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Juozas Skirius

HOMELAND LOVERS ASSOCIATION
IN 1896–1904: FORMATION OF THE ORGANIZATION
AND ISSUANCE OF LITHUANIAN BOOKS (1)

Stasys Samalavičius

URBAN LIFE IN LITHUANIA DURING THE SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES (2). INNS

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Arturas (Arthur) Ragauskas
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EARLY CHORAL SINGING IN LITHUANIA

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Homeland Lovers Association in 1896–1904: Formation of the Organization and Issuance of Lithuanian Books (1)

JUOZAS SKIRIUS

Introduction

Having strengthened in the late nineteenth century as a national unit, the Lithuanian Americans began to gradually support their fellow-countrymen in Lithuania, who were under national and religious oppression of Tsarist authorities in both material and cultural terms. The diaspora increased their focus of attention to their native country due to the Kražiai events in 1893 in particular, which came to be referred to as the “Kražiai massacre.” Those events were symbolic of the lamentable situation of the Lithuanians in the Russian Empire and gave an impetus for the Lithuanian diaspora to begin taking care of their fellow-countrymen in Lithuania.¹ The leaders of the diaspora came up with an idea to publish in the USA scientific and fiction books, and to distribute them secretly in Lithuania thus resisting Russification. This way, a special cultural organization – the Homeland Lovers Association was founded in late 1896. This was a breakthrough point in the Lithuanian Americans’ cultural activities. For the first time, they undertook philanthropic activities – to supply Lithuanian residents with Lithuanian books written in Latin letters for free. One active member of the Association – public figure O. Širvydas later wrote about its significance:

¹ Liulevičius, *Išėivijos vaidmuo*, 19–23.

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In its prime, the T.M.D. (*Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija*) has been a large cultural center for the Lithuanian Americans. Several thousands of members of this Association were a true avant-garde of the Lithuanian Americans' national and political life apart from what had been achieved by the issuance of popular scientific books. Over the years, more progressive Lithuanians learnt here an organized life and parliamentarism through T.M.D. branches.²

The Association's education activities were not only one of the factors of significance that mattered in the awakening of the nation, but they also became fundamental for the Lithuanian Americans' traditional distribution of support in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century.

There has been no research of greater width and depth on the history of the Homeland Lovers Association so far. The first attempt to discuss the organization's activities in summary form was a brief history written by Tomas Astramskas that he published in 1911 along with the Association's by-laws. After five years it was reissued supplementing the historical review.³ Subsequent authors, in discussing the organization in more general terms,⁴ mostly on the occasions of various anniversaries, made use of this material and of the memoirs of the figures of the Association.⁵ All of the authors focused their attention on the

² Širvydas, "Tėvynės Mylėtojų draugija," 82–86.

³ Astramskas, Tomas. *Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugijos įstatai ir istorija*. B.V., 1911; *Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija. Įstatai ir Istorija*. Brooklyn, N.Y., 1916.

⁴ Karpavičius, K.S. "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija." In *Sandaros kalendorius*, Boston, B.M., 1924, 35–40; J. VLKS. "Tėvynės Mylėtojų indėlis," *Naujienos*, November 12, 1955, 6–7; *Kovoos metai dėl savosios spaudos*. Ed. priest V. Bagdaničius. Chicago: *Draugas* 1957, 286–287, 295; "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija." In *Lietuvių enciklopedija*. Boston, vol. 31, 1964, 118–120; Ambrose, Aleksas. "Tėvynės Mylėtojų draugija." In *Chicagos lietuvių istorija*, Chicago, 1967, 380–382; "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija." In *Amerikos lietuvių istorija*, ed. Antanas Kučas, Boston, 1971, 178–182.

⁵ Kazakevičia, Jurgis. "TMD įkūrėjai ir darbuotojai," *Vienybė*, June 3, No. 66, 1926, 3; Strimaitis, A.B. "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugijos veikimo apžvalga (1986–1932)," *Vienybė*, February 23, No. 16, 1934, 4; February 27, No. 17, 4; Širvydas, J.O. "Tėvynės Mylėtojų draugija ir jos reikšmė lietuvių gyvenime." In *Pasaulio lietuviai*, ed. P. Ruseckas. Kaunas, 1935, 82–86; Strimaitis, A.B. "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija 1896–1936 m." *Vienybė*, vasario 10, 1936, 20, and other.

publishing of books, the Association's patriotic activities, its ups and downs. They discussed these matters in a fragmentary manner, and mainly before World War I. It is known that this organization was active until the 1960s–70s, though off and on.

The first to take a closer look at the operation of the Association was a Lithuanian American, Vytautas Širvydas. When publishing a book in memory of his father, Juozas Otto Širvydas, Vytautas Širvydas, based on the *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* newspaper, tried to briefly discuss the dispatch of books published by the organization to Lithuania.⁶ Historian Juozas Skirius, researching the life and activities of Bronius Kazys Balutis, a Lithuanian American social figure and a Lithuanian diplomat, widely described his works as chairman of the Association in 1908–1910 in preparing and publishing the writings of Dr. Vincas Kudirka in six volumes.⁷ Literary critic Jonas Šlekys, researching the cultural activities of an active Lithuanian American social figure, priest Jonas Žilius, reminded us that Žilius supported the Association, which was a rare case among the priests at that time. However, the book recalls the Association's activities in only a patchy manner and only until 1905.⁸

The aim of this article is to highlight in greater detail the circumstances of the origin of the Association, the process of its formation and of the formation of its branches; to ascertain the forms and ways of its activities; the efforts and challenges in the distribution of published books among the Lithuanian Americans and in Lithuania; discuss the obstacles encountered in the development of the Association.

The article focusses attention on the first period of the Association's activities – 1896–1904, which coincides with the last period of the ban on the Lithuanian press in Lithuania. From 1905 the leadership of the Association changed their attitude to the character of books to be published due to the revolutionary events in the Russian Empire.

⁶ Širvydas, Juozas O. *Širvydas (1875–1935)*, 246–251.

⁷ Skirius, *Lietuvių visuomenininkas ir diplomatas*, 51–73.

⁸ Šlekys, Jonas Žilius, 102–103.

So far, we are not aware of where the archive of the Association is. Has it survived at all?! The missing information is offset by the Lithuanian American press. For example, the weekly *Vienybė Lietuvininkų*, later – the newspapers *Vienybė* and *Sandara* were the Association's publications – “organs”, which had a dedicated rubric for the highlighting of the Association's matters. Here we find its leadership's resolutions, reports and letters to branches; short descriptions of branch activities, published letters and statements of branch members; information about the Association's financial state, voting of branches, the Association leadership's composition, etc. We also find fairly ample information about the Association and the attitude towards it, as well as towards the activities of individual branches in the liberal weekly with a national leaning, *Lietuva*, which survived in Chicago until 1920. Other Lithuanian American periodicals, too, bore mention of the Association one way or another.

The Origin of the Homeland Lovers Association (Circumstances and Inception)

During the period of the press ban in Lithuania, the Lithuanian books published in the USA had played an important role in the cultural history of Lithuanian American society and of the Lithuanian society in Lithuania. *Amerikos lietuvių 1875–1910 m. bibliografijai medžiaga* (The Lithuanian Americans' material for the 1875–1910 bibliography) compiled by prof. Vaclovas Biržiška shows that in 1875–1904, 553 Lithuanian publications were issued in emigration, one-third of which were translations from other languages. This made up one-seventh of a total of Lithuanian publications which came out in 1547–1904.⁹

The books that were published by 1896 were clearly not only of an educational but also commercial character. Books were published by the editorial boards of different Lithuanian Amer-

⁹ Širvydas, “Amerikos lietuvių knygos 1875–1904,” 241–243.

ican newspapers, organizations, and individuals. A vivid example is *Lietuvių Mokslo draugystė* established on the initiative of Jonas Šliūpas in Baltimore on December 22, 1889, whose purpose was to issue scientific books, newspapers, and overall, to educate the Lithuanians, strengthen their national awareness through education. To habituate the fellow-countrymen to the reading of books, the ambition was to establish bookstores under the Association's branches that were being established. However, as the Association began to spread freethinking, it received a fair amount of reproof, began to break up, and finally closed in April 1896.¹⁰ It must be noted that the publishers in the USA considered the distribution of their production also in Lithuania.

The origin of the Homeland Lovers Society may have been influenced by the resolutions of the 10th seimas of quite an influential organization – *Susivienijimas Lietuvių Amerikoje* (the Union of the Lithuanians in the USA) (hereinafter – *Susivienijimas*) which took place on November 12, 1895, in Shenandoah, PA. The seimas decided to apply to the Tsar by sending him a petition-complaint with a request to facilitate the conditions for the Lithuanians under his authority – to allow the teaching of children at schools in Lithuanian, and to issue books in Lithuanian and in Latin letters. A petition was sent by insured post not only to the Tsar but Russia's Ministers of Justice, the Interior, Treasury, and Education as well. A petition was also sent by ordinary mail to other ministries, Russian democratic newspapers, and famous figures.¹¹ All this was made public among the Lithuanian Americans. It goes without saying, the organization received no answer from the Russian authorities, much to the dismay of the figures of the diaspora.

On 17 June, 1896, the liberal weekly of the Lithuanian Americans, *Vienybė lietuvininkų* published an article, "Tevinainius szelpkim" written by "Pažįstamas Trupinėlio." This was the pseud-

¹⁰ Jakštas, Dr. Jonas Šliūpas. *Jo raštai ir tautinė veikla*. Fotografuotinis leidinys. Šiauliai, 1996, 110–111, 137–138, 162–163; "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija." In *Amerikos lietuvių istorija*, ed. dr. Antanas Kučas, Boston, 1971, 178; Raguotis, B. *Prie išta-
kų: Amerikos lietuvių demokratinės kultūros etiudai*. Vilnius: Mintis, 1981, 51–74.

¹¹ *Susivienijimo Lietuvių Amerikoje istorija*, 106–110.

onym of the then famous Lithuanian American, known publicist and publisher, Tomas Astramskas (1853–1921).¹² This article was an address to the Lithuanian Americans inviting them to send to Lithuania Lithuanian books of various content that would expand Lithuanity, for free. The author himself promised to send one to Lithuania. He advised his fellow-countrymen to send all book gifts to the editorial board of *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* because they knew where the books were to be sent and to whom. According to Astramskas, this idea occurred to him after reading in the newspapers *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* and *Tėvynė* about the movement of Lithuanian youths, in Suvalkai governorate in particular, in distributing Lithuanian newspapers, “establishing secret communities”,¹³ i.e., secret associations. He was convinced that the distribution of books for free was necessary because Lithuanians would read them more and reading “will urge them to come together.”¹⁴ Hence, it was believed that, by way of education of the nation, it would be possible to bring the nation together for a joint fight for its rights. However, initially, as noted by the liberal weekly *Lietuva* of the Lithuanian Americans, the idea was disapproved almost unanimously, though it drew the Lithuanian Americans’ attention to national matters.¹⁵

After approximately a month, the newspaper *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* published an article by Jurgis Kazakevičius, secretary of the *Susivienijimas* Center. Having considered Astramskas’ idea, he began to urge the members of the diaspora – “Homeland lovers” to organize a “Homeland Lovers Association” and pay a few cents into its treasury per month. According to him, the proposed

¹² T. Astramskas was a friend of Petras Arminas-Trupinėlis (1853–1885) – a Lithuanian poet and translator whose pen name he used to create that of his own. There exists an opinion that it was namely Arminas-Trupinėlis who asked Astramskas to send Lithuanian publications to Lithuanian youths from the USA. Vlks J. Tėvynės mylėtojų indėlis (manuscript for the *Naujienos* daily). *KU BRS*. K. Pemkus’ archive, box – (Partijos-organizacijos), byla – (Tėvynės Mylėtojų draugija), l.n.).

¹³ Pažįstamas Trupinėlio, “Tevinainius szelpkim,” 1896, 298.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ “Draugystė Tėvynės mylėtojų,” 1896, 2.

fee was not high, so it was affordable to everyone “as the Lithuanians were not accustomed to high fees yet.” Kazakevičius suggested each paying 5 cents per month (60 cents per year) and only for the Homeland matters, i.e., for the issuance of scientific books. As a result, the more donators, the more funds would be raised. Kazakevičius himself sent to the treasurer of *Susivienijimas* 60 cents for the whole year and urged his fellow-countrymen to consider this matter, saying that an attempt was needed, and “we’ll see that a little thing will bring a considerable benefit to our Homeland.”¹⁶ Individuals who approved of the matter and donated 60 cents began to emerge. They tried to persuade other fellow countrymen by personal example. There already occurred urgings in the press for the diaspora to establish the Homeland Lovers Association, and to contribute to it. It was noted that this was not a one man’s work but the work of all for whom “the love for the Homeland has not yet faded,” for whom “the love for the Homeland in their hearts is stronger than the love for five cents.” There already had been mention of the need to have a newspaper – an organ that would update on the matters of the Association, so each member was aware of the situation.¹⁷ Opinions had been voiced that there was a need to consider the issue of the name of the Association. For example, the Lithuanians of Minersville proposed to name the Association as “Labdaringa” (charitable).¹⁸ However, this name for the Association was not approved, and only the name proposed by Kazakevičius remained.

Since some people began saying that it was the author of this idea who should keep on working with organizing the Association, Astramskas undertook preparation of an outline of its program so it was clear to everyone what kind of organization it would be and for what purpose. On September 16, he published in the *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* newspaper the new Association’s pri-

¹⁶ Kazakevicze, “Reikaluose Tėvynės,” 1896, 358–359. (At that time, a Lithuanian American could earn 1 to 2.5 dollars per day subject to their working place: a tailor shop or a mine.)

¹⁷ J. G. Connecticut, 1896, 407.

¹⁸ Kazakevicze, “Reikale ‘T.M.’ draug.” 1896, 443.

mary articles of association – 13 items incorporating the ideas that other people had also expressed. In the assessment of his primary program,¹⁹ the author expressly wrote that “on my part, this is how I see it”²⁰ and set forth items of which we shall single out the most important. Item 1 provided a monthly payment of 5 cents to be used for the matters of Lithuania. Item 2 had to do with the publishing of books for the Lithuanians in Lithuania “so that by better understanding their nation, they loved it more” in order to strengthen Lithuanity. Item 3 expressly noted that the books published via the Association should not “hinder” one’s faith but put Lithuanity at the forefront. Item 4 set forth that the books issued using the funds of the Association shall be sent to Lithuania, as a gift from the Lithuanian Americans. Item 5 set forth that the books that remain unsent shall be sold to the Lithuanian Americans and this money shall be transferred to the till of the organization. It is true though that the author noted separately that each member of the Association was supposed to get one copy of any issued book. Hence, Lithuanian education shall be provided to the Lithuanian Americans as well. Item 6 noted that books would only be issued when the Association had sufficient funds. This suggests that the organization will avoid being in debt. Item 7 referred to attempts to receive books from authors gratis. Item 10 is important. It set forth that every Lithuanian could be a member of the Association “no matter their faith, and only their love for their Lithuanian nation mattered.” Item 12 noted that there shall be the Central Committee of the Association which shall consist of its president, secretary, manager of affairs, and treasurer. Prior to issuing a book, they shall get acquainted with it and make sure that it may be useful for the Lithuanian people and Lithuanity in general. The responsibilities of each of the Central Committee’s members were discussed. It was expressly stated that *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* could become a publishing body

¹⁹ At that time, Lithuanian Americans referred to the programs of organizations as “constitutions.”

²⁰ Pažįstamas Trupinėlio, “Reikaluose dr. Tėvynės Mylėtoju,” 1896, 454.

since this newspaper was the first to begin disseminating information about the organization to be established.²¹

After publishing the aforementioned items, there were some doubts in the feedback regarding the items as to whether it was expedient to distribute books gratis to the Lithuanians in Lithuania alone. The proposal was to endow, where possible, any Lithuanians who would be willing, this kind of support, but first, to educate people and to strengthen Lithuanity among the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA. A skeptical reaction came from the *Garsas* weekly, which was close to Catholics. It noted that the Lithuanians were not in need of any national association as any Lithuanian issues could be resolved by *Susivienijimas*. Meanwhile, the *Lietuva* weekly, expressly stating that *Susivienijimas* did not have sufficient funds for the matters the Association was going to deal with, was fully in favor of the initiatives to establish a new association.²² Kazakevičius, in his turn, as secretary of *Susivienijimas*, addressed the Lithuanian Americans in the press explaining that the new Association to be founded would not hinder the activities of *Susivienijimas*, and *Susivienijimas* would not hinder the activities of the Association. They could cooperate and work for the sake of Lithuanity by sharing works, even competing between themselves – which of them would bring more benefits in Lithuanian matters. At the same time, Kazakevičius spoke out against the attempt to centralize all the national work, saying – let each of the two work the way they deem proper. What really mattered was that their work was beneficial.²³ However, *Susivienijimas* did not show any interest in the new Association and dissociated itself from its activities.

The first members of the Homeland Lovers Association were announced in September 1896: Juozas Miliauskas from Mahanoy City, Kazakevičius from Hazleton, PA, Pėža from Worcester, Mass., Griešius, Bekeraitis, Švinaitis, Pruselaitis and Antanaitis

²¹ Ibid., 455.

²² "Dar apie Tėwynės Mylėtojų draugystę," 1896, 2.

²³ Kazakevicze, "Reikale 'T.M.' draug." 1896, 443; "Tėwynės Mylėtojų draugystės reikaluose," 1896, 2.

from Union City, Conn., P. Mikolainis from Thorp, Wisc. They contributed \$5.80. The Lithuanians of Minersville sent \$2.80. Hence, the Association commenced operation with nine members and an amount of \$8.60.²⁴ On November 25, *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* announced the composition of the Association's leadership as well: president – Kazakevičius, treasurer – Meškinis from Minersville, PA, secretary – Mikolainis, manager of affairs – Astramskas from Minersville, PA.²⁵ They were elected by way of correspondence. We can consider that this is when the Homeland Lovers Association was officially established and commenced its activities that were not easy but necessary for the nation.

Establishment of Branches of the Association and Accumulation of Finances

Lithuanian American organizations and associations historically were comprised of not only their governing bodies but, most importantly, members of the diaspora in different settlements brought together into branches of organizations as well. This structural element was highly important as branches were a place to disseminate information about the Association, invite new members, accumulate funds, consider resolutions, bring forward proposals and elect leadership (of a branch and central). The first two branches of the Association were formed in Minersville and Plymouth, PA. The press has it that a meeting of the branch of the Lithuanians in Minersville took place on January 2, 1897. Tomas Astramskas and Kazys Draugelis talked about the situation of Lithuania in Lithuania and the aims of the Association. They noted that 12 new members had joined their branch and their membership now comprised a total of 26 persons. \$32.30 had been raised that were to be sent to the treasurer of the Association, Miliauskas.²⁶

²⁴ Plymouth, Pa., 22 Rugsejo, 1896, 461.

²⁵ Ibid., 569.

²⁶ Astramskas, Reikalai "Tėvynės Mylėtojų" draug." 1897, 21.

A branch in Philadelphia was set up shortly. *Lietuva* expressed a wish that such branches were to be set up wherever Lithuanians were, at the same time noting that the Association needed clearer articles of association to define for the branches their general behavior. Attention was paid to the fact that each branch collected books for publication on an individual basis. This raised concerns, as such a situation could lead to disagreement among branches which could break them apart.²⁷ These comments and proposals received a fairly prompt reaction – on March 17, 1897, the *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* weekly published the Association's first brief articles of the association (eight paragraphs) that were republished by *Lietuva* as well. Basically, it was revised items of Astramskas and summaries of some of them, making them look like articles of association and already presenting them as the Association's specific document. As we look at it, we can see that the purpose of the Association was to – issue Lithuanian scientific books and disseminate education (paragraph 1). It clearly stated that for needy Lithuanians, books would be gifted via a committee set up specifically for that purpose whose membership would also be comprised of “friends from Lithuania” who “will facilitate that work” (6). Members of the Association are specified in the articles of the association as “friends”, no matter who. All of them have equal rights and each will get a copy of every published book. Every member has a duty to call on new members to join the Association (2). Every member shall pay 60 cents per year in the USA, 1 ruble in Lithuania, and 2 Marks in Prussian Lithuania. Members could pay more if they wished so. Donations were accepted as well (3). It was already clearly stated that it was the Committee of Literature who shall have their say on books and translations to be published (4). The composition of the Committee was also announced, with Šernas-Adomaitis as the editor of *Lietuva* and priest Antanas Kaupas, and all manuscripts shall be sent to them. Reference was also made to honorary members who would give their works for publishing by the Association gratis (5).²⁸

²⁷ “Nauja Tėwynės Mylėtojų Draugystės kuopa,” 1897, 2.

²⁸ “Įstatai,” 1896, 131–132; “Tėwynės Mylėtojų Draugystė,” 1897, 2.

It is important to note that the vast majority of priests opposed the Association. Lithuanian priests said that Catholicism could save Lithuania and that the primary focus should be on the Church. Most of them saw educators as bad Catholics, atheists (Lith. *šliuptarniai*) and demanded people to stay aloof from them. This notwithstanding, the Association did not speak out against religion. As an example, priest Matulaitis of Minersville publicly abused local Lithuanian women during his preaching on March 28 for having donated \$5.60 to the Homeland Lovers Association (HLA) matters. The women protested as they could not understand what wrong the HLA had done, and they had not noticed any hostility on its side toward faith. They only saw the Association's noble purpose.²⁹ Later, they even were to set up their own women's branch, the first among Lithuanian Americans.

In early March of 1897, the Association recorded a membership of 100 (the branches from Plymouth, PA, Minersville, PA and Union City, Conn. as well as individual members in other locations). Among them, we already see the first honorary member – Vincas Kudirka. \$128.80 was collected not only in membership fees but in other ways as well: by lending and donating. Other ways to raise funds were also devised. The press announced that Motiejus Damijonaitis and Mikas Paltanavičia from Broad Brook, Conn., both members of the Association, thought of pledging a watch to a lottery. They themselves prepared tickets for auctioning and bought books to be gifted for those who would buy tickets. This way, \$18 were raised for the benefit of the Association.³⁰ Juozas Paukštys followed suit by offering a golden watch worth \$25 to a lottery. The prepared tickets (priced at 15 cents) were sent out for distribution among branches and the auction was planned for New Year's Eve, 1898. The effort was crowned with the raising of \$42.35.³¹ The beginning of the

²⁹ "Peržvalga," 1897, 81; "Minersvilles Moterys," 1897, 2.

³⁰ Astramskas, Minersville, Pa. 2 Rugp., 1897, 370.

³¹ Reikalai "'Tėvynės Mylėtojų' draug." 1897, 563; Domijonaitis, Reikalai "T.M.Dr." 1898, 324.

HLA was generally fairly successful. The raised funds alone were enough for issuing the first book.

In early March of 1898, another branch was set up in New York, the Milda Singers Association (Mildos dainininkų draugija) (213 Forsyth St.). Ten members joined, elected a leadership, and raised \$5.10 which they sent to the editorial board of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*. They decided to organize their meetings every second month and invited other Lithuanians to join the branch.³² In the middle of the year, the Association already had 22 branches and 159 members. The Minersville, Plymouth and Union City branches continued to be the most numerous.

One unexpected event nearly brought the Association to an end. In the first half of May of 1898, the *Saulė* newspaper announced that a 46-year-old businessman, the former treasurer of *Susivienijimas* and the Association, Miliauskas had shot himself in Mahanoy City, PA. He had gone bankrupt since he was obliged to sell his house for debts and his family lost everything. The newspaper wrote that quite a few Lithuanians had entrusted their money to him. Not only their money but also that of the above-named organizations was gone³³ because the treasurer, himself, had given nothing as a pledge. The leadership of the Association had doubted Miliauskas' activities before that event. According to Astramskas, financial control was not exercised and all cooperation with the publisher in Tilsit in discussing book publishing expenses was up to the treasurer.³⁴ The money was lost at a time when the publisher in Tilsit was to be paid for the second book issued, *Orleano Mergelė* (The Virgin of Orleans). That dramatic event, as recalled by Strimaitis, "took energy from the members, provoked widespread discontent and mistrust among the members, which nearly ruined the young Association along with the treasurer."³⁵ The Association was saved by Palta-navičia who came to the rescue by gifting his interesting self-

³² Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1898, 141.

³³ "Nusiszowė," 1898, 2; Karpavičius, "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija," 1924, 36.

³⁴ Astramskas, "Reikaluose 'Tėvynės Mylėtojų' Draugystės," 1898, 2.

³⁵ Strimaitis, "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugijos," 1934, 4.

made watch, for which the Association, by way of lottery, received \$204.28, which was enough to pay the publisher for its publishing expenses. The Association recovered self-confidence, the runaway members came back, and several new branches were established.³⁶ Towards the end of 1898, branches were established in Lost Creek, PA and Waterbury, Conn. A membership of 267 was already recorded, but only \$49.70 remained in the treasury.³⁷ Funds were to be raised urgently.

And yet, the Association managed to overcome the crisis. Its financial statement testified to that: in the period between July 25, 1898, and May 10, 1899, \$353.13 of income was received (membership fees, for the watch tickets); less \$119.90 of expenses (the debt to Mikolainis, debt repayment, donation to the Paris exhibition, etc.), \$233.23 remained. Branch membership reached 407 people. Secretary Damijonaitis was glad that the Association, having avoided the challenges that had arisen, "today, can be called a truly public organization."³⁸

However, all the above difficulties took their toll on the fate of the Association's leadership. During the voting of branches in 1898, a second, entirely new leadership was elected: president Astramskas, treasurer Griešius, secretary Damijonaitis, librarian (Lith. *knygius*) Vincas Marazas from Minersville, PA. The position of manager of affairs of the Association was abandoned as the branches did not vote on that issue. It was decided that the treasurer would only require money from branches when it was to be sent to the publisher for publishing a book. The secretary was obligated to record all funds received and to publish them in *Vienybė Lietuoninkų* on a monthly basis. The new president committed himself to looking after order in the organization.³⁹

The Association's branches did not confine themselves to swelling their ranks, collecting membership fee and considering various issues. For example, the branch from Elizabeth, NJ organized a

³⁶ Kučas, "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija," 180.

³⁷ Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 586.

³⁸ Damijonaitis, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1899, 250.

³⁹ Astramskas, Reikalai "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugystės," 1898, 274.

ball on April 3, 1899, in order to raise funds for the establishment of its own library (bookstore). A lot of people gathered although “devout Catholics” attempted to dissuade them from attending the “impious” event. As much as \$48.80 was raised that was to be used for the establishment of the library, where Lithuanians would be able to read books and newspapers. It was explained that they, through reading, would learn what was going on in the world, would know better their position and other matters, their friends and exploiters through education.⁴⁰ The branch in Traverse City, Mich. founded a library named after Simonas Daukantas. The books there, the press reported, were classified into sections according to their contents. The readers were quite numerous. They even brought over their own books and newspapers to the library so others could read them. The following newspapers were available in the library: *The Morning Record*, *Lietuva*, *Vienybė*, *Dirva*, *Viltis*, *Tėvynė*, and *Tėvynės Sargas*.⁴¹ The branch in Newark staged a performance, *Ponas ir Mužikai*, on November 2, 1901, which was, however, attended by few spectators because there had been “various hinderers.” \$8 was successfully raised for national needs.⁴² It should be noted that balls and performances organized by branches with the aim of raising funds for educational matters became a frequent phenomenon – albeit with fierce criticism coming constantly from priests and devout Catholics.

The election of the Association’s new central committee ended in mid-September 1899. While Pruselaitis from Waterbury was elected as president by a majority vote, he refused this role, and Astramskas was asked by the Waterbury branch to continue holding this position. Damijonaitis was reelected as secretary, Olšauskas, editor of *Lietuva*, as treasurer, Nikodemus Olšinskas from Cleveland, Ohio, as librarian. Stagaras, dr. Šliūpas and Senkus were elected to the Committee of Literature; they still were to give their consent.⁴³ At the same time, it was announced that

⁴⁰ Swetis, “Isz Elizabeth,” 1899, 2.

⁴¹ T.M.D. sąnarys, “Isz Traverse City, Mich.,” 1900, 2.

⁴² Teatrininkas, “Isz Newarko,” 1901, 2.

⁴³ Astramskas, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1899, 478.

Antanas Milukas, the dean of the Brooklyn parish, gifted to the Association 60 copies of his book, *Pajauta*, after selling of which for 25 cents each, the money would be transferred to the treasury. Moreover, he allotted another 100 copies to be sent to school-children in Lithuania. In appreciation of his gift, Antanas Milukas was recognized as an honorary member of the Association.⁴⁴ Discontent arose immediately. The New York and New Jersey branches were filled with indignation that the non-elected Astramskas had become president again – allegedly, he could not be president as he had been elected secretary of *Susivienijimas*. They were also indignant that Astramskas, having consulted no one, had accepted priest Milukas, “the Association’s biggest enemy”, into the ranks of honorary members.⁴⁵ This provided an opportunity for all branches to have their say. All branches were of the opinion that priest Milukas’ merits for becoming an honorary member were not enough, but he deserved being said a “Thank you” for the gifted books. Over the issue of president, the opinions were divided, yet a decision was taken to re-elect the president.⁴⁶ In early 1900, the branches voted again, and Bridickas from Lost Creek, PA was elected president by a majority vote.⁴⁷ Whereas not all of the Association members considered priest Milukas an enemy. For example, priest Milukas attended a meeting of the Boston branch on December 19, 1899, where he “sparked love of the Homeland in the heart of all the attendees with his inspiring speech.”⁴⁸

In 1900, the number and membership of branches grew rapidly – to 33 branches and 19 individual members across the USA at the beginning of July. On August 29, the newspaper *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* announced that the membership had already reached 933. That last figure (933) noted Dr. Jonas Basanavičius, as an honorary member (second after Kudirka), who belonged to the

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, 1899, 550.

⁴⁶ Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1899, 574.

⁴⁷ *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, 1900, 70.

⁴⁸ Sergunas, “So. Boston, Mass.” 1900, 9.

Traverse City, Mich., branch.⁴⁹ The secretary's report had it that upon making all payments, as of June 3, there was \$355.37 in the Association's treasury. Since the amount of funds raised had increased in the treasury, the Association already planned to issue two books annually. It turned out, however, that not every member paid their membership fee on time. To remedy the situation and to involve even more members into the Association, the leadership announced that those who would pay 60 cents as their annual membership fee, would receive all four published books. Whereas those who would join the Association after January 1, would only receive those books that would be issued later.⁵⁰ However, no impressive results were achieved by this action. The efforts to lure new members failed, and less than a hundred had joined by the beginning of the new year. Most fellow-countrymen did not believe this proposal of the HLA.

One more issue of the Association became apparent. It appeared that some members relocated from one place of residence to another without notifying the secretary of their new address. The books sent to the old address would not reach the addressee – some of them would be returned to the sender. At times, they would be lost for good. This was at a cost to the Association. Having not received the books, members wrote angry letters to the leadership. Secretary Ilgunas spoke out publicly saying that “we had a lot of unpleasantness” in dispatching the latest books; therefore, he asked all members and branches to send in the right addresses.⁵¹ Alas, the urge helped but a little. Such misunderstandings kept occurring.

Before a new election of the leadership in 1901, efforts had been made to introduce some novelties in the Association's activities. The branches were asked to make up their mind as to the election of members of the Central Committee: to elect all the members at one time or only two members (e.g., president and

⁴⁹ Damijonaitis, “‘Tev. Myl. Draugystės’ metinis apskelbimas,” 1900, 335; “Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugystės kontekstas,” 1900, 418.

⁵⁰ Cent. Komitetas, prez. M. Bridickas, sekr. M. J. Damijonaitis. Ibid.

⁵¹ Ilgunas, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1901, 189.

secretary) every two years. There were proposals to give up the insurance of the treasurer, as over two years, \$5 had been spent needlessly. An issue was raised that the secretary of the Association ought to get a salary, but the amount was not specified. Moreover, a wish was expressed that branch secretaries should prepare annual reports of their branch and to send it to the secretary of the Central Committee so the Central Committee would be aware of the activities of branches. The issue of the increase of the membership fee to \$1 was already spoken about as well.⁵²

Twenty-five branches voted. The previous year's Central Committee was re-elected: president – Vincas Daukšys, secretary – Ilgunas, treasurer – Olšauskas, librarian – Makauskas, who was elected instead of the ill Olšinskas who passed away shortly (he came in second in the votes). However, as he, too, refused to hold this position, Dr. Joana T. Želvienė (the first woman in the HLA leadership) from Plymouth, PA became the librarian. Drs. Želvienė, Kėkštas (Plymouth, PA) and Lialys (Chicago, IL) were elected to the Committee of Literature. According to the information of October 9, 1901, the Association's membership was 1,270, and the amount in the treasury – \$564,91.⁵³

According to the voting results which were announced as late as March 26, 1902 (the correspondence took time), the branches spoke out in favor of the payment of \$25 to the Association's secretary as an annual salary, the annual fee kept the same – \$0.60 (but those willing could pay more), and preparation of annual reports – by the secretaries of branches. Insurance of the treasurer was abandoned. A fund for sponsoring young students was also established under the treasury. As of March 26, 1902, the figures of new members were no longer announced since some of the old members who had relocated to a new place of residence would join the local branch again as new members.⁵⁴ The membership figures published in the press no longer reflected the

⁵² Daukšys and Ilgunas, "‘T.M.D-ės’ kuopoms," 1901, 453–454.

⁵³ Olszevskis, "Kasos stovis," 1901, 490.

⁵⁴ Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1901, 489–490; Daukszyz, "‘T.M.D-ės’ kuopoms," 1902, 153–154; "Išz Lietuviškų dirvų," 1902, 2.

actual number of members. It also turned out that some of the previously established branches would break up and then recover again. This was due to not only Lithuanians' internal migration but also a lack of understanding of the activities of the Association by some of its members – they saw no material benefits for themselves or obeyed a critical opinion of priests. As an example, the St. Louis, IL branch was reestablished with difficulty since new members did not want to join it “for one particular reason – that the Association did not issue prayer books but scientific books instead, which they were unable to comprehend.” At a meeting of the branch organized on January 11, only eight new members joined it. There were talks that more members could have joined, but ardent Catholics tore the invitations off the walls threatening that Šliūpas would preach against the Church.⁵⁵

The leadership of the Association suggested the establishment of a museum of the Lithuanian diaspora. Most of the initiative on this issue came from Želvienė. The idea originated in connection with the raised issue of writing the history of the Homeland Lovers Association. Želvienė explained that the first thing to do was to collect all letters written in regard to the Association's matters, all books issued by the Association (preferably with a hard cover) as well as other Lithuanian writings, all articles about the Association in the US press, and collect “different national, historic items.” All that should be placed in a museum and then only “a fair history of the Association can be written.”⁵⁶ This was important not least because the Association already realized that its documentary and material heritage needed to be preserved.

On November 15, 1902, a new leadership of the Association was traditionally elected. Only 11 branches voted (others sent their votes later, but they already were not taken into account). Jonas Tareila from Waterbury, Conn. was elected a new president, Martišius from Trenton, MO secretary, and Želvienė continued to remain the librarian. Daukšys was elected to the Committee

⁵⁵ Skarmalius, “Isz E. St. Louis, Ill.” 1902, 2; Ibid, 1902, 2.

⁵⁶ Daukszys, ““T.M.D-ės’ kuopoms,” 1902, 502.

of Literature instead of Kėkštas who refused this role. Olšauskas was elected as the treasurer.⁵⁷

The new leadership took to work vigorously. It was even announced that the Committee of Literature already had the unprinted manuscripts of as many as four books. However, at that time in the treasury, along with the funds of the Schoolchildren's Fund (\$37.21), only \$328.36 had remained.⁵⁸ The funds of the Association needed to be supplemented fairly soon. President Tareila applied to the branches via the press urging them to attract as many new members to the Association as possible. He wrote:

For us, Lithuanian Americans, who have a strong feeling for our oppressed Homeland, it means nothing to pay 60 cents per year, and if many of us join the Association and unite our forces, it will be easy for us to carry out all deeds that are beneficial for our nation.⁵⁹

As a further matter, the president widely appealed a few times to other Lithuanian American organizations for their support, reminding them of their love for the Homeland and those living in poverty in Lithuania. Unfortunately, just one association responded – *Lietuvos sūnų draugija* from Waterbury, which donated \$11.⁶⁰ While the initiators were disappointed, they did not surrender, urging their fellow-countrymen, talking to them, and expecting their support. At the same time, the branches themselves did their best to raise additional funds by organizing lotteries, balls, selling books gifted by fellow-countrymen, etc.⁶¹

The report on the Association's activities published in late 1903 noted that over the year, the Association swelled by 6 new branches and 305 new members. It read that its membership had

⁵⁷ Daukszyś and Ilgunas, "'T.M.D-ės' kuopoms," 1902, 585.

⁵⁸ Martišius, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1903, 202; Olszevskis, "Kasos stovis," 1903, 71.

⁵⁹ Tareila, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1903, 70–71.

⁶⁰ Tareila, "Už savo apšvietimą turime," 1903, 311–312; Martišius, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 431.

⁶¹ T.M.D. Literatizskas Kom. Tėvynės Myletoju Draug. Sąnariams, 1903, 441.

reached about 2,000.⁶² The same number was recorded in 1904. This did not please the leadership, though, as those 2,000 members made up less than 1% of the Lithuanian Americans at that time. Annual inflows stood at \$481.83, donations – at \$144.71. Two books were printed in 9,000 copies and 4,700 copies were distributed. The expenses on their publication (and other minor expenses) amounted to \$587.81. At the end of the year, \$287.65 were left in the treasury. The leadership themselves evaluated their activities as “a middling step forward.”⁶³

On April 2, 1904, local Lithuanians established a branch of the Association in Mossend, Scotland, with a membership of 23. At their first meeting, they elected Kazys Kondrotas as head of the branch, Juozas Čerkevičius as secretary, Jurgis Prancevičius as treasurer, and Ona Pautienė as librarian. They collected the membership fees.⁶⁴ This was the first branch to be established outside the USA. Moreover, the press announced that in Switzerland, four Lithuanian students registered with the Association and had sent their membership fees – 4 rubles (\$2). Later, oddly enough, the information about the branch in Switzerland was refuted.⁶⁵ The 5th seimas of *Susivienijimas lietuvių laisvamanų* (The Freethinkers) which took place on June 5 in Philadelphia considered the possibility of distributing books in Lithuania jointly with the Association.⁶⁶ However, the branches voted against the Freethinkers’ proposal.⁶⁷ This was due to this obviously free-thinking organization which some of the members did not want to communicate with.

Beside the membership fee, other financial sources were searched for as well. The press made it public that the Lithuanians in Waterbury, about 46 people, agreed to have their joint photo

⁶² Tareila and Martiszius, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1903, 587.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Čerkevyčius, “Iš Škotijos, Mossend,” 1904, 216.

⁶⁵ Naujokas, “Ir juodušystė kaštuoja,” 1904, 262.

⁶⁶ “Protokolas 5-to Seimo S.L.L. laikyto 5 birželio, 1904, ant Caledonian Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.” 1904, 322.

⁶⁷ Paltanavičia, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1904, 419.

taken and to donate \$1 each. Having paid for the picture production and framing, the Lithuanians in Waterbury sent the remaining \$39.65 for the Association's treasury.⁶⁸ President Paltanavičia visited priest Milukas who promised to give to the Association his *Albumas* issued in two parts, in an unlimited amount (up to 500 copies) for only 50 cents for both parts (whose real prices were \$1.50 each). This was the present from the priest. Paltanavičia expected to sell *Albumas* to the Association members for 75 cents each, and to allocate the difference of 25 cents to the treasury.⁶⁹

Lotteries kept being organized. Bagdonas from New York gifted to the Association an authentic painting, Strimaitis from Mahanoy City, PA – a sewing machine. The leadership of the Association prepared lottery tickets and handed them over to the branches for distribution.⁷⁰ The funds raised were meant to add to the Association's treasury as well. The Political Club of Lithuanians (Lietuvių Politinis klubas) from Union City, CT raised and donated \$12 to the Schoolchildren's Fund and were praised for that in the press, noting that other organizations, too, did not forget national needs.⁷¹

Interestingly, for some unknown reason, the Association did not react to a significant event in Lithuania – on May 7, 1904, Tsar Nickolas II ultimately lifted the Lithuanian press ban in the Latin alphabet. Although this led to more favorable conditions for the development of Lithuanian culture, strict censorship remained in Lithuania.

On November 27, 1904, thirty branches again re-elected Paltanavičia as president of the Association (for one year). As many as 26 branches voted for him (out of 30). Naujokas was re-elected as treasurer (for one year), Matulaitis and Šliakis were re-elected to the Committee of Literature (both for three years), Simanavičius – as librarian (for three years). A secretary was to be

⁶⁸ Ramanauckas, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1904, 299.

⁶⁹ Paltanavičia, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1904, 322.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 586.

⁷¹ *Vienybė Lietuvninku*, 1904, 419.

elected the following year. The former leadership issued two books and agreed to support the issuance of Šliūpas' book *Istorija Lietuvos po jungu Maskolių*. The new leadership inherited a treasury which had accumulated \$500.10⁷² – which was a solid foundation for implementing further works.

(to be continued)

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⁷² Ibid.

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Translated by DALIA ŠATIENĖ and KERRY SHAWN KEYS

Urban Life in Lithuania during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (2)

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

INNS

Until now, it has not been established what kind of public catering institutions there have been in Vilnius, what were their names, what kind of institutions were established, and what their establishment depended on. It has not been ascertained when the first cafés and tea houses, confectionaries, billiard rooms, and institutions of a similar type appeared in our capital city. We are unaware what institutions of this type prevailed and how they looked like, what were their characteristic features.

While analyzing the buildings in the Old Town and when coming upon this type of institution, which in documents written in Polish are referred to as *szynki*, it turns out that in some documents they are named *karczma*, in others – just tavern. *Karczma* is a term we come across in the sources from the period under review.

It should be noted that seventeenth-eighteenth-century sources do not mention the presence of *karczmas* in the central part of the city and in the part of the city that was surrounded by the defense wall in general. Sometimes, there is mention of them with reference to the closer or more distant suburbs of Vilnius. However, we have come across few sources that would lead us to determine their distribution up to the last decades of the eighteenth century.

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The distribution of *karczmy* in Vilnius at the end of the eighteenth century can be clearly established from the list of the inventories of houses in Vilnius which was compiled in 1790. It mentions that in Užupis, possession 622, there was the *karczma* of weaver Jonas Oginovičius. Near it, there were other buildings and a small house (*chałupa*).¹ On the right bank of the River Neris, possession 917, there stood the *karczma* of General Slizni.² In Saltoniškės which was within the jurisdiction of the Radziwiłł Family, possession 1039, there was the *karczma* of Tomas Kočelovičius.³ The *karczma* owned by Maliusevičius stood in possession 1068.⁴ Not far from the Green (Žaliasis) Bridge, in the possession called Piremontas (possession 1076), there was a large *karczma* (*austeryja*).⁵ Aaron Rubinka's *karczma* stood in possession 1095, and Mykolas Kozlovskis had built himself a new *karczma* not far away.⁶ Which possession this newly built *karczma* stood in, the above-named document does not specify. Elijaš Hiršovič's *karczma* was in possession 1099. There was also a *karczma* near the road leading to Trakai, in possession 1158. Attention should be paid to the fact that the above-named inventory list from 1790 indicates that there is a *hulanka* (Lith. *ulionė*) in this possession, without saying that it is a *karczma*.⁷ Whereas one more document without the date of its drawing up which was transferred to the City of Vilnius Archives in 1801, has it that in the aforementioned possession there is the "Hulanka z karczmą" (Lith. *ulionė su karčema*) of the Bishop of Vilnius.⁸ This suggests that this *karczma* was different from the other *karczmy* of Vilnius due to the presence of the peculiar entertainment institution there. We should remind you that in the nineteenth century, two streets in Vilnius took

¹ Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Lithuanian State Historical Archives] (hereinafter – LVIA), f. SA, b. 4068, l. 26.

² Ibid., l. 27.

³ Ibid., l. 40.

⁴ Ibid., l. 41.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., l. 42.

⁷ Ibid., l. 44.

⁸ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 567, l. 19.

their names from this institution. The present-day Basanavičiaus Street (that was formed after the Trakai high road was built up) was referred to as “Wielka Pohulanka” (Lith. Didžioji “Pohulanka”) and the present-day Sierakausko Street was referred to as “Mala Pohulanka” (Lith. Mažoji “Pohulanka”).

The *karczma* that was owned by Minkevičius in 1790 was located in possession 1170.⁹ Close to the Arklių (currently Halės) Market, in possession 1254, there stood the *karczma* of General Sliznius.¹⁰ In the Aušros vartų (Aušra Gate) suburb, possession 1288, there was the *karczma* of Kosobudzki.¹¹ Several *karczmy* were based in Antakalnis district. Beyond the bridge across the Vilnelė, in possession 1354, Zienkovičius held a *karczma*, and in possession 1357 there stood the *karczma* owned by Sobieščanskas.¹² A little farther off, in possession 1389, the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul owned a *karczma*.¹³ Apparently, the *karczma* was large since in the source it is no longer called a *karczma* but an *austeryja*. In possession 1447 there stood the *karczma* of Mykolas Lukaševičius, and that of Šlioma Leibovič was located in possession 1471.¹⁴ Apart from those mentioned above, there is mention of three more *karczmy* in the list of the inventory of buildings in Vilnius from 1790. Šmuila Leibovič's *karczma* was indicated to be located in possession 1509. Not far from it, in possession 1612, Minkevičius owned a *karczma*, and in possession 1512, there was the *karczma* of Izrael Zavalovič.¹⁵

The information provided shows that in the last decade of the eighteenth century there were twenty *karczmy* in Vilnius. None of them was located in the part of the city surrounded by the defensive wall. All of them were based in the then suburbs and were near the main roads. Since earlier historic sources do not show the presence of *karczmy* in the territory of the city sur-

⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 44.

¹⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 47; f. 458, apr. 1, b. 567, l. 24.

¹¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 48; f. 458, apr. 1, b. 567, l. 26.

¹² LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 49.

¹³ Ibid., l. 50.

¹⁴ Ibid., l. 52.

¹⁵ Ibid., l. 53.

rounded by the defensive wall, we may well assume that this was the case in earlier time as well. The situation in Vilnius must have been similar in the seventeenth century, too. It was due to the travel mode at that time. People traveled on horseback and on wheels. Upon arrival to a *karczma*, there had to be room for both the travelers and their horses, and for their carts and sledges. This required the presence of a large yard and large buildings for satisfying such needs, whereas the central part of the city had already been densely built up at that time. Apparently, there were no possibilities for building *karczmy* there. On the other hand, the premises of *karczmy* for people to stay in were supposed to be quite spacious. As normally people slept on hay laid on the floor, this was not to the satisfaction of people who loved "comfort". Such persons would always bring along a bed with them, which required room for it. Especially where several such travelers would arrive at a time. It goes without saying, that *karczmy* built in the suburbs could be quite spacious.

It should be noted that in the documents related to these institutions, they were referred to under different names. In addition to the *hulianka* that stood near the Trakai high road, two others were referred to as *austeryja*. It is known that this was the name used for large *karczmy*. Five of these institutions are just called *karczmy*. Whereas the remaining twelve in the archival sources are referred to as stay-at (Lith. *užvažiuojamosios*) or drive-in (Lith. *įvažiuojamosios*) *karczmy* ("karczmy wjezdne"). This is suggestive of the presence of several types of *karczmy* in Vilnius in the period under review. Hence, at the end of the eighteenth century in Vilnius there were only twenty *karczmy*, and all of them were situated in the then suburbs.

As to *szynki* that we will henceforth call taverns, there were many of them. For example, in 1800, 518 taverns paid taxes to the Magistrate.¹⁶ However, if the source that indicated those taxes had taken down all of these institutions that functioned in Vilnius at that time or just those that were based in the territory

¹⁶ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 524, l. 1–8.

of the Magistrate, is not quite clear. Nevertheless, other documents confirm that there was a huge number of them.

Taxes that were levied on various businesses in 1814 could serve as a good example.¹⁷ It was calculated that 640 *szynki* paid taxes. 307 of them were located in the territory surrounded by the city's defensive wall and 333 – in other places of Vilnius, including the then suburbs.

Almost every third building at that time housed a tavern. Sometimes, there were several of them in one building.

For example, in 1814, in possession 42 there were two taverns. There were also two in possessions 71, 77, 207, and many others.¹⁸ Somewhere, even more of them were based. For example, in possession 271, three taverns paid taxes, and in possession 374, they were levied on four taverns.¹⁹ We come across similar facts in documents relating to the houses of citizens from the seveneenth-eighteen century and in the historical sketches of blocks in the Old Town and of individual houses.

The facts presented obviously attest to taverns, called *szynki*, having been the most popular inns in the Old Town in the feudal period. Most of them were situated around the city markets and on the streets that were the most trafficked in commercial terms, although there was no lack of them in more remote places either.

We will further try to give an overview of the interior of taverns, which in the sources are referred to as *szynki*. We find information about these institutions in sources relating to buildings, especially their inventories.

The inventory from 1654 of the house of M. Kličevski, Burgomaster of the Magistrate, on Savičiaus Street defines the premises of the tavern the entrance to which from this street was through a carpenter-made pine-tree door as follows. In it, there stood a new furnace with a copper vessel bricked into it. New laths surrounded the premises, and new benches stood along its

¹⁷ LVIA, f. 937, apr. 1, b. 271, l. 1–79.

¹⁸ Ibid., l. 4, 7, 19 and other.

¹⁹ Ibid., l. 25v, 36.

walls. A table and two chairs with backs (“zydle”) were also there. From the side of the street, there were two windows with shutters to cover them. From this premises, through a carpenter-made door, one entered the anteroom in which there stood a stove with a dough trough. There were two benches in the anteroom. One of this premises’ windows was barred.²⁰ This document says nothing to the effect that it was glazed. The source further defines other premises.

The inventory from 1701 of a foreign merchant [guest] house (“Domu gościnnego”) describes the tavern based in it. It was a vaulted premises near the main gate, with a simple wooden door leading into it. It had two four-partite (“po kwatery cztery”) windows. They were enclosed in wooden window frames. There were wooden shutters to cover the windows. An old furnace stood in the tavern. An old table and two benches were also there. The latter seem to have rested on cut off wood pieces instead of legs (“ławy złe barzo na kłodach”).²¹ A wooden door led from the tavern (“izba szynkowna”) into a pantry with a barred window. It was set in a wooden window frame, and there was an old wooden shutter to cover it. A porch was connected on the side, in which there stood a furnace.²²

The inventory of the [house] of merchant Stanislovas Dembickis, which was compiled on March 11, 1719, mentions the furniture that was present in his tavern. There were three simple tables and three wooden chairs with backs (“zydle”). Benches stood along the walls in the tavern (“ławy około”).²³

After listing the tavern furniture in the inventory, two iron doors are noted; however, which premises they belonged to is not noted.²⁴ One more iron door with bars and a lock is noted separately. As to it, it is said that it was in the house the host himself lived in.²⁵

²⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5096, l. 663.

²¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5120, l. 1568.

²² Ibid., l. 1568v.

²³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5124, l. 27.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5124, l. 28.

The inventory of the house of K. Gudelevičienė from 1722 shows that it, too, housed a tavern. The porch from which a door led into the tavern is said to have had a recess with a door in its wall. There stood a table, three benches and a wooden chair with a back (“zydel”) in the tavern.²⁶

The inventory of the [house] of merchant Simonas Straškevičius from 1737 mentions the presence of two cupboards in the tavern. One of them was colored and barred (“malowana z kratkami”), the other one – a simple uncolored cupboard.²⁷

In the description of the small manor that stood not far away from the Vilnius Arsenal in 1750, there is mention of the presence of a tavern (“szynkowna izba”) in it as well. A door of thick boards led into it from the outside. The premises had two windows set in wooden frameworks and a tile furnace with a masoned chimney above it. The floor in the tavern was of wood. With regard to the furniture in it, there is mention of a table with two benches standing near it and an old wooden cupboard. One more door of thick boards led from the tavern into another room from which one door led into the pantry, the other one – into the porch.²⁸

The tavern that was based in a house on Rūdninkų Street (“izba szynkowna”) is said to have had two entrances in 1773: one from the street and one from the yard. From the yard, the entrance into the tavern was through the porch with a simple door leading into it. The tavern had three windows. One of them was enclosed in a wooden window frame, the other two – in a lead window frame. There was a simple tile furnace for heating and a brickwork furnace for cooking in the premises.²⁹

In the house of the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, there were two taverns in 1788. One of them is said to have been large (“izba szynkowna duża”). The entrance into it was through the porch which seems to have had no window

²⁶ Ibid., l. 17.

²⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 75v.

²⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 112, l. 430.

²⁹ Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka Rankraščių skyrius [Vilnius University Library Manuscripts Collections] (hereinafter – VUB RS), DC 6, l. 791.

("sień ciemna"). There, stood a cooking furnace with a chimney in it. From the porch, one entered the tavern through a simple door. From the side of the city market, there was a double-leaf door clad in a plank finish into this premises. It had three windows. Two of them, overlooking the city market, were four-partite. There was a small window above the tavern door. Shutters clad in a plank finish ("futrowanych") covered the windows. In this premises, there stood a large green furnace. There is mention of a carpenter-made partition-wall of planks with a simple door in the tavern. Unfortunately, it is not described in greater detail. How it separated the premises is hard to tell.³⁰

There was one more tavern in the section of the building by Rūdninkų Street, with two doors leading from it into the tavern. The outer door was clad in a plank finish ("futrowane"). The source does not specify how the interior door looked like. It only mentions that there was a partition-wall in the tavern with a door. These premises were heated by a furnace and a fireplace. There was a recess in one wall with a dark brown ("lafowo malowanemi") two-leaf door.

This tavern had three windows one of which was also above the door. It is described to have been two-leaved. One door led from the tavern into the yard, the other one – into the porch. In the porch, there stood a cooking furnace and there was a staircase to the second floor.³¹

The inventory of the [house] of townsman Eismontas produced in early 1794 and late 1795 bears knowledge of the furniture of his tavern and partly of its layout.³² There were two tables in it. The big table is said to have served for the pouring of drinks ("do wyszynku"). A bench stood by it. At the smaller table, there stood a chair with a back ("zydeł"). Two such chairs stood at the tavern's furnace. There was also a fourth such chair, yet where it stood is not specified. In this premises, there was also a two-leaved cabinet for keeping drinks locked up with two locks ("szafa do

³⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4232, l. 4186–4187.

³¹ Ibid., l. 4198–4199.

³² LVIA, f. SA, b. 5152, l. 639–640.

wyszynku"). It seems to have served for the keeping of strong drinks. Beer there was poured from barrels.

The 1862 inventory of a house owned by the Franciscans, among other premises, describes a tavern ("stancja szynkowna") as well. Entrance into it from the street was through a simple door clad in a plank finish ("proste futrowane"). It seems there was a two-leaved door clad in such planks behind it. At the other end of the premises, a one-leaf door led into the porch. It, too, was clad in a plank finish. The thick-board ceiling rested on wooden beams and the floor was brick. On the street side, there were three double-leaf windows with "fittings" for the wooden window frames with panes of glass the size of a quarter-arkusz ("szyb czwartkowych"). There were eight panes of glass in each window frame. Double-leafed shutters clad in a plank finish covered the windows. There stood a simple tile Swedish furnace in this premises. There were three recesses in the tavern walls, the smallest of which was without a door. The two larger recesses had two-leaf doors.³³

We happen to come across sources about the containers used in these institutions. For example, the inventory of the property of the Magistrate assessor, J. Šatrava drawn up in 1738 has a list of the containers that were used in the tavern. It included a 3 garcy-capacity³⁴ tin "bottle" ("flasza blaszana"), also two half-garcy-capacity containers from the same material and one ¼ garcy-capacity tin container ("kwarta blaszana"). In addition to those mentioned above, a tin "livaras" is also mentioned along with three funnels two of which were used to pour drinks from large containers (casks, barrels) ("lejka blaszana pod trąby"). In regard to wooden containers, two garcy and seven half-garcy are mentioned. A relatively fair number of wooden half-garcy suggests that they could be used in the tavern for drinking from.

³³ VUB RS, f. 4, b. A 2465, l. 313v.

³⁴ The source has it: "Flasza blaszana od 3 garcy szynkowych." Such a statement suggests that garcy for the measuring of grain and those used in *karczmas* were of a different capacity.

It is worth noting that there was a tin lantern in the tavern, the panes of which were made of horn (“[...] latarnia blaszana z oknami rogowemi”).³⁵

A fair number of tavern containers are listed in the inventory of Leonavičienė from 1759. It makes mention of a tin container with a lid for vodka (“Flasza blaszana z nakrywką do wódki”), a burette for this drink (“miarka do wódki”) and three funnels. There were five tin garcy, four half-garcy, two quarts (“kwarty”) and one half-quart.³⁶

Apart from the aforementioned, containers that were with this female tavern-keeper are also specified, all of which were of tin. Mention is made of a funnel, a “burette” for vodka, a container without a lid (“Flasza blaszana bez nakrywki”), a garc, six half-garcy, and three “quarts.”³⁷

The facts provided herein show that taverns, in the sources referred to as *szynki*, were small public catering institutions that normally occupied one premises of a house. The flooring in taverns was of boards or bricks. Where a tavern was not vaulted premises, its wooden ceiling mostly rested on massive wooden beams. Efforts to ascertain whether taverns or the whole of their ceilings were decorated in any way have failed.

Taverns usually had two doors: one on the street side, the other – into the porch. From the porch one normally entered the living premises or went outside.

The door on the street side as often as not was clad in a plank finish (“futrowane”). Some of them were painted, others – not. Some taverns had a small glazed window above the entrance door. The door into the porch used to be of a poorer quality.

³⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 366.

³⁶ In the description of garcy and “quarts”, sometimes they are referred to as *szynkowane*, and sometimes – as *cechowe*. Since the word *cechowy* may mean *cecho* or “marked”, it is not clear in which sense it was used here. Given that measures used were checked by the Magistrate which afterwards marked them, we could presume that this is about the latter.

³⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5137, l. 1238v.

Tavern windows were no different from those in other living premises. Their panes were enclosed in wooden or lead frames, and massive wooden shutters were used to cover them at night.

In a tavern, there usually stood a tile furnace with an inlaid copper container to warm up beer. Some taverns are said to have had one to several recesses in their walls. Some of the recesses had a colored door, while others were with open shelves. In addition to recesses, there was one or, at times, a few cupboards standing on the floor. It seems that, apart from other things, strong drinks were kept in them as well.

Massive benches stood along the walls and around the furnace in taverns. There also stood two or three tables and a few wooden chairs in their premises.

Taverns were illuminated by metal lanterns that hung inside.

Wooden or metal containers corresponding with the measures of that time were used for the measuring of drinks.

Karczmy and taverns mostly sold beer which at the time under discussion was not just a liquid refreshment. Before the spread of coffee and tea, weak beer, often warmed up, had been drunk at breakfast. As often as not, it was also a replacement for soup. Along with beer, in *karczmas*, taverns and inns, one seems to have been able to get mead as well.

A letter of Cracow canon, S. Gurski written in Lithuania in 1544 testifies that in the sixteenth century Lithuanians still drank a lot of mead. It reads that the court of the Lithuanian ruler Sigismund Augustus drank thirty barrels of beer and thirty barrels of mead weekly. The custom of mead treats was taken over by the workshops of Vilnius artisans from brotherhoods as tradition. As an example, in 1611–1614, the workshops held 7,523 barrels of this drink for their feasts. Large amounts of mead were also held in the cellars of Vilnius traders. For example, when F. Durkus died in 1657, several barrels of mead were found with him amounting to 150 zloty in value. Wilhelm Meler held eleven large barrels of this drink in 1665 worth 880 zloty. Twelve barrels of mead were discovered in Nowomiejski cellars in 1664.

In the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, mead is also mentioned with many other well-off townsfolk of Vilnius.

It should be noted that in Vilnius there were also inns where mead alone was served. They were called mead taverns (Lith. *midinė*). That this is not an assumption but a fact, documents of the time testify to.

To give an example, in the inventory of a small manor that stood in Vilnius near the Vilnelė River, which was taken on March 16, 1744, there is mention of a mead tavern in it.³⁸

The inventory of the possessions of Juozas and Barbora Baranskis taken on June 30, 1763, shows that they, too, held a mead tavern. Their masonry house along with other buildings stood not far from the “royal mill.” The mead tavern was on the first floor. There was also a tavern (*szynkownia*) in the same building. The inventory reveals that entrance to it was through a passageway. A door on one side of it led into the tavern, and the door in front was the entrance into the mead tavern. There were two windows in it with the panes enclosed in wood. The mead tavern was partitioned, with a board door in the partition-wall. The mead tavern was heated by a colorless tile furnace. There is mention of a cupboard in the mead tavern.³⁹

The list of taxpayer institutions from 1814 mentioned above indicates that there was a small mead tavern (“szynk mały miodowy”) in possession 289.⁴⁰ Mead taverns, though quite rarely, are mentioned in some other documents as well.

Mead taverns, as well as taverns, seem to have mostly been based on the first floor of buildings. Their interior apparently was no different from that of taverns. One thing only is not clear – whether copper containers were fitted in mead tavern furnaces to warm up drinks.

Seventeenth-eighteenth-century archival sources sometimes mention wine taverns (*winiarni*) (Lith. *vyninė*). However, in the

³⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5348, l. 1037v.

³⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5141, l. 485.

⁴⁰ LVIA, f. 937, apr. 1, b. 271, l. 128v.

currently available sources there is no information about any differences in their interiors and those of taverns and mead taverns. On the other hand, they were not abundant in the city. In 1814, taxes were paid by seven wine taverns (*winiarni*) and three winemakers (*winiarze*).⁴¹ It may well be that winemakers traded in wine but did not own wine taverns.

When people began drinking coffee and tea in Lithuania, has not been ascertained as this area has not been researched at all to date. The townsfolk of the neighboring countries got acquainted with these drinks and began to consume them in the second half of the seventeenth century. In Polish scientific literature, an opinion prevails that tea was at first used as medicine; it was quite expensive and was not consumed widely until the 1760s. Its consumption increased during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795).⁴² The same sources indicate that in Poland, the consumption of coffee was much more widespread, and it cost much less.

Many archival sources testify to the consumption of coffee and tea by the residents of Vilnius in the first half of and in the mid-eighteenth century.

As an example, in 1746 assessor of the Magistrate, Grigas Naploščicas held three lead teapots, two copper teapots of 1.5-garcy capacity each, and one one-garc capacity copper teapot with a small metal bowl of this same metal.⁴³ He also had four used copper coffee pots and three coffee mills. One of them was larger and three were smaller.⁴⁴

The tableware of Jonas Judickas, standard-bearer of Rečyca Powiat, in 1752 included a teapot, a coffee pot, and a small milk jug. All three seem to have been silver ones. This person also had a coffee set with teaspoons, a sugar bowl, and a small box for holding tea.⁴⁵

⁴¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 937, l. 1–79.

⁴² *Historia materialnej kultury Polski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk*, 337.

⁴³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5129, l. 29v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. S131, l. 409.

A small lead teapot is also recorded in the April 14, 1758, inventory of the possessions of Simonas Vandauskas (Wandowski).⁴⁶

The postmortem inventory of Regina Reichienė from Vilnius compiled on March 24, 1762, includes two coffee vessels (“ko-ciółki do kawy”) and a copper milk jug, which was also used when drinking coffee.⁴⁷

The July 12, 1764, inventory of the possessions of Konstancija Honorskienė has recorded a black coffee table, a small led teapot,⁴⁸ and a coffee mill.⁴⁹

According to the last will and testament of Antanas Zanas written on March 13, 1769, there were two lead teapots and six silver teaspoons with a small case (“z puzderkiem”) in his house.⁵⁰

The facts provided above obviously bear testament to coffee and tea having been no novelty in Vilnius in the first half of and in the mid-eighteenth century. Well-off townsfolk not only had special vessels to make and serve these drinks but sometimes special pieces of furniture for the ceremony as well.

Direct information as to when the first cafés and tea houses appeared in Vilnius has not been found. In dealing with this issue, “worthy of attention is a document dated December 24, 1787, about a café that opened up illegally in Vilnius. It says that Simonas and Barbora Kliukauskas put up a signboard of café and began to sell coffee.”⁵¹ The fact that in the document, the opening of the café and the putting up of its signboard are treated as nothing extraordinary allows us to presume that this was not the first café in Vilnius.

Polish researchers of material culture indicate that the first café in Warsaw opened up and commenced operation in 1724.⁵² It is quite possible that in the first half of the eighteenth-century

⁴⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5351, l. 928.

⁴⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5141, l. 790.

⁴⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5142, l. 386.

⁴⁹ Ibid., l. 387.

⁵⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5352, l. 966.

⁵¹ Merkys and Samalavičius, “Senujų Vilniaus iškabų simbolika”, 81.

⁵² Historia kultury materialnej Polski, 337.

cafés could begin opening up in Vilnius too. However, the fact of having found no information about their existence in Vilnius at that time would suggest that there were few of them, if any.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, cafés in Vilnius seem to have been growing fast in number. In 1814, 49 cafés operated across the city and suburbs. Archival documents of the time, most of which were written in Polish, refer to some of them as *kawiarni* in Polish, to others – as *kofenhauzy* or *kofenhazy* in German. It should be noted that in 1814 in the list of public catering, trade and other similar institutions, 9 cafés are referred to as *kawiarni* and 40 – as *kofenhauzy*.⁵³ This may suggest that they could be different categories. However, the available sources do not reveal the differences between them.

Even though Vilnius townsfolk in the mid- and second half of the eighteenth century drank not only tea but also coffee at home (the utensils for making tea and drinking vessels they had, bear testament to that), historical sources do not mention public tea houses in Vilnius at that time. We come across no mention of tea houses in the early nineteenth century either. This leads us to the belief that up until the end of the period under review, tea houses did not exist in Vilnius. Apparently, they began to be established as late as the nineteenth century.

Beside the aforementioned public catering institutions, other types of public catering institutions and entertainment institutions were established in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. For instance, in 1814 there were 24 *traktierni* (Polish sg. *traktierna*, pl. *traktierni*) (Lith. *traktierius*) in Vilnius – the then canteen-type inns that sold alcohol along with food. There were ten canteens (*charczewni*) and eight confectionaries (Lith. *cukrainė*). Only one beer house sold beer alone and there were three snack bars (Lith. *užkandinė*).

Towards the late eighteenth century, billiard rooms (Lith. *bi-liardinė*) began to be established, which soon gained popularity.

⁵³ LVIA, f. 937, apr. 1, b. 271.

In 1814, as many as 21 billiard rooms operated within the part of the city enclosed by the defense wall, while in the whole town with suburbs there were 35 of them.

The analyzed historical material leads us to the following conclusions.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Vilnius, *karczmy* were established in suburbs, near the main roads leading to the capital city. They were meant for travelers with the then transport vehicles to stay at, eat and drink, and spend the night.

The most popular and the most visited were taverns referred to as *szynki* of which in the early nineteenth century there were close to six and a half hundred in Vilnius with suburbs.

They mostly occupied one, and only in rare cases – several premises. Taverns normally were based on the first floor of buildings, although there have been some on the second one as well. A signboard outside by the door marked such taverns in the sixteenth-eighteenth century. Inscriptions on signboards first appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century and became widespread as late as the nineteenth century. Tavern doors were usually clad in a plank finish, embellished with nails with decorative heads. Sometimes they were clad in a thick metallic tin embellished by using forging technique. In the sixteenth century, windows were of greyish color, small, sometimes with irregularly shaped framed lead panes. In the eighteenth century, especially its second half, windowpanes became larger and as often as not were set in wood, using putty. Massive wooden shutters bound in metal were used to cover them.

As a rule, taverns occupied one premises with a brick or board flooring. The ceiling of a tavern rested on massive beams of the same material. As often as not, however, in the sixteenth-seventeenth century in particular, taverns were based in vaulted premises. One or a few painted recesses were interesting components of their interior. They, along with rather large standing cupboards for tableware and utensils, provided important vertical highlights for those taverns' interior. Figure tile heating furnaces, mostly of a green color, played a very important role – not just functional,

but also decorative. Copper vessels to warm up beer were fitted into the furnaces. Massive wide benches stood around furnaces. The same benches stood along walls as well. There were several wooden chairs with backs and a few massive tables apart from them. In some inns, the tables rested on two pairs of crossed legs, in others – on legs that sometimes were slightly adorned. Premises were illuminated by a metal, as often as not hammered, six-pane lantern hanging in the middle. Metal table candlesticks or wall candle holders were also used where necessary.

Beside the aforementioned inns, mead taverns and wine taverns which traded in mead or wine alone operated in the period under review. They were not ample compared to taverns. There seem to have been no big differences in the interiors of taverns and such inns.

In the eighteenth century, there were canteen-type inns which sold alcohol as well. In the sources, they are referred to as *trak-tiernia*.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, canteens, confectionaries, and beer houses appeared, and fast growth in billiard rooms was observed. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were cafés, and in the nineteenth century – the first tea houses were established in Vilnius.

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PHARMACIES

Pharmacies are known to have existed in Lithuania since the early sixteenth century. When [the king of Poland] and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Alexander fell ill in Vilnius in 1506, the King's court brought along with them a part of the so-called royal pharmacy from Cracow. It remained in Vilnius marking the inception of the first pharmacy in the city. In 1501, Grand Duke Sigismund the Old bought a land plot in Vilnius to build a townsfolk pharmacy on. The locations of the oldest pharmacies in Vilnius have not, however, been ascertained because of the lack of information at the present time. In 1523, the Grand Duke of Lithuania granted a privilege to the doctors to inspect pharmacies and medicine storerooms. In the mid-sixteenth century, several pharmacies operated in Vilnius.

Unfortunately, information about sixteenth-century pharmacies is scarce. We come across more of this kind of information in seventeenth-eighteenth-century sources.

A letter dated June 4, 1632, with reference to the lease of a house near the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas mentions pharmacist Mykolas.¹

There is mention of pharmacist Mykolas Senemanas, resident of Vilnius, in 1663.² Pharmacist Kendzerskas is mentioned in the same, as well as in subsequent years.³ Pharmacist Albertas Šneideris lived in Vilnius in the 1660s.⁴ In the archival sources from the 1680s, we come across the name of Tomas Klimašauskas, a representative of this profession.⁵

A document in connection with the property of surgeon Tomas Boderis, which was produced on June 16, 1716, bears mention of pharmacist Kristupas who seems to have been deceased

¹ Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Lithuanian State Historical Archives] (hereinafter – LVIA),

² LVIA, f. SA, b. 5102, l. 118.

³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5102, l. 159, 208; b. 5104, l. 61; b. 5115, l. 223.

⁴ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5104, l. 83, 85.

⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5113, l. 125.

by that time.⁶ With reference to a house which stood in the Fish (Žuvų) Market [Pilies St.], pharmacist Vaitiekus Šneideris is mentioned in 1751.⁷ An assistant of pharmacist Hamilton, Kristupas Epingeris, was arrested in 1755.⁸ On January 25, 1768, pharmacist Lenerer gained the rights of a resident of Vilnius. In a letter of November 14, 1771, regarding property matters, a resident of Vilnius, Karolis Gotliebas Leneneris calls himself “a medical man and Vilnius’ pharmacist.”⁹ In a document dated August 14, 1776, referring to the house on Stiklių Street called “kamienica Barczewska,” there is mention of pharmacist Ernestas Hamiltonas.¹⁰ A letter entered into the books of the Magistrate of Vilnius on November 28, 1778, mentions Jonas Hamiltonas. In this document, he is called “a doctor and a merchant of Vilnius.”¹¹ A merchant from Vilnius, Adomas Nonašas, as mentioned in his letter of August 29, 1776, transferred a masonry house located beyond the Vilnius Gates, a house called Stroćynski beyond the Horse (Arklių) Market, and one more house near the Neris River to pharmacist Martynas Vagneris.¹²

M. Banikonienė, in highlighting the history of the residential house on 10 Kretingos by-street, specifies it having been owned by the Domanskis family in the 1770s and the selling of the house to pharmacist Müller in 1777. In 1780, the house already belonged to the Lutheran community.¹³

On June 13, 1787, Vincentas Vižbickas, a descendent from Trakai powiat, Semeliškės parish, was granted the rights of a citizen of Vilnius. So that he was granted these rights in the Magistrate, Vilnius merchant and pharmacist Kristupas Arendtas

⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5123, l. 444.

⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5351, l. [the page is not indicated by the author].

⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5142, l. 778.

⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5143, l. 747–748.

¹⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5144, l. 460.

¹¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5143, l. 277.

¹² LVIA, f. SA, b. 5144, l. 467–468.

¹³ Banikonienė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio 31 kvartalas. Istoriniai tyrimai*, 99. PKI archyvas, f. 5-2220.

(Arendt) recommended him and acted as a surety for him.¹⁴ A document from October 20, 1788, mentions pharmacist Motiejus Šulcas (Mathias Schultz) of Vilnius.¹⁵ In 1795, pharmacist Jurgis Gutas obtained the rights of a Vilnius' citizen.¹⁶

The inventory list of the houses in Vilnius from 1790 indicates a masonry house of pharmacist Kočyko in possession 436. However, nothing is said about the presence of a pharmacy in it.¹⁷ The same list indicates one more house of this person which stood in possession 799, likewise saying nothing about the presence of a pharmacy in it.¹⁸ The same holds good for the wooden house of pharmacist Vagneris mentioned in possession 1136.¹⁹

The above information about the pharmacists who resided in Vilnius bears testament to a fair number of people engaged in this profession in the capital of feudal Lithuania in the period under review. We can assume that most of them were supposed to own it a pharmacy. Unfortunately, no information about them is available in the aforementioned archival sources. A fair number of documents, however, do mention pharmacies. There is some knowledge of some pharmacies in the historical sketches of the blocks and individual buildings in Vilnius of historians of the Monument Conservation Institute.

The inventory of the property of the Magistrate assessor Jonas Jachimovičius drawn up on April 11, 1704, notes that during the illness of the deceased, the medicines, groceries and spirit drinks were taken from a pharmacy in Novgorod.²⁰

The property inventory of Vilnius merchant Bonenberg which was drawn up on May 5, 1735, mentions a few things that "belonged to a pharmacy."²¹ Unfortunately, efforts to find any ad-

¹⁴ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5146, l. 875.

¹⁵ Ibid., l. 1689.

¹⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 512S, l. 534.

¹⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 19.

¹⁸ Ibid., l. 32.

¹⁹ Ibid., l. 43.

²⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5121, l. 575.

²¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5126, l. 1054v.

ditional information about this pharmacy have failed. This source just mentions that white kerchiefs (“husty białe”) were appraised by a female pharmacist, Kielchienė.²² A list of possessions that remained after the death of the wife of pharmacist Kielchas was produced on February 12, 1739.²³ Several documents written in 1757 refer to pharmacist Kielchas.²⁴ A case investigated in the Magistrate in 1767 reveals that a merchant of Vilnius, Steponas Domanskis, had bought the house in which the pharmacist Mykolas Kielchas had lived before. The document referring to the case does not, however, say anything about the existence of a pharmacy in this house,²⁵ and no other sources referring to this have been found.

Kielchas beyond doubt held a pharmacy in the mid-eighteenth century. A letter of February 6, 1751, bears testimony to that, which notes about equal treatment of his apprentices and assistants.²⁶ Only those who held their own pharmacy could have apprentices and assistants.

In the 1730s, there lived a pharmacist Gotfridas Knoblachas in Vilnius.²⁷ Gotfridas Liudvikas Knoblachas, as a pharmacist of Vilnius, is also mentioned in a letter written in 1745.²⁸ He held a pharmacy in Vilnius. This we find out from the inventory of the property of the Paškevičius family compiled in 1744. It states that before their death, the Paškevičius family had taken medicines from the Knoblach pharmacy.²⁹

The facts presented herein testify to quite a number of pharmacies having operated in Vilnius. Regretfully, the sources mentioned above do not make it clear to us where exactly they were located. Yet we do have substantial information about the locations of other pharmacies.

²² Ibid., l. 1055.

²³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5347, l. 17–18v.

²⁴ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5351, l. 897–898, 925–926v.

²⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5143, l. 63–64.

²⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5130, l. 554.

²⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5345, l. 164.

²⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5350, l. 1129–1138v.

²⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5128, l. 899.

As an example, in 1609 the pharmacy of pharmacist Dovydas was based in the house of Mikołaj Hlebowicz, Pantler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (currently 26 Vokiečių Street; possession 374).³⁰

The historical sketch of block 36 of the Old Town of Vilnius indicates that the house [5 Antokolskio Street] had housed a pharmacy in the second half of the seventeenth century as well. It is known that Albrechtas Šneideris has owned it.³¹ In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the pharmacy was located in the so-called “Meler’s house” which since 1675 belonged to the Vilnius Lutheran community.³² At the end of the eighteenth century, it became possession 373 [24 Vokiečių Street]. We can assume that a pharmacy had been situated in this house since the 1640s because in 1641 it fell into the hands of Paulius Mele-
ris, Doctor of Philosophy and medicine.³³ Note that at that time, doctors were also often engaged in the practice of pharmacists, keeping pharmacies. The following fact testifies to that being true. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a building in this possession was taken on lease by Mykolas Kliocas, Doctor of Philosophy and medicine, too, and it seems he also kept a pharmacy there.³⁴ This suggests that a pharmacy in the buildings of this possession had operated for quite a long time.

In 1712, the house of Mosievičius on Vokiečių Street, possession 298, housed a pharmacy.³⁵ Currently this house is no longer present. The Exhibition Palace of the Museum of Art of the Lithuanian SSR [currently The Lithuanian National Museum of Art] was built in place of it and other neighboring buildings.

In 1750, Jonas Karolis Hanišas, a “royal pharmacist”, lived in Vilnius.³⁶ In some eighteenth-century documents, he is referred

³⁰ Banikonienė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 38; PKI archyvas, f. 5-2220.

³¹ Dambrauskaitė, Vaitkunskaitė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio 36 kvartalas*, 99. PKI archyvas, f. S-222.

³² Banikonienė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 56; PKI archyvas, f. S-222.

³³ Banikonienė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 56; PKI archyvas, f. 5-2220.

³⁴ Ibid., 62.

³⁵ Racevičienė, *Paminklas Vilniuje*, 11. PKI archyvas.

³⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5130, l. 66.

to as Hanyz. A letter dated February 20, 1771, testifies that this pharmacist had taken on a lease a flat in the house of Vincentas and Elžbieta Jurevičius. He opened a pharmacy there, which took up its quarters in a premises that had been a store before.³⁷ This document says nothing about the use of other premises for the pharmacy's needs. The aforementioned Jurevičius' house stood "in the market, not far away from the Town Hall." Apparently, the building was knocked down in later times.

The inventory of the possessions of Juozapas Minkevičius drawn up in 1789 bears testament that, when this person was ill, the medicines for him were taken from the Žalioji (Green) pharmacy ("Zielonej aptece") that was based in a "yellow masonry house."³⁸ In the sources from the period under review, three buildings in Vilnius were called "the yellow houses" two of which housed pharmacies [48 Didžioji Street], and one more pharmacy was in the yellow house in possession 296 in place of which the Exhibition Palace of the Museum of Art of the Lithuanian SSR was later erected.

In the mid-eighteenth century, there stood a masonry house on Stiklių Street that was called Devil's house ("kamienica Diabłowa"), with a pharmacy established in it as well [4 Stiklių Street]. T. Dambrauskaitė and M. Vaitkunskaite who researched this building specify that this pharmacy was "on the first floor of the building, upon entry through the gate, on the right-hand side." The ceiling and the beams in the pharmacy were wooden, and there were some more premises next to it, on the right-hand side.³⁹ It is not, however, clear if they were related to this pharmacy and which way.

In 1739, the Vilnius Magistrate investigated shopkeeper apprentice Samuel Dalman's case concerning his misappropriation of funds. During the interrogation, he indicated that his friends and he had called at the pharmacy of the Dominican monks and

³⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5143, l. 662.

³⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5146, p. 2472.

³⁹ Dambrauskaitė, Vaitkunskaite, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 109; PKI archyvas, f. 5-265; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5130, l. 830–835.

drank cinnamon vodka there.⁴⁰ Selling of alcohol in this pharmacy was no novelty in those times. Although pharmacies had been supervised by doctors since the seventeenth century, they were nothing but stores earning profit until the early nineteenth century. Besides medicinal herbs and substances they traded in ointments, tobacco, confectionary and alcohol. It was not until 1764, that trading in alcohol was prohibited, which had been highly profitable for the pharmacists.

A watchmaker of Vilnius, Jonas Veineris, died in the mid-eighteenth century. The inventory of his possessions was compiled on July 13, 1751, which specified the funeral expenses and those for some other matters. One inscription reads that 8 zloty were paid to the pharmacy of the monks of the Dominican Order.⁴¹

This is suggestive of the existence of the pharmacy of the monks of the Dominican Order in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is also mentioned in the sources from later times.

The privilege allowing the Dominican Order to keep a pharmacy in Vilnius was granted by King Stanisław August Poniatowski on February 27, 1777. It says that the monks are allowed to keep a public pharmacy (“aptekę publiczną”) under their Monastery, adding that they must take care that medicines are properly produced and stored. The pharmacy was to be available to inspection by doctors. However, no one could hinder them from selling medicines and earning a profit on that.⁴² M. Brensztejn announced about this privilege in 1928. At the same time, he indicated that this pharmacy was established in 1777. The facts presented above undoubtedly show that the pharmacy of the monks of the Dominican Order had operated much earlier than the announcer of the privilege believed. No information, though, has been found to ascertain the time of its establishment.

⁴⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5347, l. 382–385.

⁴¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5135, l. 178.

⁴² Brensztejn, Apteka XX. Dominikanów, później Zejdlerska „pod Łabędziem” w Wilnie, *Pamiętnik Wilenskiego Towarzystwa Lekarskiego i Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego*, Wilno, 1928, t. IV, Nr. 6, 291–292.

The pharmacy was in the hands of the Monastery of the Dominican Order until the early nineteenth century. It was based in the buildings of the Monastery ("w obrębie murów klasztornych").

This is stated in the December 18, 1803, certificate of the sale of the pharmacy. The Dominicans, not willing to keep this pharmacy, sold it to pharmacist Jonas Zeidleris for 7,500 Polish zloty. The certificate indicates that the pharmacy is being sold with all vessels, scales, cupboards, tables, and all other property, as well as with ready-made medicines and substances, including half of the plants growing in the botanical garden. The document does not, however, say where that garden was. It only says that J. Zeidleris is allowed to replant half of the medicinal herbs in another garden. As to the pharmacy itself, it is indicated that the buyer, upon payment of the rent, may keep it in the Monastery or move it to another place.⁴³

When Jonas Zeidleris died, the pharmacy was inherited by his son Liudvikas, who was a pharmacist as well. M. Brensztejn indicates that before 1850 this pharmacy had been on Vokiečių Street, in a house owned by the Carmelites. That year, the pharmacy's inheritor moved it to another house owned by the Carmelites on the corner of Aušros and Subačiaus streets. A swan has been used in the signboard of the pharmacy since then.⁴⁴

The pharmacy remained in the hands of the Zeidleris family until 1909. Its last owner, Juozapas Zeidleris sold it to Jonas Rodovičius. Interestingly, the swan, as the symbol of this pharmacy, has survived until our day. From T. Dambrauskaitė's historical sketch of block 43, it turns out that the house on 50 Didžioji Street (possession 74) in 1601 belonged to the assessor of the Magistrate and pharmacist, Jokūbas Jablka. He kept a pharmacy in his own house. After the owner's death, the house went to his offspring and was divided in 1637. It seems that the part of the house with the pharmacy was inherited by his son Jeronimas Jablka. He was a pharmacist too, and this is where he kept his

⁴³ *Akt sprzedaży apteki przez Dominikanów pro wizerowi Janowi Zeydlerowi*, Ibid., 292–293.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 293.

pharmacy.⁴⁵ The inventory compiled on March 25, 1652, indicates that there is a pharmacy with a small chamber (“apteka z izdebką”) from the street side. No information that any other premises of the house are used for the pharmacy is available in this source.⁴⁶ Apparently, at that time the pharmacy occupied the same premises as before. Jeronimas Jablka lived there and kept a pharmacy until 1682. Dambrauskaitė, based on the then letter of evaluation of the part of the house and its brief description, points out that “the part of the house by the street housed a pharmacy and a small chamber, a vaulted premises of a tavern, next to which there was a room and a brewery. In the cellar, one premises. The upper floor – for guests.” Then follows a description of other premises. The author assumes that these premises were in the building in the yard. They were rented for the craftsmen of different trades to live in. However, it is not said that any premises were associated with the pharmacy. This suggests that at that time, the pharmacy was by the street. Presumably, apart from the main premises, a “small room” that was next to it also belonged to the pharmacy. It is hard to say anything more about the other premises of the pharmacy. One thing is clear – the part of the house of the pharmacist Jeronimas Jablka included a total of 20 premises on two floors in 1682.⁴⁷

In 1702, the pharmacist Kliocas owned this part of the house.⁴⁸ We may reasonably assume that the pharmacy inside belonged to that same person. The inventory of the property of a Vilnius’ founder, Kristupas Revelis compiled in 1719 mentions Teodoras Kliocas, a pharmacist and Vilnius citizen.⁴⁹ The ruler August III on October 6, 1744, privileged doctor and pharmacist Mykolas Kliocas of Vilnius.⁵⁰ We can assume that Mykolas Kliocas was

⁴⁵ Dambrauskaitė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio 43 kvartalas. Istorinė apybraiža*, 35. PKI archyvas, f. 5-304.

⁴⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5096, l. 590v.

⁴⁷ Dambrauskaitė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 36. PKI archyvas, f. 5-304.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5124, l. 5–18.

⁵⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5346, l. 99–100v.

the son of Teodoras Kliocas. However, whether he kept a pharmacy at the aforementioned place or somewhere else, has not been ascertained.

The rest of the house of pharmacist Jokūbas Jablka in 1637 went into the hands of his daughter, Brevtalienė; in 1650, it went to her daughter, Lukoševičienė, and in 1693 was acquired by the Monastery of Lateran Canons (Augustinian Friars based under the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul) in Vilnius. It seems that in the first half of the eighteenth century, the friars had also acquired the aforementioned part of the house with the pharmacy. The Lateran Canons sold the entire house with the pharmacy to pharmacist Hamiltonas in 1763, in whose hands all this property remained until 1791. That year, by his last will and testament, Hamiltonas left the property to his wife who shortly sold it to assessor Martynas Vagneris of the Magistrate. The new owner, unwilling to repair the house, sold it to merchant Frolandas on March 28, 1797, who repaired it rather quickly.⁵¹ In 1806, there were 12 large and 9 small rooms in the house as well as one store. The house was heated by 16 furnaces. There was also a stable and a cart barn. Dambrauskaitė, based on archival sources, claims that there was also a pharmacy in the next-door house (48 Didžioji Street, possession 75) in the late seventeenth century. In the author's opinion, a masonry house was built there in the mid-sixteenth century. From 1693, it belonged to pharmacist Kristupas Donatas who had a pharmacy there. Dambrauskaitė does not specify how long this pharmacy was based in this house. She only makes an assumption that it may have been outrivalled by "a pharmacy next door."⁵² No additional information about the pharmacy that was there has been found.

In 1739 the owner, canon Donatas, rented the house to castellan Pociėjus of Vilnius, while in 1742 it was purchased by assessor Duchovičius of the Magistrate. Subsequently, it went to Paškevičius, who sold it to Voiciehovski in 1799.⁵³ Although

⁵¹ Dambrauskaitė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 36–37. PKI archyvas, f. 5-304.

⁵² Ibid., 35.

⁵³ Ibid.

rather abundant historical material about pharmacies in Vilnius has been collected, pharmacists are mostly just mentioned. However, there is a fair number of sources with available information about the pharmacies that once operated in the city. The time of operation and the locations of some pharmacies have been ascertained. Yet, no sources that would characterize them in greater detail, describe their planned structure and interior along with the attributes of their interior are available. The most valuable in this respect is the inventory of the pharmacy of Vilnius University compiled in the late 1773 and early 1774.

The history of Vilnius University notes that “the only medicine related institution in the academy was its well-dealt-with pharmacy – ‘pharmacopoly’”, which most probably commenced operation in 1600. The catalogue of the academy employees has also recorded the first pharmacist of the academy we are aware of – B. Franckevičius, who is referred to here as “apothecarium.”⁵⁴ At first, the pharmacy satisfied the needs of the University alone. Later, it began servicing the townsfolk as well. It is, however, not known where the pharmacy was located before the 1680s. On January 31, 1632, the then academy acquired a masonry house. Having rebuilt it in 1687 after the fire of 1652 that devastated the building, it fitted out a pharmacy there⁵⁵ which functioned throughout the entire period under review. An inventory of Vilnius University, the buildings and other property that belonged to it, including the pharmacy, was compiled in the late 1773 and early 1774. It described in quite sufficient detail the premises of the pharmacy, its individual sections, the furniture, pictures, and other objects that were inside.⁵⁶

Given the particular significance of this document to the dealing with this issue, a description of the University pharmacy is

⁵⁴ Dambrauskaitė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, 34; PKI archyvas, f. 5-304.

⁵⁵ Vladimirovas, *Bendroji raida, Vilniaus universiteto istorija, 1577–1803*, 68; Dambrauskaitė, *Gyvenamas namas Universiteto 1/2 (buv. Akademijos vaistinė). Istorinė apybraiža*, 4. PKI archyvas, f. 5-578.

⁵⁶ LVIA, f. 525, apr. 8, b. 1028, l. 329v–349.

presented below. The inventory notes that the entrance to the pharmacy was from the corridor of the "college". At the end of the corridor, there was an old two-leafed door through which one entered the pharmacy's anteroom. Half of the flooring in the anteroom was of square bricks and half of stone ("kamienną posadzką słaną"). The panes of the window were set in lead. The anteroom had two more doors apart from the above-named one. A pine-tree door led to the stairs leading up to the second floor. In front of this door there was an ornate door with wainscoting ("z blejtrami") and two columns connected by a cornice at the top. On one of the columns, there was a statue of St. Stanislaus, on the other – that of St. Casimir. The door led into the pharmacy's hall ("do sali aptecznej"). Its flooring was of square stones. There were three four-partite windows with the panes framed in lead. Wooden bars clad in copper tin, with a small door, divided the premises in two. The bars rested on metal rods ("żelaznemi prętami sospate"). 32 cupboards stood along the hall walls, with painted images of "holy doctors of medicine." Some cupboards were with drawers, others had shelves. The cupboards rested on three lines of drawers, a total of 198. In this premises there hung eight pictures of "holy doctors" in oval gilded frames painted on canvas apart from the paintings on the cupboards mentioned above.

There stood a small table "with lathe-turned legs" near the bars. Three tables were with drawers without specifying their locations. At the end of the hall, there was a carpenter-made oak wainscoted door, leading into a room. The room was with a "kostkę słaną" board flooring. There were two non-uniform windows in the room. One of them is said to have been four-partite, the other – half-opening ("na pół otwierające się"). The panes of one of them were framed in lead. Whereas the panes of the second arkusz-size window were framed in wood, using putty. Both windows were iron barred from inside. Each window had a pair of *haras* (Lith. *harasas*) curtains. Two paintings painted on canvas in black wooden frames hung in the room. Two tables stood in it. The oak table with lathe-turned legs had 24 drawers. The

other, smaller oak table had 7 drawers. A two-partite cupboard with plaited wire embellishments stood there. Both the lower and the upper parts of it had a two-partite door. An armchair upholstered in leather was there.

From this room, an oak door, also with oak wainscoting in which there was a small iron door of half its size which led into the bedroom.

The floor in this room was the same as in the room described before. It had one four-partite window with the panes framed in wood, using putty ("szyby taflowe").⁵⁷ A curtain of green *haras* covered the window. There were iron bars in it in addition.

The room was heated by a Saxon furnace. It stood on a metal base ("na postumencie żelaznym"), and at the top of the furnace there was a decorative cornice ("z korniczonem"). In the room, there were four recesses with shelves and curtains of green *haras*, as well as two tables of a different size upholstered in "oilskin" and six armchairs upholstered in leather. The larger table is said to have been with a two-leafed door and drawers, whereas the smaller one to have been on crossed legs. An oak door with paneling led from this room straight into the pharmacy's laboratory.

It should be noted that the entrance to it was not only from the room – it was from the pharmacy hall as well.

Further in the inventory, the premises for keeping chemical substances ("komora chemiczna") is described. The entrance to it was from "the first room." One entered this, as well as the pharmacy's other premises, through an oak door, also with oak paneling. The floor was square bricks. The premises had four square shaped windows with four panes, each framed in lead. All of the windows were barred from inside. A huge recess with shelves set in masonry occupied one wall in the premises. The inventory does not note it having had a door or a curtain. It only shows that there were two more small cupboards with pine-tree doors in the premises. Each of them also seem to have been set

⁵⁷ The inventory has it "fatlowe." This should be considered a mistake which occurred due to a switch of letters.

in a recess. From this premises, an iron door led into the water distilling premises ("do komory alembikowej"). The flooring was brick. The room had one window with the panes framed in lead and a water supply. Water which came through its conduits filled a copper bathtub that stood there. Besides it, two copper distilling tanks bricked in a furnace ("alembików murowanych"), with pipes and plugs ("z czapkami i trąbkami z przytrąbkami"), could be seen in the premises. One more oak door led from this premises into the yard. A description of the laboratory came after the description of this premises. It begins with the noting of double-leaf and one-leaf doors in one wall of the pharmacy hall. The latter gave access to the laboratory. It, as well as many other premises, had a brick flooring. The two windows in it were four-partite, with the panes enclosed in lead. As to the furniture in the laboratory, just a two-leafed cupboard is noted. Two more doors in it are noted apart from those mentioned above. Both were made of pine wood. One door gave access to the yard, the other – to the room of assistant pharmacists ("do izby czeladnej"). From it, a similar door led into a premises called a "pantry". In both premises, the flooring was square bricks, and they were heated by a Saxon furnace with a cornice at the top ("z korniczonem"). The furniture in the premises included a cupboard with a double-leaf door, two small tables, seven easy chairs, three armchairs upholstered in leather, and four beds.

Exit from the laboratory through the yard door led to a staircase to the second floor. Having ascended its five stairs through a carpenter made door, one entered the pharmacy's storeroom whose door was of square bricks.

In the storeroom, there were three windows with arkusz-size panes framed in lead and an iron bar. The storeroom was heated by a Saxon furnace. Along the walls, there stood cupboards without doors but with shelves for holding glass vessels.

Upon return through the same door and ascending to the second floor, a wooden door led into another storeroom for holding fine glass medicinal vessels. It had a brick flooring and one four-partite window with the panes framed in lead. There were two doors in this storeroom's wall, one of them leading to the

loft staircase, the other one – into a storeroom of medicinal herbs. The latter had a brick flooring and four two-leaf windows with six arkusz-size panes, each framed in lead.

Oak wood thick boards were piled in the loft.

Further on, the inventory notes that upon coming back to the first storeroom, on the right, a carpenter-made green painted door with gilded wainscoting (“lisztowkami pozlacanemi”) led into the pharmacy’s storeroom of “different materials”. It was with a flooring of square bricks and had four-partite windows framed in lead. In between the windows there stood four cabinets with doors. The cabinets seem to have stood by one wall. A huge green cupboard with 149 drawers stood by the other three walls.

A door similar to that mentioned above, led from this premises into another storeroom of materials with the same flooring and a window. All of the walls in this room were furnished with green cupboards with 226 drawers. In addition, two painted, chest-shaped (“per modum skrzyń robionych”) tables stood in the storeroom.

From this room, a green painted door with gilded wainscoting led into the passageway. There was a staircase to the first floor in it. From the passageway, through a pine wood door, one entered small premises (“izdebkę”) with a brick flooring and one four-partite window with the panes framed in lead, covered half-way with a *haras* curtain. In a recess with shelves, books were laid together. The premises was heated by a round white tile furnace. There was a bed and a painted lectern in it.

The inventory notes that the floorless premises near the storeroom of materials was used to keep tobacco in. There were two old windows with their panes framed in lead and a table in the room.

Having descended from the above-named passageway by stairs down to the laboratory, in front of the stairs, there was a pine wood door clad in a decorative plank finish (“futrowane”) leading into the square stone paved yard of the pharmacy.

Looking at the drive-in gate, on the right-hand side, a water supply conduit entering the distilling premises could be seen, and by the gate (on the same side), there stood two sheds covered with tiles for holding firewood and coal.

On the opposite side of the yard, by the drive-in gate, there stood a vaulted stone paved stable with a two-leaf door “resting on one pillar.” Near it, there was residential premises with a pine wood door and one window with small panes framed in lead. A bed and a little table stood in it. Next to this small residential room, there was also a small premises without a door and windows for keeping firewood.

There was a carpenter made two-leafed wooden gate from the yard into the street.⁵⁸

T. Dambrauskaitė who researched this building, notes that in the late eighteenth century, the pharmacy building was a two-floor one with a closed yard. The pharmacy premises were located near the current Universiteto Street. There were auxiliary premises in the yard, whereas the farm buildings were near the then Šv. Jono Street. After reconstruction of the buildings near Šv. Jono Street in 1814–1816, the pharmacy was moved in. In 1832 it went into private hands.⁵⁹

The provided description of this institution from the eighteenth century, shows that the University pharmacy was rather large. The former pharmacy of the Dominican Order which had its own garden of medicinal herbs seems to have been fairly large too. It is more difficult to say something about private pharmacies. Yet they were undoubtedly differently sized, moreover that this is mentioned in individual documents at times. As an example, a letter of September 7, 1778, written over the property matters of the wife of pharmacist Lanceris, notes that when he was still alive, he had been impoverished and thus held “a little pharmacy rather than a pharmacy.”⁶⁰ Finding the description of the “little pharmacy” has failed, though.

Given that then, the pharmacies traded also in some groceries, tobacco and vodka products apart from medicines, little

⁵⁸ LVIA, f. 526, apr. 8, b. 1028, l. 329v (vaistinės patalpų aprašymas) (description of the pharmacy premises.)

⁵⁹ Dambrauskaitė, *Gyvenamas namas Universiteto* 1/2, 1–2; PKI archyvas, f. 5-578.

⁶⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5144, l. 920–921.a.

pharmacies apparently were similar to the then little stores. We could conclude that there must have stood benches and tables for those who would have a drink right there.

It is known that the ceiling in the pharmacies of Western European countries would be hung with different stuffed creatures, reptiles, and other animals.⁶¹ This, as nowadays would seem odd décor for a ceiling decorating the pharmacies of different rank and size. We could assume that the pharmacies and “little pharmacies” in Vilnius followed the same trend; moreover, that quite a few owners of pharmacies in the city were foreign nationals.

Based on the researched material, the following conclusions can be derived.

The first pharmacy in Vilnius was established in the early sixteenth century. Later, they grew in number in the city.

In the seventeenth-eighteenth century, there lived quite a few pharmacists in capital of Lithuania who owned pharmacies. Some of them would establish them in their home, others – in rented premises.

The pharmacies varied in size and the interior.

The way these large institutions looked like in Vilnius in the eighteenth century, is shown by a description of the pharmacy of the University from the 1770s.

No sources that would describe the interior of at least one little pharmacy have been detected.

In the period under review, pharmacies were decorated with different stuffed creatures, reptiles, and other animals. The furniture in these institutions, as can be seen from the description of the interior of the University pharmacy, was decorated with images of persons related to the history of medicine and probably other paintings.

Similar paintings may have decorated individual sections of the premises of the then pharmacies. Therefore, the search for polychromy in the houses that historical sources note as having housed pharmacies should be carried out with particular diligence and preciseness.

⁶¹ Patrick, *A History of Britain. The Making of a Nation, 1603–1789*, 206.

We are currently aware that in the period under review, pharmacies were situated in the following buildings in the Old Town of Vilnius:

1. 5 Antokolskio Street (2nd half of the eighteenth century).
2. 4 Stiklių Street (mid-eighteenth century).
3. 24 Vokiečių Street (seventeenth-eighteenth century).
4. 48 Didžioji Street (seventeenth-eighteenth century).
5. 50 Didžioji Street (seventeenth-eighteenth century).
6. 2 Universiteto Street (seventeenth-eighteenth century).
7. The buildings of the Monastery of the Dominican Order (eighteenth century).

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Metalsmith

ARTURAS (ARTHUR) RAGAUSKAS

Arturas was born in Kaunas, Lithuania. His sphere of interests included Eastern European mythology as well as the historic significance of jewelry. His formal studies in jewelry design included gemology, gemstone cutting, and precious metal properties. He graduated from The Lithuanian Academy of Art in 1994 and emigrated to the United States in 1996. In 1999 he established a Chicago-based jewelry design studio focusing on European sophistication with American elegance. Combining modern metal forms and cuts with traditional styles, Arthur's work reaches a striking and diverse new approach to jewelry. The pieces capture the nostalgia and mystery of the past through a contemporary lens. While creating new collections with complex surfaces such as matte, brushed, and hammered finishes he often experiments with various techniques utilizing new materials and methods. Arturas begins by personally sketching and designing each piece. He then carves a wax model, casts the sterling silver, and accents the work with gold and champagne diamonds, allowing the central stone, when used, to act as a focal point. Each piece develops into a one-of-a-kind keepsake to last a lifetime. Arturas also works with individual clients on personal pieces allowing the client to share and collaborate in a particular vision. The work can also be described as bold with delicate undertones. He has been recognized and awarded numerous honors and awards in the field and is an artist exhibiting in galleries throughout the Midwest.



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Earrings*
Raw Azurite, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Earrings*
Agate Druzy, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGASKAS. *Men's Ring*
Amethyst, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Necklace Pendant*
Azurite, Green Tourmaline, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Necklace Pendant*
Uvaronite Garnet Druzy, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Ring*
Aquamarine Druzy, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Ring*
Opal, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Ring*
Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Ring*
Opal, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Ring*
Tsavorite Garnet, Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds



Arturas RAGAUSKAS. *Ring*
Sterling Silver, 22K Yellow Gold, Diamonds
Photo credits: Vilma Birbilaite

Early Choral Singing in Lithuania

DANUTĖ PETRAUSKAITĖ

A Historical Overview of the State of Lithuania

Lithuania as a state was established in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth through the fifteenth century, it became one of the largest countries in Eastern Europe. In 1569, the Lublin Union was signed by which a joint state, i.e., the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was created. That is how the confederation called the Republic of Two Nations came into being, with all the attributes typical of a state, including public life, entertainment, and music performances. Information about the first choirs appeared in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century.¹ Choirs at the time were small ensembles consisting of 4–6 singers who sang in churches during the services. At the beginning of their existence, monophonic singing in Latin and Polish dominated, but later, in the sixteenth century, mixed choirs were able to sing in several voices. The singers were mostly serfs who had been trained by choir masters-graduates from schools abroad. The musical culture of Lithuania flourished in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries: vocal instrumental ensembles played in the palaces of dukes, and organ music sounded in churches.² The first Lithuanian hymn in the Lithuanian language for mixed choir was published in 1570, in East Prussia (its author was Martynas Mažvydas); the first handbook of music theory in Latin by Vilnius University professor Žygimantas Liauksminas appeared in 1667; and Jesuits composed a lot of Catholic hymns. Presumably,

¹ *Muzikos enciklopedija*, 249.

² Trilupaitienė, “Muzikai feodalinėje Lietuvoje,” 56–67.

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ensembles of mixed voices were popular in Vilnius in the seventeenth century because at that time, in 1636, the first opera, *The Abduction of Helen* of an Italian composer Marco Scacchi, was performed in the Lower Castle of Vilnius.³ However, wars with Sweden, and in particular with Russia, ruined Lithuania. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Russian army destroyed the Lower Castle of Vilnius with its stage for theatre, its art gallery, the collection of musical instruments, and the library. The development of musical culture was stopped for a long period.

In 1795, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was partitioned to the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and Austria. Almost all of its territory was incorporated into Russia, and only a small part – the territory on the left bank of the Nemunas River – became part of Prussia. Thus, in the late eighteenth century, Lithuania was deleted from the map of Europe. Some of the former high officials, such as Duke, politician, and composer Michał Kleofas Ogiński, still cherished the hope of turning the history of the state in another direction: in 1811, he presented a project of restoration of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Alexander I, the Emperor of Russia. When Ogiński understood that his project would not be implemented, he left Lithuania in 1815, settled in Florence in 1822 and stayed there until his death.⁴ Today, his famous polonaise *L'adieu à la Patrie* symbolically marks the collapse of Lithuania as a state.

The hope of regaining independence returned with the arrival of Napoleon in Lithuania. Therefore, the first decades of the nineteenth century could have been called the period of hope. Unfortunately, the French army did not free the country, only robbed it. After the Congress of Vienna, Lithuania was once again left as a part of Russia, and a new period of Russification started.⁵ The Russian oppression was especially heavy for educational institutions. Vilnius University, one of the oldest universities in Eastern Europe which at that time represented the Pol-

³ Bruveris, *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras*, 20.

⁴ Zahuski, *Michalas Kleopas Oginskis*, 84–91.

⁵ Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė, *Lietuvos istorija*, 224–230.

ish-speaking society, experienced the burden of Russification.⁶ The nobility was particularly dissatisfied with the restrained freedom. Therefore, many dukes, landowners, and educated people participated or contributed to the uprising in Poland and Lithuania in 1830. However, the uprising was suppressed and ended in the defeat of Lithuanians and Poles. The autonomous Kingdom of Poland was abolished, Lithuania was destroyed, a lot of people were killed, and even more of them deported to Russia. The nobility lost their estates, Vilnius University and many schools were closed, and strict censorship was applied to education and culture. Only native Russians could get jobs in state institutions. The Statute of Lithuania was abolished in 1840 to be replaced by the Russian laws and courts. Thus, the hopes for freedom cherished in the first decades of the nineteenth century were shattered. Lithuanian and Polish intellectuals were forced to emigrate because of the political and cultural pressure of Russia and its censorship. Those historical events greatly influenced the musical life in Lithuania.

Choral Music in Lithuanian Churches

Lithuania was the last pagan country in Europe to adopt Christianity. Most of its population was baptized in the late fourteenth century. Despite the late arrival of Christianity, the number of churches in it grew rapidly; in the end of the eighteenth century, their number amounted to over 600. A big part of them had vocal instrumental ensembles. Such churches turned into centres of musical culture and retained that role until the late nineteenth century. Ensembles were supported by the church hierarchy and their patrons. Choir groups consisted of 10–15 singers, mostly men and boys. Only in exceptional cases, women could sing, e.g., in the Holy Trinity Church in Vilnius. The usual instrumental ensembles also had about 10–15 musicians playing strings,

⁶ Šapoka, *Lietuvos istorija*, 449–451.

wind, and percussion instruments – violins, violas, flutes, bassoons, timpani, and, of course, the organ. The number of instruments, as well as singers in choirs, depended on the financial situation of each church. The ensembles that wanted to perform more sophisticated compositions had to include many more musicians than in their performances during services. The members of the ensembles were secular people who studied music either under private teachers or under older members of the ensembles who had more experience in performing arts, or at church schools called bursas. Those bursas, supported by the nobility and clergy, were the main institutions which educated new musicians for church ensembles.

Gregorian chant groups also took part in liturgy and were active until the end of the nineteenth century. Mostly they sang on Sundays and religious holidays. The singers were specially educated cantors who were not members of the church vocal instrumental ensembles.

Musicians' professional mastery was highly appreciated, especially their ability to play several instruments, to sing, to perform the liturgical repertoire, and to take an active part in the musical life of the city. The biggest salaries were paid to instrumentalists, and the specific amount was calculated, based on their qualification and working time. Choral singers' salaries were lower and the same for everybody without differentiation. The smallest salaries were paid to the members of Gregorian chant groups.⁷ That suggests that singing Gregorian chants was not as highly appreciated as singing in mixed choirs. The salary of an organ player was based on the number of times they participated in liturgy. In order to retain members of their ensembles, the authorities of churches tried to improve their life conditions in all possible ways. For example, the members of the Vilnius Cathedral ensemble had a special house as a dormitory where they could live. Sometimes instead of salary, musicians received food, candles, clothes, and footwear.

⁷ Budzinauskienė, "XIX amžiaus bažnytiniai muzikiniai kolektyvai," 34.

Musicians who wanted to play or sing in the church ensemble were strictly examined. After that, they had to sign a written contract and to promise not to participate in the activities of other churches. Therefore, exchanges of members of church ensembles were a rare phenomenon. The leaders of church ensembles had both to play several instruments and to organize the musical life of the church as well as to create music. They were responsible for the ensemble repertoire and the rehearsals.

The most visited church in Vilnius was the Cathedral, famous for its ensemble which was founded by Bishop Eustachijus Valavičius in 1628.⁸ In that year, a mixed vocal ensemble started to sing there. Performing arts reached the highest professional level in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially after 1823, when the Music Committee of the Vilnius Cathedral was established. The Committee took care of musical instruments, sheet notes, and the education of the ensemble members, and they tried to enrich the repertoire. The information about the repertoire could be found in a report book of this Committee, because the printed, purchased, or donated sheet notes were recorded in it.⁹ During the reconstruction of the Vilnius Cathedral, its musical ensemble was transferred to the Church of St. Johns and performed together with the local ensemble. However, the successful activity of the musicians of those two churches did not mean that other church ensembles in Lithuania were also flourishing. Quite a few churches and monasteries were closed, while others faced serious financial difficulties. Thus, e.g., when a church in Jonava was closed, all its musical instruments were given to the Vilnius Cathedral, which suggests that one ensemble was enriched at the expense of another.¹⁰

The ensembles of St. George and Jesus' Heart Churches in Vilnius were well-known, and their professional level was very

⁸ Budzinauskienė, "Vilniaus katedros ir Viešpaties Jėzaus," 12.

⁹ Protokul Sessyów Komitetu Muzyki Kosciola Katedralnego Sporządzony Roku 1823 Miesiaca Grudnia 18 Dnia, in: *The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. Manuscripts Department*, F43-19679.

¹⁰ Budzinauskienė, "XIX amžiaus bažnytiniai muzikiniai kolektyvai," 33.

high. They were under the control of their Church Committees and worked in accordance with their statutes. St. Casimir's Church also had a vocal instrumental ensemble, but in 1840, the church was transferred to Russian St. Nikolai Orthodox Church. Churches in Vilnius operated in isolation and did not share musical works among themselves because of competition. Each of them tried to attract more people with a new repertoire. The ensembles of small towns were mostly influenced by the noblemen estate musicians. Very often the same musicians played in an estate and in the church. Ensembles of monasteries, big cathedrals, and rich churches tried to avoid the influence of secular musicians.

The repertoire of church ensembles was extensive – from Gregorian chant, compositions for one or two voices to polyphonic compositions, and from choral hymns *a cappella* to instrumental accompaniment. If in the Western tradition the transition from monody to polyphony took place gradually, then in Lithuania these two styles existed simultaneously. The repertoire of church ensembles could be divided into three groups: compositions of 1) professional composers from Lithuania or Poland; 2) amateurs, also of members and leaders of church ensembles; and 3) Western European composers.¹¹ The works of local professionals and Polish composers, such as Florian Bobrowski, Adalbert Dankowski, József Kozłowski, and Stanisław Pieszko, formed the largest part of the ensemble repertoire.

Florian Bobrowski (?1779–1846?) was ordained as a priest in 1807, and from 1822 till the end of his life worked in the parish church in Nemenčinė near Vilnius which belonged to Vilnius University. It seems likely that the works of Bobrowski were first performed in his church in Nemenčinė and then in Vilnius. He composed liturgical and secular music. His compositions were written for small mixed choir or vocal ensembles followed by instrumental accompaniment.¹²

¹¹ Budzinauskienė, "Lietuvos bažnytinių kapelų," 26.

¹² Budzinauskienė, "Bažnytinės vokalinės-instrumentinės muzikos kūrėjai," 21–23.

It remains unknown where and when composer Adalbert Dankowski (?1760–1814?) was born and died, where he lived and work. All we know about him is that he sent a lot of his manuscripts to various ensembles in different cities, including the Vilnius Cathedral where his compositions were popular from 1830 until 1850. In comparison to Bobrowski, his works were larger scale and more elaborate.¹³

The musical life in Vilnius would not have been so bright in the nineteenth century but for the Polish composer and conductor Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872). He first visited Vilnius in the summer of 1837 when he studied music in Berlin. After two years, he decided to stay in Vilnius for a longer time and began to work as an organ player in the Church of St. Johns. At first, he started to renew the repertoire of the ensemble which he found rather poor. He performed compositions of professional composers and his own works unknown to other church ensembles. Moniuszko followed the innovations of Westerns classics and tried to interpret the traditional church music in his own way. The requirements for liturgical music fell into last place because of the artistic interests of the conductor. Of all the churches of Vilnius, the dearest one to him was the Chapel of the Gate of Dawn. His parents prayed there, he was married there, and his children were baptized in this Chapel. The Gate of Dawn was not only a sacred place for Catholics: it was a place that united all Christians. About 1840, a new tradition emerged: the ensembles of Vilnius churches started to play and to sing during the Holy Week from morning until evening and to glorify Blessed Virgin Mary with their music. Moniuszko participated in the process and wrote four litanies dedicated to the Gate of Dawn.¹⁴

Litany was one of the most archaic forms of prayer used in services and processions, consisting of the number of petitions. Before the nineteenth century, two types of litanies were formed: the Great Litany and the Small Litany. They were classified ac-

¹³ Ibid, 23–26.

¹⁴ Budzinauskienė. "Stanisławo Moniuszkos Vilniaus laikotarpio bažnytinė kūryba. II dalis," 213.

cording to references, for example, Litany of All Saints or Blessed Virgin Mary Litany. Mary's importance for the Catholics of Poland and Lithuania was great. She was esteemed as the Mother of the Catholic Church. Therefore, some composers of Lithuania (including Józef Kozłowski and Adalbert Dankowski) created compositions in honor of the Virgin.¹⁵ In Lithuania, litanies were not very popular as a musical genre, nevertheless, musicians of Vilnius church ensembles performed them. Sometimes litanies were performed during services.

Moniuszko wrote his four litanies in a period of 12 years: Litany 1 in 1843, 2, in 1849, 3, about 1854, and 4, in 1855. He united the aspects of liturgical and concert genres in all litanies and adapted the prayer text very freely. The composer tried to avoid monotony and to diversify the melody and rhythm. The litanies were performed at the Gate of Dawn and the Church of St. Johns under the direction of the author. They had more differences than similarities. The style of the first litany was very close to Classicism. The second one was idyllic, lyrical, far from the liturgical genre. The third litany was dedicated to Rossini who sent a letter to Moniuszko with his thanks. It was the most elaborated, dramatized, and based on contrasts, and it also contained some elements of opera. The fourth litany was written in the last years of the composer's life in Vilnius and was like the first one. The style of all the litanies showed that, in his compositions, Moniuszko was not a Romantic, but rather a moderate Classicist.

In his Vilnius period, Moniuszko wrote three masses. Two of them – in A and E minor – were created for female choir. It is possible to guess that the composer had in mind a choir of boys from the Vilnius Charity Society. The musical language of these masses was simple, and the liturgical text was written in Polish which was a big innovation at that time. Around 1850, Moniuszko wrote *Requiem* for his late mother. The composition was not of a liturgical, but of a concert character, because at that time the secularization of liturgical genres began to emerge. To sum up the

¹⁵ Budzinauskienė, "XIX a. bažnytinės muzikos žanrai Lietuvoje," 215–216.

works of Stanisław Moniuszko, one can argue that the composer was on the border of Romanticism but did not go far beyond it.

Missa sollemnis and *Missa brevis* were widespread genres of church music. They were used by almost all composers. Such compositions were not complicated, written for a choir of 3 or 4 voices with the organ accompaniment. *Missa brevis* could be found which consisted of two movements – *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. Some of the movements became independent and turned into separated chants as *Credo*, *Benedictus*, or *Agnus Dei*. The genre of vespers was popular at that time, too.

The repertoire could be updated and expanded only in famous churches which had patrons donating printed works to their ensembles. When the compositions were rewritten by hand and distributed among musicians, the name of the benefactor was written side by side to the name of composer. However, such donations could not guarantee a rich repertoire, and the leaders of ensembles and their members had to enrich it with their own compositions, such as masses, litanies, or hymns. Many amateur composers were doing this without any artistic ambitions, as at that time the authorship was not very important. The main focus was on the genre. Therefore, most of the musical works which survived until our day are anonymous. Only a few names are known, including D. Adomowicz, Luka, Pawlewski, Piotrowicz, and Rutkowski.

The leaders of ensembles did not strictly select musical compositions, therefore musicians when rewriting the scores tried to make them shorter, to insert new music, or to change instrumentation. Since works of Western European composers were difficult to obtain, but very prestigious, local authors sometime replaced their own names with the names of Franz Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, or Ludwig van Beethoven. Most often Mozart's name was used.¹⁶ Apparently, local authors had a strong desire to boast to other ensembles. Therefore, musicologists must be very careful and check each composition allegedly signed by European classics, because authors' names were sometimes fal-

¹⁶ Budzinauskienė, "Vakarų Europos klasikų kūriniai," 214.

sified. The local amateur composers also did not avoid borrowing large fragments of music from other authors and inserting them in their own compositions.

In the early nineteenth century, the works of Western European composers were well known in Lithuania. They were brought by foreign musicians who got jobs in church ensembles or in the homes of the nobility. In that way, works by Czech, Italian, Austrian, and German composers came to Lithuania, and sheet notes could be purchased in the bookstore of József Zawadzki in Vilnius. When summing up the repertoire of the Vilnius church ensembles, musicologists arrived at the conclusion that it was not much inferior to that of the Warsaw ensembles but came short of Western Europe. Obviously, Vilnius was not an unknown periphery of Eastern Europe. A special style of church music was born there, a style that combined the characteristics of Classicism and early Romanticism. In the mid-nineteenth century, the number of churches started to decrease, and the ensembles of the existing churches found it increasingly more difficult to survive. Around 1850, the authorities of the Vilnius Cathedral stopped paying salaries to its musicians, and many of them left the ensemble. Later, quite a few churches had to give up their vocal or instrumental groups, and the old musical tradition which gave glamour and attractiveness to services was broken. Gregorian chant and singing *a cappella* became more popular in the second half of the nineteenth century. That was the reason why professional choral singers were replaced by lay people – dilettantes.

Choral Music in Secular Life

The multinational population of Vilnius included Polish, Jewish, Russian, Belarusian, German, and Lithuanian communities. Part of the Vilnius inhabitants liked classical music and attended concerts. The Franks, father Johann Peter (1745–1821) and his son Joseph (1771–1842), both medical doctors, were among them. They received invitations to work as educators at the Imperial

University of Vilnius and came from Vienna to Vilnius in 1805. A year later, Johann Peter went to St. Petersburg, and his son Joseph stayed in Vilnius for almost 20 years and did a lot for the medical science and musical life. He was famous not only as an excellent diagnostician, a protector of poor people, a good teacher, the founder of the Vilnius Medical Society and a few medical institutes, but also as a great music lover. His wife Christine was a singer. Both of them organised charity concerts, were sponsors of the Vilnius Theatre, and tried to spread the spirit of the Vienna musical life. Their names were known to musicians in Lithuania and abroad, and those who came with concerts to Vilnius liked to visit the Franks house.¹⁷

One of the most significant concerts organized by Joseph Frank was the performance of the oratorio *Creation of the World* by Haydn in 1809. The part of Eve was written specifically for Frank's wife, Christine. More than 100 local musicians played in the orchestra, but the number of the choir singers remained unknown; presumably, there were many of them. Some of them were summoned not only from Vilnius but also from the closest estates. The concert was a very big event in the cultural life of Vilnius. Unfortunately, the professional skills of performers were uneven, therefore, the level of artistic performance was not very high. A great merit of the concert organizers was a printed booklet with explanations about arias which were translated from German into Polish.

Concerts in Vilnius were organised not only by Frank. In 1817, on Good Friday, another oratorio by Haydn, *The Seven Last Words of Christ*, was performed in St. Johns' Church. About 120 musicians participated in it. The initiator and conductor of the oratorio was Nymałowskiej, Director of the Vilnius Theatre Orchestra, and many musicians came from church ensembles: they were encouraged to participate in the musical life of their towns and thus improve their skills.¹⁸ A year later, an opera concert was organized in the Vilnius Theatre; it included not only overtures, arias, and duets, but also choral fragments.

¹⁷ Frankas, *Vilnius XIX amžiuje: atsiminimai*, 649–650.

¹⁸ Drėma, *Iš Lietuvos teatro istorijos šaltinių*, 1761–1853, 92.

The musical life of Vilnius became even stronger when Moniuszko became a permanent resident of the city in 1839. A year later, he had already performed Mozart's *Requiem* with choral singers from various Vilnius churches. The singers were not only Catholics, but also members of the Protestant and Orthodox Churches. After seven years, he organized a choral concert and performed fragments from Felix Mendelssohn's oratorio *Paulus* and Haydn's oratorio *The Creation of the World*. Unfortunately, Moniuszko organized a big choir only for a one-time performance because the singers were not motivated to professionally perform structurally sophisticated compositions and had no time for rehearsals.¹⁹

However, the leaders and members of church ensembles made a significant contribution to the musical life of Vilnius. Thus, e.g., the ensemble of the Vilnius Cathedral performed the oratorio *Jesus Christ on the Mount of Olives* by Beethoven in 1824. The head of the ensemble, W. Borowski, helped to invite musicians for the performance of the oratorio *The Passion of Jesus Christ* by Józef Elsner in 1839. Before leaving Vilnius, Moniuszko arranged a traditional charity concert of St. Cecilia's Society with the musicians of church ensembles, and performed the Mass in G major of C.M. von Weber in 1857.

In the permanent choir at the Vilnius University, musical subjects were taught by Johann Holland (1746–1827) who came to Vilnius from Hamburg in the early nineteenth century. He worked there from 1802 to 1825. However, the choir was formed only for academic purposes and did not participate in the musical life of Vilnius.²⁰ Russian authorities considered Vilnius University as an institution very dangerous for a dictatorship because the students were not satisfied with the regime. Therefore, after the uprising in Poland and Lithuania in 1830–1831, the university was closed. Music studies were discontinued even before that, when Holland stopped working and died several years later.

¹⁹ Budzinauskienė, "Stanisławo Moniuszkos Vilniaus laikotarpio bažnytinė kūryba. I dalis," 215–216.

²⁰ Trilupaitienė, "J. D. Holandas apie muzikinį švietimą Vilniuje," 72–74.

Choral music in Vilnius could be heard not only in churches, but also in the Vilnius Theatre which was established by Polish musicians in the late eighteenth century.²¹ Its troupe consisted of musicians who arrived in Vilnius from Warsaw, Krakow, and Lvov. In the early nineteenth century, the theatre was professionally prepared to stage popular Western operas and arrange tours to St. Petersburg and Moscow. The Italian repertoire predominated, and the audience could quite frequently attend operas by G. Donizetti, G. Verdi, V. Bellini, and G. Rossini. Moreover, French and German operas by D. Auber, G. Meyerbeer, C. M. Weber, as well as by Moniuszko, were staged.²² The operas were performed with the participation of an orchestra and a choir. Based on the description of performances in the Vilnius press, one can guess that there was no permanent choir. For a new premiere, a new choir was assembled. There may have been a group of permanent singers, but it had to be augmented each time. One of the most important tasks of the Vilnius Theatre choir was to sing the national anthem of the Russian Empire *God Save the Tsar* before or after the most significant performances. However, as the press noticed, the choir was a luxury even for large operas. Although the expenses for the choir were very high, the salaries of choir singers were very small. A Russian spying gendarme who had to sit in the audience and to watch performances earned twice as much. After the uprising in 1830–1831, special censorship committees were formed which paid close attention to the librettos and texts of operas. The most dangerous phrases, such as “homeland” or “to be together”, had to be deleted.²³ Nevertheless, more prohibited works were performed at the Vilnius Theatre than in Warsaw. Until 1831, all operas and dramas were performed in Polish, but after 1845, compulsory vaudevilles in Russian appeared. There were not enough actors who could speak fluent Russian. The actors who were sent from Moscow did not stay in Vilnius for a longer time. Therefore, it was impossible to

²¹ Bakutytė, *Vilniaus miesto teatras: egzistencinių pokyčių keliu, 1785–1915*, 42–59.

²² Bakutytė, “Miesto teatras ir vilniečiai (1831–1864),” 48.

²³ *Ibid.*, 46.

stage more sophisticated works, and not a single Russian opera in the Vilnius Theatre was performed before 1863.

The Vilnius Theater sometimes gave performances in the summer period. They were related to special occasions. One of such occasions was the birthday of Russian Empress Aleksandra Fiodorovna on July 1, 1841. A fragment of the French opera *The Postman from Longjumeau* and a comedy of Molière were performed in the lovely Sapiega Park in the suburb of Vilnius. The show was luxurious because the organizers of the performance were supported by the Military Commandant and had enough money for the actors and choir singers. One of the city newspapers wrote: "After the performance, multicolored lights with the monogram of Her Imperial Highness lit up, and the national anthem was performed by three choirs of military music."²⁴

In 1844, the Vilnius troupe split up. Part of it, supported by Governor Semionov, set up a Russian troupe. In 1845, theatrical performances were staged in the City Hall. It was the beginning of the Polish-Russian theatre. After 1863, Polish performances were completely stopped, and a new period of Russification began.

Joseph Frank had a project to set up a theatre in Vilnius that would have been based on the Lithuanian national culture, but the conditions of that period were unfavourable for the implementation of the idea. It was also possible to hear choral singing in the nobility estates. The estates became musical centres in Lithuanian peripheries. However, following the French tradition, instrumental music was the most popular there, and the musical life of noblemen did not have any influence on the development of choral singing.

Conclusions

The vocal-instrumental ensembles of churches were the main centres of the development of choral music.

²⁴ Drėma, *Iš Lietuvos teatro istorinių šaltinių, 1761–1853*, 283–285.

The Vilnius Theatre was not greatly affected by the Russian stage music traditions in the first half of the nineteenth century, and, instead, promoted a Western music style and spirit.

The musical life in Vilnius and the Lithuanian peripheries indicated a shortage of professional singers and conductors to stimulate the choral art mainly due to Russification, political tension, and the poor economic situation.

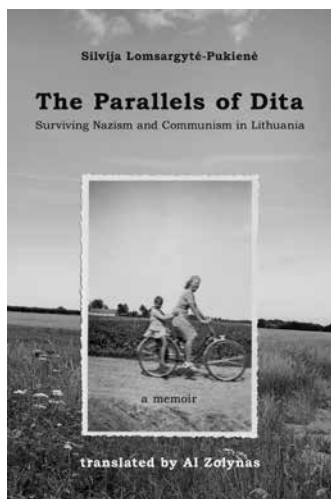
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BOOK REVIEWS

When Life Holds More Questions than Answers



Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė
*The Parallels of Dita. Surviving
Nazism and Communism
in Lithuania*
Translated by Al Zolynas
Lymer & Hart: Rainbow,
California, 2021
ISBN-13: 978-1-7350556-0-2

Memoirs, or rather the writing of memoirs, are a confrontation with the past, its revision, an attempt not so much to remember it as to reckon with it, to find out the reasons for the events that happened in the past, already knowing the consequences – good and bad. *Dita. Paralelės*, by the writer, journalist and translator Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė, published in Lithuanian in 2004 by the publishing house Jotema (Lithuania), is no exception. In 2021, the book was translated into English by Al Zolynas under the title *The Parallels of Dita. Surviving Nazism and Communism in Lithuania* and eventually published in USA.

This autobiographical book asks more questions than it provides answers. Perhaps this is because, as the English title of the book suggests, the author lived through an extremely complicated historical period: born in 1933 in independent Lithuania,

she survived both Nazi and Communist occupations, and because the author is a person of a particular fate: born into a family of a Lithuanian and a Jew, rejected by her father's family ("My grandparents didn't love me"), baptized at the age of three without her father's knowledge and consent. The author lost her father in the Holocaust, and from the age of eight, in an attempt to hide her Jewish origins from the Nazi authorities, she lived with a new name, Silvija, and a new father, whom she refused to call dad and for some time called him *ponas* ("Mister"). In fact, this book is the story of Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė's second self, Dita. In a way, this memoir is the author's attempt to draw one of the most important parallels in her life – between herself and her alter ego.

Why do you love Kaunas so painfully? asks the author her alter ego. There is no single answer to this question. Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė believes that it is not only because she was born in this city, but because this city holds her first and only memories of her father, the most important person in her life. Kaunas has preserved the daughter's first love. Love for Samuelis Subockis, to whom this book is dedicated. Father, who did not live with Dita and her mother, who after breaking up with Dita's mother started another family and was eventually killed by the Nazis, became an idealized man in Dita's life (the chapter on father is entitled "Eternal Light"): "I like everything about him – his forehead, brown eyes, and round eyeglasses with thick black frames," and especially his hands – large and warm, with prominent veins (p. 87). The others also remember Dita's father only in a positive way. Dita's uncle Kostas recalled that her daddy was "cultured, intelligent, a man of pleasant and peaceful manner, a true gentleman" (p. 91). However, she will learn this much later, only when she gathers her strength and dares to ask aloud: What was my father like?

Father's early disappearance from her life completely changed little Dita. She says that physically, she was protected, but spiritually she was "naked among wolves" (p. 91). And although Dita admits that her guardian angel had protected her through-

out the terrible war and post-war, when she was afraid of many things: darkness, fire, war, bombs, German soldiers and Russian soldiers, her math teacher, deportation to Siberia, not passing her exams, losing her loved ones, getting sick, and even dying, he helped her to grow up in body but not in spirit. The soul of the girl who was crippled as a child remained “muddled, tangled, knotted up” (p. 24). Even years later, the soul did not straighten itself out completely.

Old Dita observes that even though some things from that list she is now able to cross out, such as soldiers, deportation to Siberia, her math teacher, and exams, the rest remain. The author admits that the terrible events and experiences of her childhood and adolescence have left a lifelong imprint of having too little faith in herself. “I felt the lack of believing in myself throughout my entire life. That’s how I turned everything into a psychological complex – I’m not beautiful enough, I’m too fat, my shoe size is too big, I won’t be able to do the job required of me” (p. 101).

For Dita, losing her father meant one more thing. Being so inexperienced, she was always looking for what she could lean her lever against that would help her move the world. Old Dita admits that the place where she has tried to lean, has always been either rotten or unstable, and she would plump together with her lever into a lurking quagmire.

Dita’s recovery from the childhood traumas was also complicated by her difficult relationship with her mother, the elegant and independent Madame Milda. In the English text, the coldness and distance between daughter and mother is emphasized by the word mother. No one can say who she loved most? Herself? What did she want from life? To be rich and independent? Or to be loved unconditionally? Dita asks herself. These are questions that even adult Dita cannot answer. The relationship with her mother is also exacerbated by the discovery of a letter from Dita’s boyfriend in mother’s purse. Realizing her mother’s betrayal, after that event Dita had no one near and dear anymore. “My Mama betrayed me. The mask on my face sticks even tighter to my skin. It will take me a long time to learn to distinguish

what's honest, what's not. What to wait for, what not. Whom to love, whom not." (p. 202)

Even when the time comes to say goodbye to her sick mother, Dita remains honest and painfully open with herself: "Saying good-bye to her, I kissed my mother, not on her cheek, but on her hand, as according to the old custom. I wanted to not only humble myself, but also to ask her forgiveness – for my impatience, lack of openness, insincerity, unmercifulness. Because she, too, was impatient, guarded, insincere, and lacking in mercy towards me. Worst of all, she was intolerant" (p. 31). That is why, old Dita admits, she still holds tolerance as one of the highest of human values. She was the one to make the first move towards change, but it was too late, since it was already after her mother's death.

And yet, despite everything, Dita's life was also full of love, which she received from her mother's parents: grandmother Ona, who had only one name "Mommy," and grandfather Jonas Adomas Žolynas, or Tėtulis. It was he who introduced little Dita to the personages of the Bible – by chanting his ancient prayers to the Lord. Incidentally, with few exceptions, each chapter in the book ends with two extracts from the Bible. Even though the land of Žvirgždaičiai, Dita's grandparent's farmstead, located a few kilometers away from Marijampolė, was never very generous, it was generous to Dita. It became her roots, which gave her strength and love for the rest of her life: "Everything I touched during those country summers would be referred to these days as my origins or – roots" (p. 56). Here lived her Yatvingian ancestors and the ancestors of their ancestors. Here she learned simple but important things: how to tell the difference between rye and wheat, learned how bread is baked, how sheep are sheared, how a new chick breaks out of its shell. Here, old Dita recalls, she did not trouble her head with the question of which came first, the chicken or the egg.

The parallel of time is yet another, no less important, parallel drawn by the author in the book. However, it is problematic, because the time about which the author writes is not linear and often difficult to grasp: "It once was and now is not" (p. 213).

Although the time that dominates the memories is the past, it is often compared with the present. In such cases, the present almost always loses out to the present: "Back then no one made fun of the idea of patriotism, love of one's country, freedom, the tri-coloured national flag" (p. 7).

The change of time in the book is marked not so much by the historical events but by their echoes in the lives of Dita and her relatives. Not only the relatives, some of whom have left Dita forever (her uncle Kostas and his family, as well as her aunt Prakseda have emigrated), but also her neighbors who have disappeared, her classmates, her teachers, and her own environment, which has been transformed by new political regimes. Dita has hundreds of such places in Kaunas marked by time and history. These include the famous Laisvės Alėja (Freedom Avenue), which is a favorite of Kaunas residents, the War Museum and its garden, Vytautas Park and the church of St. Gertrude, mostly known as Šaričių Church, which the Soviets converted into a pharmaceutical warehouse. The garden of the Purickis house, where Dita grew up and which used to make everyone happy, today is "a trampled-down rocky plot. One apple tree remains. No sign of the fence and gate. Sand – not a grain. Board path – not a plank" (p. 23). A return to the past is only possible in Dita's imagination, because in reality there is no past that Dita used to know of. "Why am I not happy then, being able to return here, better late than never at all? Perhaps the chocolate has grown bitter with age and no longer tastes very good?" (p. 103).

In the second half of the book, the memories of little girl and teenager Dita give way more and more to the past and present of the adult Dita, a married mother of two children. With her age, more questions arise. "What am I today? A little worm who has managed to crawl out of the years' meat grinder and put on a bit of weight? Or maybe I'm a well-off lady who's raised and educated two children? Someone with a beloved and loving husband? But someone slow to get oriented – hence one who never wanted to drive a car. Someone who's collected a large library, the largest portion of which is no longer needed. Maybe I am an

old woman who's lived out her life in vain, sitting by a broken washtub" (p. 211).

There are also times in the book, though not too many, where details of the present are inserted into the time parallel. Often this is due to the author's children (her young daughter, a bride-to-be, holding the same bouquet as her grandmother, Onutė, extends an invisible thread from 1900 to 2000) and grandchildren, who symbolize not only the present but also the future, a kind of continuation of Dita's life. In fact, the granddaughter, who has settled down for the night in her bed and asked her grandmother, the old Dita, to tell about her childhood, only asks her not to talk about the war – she doesn't want to hurt her heart.

"From daily drudgery and deprivation I was saved by poetry," the author confesses in the book. The love of books instilled by her father only continued to grow. The poetry of Vytė Nemunėlis, who wrote for children, was soon replaced by the poems of Bernardas Brazdžionis, Mykolas Vaitkus, Jonas Aistis, Jurgis Baltrušaitis and others: "I had been hungry not only for a tastier bite, but for better literature" (p. 182). This love, which has survived to the present day, in the book is illustrated by the numerous quotations from Lithuanian poems or even entire verses. A Lithuanian poetess of a complicated fate, Salomėja Nėris, occupies a special place in Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė's life and memoirs. The book also includes some of the author's poems, written in her teenage years, when she felt one of the strongest emotions – first love.

The book is illustrated by numerous photographs from Dita's life. Even more than in the Lithuanian edition. The reader sees what Dita was like in her childhood, how she travelled down Laisvės Avenue on her father Samuelis's shoulders, what Madam Milda looked like, who attracted the eye of many a Kaunas man. In summers, together with little Dita we walk the dusty roads of her grandparents' homestead in Žvirgždaičiai. Almost all photos are from the Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė family archive.

Al Zolynas translated Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė's memoirs not by chance. Author of four poetry books, editor of two poet-

ry anthologies, translator of several poems by Lithuanian poets into English, is a relative of the author. He is the son of Dita's uncle Kostas and aunt Ona (Smilgevičiūtė) Žolynas, born in Austria in 1945. To a large extent, this memoir by his cousin is also a memoir of his immediate family, his parents, who, unlike Dita and her mother, fled to the West at the end of the Second World War to escape the impending second Soviet occupation, and his grandparents, the Žolynas family, who Al did not have the chance to meet.

In her 2004 study "The Construction of the Feminine Self in Literature," the renowned specialist of Spanish literature and literary critic Prof. Birutė Cipliauskaitė, discussing contemporary novels written by women at the end of the twentieth century, compared them to autobiography. According to the critic, those novels are characterized by first-person narrative, a tendency towards introspection, and an unsystematic and fragmentary character. Applying this insight to Silvija Lomsargytė-Pukienė's book, her memoirs could be described as a feminine fiction, in which the reader is confronted not so much with the facts and events of Dita's life, presented in a clear and chronological order, but with obscure, blurry and uncertain texts of dispersed nature, just like the poetry she admires and loves so much. In following and threading her past, the author allows herself – taking the reader along with her – to wander into the back-stage of her past life, to return to the present and sometimes even to glimpse to what might lie ahead. Cipliauskaitė would call such a text an open work.

DALIA CIDZIKAITĖ

IN MEMORIAM

Dr. JURGIS ANYSAS
(1934–2022)

Academic, a chairman of the Council of The Lithuania Minor Foundation, active member within Lithuanian-American Community. For many years he was a member of *Lituanus* Board of Directors.

JUOZAS SKIRIUS

**Homeland Lovers Association in 1896–1904:
Formation of the Organization and Issuance
of Lithuanian Books**

The Homeland Lovers Association (hereinafter – Association) established by the Lithuanian Americans in 1896 was the first diaspora organization which set itself a disinterested and charitable target – using raised funds to issue books that would strengthen Lithuanity and to distribute them for the youth in Lithuania for free. Over the 1896–1904 period, twelve books were printed in a total of 50,000 copies, one third of which were meant for Lithuania. However, the distribution of books in Lithuania faced certain challenges by 1904. The Association grew gradually and in 1904, its membership amounted to about 2,000; it had \$500 in its treasury, which already sufficed for the issuance of two books. Funds were raised not only from the members (the annual fee was \$0.60) but also donations were asked for from the Lithuanian Americans; members of the Association organized special balls, staged performances, distributed lottery tickets. Wide campaigns for joining the Association were run among the diaspora (at meetings, wedding parties and christening of fellow-countrymen).

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

Urban Life in Lithuania during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (2). Inns

Until now, it has not been established what kind of public catering institutions there have been in Vilnius, what were their names, what kind of institutions were established, and what their establishment depended on. It has not been ascertained when the first cafés and tea houses, confectionaries, billiard rooms, and institutions of a similar type appeared in our capital city. We are unaware what institutions of this type prevailed and how they looked like, what were their characteristic features.

While analyzing the buildings in the Old Town of Vilnius and when coming upon this type of institution, which in documents written in Polish are referred to as *szynki*, it turns out that in some documents they are named *karczma*, in others – just tavern. *Karczma* is a term we come across in the sources from the period under review.

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

Urban Life in Lithuania during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (2). Pharmacies

Pharmacies are known to have existed in Lithuania since the early sixteenth century. When [the king of Poland] and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Alexander fell ill in Vilnius in 1506, the King's court brought along with them a part of the so-called royal pharmacy from Cracow. It remained in Vilnius marking the inception of the first pharmacy in the city. In 1501, Grand Duke Sigismund the Old bought a land plot in Vilnius to build a townsfolk pharmacy on. The locations of the oldest pharmacies in Vilnius have not, however, been ascertained because of the lack of information at the present time. In 1523, the Grand Duke of Lithuania grant-

ed a privilege to the doctors to inspect pharmacies and medicine storerooms. In the mid-sixteenth century, several pharmacies operated in Vilnius.

DANUTĖ PETRAUSKAITĖ

Early Choral Singing in Lithuania

Lithuania was the last pagan country in Europe to adopt Christianity. Most of its population was baptized in the late fourteenth century. Despite the late arrival of Christianity, the number of churches in it grew rapidly; in the end of the eighteenth century, their number amounted to over 600. A big part of them had vocal instrumental ensembles. Such churches turned into centres of musical culture and retained that role until the late nineteenth century. Ensembles were supported by the church hierarchy and their patrons.

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The Egg-shelter. Sculptor Arvydas Ališanka

MOVING?

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

FRONT COVER: Raigardas Valley
Photo by Almantas Samalavičius