in their self-consciousness, an entrenched model of the creation of the "fair" confederation, echoing the structure of the state connected by the bond of the union. This traditional model, retaining the binomial organizational models of the state in the organization of the confederations, was manifest during the time of the entire General Confederation in the period of the rule of Stanisław August.

An analysis of the activities of the confederations, allows one to assert that the application of the titles of the Bar, Radom or Targowica Confederations to the confederation movement throughout the whole Republic of Two Nations is not adequate. In 1767–1768 the Radom Confederation did not take place in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; in 1768–1772 the Bar Confederation was not concluded in it; just as in 1792–1793 the Targowica Confederation was not firmly established. During the period of the operation of all these confederations, local (particularistic) confederations were created in Lithuania having adopted and sworn to appropriate ideological objectives, which united into the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The conjugation of the General Confederations of Lithuania and

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[49] *Volumina Legum*, Vol. X, 110–111.

Poland into the General Confederation of Both Nations meant the renewal of the act of the union.

The principle of the binomial state was also maintained in forming the sejm confederations empowering the adoption of decisions by a majority of the votes in the sejm. The sejm confederations opened paths for the supporters of the centralization of the state to seek the realization of the projects for getting closer and "renewal" of the union in the Four Year Sejm. However, the law of the mutual commitment of Both Nations adopted on October 20, 1791, established the union ties of Lithuania and Poland in the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation.

Translated by SAULIUS GIRNIUS

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Two Essays

ALIS BALBIERIUS

Snow. Silence. 2010. February

I stand in the silence, and that silence is everywhere: in the north and in the south, in the west and in the east.

It's white and silent in the sky above my head; white and silent below my feet, where there's snow. The day is muted, so you can barely see what from what side, in that silence, the light is falling on the white field of snow. Light, barely visible shadows; just a bit further where there's a few spruce, the snow below them is barely darker, a soft and warm gray.

This winter's silence is all-encompassing, all-embracing, silencing the postmodern technocratic noise as much in the whole world as in me, because here I disconnect and limit that world, but I do not destroy it... I feel it existing all the time.

It is more real when you distance yourself.

And then in this white silence the world speaks in a wordless, primordial language. From my thoughts and experiences, from what really was or occurred. From what I would see in visions. From what was read in countless books, whose words and thoughts like water – like a refreshing small spring or Mississippis – runs into the vessel of my "I" and never fills it. Because

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human memory is like a vessel with invisible little holes that the water runs out of again, making room for new impressions, information, or new oblivions. Although I believe that in my gray prairies, in the universe of my gray brain, everything, absolutely everything that once landed there, no matter by what means, still remains. It's just that we don't control a mnemotechnology that allows us to remember, at will, not just what we *know* is there, but also what we have actually forgotten, or allows us to forget only that which we want or *need* to forget. Because how can what we have experienced or thought at least once, what we feel loving or hating, not remain in those depths, if in those depths, my/your depths, sleep/watch/live all of humanity's history, its entire collective biological and social experience, as well as the memory of my family's blood, and all we call the *collective subconscious*.

I like nature's silence, but I also like the silence of consciousness, when we know that soon, or eventually, inside it, forms and thoughts, or images, will come into focus slowly or light up as suddenly as a flash of lightning, like the Buddhist enlightenment. You expected them, or they will surprise and upset you because you did not expect them at all and thought you were almost dead creatively. Boring to yourself. Without secrets.

I stand in that silence and suddenly I remember the words of a Navaho Indian that I had once, at the time of my ornithological madness, read in a book by Paul A. Johnsgrad translated long ago in Soviet times, *Song of the North Wind*, whose main characters are the white geese traveling above Indian lands in North America. At one time, that book was one of the books on my desk, and I remembered that book about the other northern continent in my native north, standing in a farmhouse/workshop yard, in this white, completely bleached silence. And this silence – nearly colorless, just white, very very very white, and at the same time somewhat gray in the trees and groves on the horizon and a slightly subdued green in the old spruces next to the farmstead – and in this silence I remember what was, to me,

like one syllable from the world, from nature, from the basic book of the aesthetics of art.

Paul A. Johnsgard's book ended with a citation from one of the Navaho Indians' night chants, and here I'll repeat that brief text that once enlightened me:

May their roads home be on the trail of peace,
Happily may they all return.
In beauty I walk,
With beauty before me, I walk,
With beauty behind me, I walk,
With beauty above and about me, I walk.
It is finished in beauty.
It is finished in beauty.

Remembering this, I would like to experience that which is impossible: to reincarnate into the so-called primitive human world, and to experience the state of their aesthetics of nature. Perhaps similarly to how I, in this moment, experienced the white silence's existence and aesthetic which blossomed within me, within myself, dissolving into that existence and that aesthetic, but remaining myself standing in that white silence, among the fields, among this surprisingly deep winter, this snow of February, as if this was not Lithuania but rather some Klondike snowscape.

And in this white, wordless, and primordial silence, standing and imbibing it and reluctant to either speak or hear anyone's words or sounds in general, I suddenly see how slowly, slowly, with a slight breeze barely wafting from the north, a wall of snow comes on like some sort of magic cloak.

It is so quiet that it's difficult to believe how many snowflakes fit within that wall. The wall surrounds me and travels on beyond me, to the south, and I watch and read what are the real, true words of that white silence.

Words without letters.

They fall without a sound, and there are a great deal of them. So many that there is no possibility of understanding or naming them by any human mode, except for a wordless speechlessness and wonder at how the universe hides within that wordless speechlessness.

And I am that beauty, in the beauty of wordless falling wordless words, in the maelstrom of silent total snow that is everywhere about me.
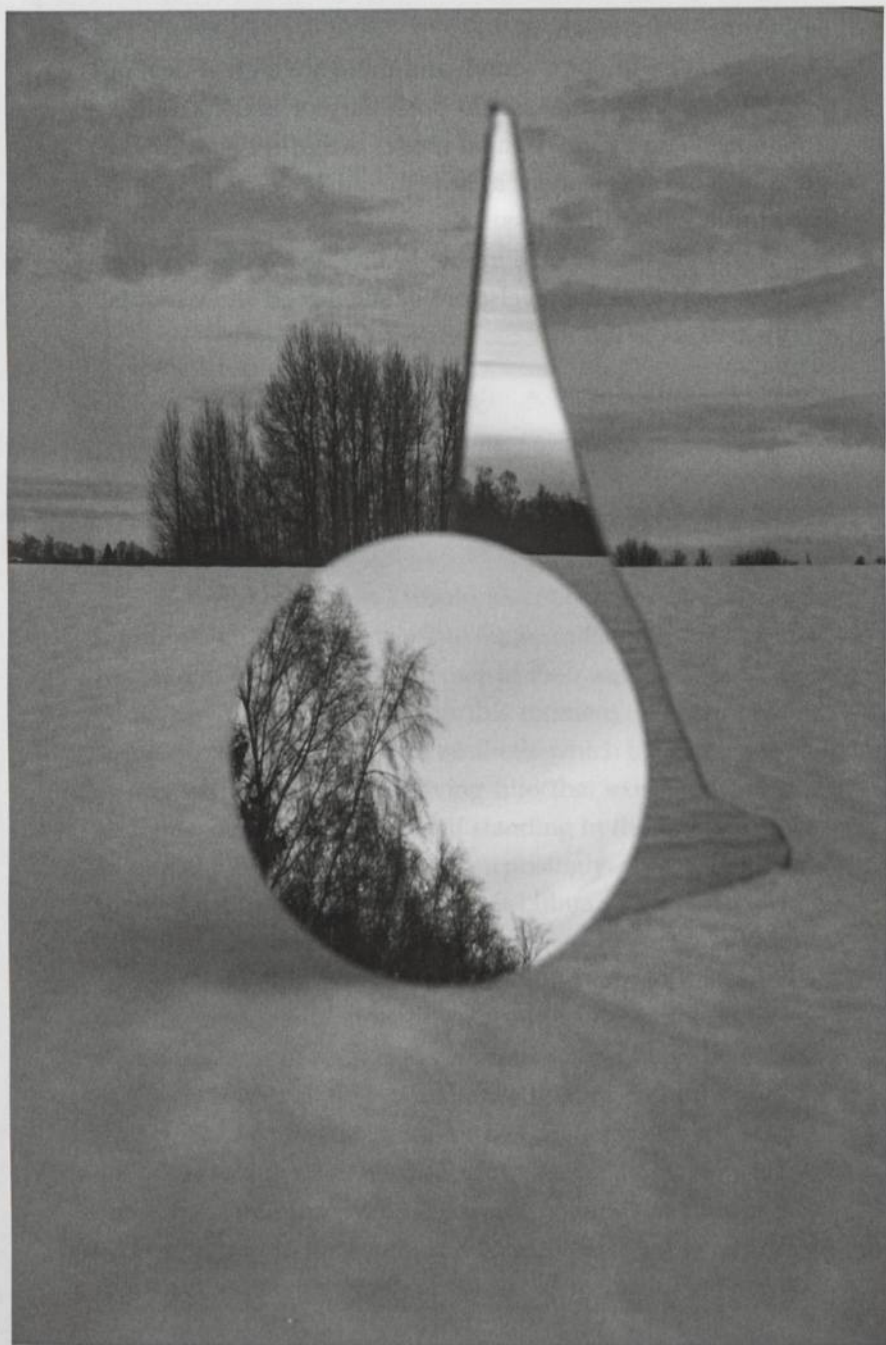
Alis Balbierius. Snow and Mirrors 2, 2009.

Alis Balbierius. Snow and Mirrors 4, 2009.
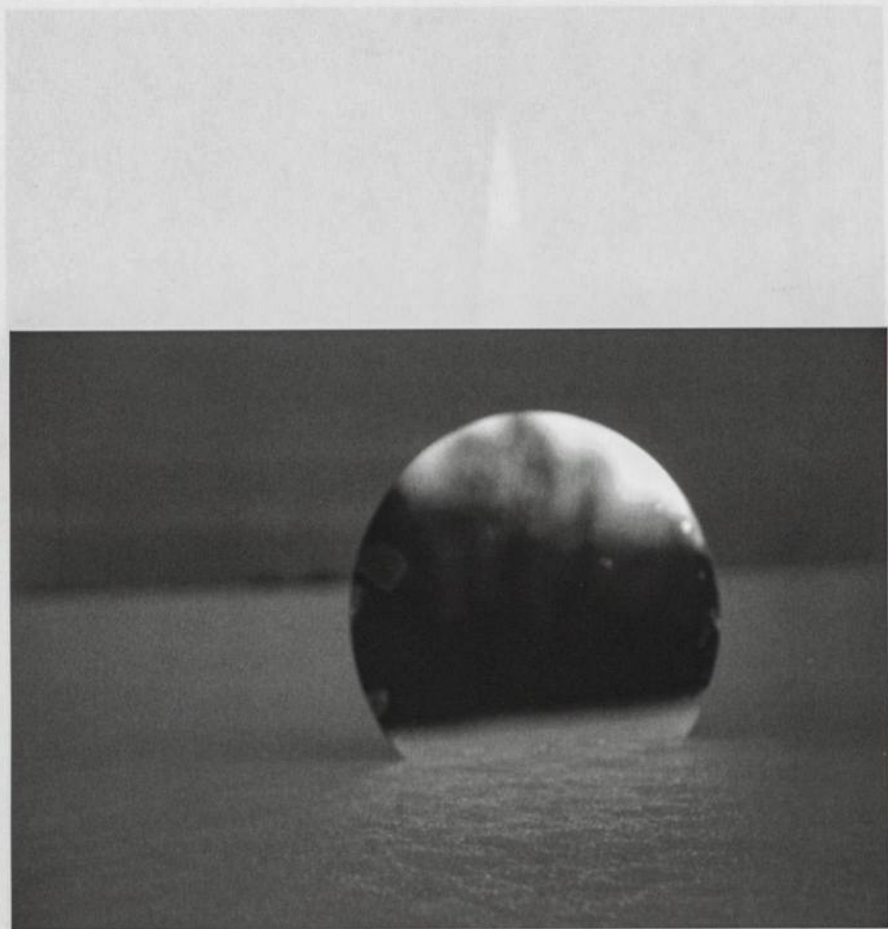
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The Neanderthal and the Rainbow

We will never know now what a Neanderthal feels when he sees a rainbow in the sky.

He had to feel something, seeing that strange colored thing he probably did not associate very closely with rain and sun, unless it was with the mysterious action of a spirit or god more powerful than himself. Although who knows if they already existed or not?

Homo neanderthalensis appeared on the planet some 200,000 years ago, and "officially" disappeared or was forced out and exterminated by our closest ancestors some 26,000 years ago. Though there is newer evidence that a hybrid of modern-day human and a Neanderthal – a child – was found in a grave in the Lapedo valley in 1998. The grave of the hybrid was well-preserved, and the child was buried with his body covered in ochre and decorated with necklaces of reindeer teeth and shells. This find extended the time of the Neanderthal's existence for five thousand years longer than had previously been believed.

The Neanderthals went extinct or were destroyed; perhaps they both disappeared naturally and were exterminated, murdered – however, they will never demand the right to their land and possessions, even though once huge expanses of Europe and western Asia belonged to their "empire."

Are we affronted that Neanderthals had brains larger than yours or mine? Maybe not; it's just a bit surprising, although intelligence apparently doesn't depend on the size of the brain, but the unrevealed potential of the Neanderthals' larger brains will now never have the opportunity to be discovered, as some researchers maintain that their genes have not survived.

So what did the Neanderthal feel looking at a rainbow bent like a bow through the entire sky, even if he hadn't yet discovered a bow to shoot arrows with? Did he feel something resembling an aesthetic pleasure, intertwined with modern

knowledge about the origin of rainbows, their structure and transience, what, for example, I feel when I see a rainbow? Knowledge about rainbows and a sense of aesthetics have created a different "rainbow", a different colored amalgam of sense and sensibility of unconscious memory.

To me, the image of a rainbow is somehow miraculous, mythical from childhood, associated with beauty and goodness, and for some reason almost not trite, perhaps because some years you rarely see rainbows, and this doesn't necessarily happen in drought years. I've been an observer and collector of rainbows for some time now – when there's a brief downpour from a cloud traveling off to my side and the sun is shining, I turn toward that side where there's a chance of a rainbow appearing. And frequently I'm right – sometimes spotting the arch of a bridge bent through the entire evening sky, sometimes a fragment of that arch, or a barely visible hint of one. As a "collector", I want to put them into some kind of box, like the character had in one of Saulius Tomas Kondrotas's stories, in which he collected sunsets, I believe.

A rainbow is a live, evolving, changing phenomenon that attracts your attention whether you want it to or not. It has some kind of magic, some kind of divinity. And you don't even want to think about laws of physics or optics, those conditions, the interference and diffraction that create a rainbow, whether it is in the sky, in the spray of a fountain, and even in a bubble blown by a child and flying above the top of the grass.

Rainbows can be far away or close by, tall or short, or like the kind I've never had a chance to see – double and with crossed ends. Phenomenally bright and absolutely glaring, or completely pale and barely visible. There are incidents described when in the rain, a rainbow forms barely ten to fifteen feet away from the observer. In the old days, the Irish believed a pot of gold hid at the end of a rainbow. But just try and find that spot by walking towards a rainbow that's moving with the rain and the light.

A rainbow always looks to us like an arch, a miraculous bridge connecting two ends of the earth. In reality, they can be like a circle too; these rainbows are occasionally seen from airplanes.

The seven perfect colors of a rainbow is only an entrenched myth. Rubens, that master of painting, only painted a bright blue rainbow, because he had frequently carefully observed their colors and their constant transformation. Actually, the colors of a rainbow are an object of constant change; they merge and interweave with each other much like in a watercolor poured with thin paints on wet paper. Watching the same rainbow for a long time, you can see the remarkably variable metamorphoses of its coloring. The traditional stripes of color change particularly frequently: the area and intensity of red, orange, yellow, green, blue, and violet. The colors of a rainbow are affected by the background of clouds and sky. At the moment of a lightning discharge, the boundaries between the rainbow's colors momentarily disappear. There are red rainbows, too – they are born from a "normal" rainbow a few minutes before sunset.

Rainbows are a phenomenon that has gone into the culture, mythology, and fairy tales of all peoples. One South American tribe believed that two snakes, rising from two lakes, gave birth to a rainbow when they met in the sky. Who will gather all the world's written sources, myths, and fairy tales about rainbow bridges, sometimes joining not just the opposite banks of a river, but also oceans or countries, into a single book? Or maybe someone has already written a book of that sort, just that rainbow collectors don't know about it?

The Lithuanian language and dialects are full of synonyms – *orarykštė, dangorykštė, laumės juosta, dangaus juosta, laimės juosta, dievo rykštė, dermjuostė, straublys, drignė*. A suspicious number of synonyms in a single language. Apparently, rainbows were observed and loved, they were admired, even their good fortune and divinity were trusted.

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The loveliest rainbows I have seen were sometimes at the beginning of October, above trees shining in fall colors, or a bit earlier, just when you sense the beginning of summer's passing and the soul is pierced by that time's inimitable, brightly sad spirit.

And then you can again remember what is now dead and gone.

For example, the Neanderthal looking at a rainbow some hundred thousand years ago somewhere in that not-yet-named Europe, just as I looked, no longer remembering why and when I connected a rainbow to a Neanderthal. Was I thinking about the possible beginning of the Neanderthal's feeling of aesthetic enjoyment, about the very outset of beauty? Or perhaps that "aesthetic beginning" happened earlier, in the time of *Home erectus*? This we will never find out; we can guess or intuit more than we can prove scientifically.

To remember a Neanderthal is to remember a long way; to remember a Neanderthal is to remember him within oneself, always existing; apparently, all forms of life, not just some extinct human subspecies *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*, are descended from one source of life that no one has yet found and probably never will, if life is an eternal seed wandering the universe, disappearing from one of its corners so it can show up in another. In the end, the Neanderthal is nothing more than our "deep" heritage, as heritage is not just some UNESCO or Lithuanian list of valuables, but a markedly wider, larger, and more powerful thing. Heritage is the entire world, the entire biosphere, the planet Earth. Heritage is my and your memory; those we can revive and those memories that are "recalled" for us only in our subconscious or our genes; all of the knowledge we can access; finally, to me heritage is, like in time and space, and in the intellect for a definite individual, infinity and boundlessness; as much as I try to comprehend and know it, nevertheless I must consciously limit myself from any boundlessness, even from attempting to comprehend it, or more ac-

curately any part, although the desire to comprehend all of it
is probably inborn in many of us, like a peculiar evolution of
intellect and soul, a chance for the synthesis of those two, who
sometimes do not respect each other much...

...there now, as autumn approaches in its usual way,
when I look at the large arch of a rainbow, a Neanderthal, hold-
ing a wooden spear with a point hardened by fire in his hand,
looks with me. He is within me, I am within him – sometimes
our gaze meets, and we try to understand one another and the
miracle of the rainbow, which raises us both somewhat, and
ennobles us, and at the same time unites us.

I have never been ashamed that a Neanderthal lives with-
in me.

Translated by ELIZABETH NOVICKAS

The Drivers of Vilnius

RIČARDAS ŽIČKUS

The first hired drivers, called fiacres, were active in Paris and London from the middle of the seventeenth century. It was in Paris that they first came to be called fiacres. This term arose from the first firm which was known to rent out carriages with drivers. A postman names Nicolas Savage created the firm. (Some sources maintain that he was a carriage driver.) The premises where he kept the horses was called the House of Saint Fiacre because this saint had been chosen the patron saint of the house, and his picture hung on a wall of the house.

Detailed information about the first drivers of Vilnius appears in a book published in 1835 by M. Balinskis entitled *The Statistical Record of the City of Vilnius* (Opisanie statystyczne miasta Wilna):

> …"there are 158 one-horse fiacres in the city, from whom the city treasury received 300 silver rubles in 1832. The drivers would wait for passengers only in specially designated loca-

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tions: near the gates to the castle (in Cathedral Square and on avenues of approach to Pilies (Castle) Street); on the corner of Pilies and Jonų (John) Streets; on Pilies Street near the Orthodox Church; near Pacai Palace at the front of Town Hall Square; near the town hall by Vokiečių (German) Street."

Several carriage and carriage wheel workshops were still in operation in Vilnius in the eighteenth century. The LVIA (The Historical Archive of the Lithuanian State) contains evidence of this in documents which have a seal dated 1744 – "The seal of the wheelwrights and carriage drivers' guild of the capital city Vilnius". A watercolor painting named "Vilniaus Rotušės aikštė" (Town Hall Square in Vilnius), painted by J. Peška in 1797, shows carriage drivers lined up at the end of the square. Based on these facts, one can assert that drivers first appeared in Vilnius in the eighteenth century.

The book *Scenes From Life and Travels* by J. I. Kraszewski (Obrazy z życia i podróży), published in Vilnius in 1842 by A. Zavadsky, treats the drivers of Vilnius as a completely familiar, inseparable part of the public life of the old city:

> The drivers have small, single-harness carriages which are uncovered and numbered, and they have assigned waiting places - by the market on Didžioji (Main) Street next to Town Hall, by the intersection of Domininkonų (Dominican) Street and Vilnius Street, and at a few other places...

In 1883 there were already 446 "light coach" carriages (a carriage pulled by one horse) and 23 "equipped" carriages (a carriage pulled by two horses) in Vilnius, but by 1888 there were 473 "light coach" carriages and 21 "equipped" carriages. In 1889 the City Council of Vilnius collected fees totaling 3,450 rubles from the drivers and also received 1,106 rubles for metal registration signs and price list tables.

Frequent rules regulating the activities of drivers and frequent amendments and improvements to these rules attest to the importance of drivers for the city. A collection of regulations for city dwellers of Vilnius published in 1894 contains a resolution concerning "The Drivers' Trade in Vilnius". The City Council had passed it on February 7, 1890. This resolution changed the rules which had been adopted in 1878. According to the new rules, people of both sexes could engage in the transportation trade, but drivers had to be "men from 16 to 70 years of age, without criminal convictions, of sober behavior and dependable." If you wanted to get a license to be driver, you had to get a favorable rating from a commission. The members of the commission examined not only the carriages and the horses, but also the harnesses and the drivers' clothing. This might be comparable to present-day technical inspections. The tradesman had to pay 4 rubles and 18 kopecks for each horse used in the trade. Once he made this payment he received two metal tokens for each carriage: a larger one listing the fares, and another smaller one, both with the same assigned trade number. The larger token had to be securely fastened to the carriage, while the carriage driver had to keep the smaller one with himself at all times. The same number had to be written on the rear of the carriage in white paint on a dark background.

The twentieth paragraph of the regulations stated:

"Drivers must be sober, and while working they should not be rude to passengers. They should not swear. They should not step down from the carriage nor sit in the passengers' seats. They should not sleep and should not smoke while transporting passengers."

The regulations mention the transportation procedure:

"When driving the driver: a) must keep to the right side of the road; b) must proceed at a steady but fast clip and drive care-

fully, especially when driving out of yards or on bridges or at intersections or when turning corners; c) must not race, and may pass those ahead only at a steady and fast clip; d) must not drive up on other equipped carriages; e) must obey the police, and must heed warnings of passing vehicles and pedestrians, and at the same time should warn passing vehicles and pedestrians…"

Only carriages modeled after a sample carriage approved by the City Council could transport passengers. A separate ordinance had mandated the building of a sample carriage with city funds, and all other carriages had to be constructed by reference to it.

The police and the governing body of the city were responsible for ensuring compliance with these rules. As of January 21, 1881 drivers were prohibited from using whips, but were allowed longer reins instead. In 1892 speed limits and one-way thoroughfares were introduced: at the intersection of Aušros Vartų (Gates of Dawn) Street and Pilies (Castle) Street two-way traffic was allowed only at a slow pace, and only one way traffic was allowed on the intersecting Išganytojo (Savior) Street – towards Užupis (the area on the other side of the river). Different streets had to be used for the trip back from that area.

In 1899 new transportation rules were adopted, and in 1904 rules were issued "About drivers and the maintenance and operation of public and private equipped carriages in the city of Vilnius". Essentially they were the same rules as earlier, but now they also referred to public equipped carriages – to omnibuses and horse-drawn public wagons or wagons powered by electricity or other power sources.

In 1905 there was a revolution in Czarist Russia, and the drivers of Vilnius took part in the political events. They became more active, and in April they presented a petition to the Chief of Police.

The drivers were not the only ones to make demands of city government. City dwellers and guests often complained that drivers were unconscientious and drove in a disorderly manner. In September of 1908 the police were ordered to look out for drivers who mounted rubber covers on the wheels of their carriages and to tell them not to drive fast down narrow streets on rainy days so that they would not splash the clothes or even the faces of pedestrians. Drivers who ignored the warnings of the police were to be punished. The newspaper "Vilniaus žinios" (Vilnius News) wrote in its September 8, 1907 issue (No. 139):

> By order of the Chief of Police. Recently the drivers of Vilnius have been completely failing to follow orders about the cleanliness of their clothing and the condition of their harnesses. The drivers' clothes are especially dirty. The Chief of Police of Vilnius therefore orders police officers to make sure that the drivers wear clean clothes. If officers notice a driver dressed in dirty clothes, they must inform the Chief of Police immediately so that the offender can be disciplined.

In December of 1911 the Governor punished 105 drivers by imposing fines ranging from 50 kopecks to 10 rubles or by ordering arrests lasting from one to seven days. These sentences were imposed on drivers who demanded more than the set fare from passengers, or were impolite, mistreated horses or committed other infractions. A total of 42 carriage drivers and drivers who transported goods in wagons were punished for various infractions in the summer of 1914. The sentences ranged from fines of three to 15 rubles to arrests lasting from two to seven days.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the cost of a carriage ride would change every few years. In 1910 a ride from the center of town (the Central Post Office at Town Hall Square was considered the center of town) to the railroad station from 7 o'clock in the morning to midnight cost 35 kopecks for a first

class carriage and 30 kopecks for a second class carriage. From midnight to 7 o'clock in the morning the same ride cost 40 and 35 kopecks respectively. A driver's services within city limits during the day cost 20 kopecks for first class and 15 kopecks for second class. At night the cost was 25 and 15 kopecks. A one-hour ride cost 50 kopecks for first class, 40 kopecks for second class. The cost of a ride to the edges of town had to be agreed upon in advance. At that time a liter of sour cream cost 80 kopecks, a kilogram of carrots cost 8 kopecks, and a kilogram of chocolate candy cost 3 rubles.

On November 3, 1911, the city council created a commission to set new fares for drivers. The commission prepared a proposal for the city council – a projected ordinance consisting of 65 points. The city council decided that such an ordinance would be hard to understand. The project was shelved, and work on a new project began. Debate on this project took some time. A new fare schedule for drivers was approved only at a meeting of the city council on April 4, 1913: the fare would be 20 kopecks – in the center of town, 5 kopecks – for waiting, 30 kopecks – from 11:00 p.m. to 6 o'clock in the morning, 35 kopecks – to and from the railroad station, 40 kopecks – at night, 50 kopecks – for a trip lasting an hour with stops (60 kopecks at night), 1 ruble – for a non-stop trip, an extra charge of 5 kopecks for a third passenger. It was decided not to divide drivers into classes any longer.

Drivers did not disappear when Germany occupied Vilnius during the First World War. Some of them were able to save not only their carriages, but also their harnesses and horses from requisition. The services of a driver cost 50 pfennigs for a ride lasting a quarter of an hour. Anything lasting longer, even if it was only a minute longer, required payment for an additional quarter of an hour. In 1917 the German occupation government ordered first-class drivers to tie a white band with the letter "M" on their left arms. The same letter had to be written on the car-

The carriage number.

riage. The drivers could transport only German officers or civilians with documents establishing their German citizenship.

After the First World War and the battles over Vilnius had ended, drivers were the only remaining means of public transportation in Vilnius. In November of 1922 the city government of Vilnius issued new rules for drivers. According to these rules, a person who wished to take up the trade of driver was required to pass an examination on his knowledge of the city, and he could not be wanted by the police. As before, each driver was required to have two bronze number medallions issued by the city government. He had to wear one on this shoulder, and he had to keep the other one in his pocket. The apparel of drivers was changed. Instead of the Russian "tulup" and "papacha" they had to wear a dark blue overcoat with two rows of metal buttons in front and a dark blue hat with a visor. Harnessing horses with wooden hoops was prohibited. English or Cracovian-style harnesses were required instead. These rules took effect on April 1, 1923. These changes entailed significant supplemental costs which made the already difficult job of driver even more burdensome. The newspaper "Krašto balsas" (The Voice of the Country) wrote about these rule changes in its February 2, 1923 issue (No. 26):

> The government commissioner entered into an agreement with the magistrate to issue driving permits and numbers only to those professional city drivers who obtain "Cracovian harnesses". Many drivers will have to give up their jobs because buying new harnesses is not easy in these times of high costs. The advent of this new type of harness will give the Poles a chance to brag that Polish culture is superior.

In August of 1923, the drivers went on strike for almost a week because of these new rules and because they had not received a change in the fare schedule from the magistrate. However, the rules were not rescinded.

The economic and political situation in Poland was compli-
cated at that time. Inflation was very high. Horse-drawn trolleys no
longer operated in Vilnius, and there were almost no automobiles
or motorcycles in the city. Changes in fares for city transportation
reflected this – in January of 1923, the fare was 1,500 Polish marks,
in May – 5,000, in August – 15,000, and in April of 1924 it reached
900,000 Polish marks. The association of drivers sought to mitigate
the effect of inflation by suggesting that the magistrate connect the
fare with the cost of oats. At the end of 1924 the situation of drivers
got worse, or at least so the drivers claimed, because buses began
to operate in the city. In fact the situation was this: on January 1,
1925, there were 530 registered drivers in Vilnius. By August 1st
of the same year, there were already 541. Earlier most drivers had
kept three or four horses, but now most of them kept only one.
The situation of goods transporters appeared to be even worse. In
1924 there were 760 of them, but within a year their number de-
creased to 240. Registered hand-drawn wagons for transporting
goods (pulled manually by humans) decreased to 69. Concluding
that this number was not accurate, the city government decided
to register the hand-drawn wagons again. An interesting fact: in
the beginning of 1925 the drivers' association created a company
named "Autodor" to transport passengers by bus. In June of that
year a "Berliet"– brand bus began operating in the city.

A letter from Vilnius Police Commander Leszczyński to
the representative of the Polish government in Vilnius, dated
August 11, 1926, provides an idea of what the drivers of Vil-
nius were like in the third decade of the twentieth century:

> The on-going inspection of drivers' carriages has encouraged
> me to speak on this issue:
> The status and appearance of carriage drivers in the city of Vilnius,
> compared with drivers in small towns alone, cannot under any cir-
> cumstances merit designation as the means of transportation for
> a major metropolis. It is this circumstance, as well as the fact that

drivers do not follow the simplest traffic regulations, which has encouraged me to take strong measures against manifestations of negligence and rule violations. I began to do so a year ago, but the results have been so insignificant that I am now convinced that the situation cannot be improved by the use of police powers.

There has been improvement in adherence to major traffic rules, but the appearance of the drivers remains repulsive, and it is clear that the drivers do not care about their appearance.

The true cause of this situation is the indulgence the government shows to drivers; the way drivers are examined clearly demonstrates this. The carriages submitted for inspection should have been declared unacceptable long ago: their frames are cracked, their metal parts are broken and glued together, their multi-colored seat cushions are patched, their wheels dangle from their axles in every direction, and are bandaged with pieces of rubber, etc. Every owner of a carriage rubs his carriage with grease before the inspection to make it look better to the inspection commission. It must be added that most carriages are old-fashioned (ugly and uncomfortable), that their retractable roofs have holes and patches, that the harnesses are unfit, and the drivers' clothes could be a lot better. The only way out of this situation would be to ban such drivers from city transportation work...

In the fourth decade of the twentieth century, thanks to the efforts of the city government, drivers, their carriages and their horses had a much neater appearance, even though the struggle against negligent drivers continued. A vigorous struggle against negligent drivers began in June of 1935. Inspections took place in various city locations almost daily. Drivers who violated the rules were arrested for a period lasting from two to seven days.

The fare was always an important issue. In 1935 the fare for a first class coach ride was 90 farthings during the day, 1.2 zlotys at night, while a second class coach ride cost 70 farthings during the day and 1 zloty at night. In November of 1937 the

Vilnius horse drivers.

city council considered the issue of drivers and designated 77 locations where drivers were allowed to pick up passengers. The costs of carriage services were reduced.

In August of 1937, disputes between Christian and Jewish drivers surfaced. Christian drivers had earlier joined together into a professional "Christian Drivers Alliance", even though a professional "Drivers of Vilnius Alliance" encompassing all drivers had been created in Vilnius in 1919. On August 4, 1937, a driver named Jozefas Vieromiejus took on a Jewish passenger. Jewish drivers nearby called out to the passenger "to jest goj". The passenger transferred to a Jewish driver, while the other Jewish drivers dragged J. Vieromiejus out of his carriage and began to kick him. A policeman arrived in time to break up the fight. Berkas Kšyelis was arrested. Later five more Jewish drivers who had participated in the fight were arrested. A few weeks later another fight broke out, confirming that Jewish drivers (and others) were continuing their struggle with drivers of other faiths. Hirša Mendelevičius, a Jew, hired a Christian driver, who agreed to drive him at a reduced fare. When they arrived at their destination, Abramas Tamusas attacked and beat H. Mendelevičius because he saw that he had gotten out of a Christian carriage. Later the circumstances of the fight were explained differently, but the essence of the conflict remained – Jewish drivers insisted that Christians never drive their Jewish clients, while Christian drivers insisted that they had the right to drive all passengers. The police were able to quell the conflict which had become public, but enmity between Jewish and Christian drivers remained. In those days nationalistic feelings appeared in other facets of daily life as well.

Life was changing very quickly not only in Vilnius but in all of Europe in the last years of the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Not only national borders, but people's lives changed. After Lithuania regained Vilnius, the mayor, Konstantinas Stašys, issued an order on December 23, 1939, entitled "The procedure for the business of transporting passengers and cargoes within

the borders of the city of Vilnius". The order took effect on January 1, 1940. A few months later the newspaper "Vilniaus balsas" (The Voice of Vilnius) wrote: "More than 600 drivers have been registered in Vilnius." The Soviets occupied Lithuania in June of 1940, and by the end of the year only 338 drivers were left.

Statistical yearbooks named "Rocznik statystyczny Wilna" provide the following figures for drivers who worked in Vilnius:

Year	Number of Drivers	Year	Number of Drivers
1926	547	1932	520
1927	577	1933	533
1928	519	1934	591
1929	544	1935	570
1930	409	1936	600
1931	520	1937	578

The number of drivers in Vilnius stayed practically the same during the 20-year Polish occupation of Vilnius. Drivers survived even though buses and taxis became prevalent, industry developed, and the city expanded in that time period.

The Horse-drawn Trolley or "Konkė" in Vilnius

The history of trolleys in Europe began in 1854 when horse-drawn wagons began traveling on rails constructed on the streets of Paris. Horse-drawn trolleys quickly spread to other European cities.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Vilnius expanded, as did many other cities in Europe and Czarist Russia. Its suburbs grew, and new industrial establishments sprouted. Pub-

lic transportation was essential for the city. The city parliament of Vilnius, feeling the pressing need to improve public transportation, decided to introduce horse-drawn trolleys. A contest to establish such a horse-drawn trolley system in Vilnius was announced on February 18, 1887. The contest was advertised in many Russian and European newspapers. 23 contestants provided written proposals for a horse-drawn trolley system. On June 30, 1887, the city parliament examined the proposals which the contestants had provided and declared businessman V. A. Viskovatov the winner, even though he was almost at the brink of bankruptcy due to financial problems. Viskovatov agreed to lay tracks at his own expense, to acquire trolleys and to pay the expenses associated with their operation. Before V. A. Viskovatov could sign the contract, he had to provide the city a security deposit. He did not have the money, and so Anatole Gorchakov, an engineer, provided the security deposit with stocks from the Moscow-Kazan railroad worth 15,000 rubles. In Czarist Russia such commercial paper was especially valued. All the formalities were concluded, and on August 25, 1887, Mayor Feliksas Petraškevičius signed the concession contract for the establishment of a trolley system in Vilnius with V. A. Viskovatov.

V. A. Viskovatov had neither the funds, nor the ability, nor ultimately the desire to bring this project into being: he had not even provided the security deposit personally. On September 4, 1887, with the approval of the city parliament, he assigned his contract to A. N. Gorchakov. The contract for the building and operation of trolleys had to be approved by the Governor, by the Construction and Technology Committee, which was part of the Ministry of the Interior for the Russian Empire, and by a construction committee, which was part of the Vilnius city council. Correspondence between these organizations and efforts to coordinate various technical and legal issues lasted until the beginning of 1891.

On April 9, 1891, the city parliament created a special commission to prepare a final plan for a contract to construct

a horse-drawn trolley. On May 16, 1891, the city parliament ratified the new contract, according to which A. N. Gorchakov received exclusive rights to furnish and operate horse-drawn trolleys for passengers and for the transportation of goods for a period of 35 years.

A. N. Gorchakov had already signed agreements for the construction and operation of horse-drawn trolleys with the city councils of the cities of Voronezh, Minsk, Daugpilis and Tula. On July 9, 1892, A. N. Gorchakov transferred his rights to the operation and construction of trolleys in Vilnius to a company he himself had started – "The Horse-drawn Trolleys of Voronezh, Minsk, Daugpilis and Tula Corporation". The headquarters of the corporation was in Moscow, and Moisejus Liachovskis, an engineer in charge of constructing horse-drawn trolleys in Vilnius, was appointed the corporation's representative in Vilnius.

Construction of the first two lines (From Žaliasis (Green) Bridge to the Railroad Station and from Užupis Bridge to Lukiškių Square) was completed in the beginning of April, 1893. On April 15 a special commission inspected the lines at the request of the horse-drawn trolley company itself. Several defects were discovered, and operation of the trolleys was not allowed. On May 26 the same commission conducted another inspection and confirmed that both lines were now safe. A third line, which went from Cathedral Square to Antakalnis, was approved only on July 3.

On June 3, 1893, large wagons harnessed to a pair of horses stood on the tracks at the intersection of Gediminas Prospect and Jogaila Street. A crowd of people gathered. After ceremonial speeches, the wife of the Governor General of Vilnius cut a ribbon to symbolically inaugurate a new type of public transportation in Vilnius – the horse-drawn trolley. The wagons started to move towards the railroad station. The governor and his family and guests rode in the first trolley, while everyone who could, climbed aboard the other wagons. That day the first two lines for the so-called "konkės" trolleys were opened:

1) The Railroad Station - Žaliasis (Green) Bridge line, which covered the route: the Railroad Station - Sodų (Garden) Street - Pylimo (Rampart) Street - Pamėnkalnis Street - Vasario 16tos (February 16) Street - Gediminas Prospect - Vilnius Street - Žaliasis Bridge.

2) The Vilnelė River Bridge in Užupis - Lukiškių Square line, which covered the route: Maironis Street - Barbora Radvilaitė Street - Cathedral Square - Gediminas Prospect - Lukiškių Square.

3) A month later a third line was opened – the Cathedral Square - Antakalnis line, which covered the route from Cathedral Square to the edge of the city by way of Antakalnis Street. At the end of the line there was a ferry across the Neris River. The total length of the lines was 9 "varsts" (about 1.3 miles). In winter, trolleys on the Antakalnis line traveled only to the Glazeris House and did not drive from the Cathedral to Užupis at all: there were too few passengers, and clearing the snow was very expensive.

There were no stations. The trolley would stop wherever a passenger asked it to stop, excluding turns and inclines. On May 25, 1908, the comic newspaper "Litwin" published a short humoresque entitled "On a Trolley to Antakalnis": "Mister Conductor, please stop. The trolley soon stops. Please drive another 30 steps, because I have to get off in front of my house." The company which operated the lines had to draw up timetables to mark departure times of trolleys from the terminal stations. The trolleys had to leave not less than every hour and not more than every 5 minutes. The discrepancy was truly great. The police oversaw trolley traffic.

The tracks were generally laid in the middle of the street, and where there was enough room, a second track was added so that trolleys could pass each other. The tracks were one meter wide. A cross-section of track was in the form of a "U".

More than 150 workers worked in the trolley factory. Work started at 7 a.m. and lasted until 10 p.m. A trolley held 14 passen-

gers. The trip cost 5 kopecks. Police officials could ride for free in the front, next to the driver, provided they were in uniform and on duty. Passengers who rode regularly were given a 30% fare discount, while students got a 50% discount. Transportation of goods cost no more than 1 kopeck per "pood" (about 36 pounds).

According to the contract, trolley owners were supposed to pay the city treasury 4,500 rubles a year for the first 10 years, 5,000 rubles for the next 10 years, and 5,500 rubles for the remaining 15 years. The company abided by these requirements. Public transportation was useful for the city. City dwellers in Vilnius used trolleys ("konkės") despite the price of a ticket because there was no other means of public transportation except for drivers, whose services were even more expensive.

On May 24, 1895, the city council allowed the trolley company to create a shortcut for the Žaliasis Bridge - Railroad Station line by laying track on Jogaila Street. However, the Technical Committee of Russia's Ministry of the Interior did not approve this decision: Jogaila Street was too narrow. In 1897, after long deliberations, it was decided that a track would be laid on Vilnius Street and on Islandija Street, which intersected it, up to Pylimas Street. On Vilnius Street the tracks did not run in the middle of the street, but rather on its sides. There was no room for the trolleys ("konkės") to pass each other. In the same year, tracks were laid from Lukiškių Square to Žvėrynas (Zoo) Bridge.

In the summer of 1897, representatives from the horse-drawn trolley company asked the city council to let them lay track on Kalvarijų Street to Žalgiris Street across Žaliasis Bridge and to allow them to charge a fare of 5 kopecks for a trip on this line. In 1898 representatives of homeowners and residents on Kalvarijų Street asked the city council to speed up its decision on this issue. In 1905 the administration of the Verkiai Paper Factory presented a draft project to the city council to lay a horse-drawn trolley line from the Verkiai Paper Factory to its warehouse. The route was to go through

the town of Baltupiai, then follow Kalvarijų Street to Žaliasis Bridge, by Lukiškių Square, and then to the warehouse by way of J. Basanavičius Street, Švitrigaila Street and Panerių Street. This route was chosen so that merchandise could be transported. A Mr. Schwartz, who was the head of the Verkiai Paper Factory, planned to transport 300,000 "poods" of merchandise each year. The merchandise would be transported at night, while passengers would ride the line during the day. This suggestion to lay a new line across Žaliasis Bridge on Kalvarijų Street was not realized for unknown reasons, even though it would have accelerated development of this part of the city.

The trolley ("konkė") ran quite well during its first decade of operation, but afterwards operation deteriorated.

The trolley administration had a profit of 5,779 rubles in 1904, but in 1905 it had a loss of 1,584 rubles. In later years attempts to generate a profit were unsuccessful.

The situation of company employees was hard. Drivers, conductors and controllers did not get a regular salary, but only daily wages: the wage for drivers was counted in kopecks, conductors would get one ruble, controllers – 1.2 rubles. Anyone who worked only a half-day would get half of the daily wage. A work day lasted from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m., i.e. 16 hours, but in reality it lasted up to 18 hours because after the drivers returned to the trolley park, they had to take care of the horses, the conductors had to prepare the financial accounts, etc. For this reason the work day would last until midnight or 1 a.m. Only six hours were left for sleep. One hour was allowed for lunch. There was no harder job in the city than work on the Vilnius trolleys, but indigents strove to get hired there, because it was hard to get a job elsewhere.

On December 17, 1909, the city council held a meeting and decided to buy out the trolley company concession for 372,000 rubles and to start building an electrical trolley system. However, funds were not allocated for this project

in the city budget. The Governor of Vilnius did not approve this decision of the city council because borrowing money by issuing bonds was allowed only for construction of city sewers. Afterwards this issue was raised repeatedly, but it remained unresolved as did the project for an electrical trolley system.

The administration of the trolley company did not pay enough attention to the trolley park and did not react to criticisms and demands from city government. That is why the city government imposed fines in accordance with paragraph 25 of the concession contract. However, it was clear that the "Corporation of Horse-drawn Trolleys in Russian Cities and Suburbs" did not want to invest in an antiquated method of public transportation which no longer met the changing needs of the city. There was another reason: from 1909 onwards the city government, after it had begun work on a project for an electrical trolley system, was negotiating with the heads of the trolley company to buy out the horse-drawn trolley system of Vilnius at the same time. The trolley company initially demanded a million rubles in an effort to take advantage of the situation, but in 1912 it agreed to sell for 394,000 rubles. At that time the city council had not yet finished its project for an electrical trolley system and had not gotten approval from the Czarist Russian government to take a loan of 4,045,000 rubles to construct an electrical trolley system in Vilnius. All permits were received from the Russian government in the spring of 1914, and the city council began to prepare for the construction of an electrical trolley system.

The First World War started in 1914, and in August of 1915 industrial companies and government institutions evacuated Vilnius, and the army requisitioned the remaining horses, bicycles, motorcycles, and automobiles. The horses of the trolleys ("konkės") were requisitioned as well. The administration of the horse-drawn trolley system of Vilnius also left. The trol-

ley wagons and equipment remained in the trolley park in An-
takalnis. On October 18, the German army occupied the city.

City life stabilized a half year after the beginning of the Ger-
man occupation. In February of 1916 Mr. Eysymontas suggested
that the city council reinstitute horse-drawn trolley service. He of-
fered to buy the horses with his own funds, but he asked the city
to let him have the trolley park and the tracks for free. On June 10,
1916, the German mayor of Vilnius signed a contract with Mr. Ey-
symontas. Trolley service required not just horses and tracks. The
horses had to be fed, which was hard to do under war conditions.
The horse-drawn trolley system of Vilnius never really recovered,
neither in 1916 nor in later years. On June 14, 1919, the head of the
technical department of the city government wrote the following
note (Nr. 758) to the city council:

> Regarding the implementation of horse-drawn trolleys, I in-
> form you that during the years of the German occupation, 1917
> and 1918, trolley tracks were removed on Pylimas and Vilnius
> Streets up to Gediminas Prospect. Some of the tracks on Gedi-
> minas Prospect were destroyed. The tracks were used to build
> parapets on Žygimantai Street near Gediminas Hill. For the rea-
> sons stated above, a trolley system cannot be installed in this
> important part of the city. Only the Antakalnis line beginning
> in Cathedral Square has not been destroyed, but track repairs
> would be necessary in order to operate the Antakalnis line.

The history of horse-drawn trolleys in Vilnius, which had
lasted two decades, came to an end.

The "Konkės" Trolley Park

In 1893 a circus building in Lukiškių Square, belonging to
Šlioma Šimelevič-Gurevič, a resident of Vilnius, was made avail-
able as a temporary rental property for housing trolley wagons

and horses. In October of that year, the Vilnius city council allowed Major-General Fiodorov, an agent of the trolley company, to build a trolley park in the Antakalnis neighborhood, between Smėlio and V. Grybo Streets. By the end of the year, wagons and horses were transferred from Lukiškių Square to the new trolley park, which had two buildings for stables (each holding 64 horses) and two buildings for wagons (one for 20, the other for 16 wagons). Later a third stable was built. There had been a residence and a warehouse for oats at that location in addition to the buildings mentioned above. In 1896 a warehouse for hay was built on the grounds of the trolley park in place of a proposed second residence. All of the buildings were wooden and had tin roofs. Two years later a smith's forge was built on the grounds of the trolley park. A nameless street which traversed the park was soon named Konnozheleznaja, but later it was changed to Tramvajų (Trolley) Street.

In 1897, the value of the entire trolley park of Vilnius, which consisted of 142 horses, 23 closed wagons, nine open wagons and one wagonette, was listed as 288,244 rubles and 50 kopecks.

In 1913, which was 20 years after the trolley park had begun operation, the city council conducted an inspection of the park (except for the wagons and horses there). The inspection revealed that the condition of the buildings was bad, the supporting structures were rotten, the railroad planks had decayed completely in places: the general condition of the trolley park was deplorable.

Trolleys with an Internal Combustion Engine

On May 1, 1924, by court order all of the possessions belonging to the horse-drawn trolley company and still remaining in Vilnius were turned over to the magistracy. It is likely that the magistracy was more interested in the plot of land on Tramvajų (Trolley) Street than in the trolley park itself. Soon a six horsepower gas motor engine was installed into one of the horse-drawn trolley wagons which had survived in good

condition, and a test drive with this motorized trolley was con-
ducted. A week later the issue of trolleys generated considerable
discussion at a meeting of the city council: it was noted that the
first trial run of the trolley was a success. A majority of the coun-
cil members expressed the opinion that a concession contract
should not be signed haphazardly with some unknown compa-
ny. The city technology department, headed by L. Piegutkovsky,
an engineer, was entrusted with addressing this issue. 15,000
zlotys were allocated for this purpose. The decision was made
to begin the trolley route at the Antakalnis line. The newspaper
"Vilenskoje utro" reported in its May 25, 1924 edition:

> Yesterday at 11 a.m. a trial run of the trolley on the Cathedral
> Square-Antakalnis-Pospieška line was conducted. Engineer L.
> Piegutkovsky was the driver. The passengers included mem-
> bers of the magistracy. Mayor V. Bankovsky sat in front. Even
> though in many places the road and the tracks were not in good
> condition, the wagon reached Pospieška station, and the trip
> only took 18 minutes. On the way back there were two stops:
> the first – because of engine failure, the second – because the
> wagon jumped the tracks. Due to these interruptions, the trip
> back took 22 minutes. Afterwards, a full wagon of passengers
> was driven to Pospieška station and back.

In June the tracks by Cathedral Square were renovated: at
the intersection of Arsenalo (Arsenal) Street and Tilto (Bridge)
Street a ring of tracks was constructed so that the trolleys could
turn around. The same thing was done at Pospieška station.
Two trolley wagons had already been furnished. L. Piegutk-
ovsky planned to furnish a third wagon which would be able
to operate in winter. Regular trolley service was scheduled to
begin in August. In the beginning of September of 1924 only
one motorized "konkė" trolley wagon began operating on the
Antakalnis line. It had room for 14 passengers. This tiny wagon
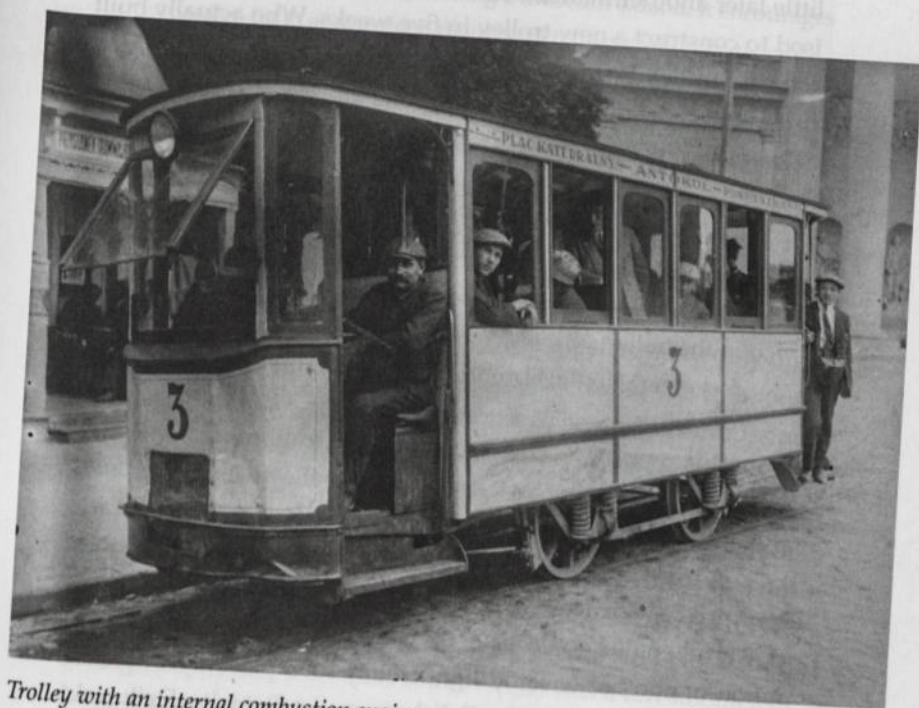
Trolley with an internal combustion engine.

was very popular with city dwellers and was often full. Once, one of the axles of the wagon broke due to the load, and the trolley was out of service for a whole day.

In November of 1924 the magistracy made a contract with the "Samochód" company for the manufacture of trolley wagons. The firm promised to manufacture a wagon every six weeks. A little later another manufacturer, Engineer Šymon Linde, promised to construct a new trolley in five weeks. Who actually built the new trolley is unclear, even though the magistracy decided that two trolley cars should be built in Vilnius. The newspaper "Dziennik Wileński" wrote in its 1925, No. 17 edition:

> Even though a bus route has been planned for the Antakalnis line, the magistracy is getting ready to send out two new trolleys with 22 horsepower motor engines. The trolleys are being constructed in the trolley park (99 Antakalnis Street) and in the Piotrovsky factories (13 Trakų Street). Construction is nearing completion.

This report and the strength of the motor engine suggest that the motor engine installed into the trolley was a very cheap and antiquated "Ford Model T" automobile engine.

A trial run of the new 16-passenger trolley was conducted on April 7, 1925. It was successful, but it was noted that a more powerful engine could have been used. A trial run and inauguration of another covered light trolley took place by Cathedral Square on October 20. The Polish journalist Stanislav Dzikovsky wrote the following about this trolley, the so-called "piegutka" of Vilnius, in the journal "Tygodnik ilustrowany" (August 1, 1925 edition, Nr. 31):

> The so-called "piegutka", a suburban trolley, rides by. One must marvel at the creativity of the Vilnius city magistracy, which helped to construct this means of transportation in such a wonderful way by uniting the "konkė" with an old-fashioned gas mo-

tor, which looks like it must have been the first such motor con-
structed in the world. The cleverly constructed machine shakes,
crackles, hisses, twitches, the passengers' teeth rattle, their heads
hit the ceiling, they awkwardly elbow each other, but the "piegut-
ka", contrary to the dire predictions of the pessimists, pushes for-
ward at the pace of four kilometers per hour. For its educational
value it almost merits becoming a museum exhibit. It encourages
passers-by to give serious thought to transportation in general.

In the autumn of 1926, the audit commission of the mag-
istracy completed its audit and found many infractions and
deficiencies. The most serious ones were in the financing of the
city trolleys which had suffered losses of 18,000 zlotys over the
previous half-year. This was not surprising because, previous-
ly, four trolley cars, costing several hundred thousand zlotys,
had been constructed on orders of the magistracy, but only one
trolley was in operation, and even this one trolley did not oper-
ate daily, but only 20 days per month. The audit commission
suggested that the trolley business be turned over to private
hands, but no one showed any interest in this business.

The Vilnius trolley operated on and off for more than 30
years. The city government – whether Czarist or Polish – was un-
able to actualize the electric trolley project, nor was it able to revive
the three routes which had been in use before the First World War.
A single route, the Antakalnis route, which was a few kilometers
long, was not able to cover all of the operational costs, and so in
1930 the city budget allocated 6,000 zlotys to dismantle the tracks
of the Antakalnis trolley line, and almost 9,000 zlotys to repair the
streets after the tracks had been dismantled. That is how the his-
tory of the Vilnius trolley came to a close. In Kaunas the horse-
drawn trolley system was closed and officially "buried" on April
15, 1929, but in Vilnius it "died" quietly and imperceptibly.

Translated by RIMAS ČERNIUS

In memoriam Alfred Erich Senn

Alfred Erich Senn, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, passed away on March 7 at his home in Madison. He was 83 years of age. Senn was born on April 12, 1932 in Madison to Alfred Senn, a prominent Swiss-born scholar of philology, and the former Marija Eva Vedlugaite. The couple had married in Lithuania, where the older Senn held a university appointment. They had recently emigrated with their two daughters to the United States to take up a position at the University of Wisconsin and later moving to Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania shortly after their son's birth. The younger Senn took great pride in his two heritages, which found reflection in his subsequent scholarship.

After completing his primary and secondary education in Philadelphia, Senn enrolled at the University Pennsylvania, where he received an Honors BA in International Relations in 1953. He then entered graduate study in History at Columbia University – home to the Russian Institute, one of

the country's pioneering centers in "Soviet Studies" – where he earned his MA, a certificate in International Relations, and his Ph. D. in the space of five years. His doctoral thesis, written under the supervision of Henry L. Roberts, served as the basis for the first of ten books and monographs. Entitled *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania* (Columbia University Press, 1959), this work reconstructed the events and figures leading to the creation of Lithuania at the Paris Peace Conferences following World War I.

Having held temporary instructorships at Hunter College, Rutgers, and Fordham during the two years straddling the completion of his doctorate, in 1960 Senn received a position as Assistant Professor of History at the Newark campus of Rutgers University. The next year he accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, where he spent the balance of his academic career. In 1965 he earned promotion to the rank of Associate Professor, achieving the rank of Professor in 1967. He retired as Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in June 1998.

Senn enjoyed an enviable career as both scholar-author and teacher. He was a prolific and versatile historian, whose subjects ranged widely in a profession that, during his career, came increasingly to value narrow specialization. In addition to his longer publications, he produced more than 150 articles, encyclopedia entries, reviews, commentaries and essays, a sum that does not include his frequent contributions to *Akiračiai*, the influential Lithuanian émigré periodical published in Chicago. His interests ranged from the political history of interwar Lithuania and Poland, to the history of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, as well as the history of the modern Olympics. Many of his studies reached well beyond the groves of academe. To name only two examples, a book he wrote on the small community of

Russian revolutionaries in his father's homeland during the first years of the twentieth century—*The Russian Revolution in Switzerland* (University of Wisconsin, 1971)—became an important source for Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Lenin in Zurich*. By the same token, Senn's account, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games* (Human Kinetics, 1999), of how the Olympic Games became an arena of ideological as well athletic competition during the 1930s and the Cold War, has become a standard reference for historians of modern sport. It was translated into Chinese in time for the Beijing Summer Games of 2008.

If Senn's interest in the history of the Russian expatriate community in Switzerland reflected one side of his parentage, the latter part of his career saw him honor the Lithuanian roots bequeathed him by his mother, from whom he acquired his understanding of the language. His interest in Lithuania had figured prominently in his first two books on interwar Lithuania, but his commitment to the history of that country received new inspiration from historical happenstance – what he would have called "dumb luck" – when he spent the 1988-89 academic year in what was then the Lithuanian SSR. As a foreigner with a good command of Lithuanian, and as someone who had developed good contacts in the local academic community – including his friend and colleague Alfonsas Eidintas – Senn got to witness the rise of *Sąjūdis*, one of the many national movements that arose throughout the Soviet Union, but particularly in the Baltic states, that became the impetuses for these republics' ultimate separation from the crumbling Leninist project.

In his seminal *Lithuania Awakening* (University of California Press, 1990), Senn offered a riveting ethnography of a movement that took shape under the still omnious carapace of the Soviet party-state, only to gather political relevance as the struggles over *glasnost* and *perestroika* in Moscow gave

hope to those desiring a freer, and ultimately a free nation. On the one hand, Senn's account gave readers a rare on-the-ground glimpse of how long-submerged grievances, memories, and aspirations found in Gorbachev's USSR, the space to express their desire for a new politics and way of life. On the other, his scholar's perspective, supplemented by his wide network of contacts on all political sides (of which there were many) in the increasingly fraught political situation, resulted in a portrayal of the complex conflicts and compromises that resulted in Lithuania's reclamation of its statehood in September, 1991. As much as any of his works, *Lithuania Awakening* cemented Senn's reputation as an insightful observer of the long- and short-term histories of the new Lithuania, a status that received recognition with his induction as the first foreign scholar in the Historical Section of Lithuania's Academy of Science.

Senn's involvement with the fledgling restored republic extended far beyond the scholar's isolated office. With the support of a gift from his sister and brother-in-law, in the early 1990s, he established a program to host young Lithuanian scholars for a year of study and research at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He designed a program to provide these products of the Soviet education system a grounding in American approaches to scholarship and debate as a means to help create the intellectual infrastructure for a post-Soviet Lithuania. These "Senn Scholars" came from across the spectrum of the new Lithuanian politics, spanning ardent nationalists to future diplomats and historians who now occupy senior positions in their respective professions. Senn himself contributed actively to this process, continuing to produce historical studies of interwar and contemporary Lithuania, as well as serving regular stints as a visiting professor at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas beginning in 1996 and continuing well into the new century.

Even as he produced a broad and varied body of scholarship, Senn served his home institution in Madison as a valued teacher. Generations of undergraduates flocked to his lectures on the history of the Soviet Union or Poland, and especially to his fabled course on sports history, one of the first of its kind in this country. In a department that enjoyed a prominence or notoriety for its political engagement, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, Senn's skepticism of an ideology unleavened by fact and an enthusiasm lacking experience, provided a needed corrective to those inclined to apotheosize or demonize the Soviet Union. Likewise, Senn's skepticism demystified the realm of sports, too often inclined to its own similar passions. In both cases, his easy command of facts and his ability to cast them in a clear narrative, enabled students to develop their own perspectives on complex issues, especially since he was an accessible and encouraging interlocutor. These same qualities, allied to his own intellectual breadth, inspired several generations of graduate students whom he coaxed through the rigors of graduate school and into impressive professional success, whether in the academy or in one of many government agencies. He was the rare advisor whose former protégés all still remember him fondly.

Senn took his multiple callings and enthusiasms seriously, extending to his own practice of the Wisconsin Idea. Thus, his interests in the Soviet Union and sports found new expression in his avocations as one of the first to write press articles about the importance of such Lithuanian athletes as Arvydas Sabonis or, for example, to the success of Soviet basketball, or even serving as interpreter to the Soviet hockey teams visiting Madison to play exhibition games against Bob Johnson's and Jeff Sauer's hockey teams in the 1970s and 1980s. In a much different vein, he also assumed an active role in the local community of Lithuanian ex-pats or descendants who forged civic ties with counterparts in the

homeland, all the while writing frequent commentaries on the Lithuanian political scene for readers in that country or the emigration.

Above all, Alfred Erich Senn's dedication to his calling, his sense of humor and its basis in the skepticism that made him such a good judge of evidence, equipped him surprisingly well for the changes that overtook both his professional environment and the part of Europe he studied. Trained to understand the polarized and ideological world of the Cold War, he chronicled both its breakdown and the emergence of a new order of things. A product of a 1950s academy that looks in retrospect placid and complacent, he adapted to the successive changes and turbulence that have continued to reshape it in the ensuing years. Throughout, he found inspiration – and sheer fun – in pursuing his own curiosities and interests. Whatever the obstacles or occasional indifference he encountered, he made his own path and greatly enjoyed doing so. His readers, students, friends, and colleagues have reaped the rich rewards.

DAVID MCDONALD
Professor of Wisconsin-Madison University

BOOK REVIEWS

Brown details her family's history of the Soviet and Nazi occupations of Lithuania during World War II and its flight west at the end of the war. Her memoir serves more than a personal or family narrative. It details the physical, social, and emotional traumas of the adults enveloping her childhood. As a scholar of the humanities, her research incorporates the experiences of many people during those tumultuous times. Her family history, thus, weaves the memoir of a milieu. She writes an easy to read, fluid narrative. Many émigrés lack their own family histories of the war or may have only limited clues from the period. Brown provides a comprehensive account of the era, with a focus on her family. The Prekeris family represents struggles similar to those of thousands.

Brown writes in the first person "I" narrative, occasionally identifying herself by her childhood name, Dalia. Her father's name is Felicius and her mother's, Stasė, but Brown consistently refers to them as Father and Mother, capitalized. This reflects the Lithuanian colloquial usage of "tėtė" and "mama," although a more accurate translation would have been "Daddy" and "Mommy." Felicius is a grade school prin-

cipal in the town of Smalininkai. Stasė is a housewife who took on domestic, factory, and janitorial work during the war and its aftermath. Brown's sister is Milda, her elder by 8 years. The author's narrative quickly and smoothly transitions between a child's perspective and adult reflections of the times.

Brown begins on 1939 March 23, the day that Hitler arrives in Klaipėda to celebrate the Nazi Anschluss of the region. She is 2 years old at the time, and so she has reconstructed the events from a family memoir combined with background information. Local Lithuanians are forced to flee. Her family temporarily ends up in the capital city Kaunas, but soon settles in Vilnius for most of the war. The USSR invaded Poland and returned Polish-occupied Vilnius to Lithuania in the fall of 1939. The Lithuanian government needed personnel to administer the region, including school officials. The exiled Felicius is one such person. His expertise and apparent lack of political affiliation allows him to serve as a school inspector for the Lithuanians, Soviets, and Nazis.

Brown provides a history lesson in describing the Soviet and Nazi invasions. Her approach humanizes the situation by describing the struggles for housing, clothing, work, and food that her family experienced, as did many. Milda's memories reveal how schools interrogated children to find out what radio programs their parents listened to or what they discussed at home. Little Dalia fears the threat of the "Red Dragon" as a nightmarish ghoul, not realizing it is a metaphor for the Soviets. Against all odds, Felicius somehow manages to avoid enlistment as a Soviet informant. He learns of his family's impending deportation to Siberia and flees.

Life assumes a faux veneer of normality under the Nazis. Felicius continues as school inspector. The endless shortage of food forces the family, like many others, to find shelter

on a farm for their own survival. Malnutrition leads to diph-
theria and near death for Dalia. Without medicine, many die
from disease. Stasė hesitates to save a Jewish child, but re-
solves to do so if the opportunity presents itself (it doesn't).
With children in tow, Stasė ends up as a farm laborer in the
border town of Kybartai: she literally works for food.

Half the book focuses on the family's flight west, ahead
of the Soviet advance. Brown provides a detailed account of
her family's trek with hundreds of thousands of other refu-
gees. At this point, she sometimes digresses with an occa-
sional abundance of seemingly distracting details: collect-
ing luggage, transporting possessions, finding one cart after
another, harnessing a steed, struggling with the steed, etc.
Clearly such childhood memories have left a big impression
on her. Such unique personal details maintain the human fo-
cus of the memoir. Countless Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian,
and Prussian or Volksdeutsche families cross over a thou-
sand kilometers of war-torn Prussia, Poland, and Germany
during the inclement fall, winter, and spring of 1944–1945.
They travel mostly on foot, with the Soviets in close pursuit.
Finding boots and treating blisters, becomes part of the daily
woes. An occasional train ride accelerates the refugees' es-
cape, only to face new setbacks further down the road. Near-
by explosions rattle and illuminate the nights.

Many memoirs of the period finish with the end of the
war. Brown continues with her family's experiences in vari-
ous DP camps, and their struggles for immigration. By now,
Dalia is of school age, and retelling her own experiences.
Again, Brown has supplemented her family's and other refu-
gees experiences with archival research. She presents a com-
prehensive and vivid picture of camp life. The refugees face
an uncertain future, as they hope to emigrate to England, the
United States, or Brazil. Their struggle for housing, food, and
illness continues, now also confounded by a growing crimi-

nality in their midst. The local Germans have no tolerance for the unwanted Ausländer (foreigners), with whom they are forced to share their meager resources.

Refugee authorities are overwhelmed, as their apathy grows for the plight of the refugees. The refugees refuse to repatriate home, now occupied by the Soviet Union. This confounds the authorities, as the Soviets were their allies in defeating the Nazis. Hope prevails, as the refugees establish schools, churches, scouts, choirs, folk dance groups, and other cultural activities. They begin to bring life back to normal. Stasė and Milda find work in England, followed some time later by Felicius with Dalia. Language, culture, and economics divide the English from the refugees, who are treated as Nazi sympathizers. The Prekeris history comes to a conclusion with emigration to the United States.

Several reasons make Brown's family memoir a unique and worthwhile read. A professional author has written it in a talented, narrative style. She sets the detailed experiences of her family in context, giving a personal face to a tragic history. Finally, the specifics of her memoir reflect the experiences of many families during World War II. For those without a history, it provides a template for life and struggle during war.

Alfonsas Eidintas, et al. The History of Lithuania. 2ⁿᵈ rev. ed. Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2015. [http://urm.lt/uploads/default/documents/Travel_Residence/history_of_lithuania_new.pdf; printed edition announced for 2016].

Lithuania's history is the history of the last pagan country in Europe, which was a great European power that stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and then was erased from the maps of the world, only to return in a much truncated form

after World War I. Then, at the hands of Hitler's Nazis and Stalin's Communists, Lithuania experienced all the horrors of World War II as part of what historian Timothy Snyder calls the "Bloodlands". Now, having liberated itself from Soviet Russia, it is once again an independent nation.

The second revised English language edition of *The History of Lithuania* is newly translated and edited by Lithuanian-American historians Skirma Kondratas and Ramūnas Kondratas. The book's authors, four Lithuanian historians, each covers a separate period in Lithuania's history, from its emergence as a state in the thirteenth century, through its joining NATO and the European Union in 2004.

Appropriately illustrated, the book is a good introductory volume to the history of this nation, whose geography put it in the path of its large, bellicose neighbors. A summary outline of Lithuania's history precedes the main text.

The chapters by Alfredas Bumblauskas, "The Grand Duchy of Lithuania" and "Union of the Polish and Lithuanian States," start with the formation of the state. They cover its rise as a multiethnic and multicultural European power which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, its transformation from the last pagan state in Europe, its subsequent union with Poland, and its total loss of sovereignty. This happened in 1797 under the third and final partition of the joint Lithuanian-Polish state by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

Two events during this period are especially noteworthy.

One is the difficult choice faced by Lithuania which forced it in 1569 to enter into the Union of Lublin with Poland, by which it lost much of its sovereignty. The nation had to choose between a total military defeat to Muscovy or an involuntary union with Poland. The different goals of Lithuania and Poland are clearly set out. Vividly portrayed, is the mournful scene at the Sejm in Lublin, Poland, where Lithu-

ania's delegate Jan Chodkiewicz managed to retain but a small shadow of independence for Lithuania.

The second noteworthy event in this section of the book is the Polish king Poniatowski's decision in 1792, with support from seven of his twelve ministers, to capitulate to the Russian army, which led to the first partition of Lithuania-Poland.

It is not possible to ignore the parallel of 1792 to Lithuania's 1940 capitulation to the Soviet Union. Though, contrary to king Poniatowski, in the latter case Lithuania's president Smetona opposed capitulation, but he did not have support from his ministers. Also while in 1940, a military defeat by the Red Army was a certainty, in 1792, according to Bumblauskas, there had still been a possibility of military success against Moscow.

Antanas Kulakauskas, in his chapter "Lithuania under the Russian Empire (1795–1915)," presents all the major events of that period. These include Moscow's oppression, Russification and colonization of the country, the 1831 and 1865 revolts against the Czar's rule, the imposition of the Russian language with the prohibition against Lithuanian books and newspapers, the resultant 40 years of smuggling printed materials from abroad, and the late nineteenth century Lithuanian national awakening.

In the subsequent chapter, Alfonsas Eidintas covers the re-establishment of Lithuania's independence in 1918, including the political and military initiatives that were part of it, as well as the entire interwar period. Eidintas stresses the clear distinction between Lithuania's "nationalism" during the interwar period and the nationalism of its large neighbors: Germany, the Soviet Union, and Poland used their nationalism as a basis for expansionist policies, for occupying other nations' territory. Lithuania's nationalism was, by contrast, defensive, as a response to its expansionist neighbors.

Eidintas sets forth the existing conditions that led to the 1926 putsch, which brought Antanas Smetonas' autocratic presidency to power, as well as the reasoning behind the capitulation to the 1940 Soviet ultimatum.

Mindaugas Tamošaitis, in his two chapters, adequately presents the 50 years of Soviet, German, and then again Soviet occupations, including the resistance to these occupations, and the eventual re-establishment of the nation's independence. For a more in depth view of the brutality of the occupations, and their effect on the cultural, political, economic, and spiritual life of the nation, a highly readable source is *The Tragic Pages of Lithuanian History 1940-1953*, by Vladas Terleckas (Vilnius, 2014, available in English and in Lithuanian).

Tamošaitis makes the not widely accepted assertion, that the post-World War II partisan armed resistance to the Soviets, which lasted 10 years, "redeemed" Lithuania's failure to fight against the Soviet invasion in 1940. Eidintas in his earlier section of the book, negates any assertion that there was anything that needed "redeeming", since a small nation such as Lithuania could not afford to sacrifice its people in a fight they were sure to lose – opposition to the Red Army in 1940 would have been hopeless, would have cost many lives, and devastated the country.

Tamošaitis also gives the impression that during the German occupation, the Lithuanians sent its Lithuanian Territorial Defense Force (LTDF, or "Vietinė Rinktinė") into battle against the Polish Home Army ("Armia Krajowa"). In fact, it was the Germans who sent the LTDF against the Poles, in violation of their agreement with the LTDF's commander, General Povilas Plechavičius. When general Plechavičius, on May 9, 1944, learned of this, he ordered the LTDF to withdraw. For that, and other disagreements with the Germans, including the successful opposition which prevented the

formation of a Lithuanian SS battalion, on May 15, 1944, the German SS arrested General Plechavičius and members of his staff, and sent them to the Salaspils concentration camp in Latvia. Thus, general Plechavičius and the LTDF are incorrectly presented as fighting against the anti-fascist Armia Krajowa, when in fact Plechavičius and his troops unrelentingly acted in opposition to the fascist Germans.

The final chapter, "The Singing Revolution" sets forth how Lithuanians used Mikhail Gorbachev's "perestroika" to reestablish Lithuania's independence. On March 11, 1990, Lithuania, the first of the Soviet republics to do so, declared that it was an independent nation, which, as Tamošaitis notes, contributed much to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Some of the events leading up to independence are presented in vivid detail – the 670 kilometer long "Baltic Way" when 2 million people joined hands in 1989 across the three Baltic nations – Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia – to demonstrate their desire for independence; the 1990 Soviet economic blockade of Lithuania; Soviet tanks and the massacre of unarmed civilians at the Vilnius TV tower; and anticipation of international recognition of Lithuania's independence.

The book contains two interesting observations about Gorbachev's role in those final events. One was Gorbachev's argument to the Lithuanians that of all the Soviet republics, Lithuania alone was able to squeeze the most out of the Soviet system, and therefore should be content to stay within it. The second, that the West, especially the US, delayed recognizing Lithuania's independence because it had embraced Gorbachev as a reformer, and recognition of Lithuania's independence would undermine his position.

The book is written and organized in a narrative manner that makes the subject accessible to a wide audience, especially for someone encountering Lithuania's history for the first time. With a rather detailed table of contents, an index of

names at the end, and a list of suggested material for further reading, the book can also serve as a useful reference work.

DONATAS JANUTA

Ellen Cassedy. We Are Here: Memories of The Lithuanian Holocaust.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.

Arriving in Vilnius with a desire to learn Yiddish, her *mame-loshn* (mother tongue), American journalist Ellen Cassedy traces her *Litvak* (Lithuanian Jewish) roots in a journey of personal discovery. Like papers in an archive, Ellen Cassedy shuffles through the complicated pages of the history of Jews in Lithuania, inviting readers to travel with her as she uncovers her family's past and a better understanding of contemporary Lithuania. *We Are Here* is not a history book, but it opens a window to a past that spent 50 years under the shroud of the Iron Curtain and the way that past is seen now.

Cassedy approaches the Holocaust in Lithuania through two angles: the story of her Uncle Will, a Jewish policeman in the Shavl (Šiauliai) ghetto, and the story of Steponas, a Lithuanian who wants to "speak to a Jew" and was a resident of Rokiškis during the liquidation of its Jewish population. Cassedy struggles to identify the roles these men played during the Nazi occupation of Lithuania (1941–1944). Uncle Will actively participated in the *kinderaktsye* (deportation of Jewish children) – but also attempted to save lives and suffered as an inmate in Dachau. Steponas risked German retaliation by throwing carrots to incarcerated Jews – but failed to prevent their death. Are these men bystanders, collaborators, rescuers, or victims (p. 258) – or a combination of the above?

Through tours and archives (facilitated by Lithuanians of both Jewish and gentile backgrounds), Cassedy travels back through time to address these questions and learn about the flourishing pre-war Vilnius community in what Napoleon dubbed the "Jerusalem of the North," the boundaries of the ghettos, and the remaining Jewish populations in modern Lithuania. As she learns Yiddish, she uncovers the Jewish literary culture, and includes many translations of poetry in the volume. Cassedy herself contributes to her literary heritage, composing poetry of her own based on her discoveries of the past. The book itself is a compelling literary narrative that engrosses the reader.

We Are Here is a contribution to historical memory, but the book is not about Lithuania, it is specifically about *Litvaks*. Cassedy has not written a comprehensive examination of the Nazi and Soviet regimes in Lithuania – this focus does not diminish the value of her work, but readers of this book should not expect a historian's objective analysis. Cassedy writes with an American perspective that has a narrow understanding of Soviet history. References to "national bourgeoisie" and the "Great Patriotic War" elude her (p. 113), and she struggles to understand why the Holocaust is not a main historical narrative in Lithuanian collective memory.

Stumbling through the multilayered history, Cassedy struggles not to judge Lithuanians. Still, through a series of interviews with "locals" and educators, she eventually grasps why understanding the Holocaust is approached differently in Lithuania. At first she bristles at voluntary seminars for teachers, but gradually comes to appreciate the intended pedagogical and societal purpose of those differences. Program educators "believed that Lithuanians should not be *forced* to accept responsibility for the misdeeds of the terrible years. ... Instead they wanted to *encourage* people to feel their way into the darkness" (p. 197). Though a "less aggressive

approach," Cassedy says it "had opened my eyes and shown me a new way to carry the past" (p. 198).

A deep desire to understand the effects World War II on a significant population in Lithuania, compels Cassedy to investigate painful personal and societal questions. She gradually shifts from hostile defense to listening and comprehension, nevertheless she does not "cease to wonder" about the actions of Jews and Lithuanians during the time period (p. 222, 260). *We Are Here* is one woman's journey to uncover a shrouded past that contributes to a discourse on Lithuanian and Jewish memory.

INDRA EKMANIS

Erratum

In volume 2016 No. 2 short stories by Antanas Ramonas were translated by Jayde Will, however translator's name was omitted. Apologies to the translator.

ABSTRACTS

Long Ago and Far Away – Revisiting Big Stories from Small Countries
ANTANAS ŠILEIKA

This talk was given at a symposium called "Small Cultures in a Big World" in September of 2013 at Tartu College, in Toronto, hosted by the Estonian Studies Centre. In it, Canadian novelist, Antanas Sileika, addresses the problems, opportunities and technical difficulties of writing fiction based on Baltic history aimed at publication in North America. Two years later he gave another talk about books that have recently appeared and dealt with Baltic issues at Santara conference in Alanta held in 2015 and updated a year later.

The Idea of the Union in the Boyar Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania During the Period of the Rule of Stanisław August (1764–1795)
RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

Stanisław August Poniatowski considered the centralization of the state the most important task of his policies. His policies for the consolidation and unification of the executive and court authorities and the creation of a unitary Republic of Poland confronted the efforts of the representatives of the Grand Duchy of

Lithuania to maintain the union relations of Lithuania and Po-
land – with both countries seeking to find in public discourse
the most acceptable alternative projects for the reform of the
"renewal" as well as the "compression" of the Union of Lublin.
The representatives of the political elite of the Grand Duchy of
Lithuania was set against the demands of the "preservation of
the union".

The Drivers of Vilnius
RIČARDAS ŽIČKUS

The life of every city has many components. It would be hard
to imagine a modern city without electricity, running water, a
sewer system or public transportation. Those parts of the in-
frastructure of a modern city which are taken for granted at
the present time came into operation in Vilnius, the capital of
Lithuania, in the beginning of the twentieth century, but public
transportation actually appeared much earlier. Carriage driv-
ers provided the first form of public transportation. They start-
ed transporting passengers on city streets in the second half
of the seventeenth century. They only disappeared in the fifth
decade of the twentieth century. Horse-drawn trolleys known
as "konkės" began operating in Vilnius in 1893. Their opera-
tion broke off once the First World War began. After the war,
buses began to drive the city streets. For a few years, a trolley
with an internal combustion engine transported passengers
from Cathedral Square to the Antakalnis neighborhood. Taxis
appeared on the streets, but it was only in the fifth decade of
the last century that they finally won out against the carriage
drivers.

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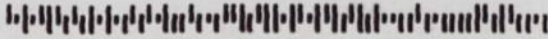
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We need your old as well as your new address, to correct our records.