

LITUANUS

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FORMATION OF THE ORGANIZATION
AND ISSUANCE OF LITHUANIAN BOOKS (2)**

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ABSTRACTS



Image of a seventeenth century shop by Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg. On shops in seventeenth–eighteenth century Vilnius, see article on page 61

Homeland Lovers Association in 1896–1904: Formation of the Organization and Issuance of Lithuanian Books (2)

JUOZAS SKIRIUS

Issuance of Lithuanian Books by the Homeland Lovers Association

The Association had initially decided to issue the writings of Kristijonas Donelaitis as their first publication. However, the first to implement the idea were the editorial board of the *Garsas* newspaper. The weekly *Lietuva* advised the Association to first of all ascertain what books it should publish and try to get their manuscripts so that “no one gets ahead anymore.” It also recommended to elect a Committee of Literature who would be responsible for the selection of books that were worth publishing. Their suggestion was to invite to the Committee Lithuanian intellectuals not only from the USA but Europe as well.¹

Minersvillers decided that *Genių dėdė* was to be published; Mikolainis suggested to publish *Palangos Juzė* by Motiejus Valančius and *Ožkabalių dainos* collected by Jonas Basanavičius. The Association’s leadership was not content with such decisions of its members feeling that there would be more “decisions” of its branches, which would cause confusion. A clearer solution was to be found. The leader of the Association, Kazakevičius announced that the manuscript of Dr. Vincas Kudirka (under the pseudonym of V. Kapsas) had been presented for discussion.²

¹ “Tėvynės Mylėtojų draugystės reikaluose,” 1896, 2.

² Kazakevicze, Reikalai “Tėvynės Mylėtojų,” 1897, 60.

Why, e.g., the songs collected by Basanavičius were not suitable for publication? Basanavičius had sent the songs he had collected to Paukštis, the editor of the *Vienybė lietuvininkų* newspaper, who gave them over to the Association's leadership. It turned out that many of them had already been published. Therefore, Mikolainis addressed Basanavičius asking what should be done with those songs.³ Should they be declined or published once more? Basanavičius, welcoming the establishment of the Association and giving his songs to it, replied simply: "Do with them whatever you like."⁴ Apparently, the leadership was not satisfied with such an answer.

The Association faced one more issue – where to publish selected writings? The USA or Europe? This issue was raised by president Kazakevičius at a meeting of the Minersville branch. The branch chose to publish in the USA although Mikolainis wrote that the publishing of books in Tilsit (by the publisher Otto von Mauderode) would be twice as cheap. Moreover, apparently, the idea was cheaper distribution of books in Lithuania – there would be no need to send them in from the USA. The weekly *Lietuva* reacted noting that the Association would have to take care of the publishing of books in the cheapest way possible, and to publish as many of them as possible for distribution. Doing this would be possible by using the collected money sparingly. The newspaper was indignant at one branch allowing itself the liberty of "thrusting its own decisions" upon the Association's central administration.⁵ An idea was put forward that a collective decision by all branches was necessary and that only the decision of the majority would decide where books were to be published. The decision adopted was to pub-

³ 1896 12 20 P. Mikolainis's letter from New York to J. Basanavičius to Bulgaria. *Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius* (further – LLTI BRS), f. 2 – 1204, l.n.

⁴ 1897 01 09 J. Basanavičius' letter from Varna to P. Mikolainis to New York. *Ibid.*, f. 2 – 2194, l. 4.

⁵ "Tėwynės Mylėtojų draugystės reikaluose," 1897, 2.

lish them in Tilsit. The first book published was *Keistutis*, a translation from Polish by Vincas Kudirka (a tragedy in five acts), 101 pages. The Association received this book in early November of 1897. In spite of cheaper publishing in Prussia, Astramskas wrote publicly that “publishing there takes too long since we had waited for the first book for so long that two books could have been published before one arrived.”⁶ The first book was met with an ambivalent assessment in the Lithuanian press – some reprehended it (*Saulė* and *Kardas*), others praised it (*Rytas*). It was explained that not every book or newspaper can be liked by everyone. But those who would read it would definitely find some knowledge of Lithuania’s past. The books were immediately sent off to the branches, at the same time urging them to organize meetings and raise funds for the next publication.⁷

There was even more disagreement. The press announced that priest Kaupas had left the Committee of Literature. He was replaced by Stagaras, the editor of the *Garsas* weekly, who agreed to take Kaupas’ position. It turned out that the leadership of the Association did not ask the Committee to read through the manuscript of *Keistutis* before publishing it. Kazakevičius publicly explained that this had happened because the wish was to speed up the publishing matter. As a further matter, he said that the writings of Kudirka, which had been published in *Varpas*, were well known and raised no doubt whatsoever.⁸ Practically, however, the fact breached the Association’s by-laws. The second book – Schiller’s *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (a tragedy in five acts) that Kudirka translated from German, created a similar situation. This manuscript was provided by a member of the Committee, Šernas, who was impressed by the “hot patriotism” of the book. But the manuscript was not seen by another member of the Committee, Stagaras, although it had support from secretary Miko-

⁶ Astramskas, Reikalai “‘Tėvynės Mylėtojų’ draug.” 1897, 587.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Kazakevicze, Reikalai “‘Tėvynės Mylėtojų’ draug.” 1897, 370.

lainis.⁹ Overall, the Committee of Literature whose establishment was based on good wishes had one specific drawback – not all the members of the Committee were qualified for the job: editing, correction of, and dealing with manuscripts. Later, this issue was raised publicly by the press as well. Accepting the fact of the very few numbers of “literary workers” among the Lithuanians in the USA, some more active members of the diaspora proposed in the press to apply to the Lithuanians in Europe whose writings were published by the Association the most.¹⁰

The manuscript of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* was sent to Tilsit. According to Mikolainis, on September 5, 1898, the publisher sent from Tilsit to the USA 500 copies of each of the two books via express post (the dispatch cost \$9.10). They were not transferred to the Association’s leadership at once. There was a need to ultimately settle financial matters. Mikolainis explained that the Association owed him \$110.98 for the issuance of the second book for which he had paid with his own money.¹¹ A discussion broke out in the press between Astramskas and Mikolainis on that issue. It turned out that the Association’s accounting was not treated properly.¹² To settle the disagreement, recover the books from Mikolainis and encourage the Association’s further activities, most of the branches decided to repay the debt to Mikolainis by installment, and on February 7, 1899, he was transferred the initial amount of \$35. At the same time, the Central Committee informed the public that a patriotic manuscript of Žemkalnis never published before, *Lenkai ir Lietuviai nuo 1228 iki 1430 m.* (The Poles and the Lithuanians from 1228 to 1430), was being prepared for publication, which was provided to the Association by Šernas who had received it from *Varpas’* editorial board.¹³

⁹ Szernas, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1898, 130.

¹⁰ “Mėgstame ypač spręsti,” 1904, 2.

¹¹ Mikolainis, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1898, 575.

¹² Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1898, 598–600.

¹³ Centr. Komitetas, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1899, 84–85.

In early 1900, secretary Damijonaitis reported that Žemkalnis' book *Lenkai ir Lietuviai nuo 1228 iki 1430 m.* (64 pages) had been printed in Chicago with a total print run of 4,500 copies, of which 1,050 – with hard covers. They were printed by the editorial board of the *Lietuva* weekly. The issuance of the book cost \$116.87.¹⁴ After paying this amount, there still remained \$204.48 in the treasury, which was sufficient for the issuance of a new publication. As a further matter, the secretary pushed forward the idea that the editorial board of *Ūkininkas* in Tilsit should be forwarded 1,500 copies of this publication (1,294 copies were sent off on May 15), as well as of *Keistutis* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* – 2,000 books each, for distribution in Lithuania. The remaining copies were to be delivered from Tilsit to the USA.¹⁵

The new leadership of the Association was noted for trying to get hold of manuscripts of Lithuanian authors like Petras Armėnas-Trupinėlis or Višteliauskas with the aim of publishing them. The leadership called on the public to contribute to that matter.¹⁶ It turned out, however, that finding original and proper manuscripts was not an easy task. After giving Žemkalnis' manuscript over for publication, the Association ran out of material.

Higher financial inflows allowed the issue of two books in 1900: *Grovo Kyburgo kelionė Lietuvon 1397 m.* (The Journey of Grove Keyburg to Lithuania in 1397) (52 pages), which was written by Basanavičius and printed at the *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* printing house in Plymouth, PA; a translation from Russian of the book *Vanduo ant žemės, po žeme ir viršuje žemės* (Water on the ground, under the ground and on top of the ground) (33 pages) was also printed by the *Lietuva* printing house in Chi-

¹⁴ This book was twice as thin as the second one, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, but its printing cost the same. Hence, printing it in the USA was double pricey. However, its issuance was faster, and the HLA received it on time and could hand it out to its members promptly.

¹⁵ Damijonaitis, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1900, 70.

¹⁶ Centr. Komitetas, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1899, 84–85.

cago (4,500 copies) for \$76.00.¹⁷ 1,900 copies of the latter book were sent off to *Ūkininkas'* editorial board in Prussia. Having run out of the first two books, the Association's leadership placed an order for the dispatch of 800 copies of each of them from Tilsit to the USA.¹⁸

On April 17, 1901, *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* reported to its readers and branches about the handing over to the *Lietuva* printing house of the book *Baudžiava Lietuvoje* (Serfdom in Lithuania) and to the *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* printing house¹⁹ – of the book *Geologija* (Geology), which was to have 47 illustrations and its printing was to take more time. It was noted that the review and corrections of the manuscripts carried out by the Committee of Literature were time consuming, thus it was only now that the manuscripts were ready for publication.²⁰ We can see higher involvement of branches in the discussions over the issuance of books with a potential to be issued in the future. There were proposals to issue the Lithuanian version of *Visuotinė istorija* (Universal History) and *Elementorius* (The Elementary School Book) for Lithuanian American children. The reason behind that was that Lubens, the leader of the Boston branch, was anxious about the prevalence of the English language among the Lithuanian children in the USA, urging his fellow-countrymen to take better care of the preservation of Lithuanity in their children. He urged to teach them Lithuanian and History so that “the work we have begun for our cultural revival does not end with us. Let us educate a new generation of heroes for our precious Homeland.”²¹ In addition, as early as 1900, an idea was put forward to issue

¹⁷ *Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija. Įstatai ir Istorija*, 51; “Naujos knygos,” 1900, 3.

¹⁸ Daukszys, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1900, 562.

¹⁹ We can see two printing houses of Lithuanian weeklies sharing printing work. People are given a chance to earn. It is not incidental that the owner of the *Lietuva* newspaper, A. Olšauskas worked for a long time as the HLA treasurer, *Lietuva* was the HLA's largest sponsor.

²⁰ Ilgunas, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 1901, 189.

²¹ Lubens, Reikalai “Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės,” 345.

the writings of Kudirka and to write a larger biography of his. The branches were addressed to discuss this issue prior to a new election of the Association's leadership. However, the issue of Kudirka had to be postponed for some time despite the fact of the allocation of \$100 for the writing of his biography because, as the press reported, "Lithuanian intellectuals themselves [...] were raising funds for that." It was explained to the public that the Association would only take care of the matter if people in Lithuania would not be engaged in it.²²

Two more books were issued in 1901. The first one (the sixth publication of the Association) – *Baudžiava Lietuvoje* (Serfdom in Lithuania) (76 pages), a translation from German, was printed at the *Lietuva* weekly's printing house in Chicago. It was a brief history of the origination and development of serfdom. At the end of the book, information about the Association was attached in addition. The book cost 10 cents. The second book of a scientific character – *Geology* (144 pages), written by Professor Archibald Geike of the University of Edinburg, a translation from English, was published at the *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* printing house in Plymouth. It cost 25 cents.²³

On March 26, 1902, it was announced that a new book was soon to come out – *Kaip sutaisytas žmogaus kūnas* (The way the human body works) (144 pages), with 29 illustrations. This book explained human physiology. The book was said to have been issued in good Lithuanian. It was printed by the *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* printing house in Plymouth, which cost \$334.23. The price per copy was 25 cents.²⁴

On July 9, 1902, *Vienybė Lietuvininkų* issued a report of the Association (see the Table below) about the first seven books issued and their distribution:²⁵

²² Daukszys, "T.M.D-ės' kuopoms," 1902, 154.

²³ "Nauji rasztai," 1901, 2.

²⁴ *Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija. Įstatai ir Istorija*, 52; Olszevskis, "Kasos stovis," 1902, 495; *Ibid.*, 1902, 2.

²⁵ "Reikalai Tėv. Myl. Dr." 1902, 333.

Book	Copies	Sent off to <i>Ūkininkas</i> edit. board	Sent off to Assoc. branches	Remainder with librarian
<i>Keistutis</i>	4,000	1,966	1,436	598
<i>Orleano Mergelė</i>	3,000	1,506	1,087	407
<i>Lietuviai ir Lenkai</i>	3,000	1,291	1,221	488
<i>Kyburgo kelionė</i>	4,000	1,900	1,195	905
<i>Vanduo</i>	4,500	1,900	1,096	1,504
<i>Baudžiava Liet.</i>	4,600	2,000	1,231	1,369
<i>Geologija</i>	4,500	2,000	1,284	1,216

The Association had also received books gifted by Lithuanian Americans that it distributed as well:

Book	Copies	Sent off to <i>Ūkininkas</i> edit. board	Sent off to Assoc. branches	Remainder with librarian
<i>Pajauta</i>				52
<i>Vienaakis ir ką turime veikti dėl mūsų iszganimio</i>	300		300	
<i>Kuomi žmonės gyvena</i>	750		645	105

Hence, a total of 27,600 copies of books were issued before 1902, the main share of which (12,563 copies) were meant for distribution in Lithuania. One-third of the books were distributed among the members of the Association branches, and there still was a substantial stock of the books for future activities.

The leadership of the Association, and not only them, thought that the distribution of books in Lithuania *gratis* would not help fully implement the aim to be achieved – education of the Lithuanians because “when books are distributed *gratis*, they will

often get into the hands of those who don't need them at all, yet they will take them since they get them for free." On October 15, 1902, it was proposed to the branches to amend paragraph 6 of the Association's by-laws which read as follows: "Books for needy people in Lithuania shall be gifted via a designated committee" to read as follows:

The Association shall gift 2,000 copies of its publications for the administration of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* respectively, so that the profit from them becomes usable for the increase and dissemination of Lithuanity as well as the issuance of books useful for the Lithuanians.²⁶

Some members felt some doubt whether this would not abrogate the essence of the Association since it had originated with the purpose of gifting books to Lithuania. Part of the members did not support the idea that the editorial boards of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* would distribute gifted books without any control. They wished at least some kind of reporting: how many copies had been sold, what were the financial inflows from the books sold, and what this money had been used for. An idea was already put forward that these were not the kind of books the Lithuanian people really needed; what was necessary were "books popular in national, political and economic terms" that would show what the Lithuanians are and what the Lithuanians should be like; who is their enemy and who they should fight; who is their friend giving them a weapon for fighting. People should primarily get acquainted with these kinds of books and then only "tragic, geology, and other similar books will be of use."²⁷ Hence, there already were people who missed publications of a revolutionary character.

Two more books came out in 1903. The first one was *Eilės Pranciškaus Vaičiailio* (*Sekupasakos*) (Verses by Pranciškus Vaičiailis), which was the largest in volume of all the books published before (165 pages). The book included 103 poems by Vaičiailis some of which were about the Homeland and love for the native

²⁶ Daukšys, Ilgunas, "'T.M.D-ės' kuopoms," 1902, 502.

²⁷ Igno draugas, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 530.

land. It was printed at the printing house of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* in Plymouth. It cost 40 cents. The second book issued was *Kaip žmonės gyveno ant žemės?* (How people used to live on earth?) with 25 illustrations (47 pages). It was printed at the printing house of the editorial board of *Lietuva* in Chicago. The cost per book was 6 cents.²⁸

Two more books were issued in 1904. The first one was *Chemija* (Chemistry) (a translation) with 36 illustrations (116 pages). It was printed at the printing house of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* in Plymouth. The price per book was 20 cents. The other book was *Žemės Istorija* (The History of the Earth) with illustrations (54 pages) printed at the printing house of the editorial board of *Lietuva* in Chicago. The price per book was 10 cents.²⁹

Susivienijimas lietuvių laisvamanių (The Union of Freethinker Lithuanians) proposed to the HLA leadership to jointly issue the book *Istorija Lietuvos po jungu Maskolių* (Lithuanian History under the Yoke of the Muscovites) by Dr. Jonas Šliūpas in English that would serve as a proof for people of other nationalities of who keeps the Lithuanians oppressed. Initially, as was already mentioned, most branches had their say against this cooperation. Apparently, they were influenced by Šliūpas' attitudes as a free-thinker. But the Association's leadership tried once more to explain the significance of the book, while president Paltanavičius himself, contributed with a \$1 donation to the issuance of that book.³⁰ The President's intention was to urge others by his own example. During a new ballot, the vast majority already had their say in favor of the issuance of the book in cooperation with *The Freethinkers*,³¹ i.e., of the covering of half of the expenses.

One more activity of the Association, though it was just one-time, was the sending of books to Japan to Lithuanian war pris-

²⁸ "Eilės Pranciszskaus Vaizcaizcio (Sekupasakos)," 1903, 2; *Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija. Įstatai ir Istorija*, 52.

²⁹ Ibid., 52.

³⁰ Paltanavičia, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1904, 419.

³¹ Baltrušaitis, "Iš Baltimore, Md." 1904, 2; Paltanavičia, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1904, 600.

oners. They found themselves in Japan during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Books and newspapers were collected by Lithuanian Americans and a part of them – by the Association. They made up a parcel of a total of 40 pounds, the expenses of the dispatch of which were covered by the Association's leadership. The parcel was sent via *American Express Co.* on behalf of Japan's war minister.³² Hopefully, the books and newspapers had been distributed to the Lithuanian soldiers.

An idea was put forward to issue an *Album* of prominent Lithuanians. The cost of its issuance, according to the HLA leadership, could be covered by Lithuanian Americans of greater fame themselves, who would be expected to send in their photos and \$2 each. Everyone who had donated would get an *Album* free of charge. It was, however, indicated that the *Album* should also include the leading figures from the past such as dukes Gediminas, Kęstutis, Vytautas; cultural figures such as Daukantas, Šliūpas, etc., as well as priests with merits for the nation such as Saurusaitis, Kravčunas, Milukas and others. It was believed that the money collected would be sufficient to not only issue the *Album*, but some would also remain in the Association's till for the matters of the nation.³³ Unfortunately, a change in the HLA activity conditions prevented the idea from being implemented.

Contacts with Lithuanians in Europe on the Matter of Book Distribution

In June of 1899, the Homeland Lovers Association came up with the idea that it could contribute to the issuance of *Ūkininkas* (a monthly magazine of *The Varpininkai* organization in Tilsit and Ragnit) which had its readers in Lithuania. This would allow the Association to issue its books that *Ūkininkas'* employees would distribute among Lithuanians thereby enabling the Association

³² Naujokas, "Nelaisvių reikaluose," 587.

³³ Naujokas, "Tautiškas Albumas," 1904, 2.

to implement its aim.³⁴ At first, the branches had no reaction to this proposal. And yet the New Jersey branch, having considered the issue of collaboration between the Association and *Ūkininkas'* editorial board, at their November 19, 1899 meeting adopted a resolution that this might bring substantial benefit. *Ūkininkas'* editorial board would assume responsibility for publishing matters as it had skilled employees and maintained close contacts with writers, whereas the Association would support it with funds. It would thus be possible to publish more books that could be "sold cheaply to book smugglers or gifted to our needy brothers in the Homeland [...] rather than kept in piles as is the case now."³⁵ Most of the other branches agreed with that too. The weekly *Lietuva* welcomed this idea as, according to it, this was the first proposal to cooperate with Lithuanians in Europe. No one, however, had taken an interest in what the employees of *Ūkininkas* themselves thought of such cooperation. Therefore, it was first of all necessary that both sides considered carefully the conditions for potential cooperation.³⁶ However, the press noted that the Association had not much money for such cooperation. Attention was also paid to the fact that the creation of such a union could stifle the Association's initiative for publishing, and its members "would fall into apathy and things will get out of our hand."³⁷ This led to uncertainty and doubt. There was a proposal to interest the partner by promising that the Lithuanian Americans would undertake to subscribe for the *Ūkininkas* publication or give books already issued by the Association for free as a supplement to the subscribers in Lithuania, etc.³⁸ President Astramskas noted that *Ūkininkas* could serve as a means to introduce the aims of the Association to Lithuanian residents more comprehensively, to broaden the scope of national propaganda; *Ūkininkas* could also act as a mediator between Lithuanian Amer-

³⁴ Mikolainis, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1899, 300.

³⁵ Grinorius, "Jersey City, N.J." 1899, 573.

³⁶ "Tėvynės Mylėtojų draugystės reikaluose," 1899, 2.

³⁷ Vincas, "Apie susivienijimą 'T.M.D-tės' su 'Ukininko' izleistuve," 1899, 610.

³⁸ Ibid.

icans and the Lithuanians in Lithuania. Astramskas hinted that an attempt would be made to get in touch with the editorial board of *Ūkininkas* on the matter of cooperation.³⁹

On December 15, Mikolainis, the editor of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, and on December 27, 1899, Damijonaitis, the secretary of the Association, wrote letters to *Ūkininkas'* editorial board, expressing a wish for cooperation, noting that there had been quite a few of those who were in favor of cooperation, and asking for their opinion.⁴⁰ Mikolainis proposed to the Association to entrust *Ūkininkas* with the issuance of books that they "would gift to book smugglers and other Lithuanians." The editorial board replied explicitly that book smugglers distributed books for a fee and "visited all parts of Lithuania and disseminated Lithuanian writings for personal benefit"; book smugglers were the only distributors of Lithuanian writings and "if it were not for them, rarely would one get hold of a Lithuanian book or newspaper."⁴¹ This suggested that this was the only way to widely and quickly disseminate Lithuanian writings in Lithuania. *Ūkininkas'* editorial board, having assessed the situation, offered to become a distributor of books issued by the Association, but to gift books under one condition:

you should allow us to do with them whatever seems right for us; whether we will gift those books to someone or sell them for a high price – all this will depend on our acquaintances, transportation, and many other conditions.⁴²

At the end of his term of office as president, Astramskas stated that the Central Committee held a view that books were to be made the responsibility of *Ūkininkas'* administration who will know better how to distribute them in Lithuania. He also called on everyone to have their say on the issue.⁴³

³⁹ Astramskas, "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Dr. Kuopoms," 1899, 610.

⁴⁰ Damijonaitis, "Reikale susidejimo su 'Ukininku'," 1900, 9.

⁴¹ "Atsakymas Tėvynės Mylėtojų D-tei," 1900, 69.

⁴² Ibid., 70.

⁴³ Astramskas, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės."

The new leadership of the Association responded to *Ūkininkas'* editorial board with a letter on March 14, 1900, that

it had been decided to entrust a part of books allocated for distribution among Lithuanian youths with you. You will be able to distribute them or give them as a supplement to *Uk-as* (abbr. for *Ūkininkas*) and *Varpas* or just give book smugglers some books paying them a little extra [...], and please do not keep but circulate them as soon as possible.⁴⁴

The number of copies of issued books that could be distributed was specified. The reply from *Ūkininkas'* editorial board was published in the press. In their letter, the board noted once again that the distribution of gifted books would be at a cost for the editorial board (their transportation, storage, advertising); therefore, they would be obliged to fix a certain charge for that. The board did not promise to produce a detailed report on the distribution of books either, agreeing to just notifying of the number of books they managed to distribute over a year and in which ways. They asked one more time if such terms were acceptable.⁴⁵ The Central Committee fully agreed to the terms, but secretary Damijonaitis conveyed the permission for the distribution of books in Lithuania as late as in his letter of May 22. *Ūkininkas'* editorial board applied to the Lithuanians asking for their help in distributing publications of Lithuanian Americans. The board also asked the Lithuanians to apply to them for more books – they were ready to send off a necessary amount free of charge (to the borderline and via censorship). Reliable people, i.e., book smugglers as well, were given books – they, as was noted, “will find ways for easier distribution of writings.”⁴⁶ An agreement seemed to have been reached.

In the 1900–1902 period, *Ūkininkas'* editorial board received from the Association 12,447 books of which the board managed to distribute as little as 2,424. This accounted for one-fifth of the

⁴⁴ “‘Ukininko’ red. ir ‘Tėvynės Mylėtojų D-tė’,” 1900, 113.

⁴⁵ Saunius, “Tėvynės Mylėtojų Dr-tei,” 1900, 203.

⁴⁶ “‘Ukininko’ red. ir ‘Tėvynės Mylėtojų D-tė’,” 1900, 114.

total of books received. The most distributed books were *Vanduo ant žemės* and *Grovo Kyburgo kelionė Lietuvon* that were given as a supplement to *Ūkininkas'* and *Naujienos'* readers. It was noted that the book's marketability was low. The books issued by *Varpas'* and *Ūkininkas'* editorial boards (under 36 titles) had been sold for as little as \$47 in 1901 (approximately 2,000 copies).⁴⁷ Why just this little? Because books were not given to anyone and because book smugglers were not solicited to help. A little amount was distributed *gratis* via reliable people who knew who to give them to. However, this way did not allow for the circulation of more books in the way book smugglers would do. The *gratis* books of the Association seemed to compete with those issued by the editorial boards of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* for sale. It was also noted that the books were either popular or not depending on their content:

Out of all the books that are suitable for people to read, there is just one – *Vanduo ant žemės* [...]. Difficult to understand are: *Lenkai ir Lietuviai*, *Geologija*, *Grovo Kyburgo kelionė Lietuvon*. The other books (*Keistutis*, *Orleano Mergelė*, *Baudžiava Lietuvoje*) are comprehensible with even more difficulty.⁴⁸

As M. Zauniūtė, the representative of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* noted in her letter to the leadership of the Association, they could not distribute more books based on paragraph 6 of the Association's by-laws. *Ūkininkas'* editorial board, too, suffered losses. The issuance of books and giving them to distribute freely alone was not enough, it was noted; they were to be held in storage, advertised, and carried to the place of destination. To compensate for that, two times as much money was needed than was spent for their printing. The editorial boards of *Ūkininkas* and *Varpas* therefore declared that they refused to accept books from the Association and distribute them in accordance with paragraph 6 of the articles of association.⁴⁹ Hence, the distribution of books in Lith-

⁴⁷ Saunius "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugystei," 1903, 502–503.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 503.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

uania was restricted by the above-named paragraph 6. It was thus not incidentally that, as noted above, this generated a discussion among branch members on the issue.

However, books were kept being sent to Prussia. From the report published on July 6, 1904, we can see that the treasurer paid \$10.76 for the books dispatched to Tilsit.⁵⁰ Since the Lithuanians in Prussia did not undertake to spread the Association's books because of paragraph 6 of its by-laws, the Central Committee made a decision "to entrust them with the spreading of books at their own discretion."⁵¹ As a further matter, after lifting the ban of the Lithuanian press, the conditions for the sending of books seem to have slightly improved. The president, Paltanavičius, wrote that after the press was made somewhat freer in Russia, "innocent" books could now be sent directly to Lithuania after going through censorship. However, people who would accept those books were yet to be found.⁵² A branch of the Association was set up in Tilsit at that time which seems to have undertaken book distribution in Lithuania. A parcel with the books *Eilės Pranciškaus Vaičiūčio* was sent off to the Tilsit branch which was carried successfully into Lithuania with the help of the employees of the editorial board of the illegal social democratic magazine *Darbininkų Balsas* in Bitėnai.⁵³ The press also reported that a certain amount of the book, *Žemės Istorija*, were sent off to K. Uredaitis in Tilsit for distribution in Lithuania. The treasurer paid \$5.95 for the sending.⁵⁴

We can see that the HLA leadership themselves made efforts to enter into contacts in Lithuania. During the XIX seimas of the HLA which took place on May 24–26, 1904, in Shenandoah, PA, some delegates who were also members of the HLA organized a little conference of their own. They decided to begin with send-

⁵⁰ Naujokas, "Kasos stovis," 1904, 322.

⁵¹ Paltanavičia, „Reikaluose Tėv. Myl. Dr.“ 1904, 468.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Paltanavičia, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 1904, 538.

⁵⁴ Naujokas, "Kasos stovis." Ibid.

ing to a Lithuanian public bookstore in Vilnius five copies of each of the books issued by the HLA.⁵⁵

In 1905, the Association entered into a new phase of activity which was not successful for the organization. This is what Strimaitis writes in his memoirs:

The breakup of the 1905–1906 revolution in Russia reached Lithuania. Many bright youths felt as if in a whirlpool of insurmountable waves after whirling out of which some came running to America. They brought a revolutionary mood with them [...] versus national! Quite many of those arrivals, penetrated into the Association wishing to make use of the organization's treasury in order to issue socialist-party brochures. But as soon as a couple of such propaganda publications came out, members began to protest, while many even abandoned the organization on the whole. As a result, the Association weakened considerably.⁵⁶

Conclusions

1. In the 1870s–80s, the Lithuanian Americans, having developed into a separate national formation with their parishes and organizations and having strengthened economically, created Lithuanian culture (associations and clubs, choirs, theaters; issued newspapers and books). They did not forget their old Homeland, took to heart its calamities and the oppression of tsarist authorities. Due to the persecution of the Catholic Church and the Lithuanian word in the Latin alphabet, the diaspora came up with a line of thinking that Lithuanian residents were to be lent a helping hand in preserving Lithuanity. The coercive actions of the tsarist authorities in 1893 in Kražiai, which came to be known as the Kražiai massacre, pushed the diaspora to take practical action.

⁵⁵ Paltanavičia, Reikalai "Tėvynės Myl. Draugystės," 322.

⁵⁶ Strimaitis, "Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugija 1896–1936 m." 1936, 20.

2. The establishment of the Homeland Lovers Association in 1896 coincided with and was caused by the end of the activities of the Lithuanian Scientific Society and the futile efforts of the Lithuanian Alliance in America organization to convince the tsarist authorities to lift the bans on the Lithuanians. At the beginning, the initiator, Tomas Astramskas suggested to collect books and send them to Lithuania with the purpose of gifting them to youths. The idea to create the organization through contribution with a membership fee that will be used to issue books, came from Jurgis Kazakevičius, the first leader of the Association. This won rather wide acclaim in the diaspora and its press. Astramskas prepared the by-laws of the Association that was to be founded and enforced the giving out of issued books to its members *gratis* as well as gifting them to Lithuanian people. This marked the laying of the foundation for the tradition of the Lithuanian Americans' disinterested aid to Lithuania and its residents.
3. During the 1896–1904 period, the Association grew to an organization with a membership of 2,000 and a steady amount of money in the treasury which allowed the issue two books per year. The organization became significant in Lithuanian American culture. During that period, the Association issued 12 fiction and scientific books in the total amount of approximately 50,000 copies, of which 16,560 it allocated for Lithuania. It was agreed with the editorial board of *Ūkininkas* in Tilsit on their distribution. However, the distribution encountered difficulties since paragraph 6 of the Association's by-laws prohibited it from selling books in Lithuania. Consequently, it was obliged to decline the book smugglers' services, while the resources of *Ūkininkas'* editorial board were limited. Moreover, its board was not too interested in book distribution as it issued books for sale itself and faced competition from the books of the Association. Storage, transportation, and advertising of the books, too, were at a cost for the editorial board. It was not before 1904 when the leadership of the As-

sociation allowed book distributors in Lithuania to impose a fee for book distribution at their own discretion, that book distribution intensified.

4. The Homeland Lovers Association constantly faced different obstacles in its formation and activities as well as external criticism. Not only did it constantly lack financial resources, but it was also subject to criticism on the part of activists of the Lithuanian American Catholic public and priests. They condemned the Association's activities (which, in fact, were not directed against religion) as libertine and boycotted its meetings. During their sermons, priests railed at the Association members as non-believers, followers of *Šliūpas* (Lith. *šliuptarnis*), and required their withdrawal from the Association. Some of the spiritually weaker members did withdraw. Branches also weakened on account of Lithuanian Americans often changing their place of residence and so abandoning local branches. It was not incidentally sadly noted that the Association comprised less than 1% of all Lithuanian Americans.
5. The revolutionary events in tsarist Russia and Lithuania had an impact on the Lithuanian Americans. The Association began to issue books of a revolutionary character in 1905 thus making a part of the Association members indignant and pushing them away from it. Criticism against the Association intensified even more. The Association experienced a new crisis and its activities diminished.

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Guild Houses in Seventeenth–Eighteenth Century Vilnius

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

The history of artisan guild houses has hardly been analyzed. It has not been ascertained to date whether all guilds that operated in Vilnius had houses of their own and where their headquarters were located in case they had no house of their own. Were there guild requirements establishing where their houses were supposed to be, and were these requirements always complied with. It has not been ascertained if artisan guilds had a single house at one time or if there were guilds that possessed several houses at one time. It is not known if the headquarters of guilds were based in all of the houses that belonged to these organizations. In other words, if each house that a guild was in possession of should be considered a “guild house”. We need to give an overview of what took place in “guild houses”, what was kept in them and where. And, of course, we must bring to light which artisan guilds possessed houses and where they were located, as well as ascertain what they looked like, in an effort to describe their typical features.

A guild is a well-organized association of artisans of one or a few related trades in a feudal city. Guilds aimed to organize the production of individual artisans by way of competition among the members of a guild, thus ensuring their high professional preparation and high-quality products, as well as, in case

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of need, to aid members that faced difficulties or had become impoverished. In Vilnius, the first guilds – of goldsmiths and tailors – were founded in 1495. Tanners, shoemakers, producers of malt, weavers, cap-makers and many other artisans followed their example. In the late sixteenth century, guilds encompassed artisans of 27 trades. In the next century, 21 new guilds were founded in Vilnius. Even though at a slower pace, new guilds were formed in the eighteenth century too. In Vilnius, guilds were active until 1893, though their functions had changed. According to the feudal city tradition, guilds had to have their own house.

Let us first try to ascertain what requirements were set for guild houses, what was held in these houses, and what took place in them.

The November 27, 1614 statute of the processors of red and black hides states that ordinary meetings of the members of a guild shall take place with an elder in whose house the guild's coffer is held.¹

There is no doubt that election meetings during which elders were elected for the next year were also held there.² The statute, however, does not specify where such an elder was supposed to reside. Whereas the statute of the butcher guild of April 15, 1596, has it that the guild's coffer cannot be kept with a master who lives in a suburb – it must be kept within the part of the city surrounded by the city's defensive wall for safety reasons.³ We come across similar facts in the statutes of other guilds as well.

The statute of the weaver guild required the guild's coffer with its statutes and money to be safe kept with a settled townsman within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate.⁴ The person who was within this jurisdiction was supposed to live in the territory of the city. Such a requirement is part of the July 22, 1633 statute of the decorator guild. It specifies that, after electing four elders, the guild's coffer with its privileges, rights and everything else

¹ Akty Cechow Wilnenskich (hereinafter – ACW), d. 1, Nr. 144, p. 159, § 4.

² Ibid., p. 158, § 1.

³ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 95, p. 118, § 14.

⁴ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 60, p. 76, § 17.

(*"i innemi munimentami"*) must be safely kept with one of the elders. As an addition, it says that the coffer can only be kept in the territory of the Magistrate [subordinate to the Magistrate].⁵ The statute of the weaver guild, which was approved by the Magistrate on May 28, 1639, gives instructions to keep two cash coffers: one for keeping money for church needs, the other – for keeping funds for other needs of the guild, its privileges, statutes, and other important documents. The statute also states that the coffers must be "within the city's jurisdiction."⁶ According to the 1663 statute of the glasscutter guild, holding the coffer was the jurisdiction of the Magistrate for safety reasons. Among other things, the statute has it that the guild members will be able to quietly convene their meetings there.⁷ The statute of the fisher guild of May 28, 1664, states that the coffer must be kept in the territory within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate surrounded by the city's defensive wall.⁸ The March 30, 1672 statute of the tanner guild has it that the elders must keep the coffer within the jurisdiction of "a settled master" in the city "without taking it to the outskirts."⁹ The agreement concluded between the locksmith guild and the guild of blacksmiths, cauldron-makers, sward-makers and knife-makers on January 27, 1698, provided for keeping the originals of the guilds' privileges in the chapel of St. John's Church in a common coffer. Apparently, the chapel maintained by these guilds is meant here. The two guilds had to content themselves with keeping in their coffers just the transcripts of the Magistrate-approved privileges.¹⁰ Yet the latter, as can be seen from the above-named guilds' agreement of October 22 of that same year, were supposed to be "in the city within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate."¹¹

⁵ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 184, p. 185, § 1, 2.

⁶ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 216, p. 218, § 2.

⁷ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 274, p. 267, § 4.

⁸ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 279, p. 292, § 4.

⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 373, p. 376, § 27.

¹⁰ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 477, p. 479.

¹¹ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 480, p. 483, § 3.

Hence, guild member meetings were supposed to be convened in the Magistrate's territory enclosed by the city's defensive wall. The guild treasury coffers were supposed to be kept here; they served for keeping not only money in them but also sovereign-granted privileges, guild statutes, and important weapons. Guilds possessed other wealth as well.

The November 13, 1578 statute of the weaver guild provides for the acquisition by a newly joining member of a helmet, a pair of cuffs, and a poleax, as well as for their arrival to the Magistrate, armed with them, "to accept the law of the city."¹² The August 16, 1669 statute of the tanner guild ("*kuszniers*") has it that "each tanner must have a saber, a musket and other weapons for the defense of the city and annual observances (military exercise – S.S.)."¹³ The January 18, 1680 statute of the guild of the tanners of white hides, suede and glove-makers ("*rękawicznego*") required the guild members to arrive armed with muskets and sabers to the Feast of Corpus Christi processions, meetings of sovereigns, bishops and voivodes as well as when on guard.¹⁴

Requirement by guilds for their members to possess weapons is a clear fact. There is also no doubt that the craftsmen held personal weapons at home.

However, in the documents pertaining to these craftsmen organizations, we come across information not only about the craftsmen's personal weaponry but weapons that were at the disposal of the guilds as well.

For example, the Vilnius fishermen guild's statute of 1664 states that, for military exercise and for meeting of sovereigns, the guild must have a flag, weapons in order, and other military outfit. The butcher guild statute of 1647 provides that each new member of the guild must give the guild a rifle. The decision of Vilnius Episcopal College of October 8, 1604, on the tailors residing in its *jurydyka* (territory) joining the guild of this trade required each tailor to give the guild four *kapas* of Lithuanian

¹² ACW, d. 1, Nr. 57, p. 68, § 7.

¹³ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 349, p. 364, § 7.

¹⁴ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 412, p. 404, § 9.

groats.¹⁵ The statute of the processors of morocco (morocco tanner guild) which was approved by the Magistrate on March 6, 1666, required each member of the guild to keep a musket and a saber at home. Whereas the guild was supposed to do its best to have a flag, drums, spears, muskets, cartridge bags, cartridges, and gunpowder.¹⁶ Paragraph 22 of the July 22, 1633 statute of the decorator guild prohibited non-guild members from engaging in the morocco tanner trade. Non-compliers faced up confiscation of their products and instruments half of which went for the guild's weaponry and other needs ("*na armatę i ozdobe cechową*").¹⁷ A new master to join the same guild, apart from personal musket, was supposed to give one musket "for the guild's treasury."¹⁸ This requirement is repeated in this guild's statute of October 1, 1688.¹⁹

The presented facts bear obvious testament to guild members having been armed. Normally, they held personal weapons at home. In addition to personal weapons, the guilds had various common weapons and military articles. All this, beyond doubt, was kept in the premises of the guild itself. We can reasonably state that guilds that did not possess a house kept their weaponry where they convened their meetings and where they dealt with their other matters. Guilds that had their own building apparently held their weaponry in the guild's building. Not only guilds' cash books, flags, drums, weapons and other property were kept and safeguarded in their buildings, but various entertainment events took place there as well.

As an example, the supplement to the 1509 statute of the guild of Vilnius surgeons, barbers and hairdressers has it that an apprentice who has married a guild's widow, when adopting the master's position, must prepare a lunch for the masters and ap-

¹⁵ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 115, p. 37, § 11.

¹⁶ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 313, p. 334, § 1.

¹⁷ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 184, p. 188, § 22.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 187, § 14.

¹⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 443, p. 446, § 15.

prentices at the guild elder's home. Two assessors of the Magistrate were supposed to participate as well.²⁰ The statute of the guild of masons and carpenters of May 1, 1595, required a master who has done an examination work, "according to custom," to organize a dinner for all masters.²¹ The statute of the guild of wool fabric processors (manufacturers) of August 19, 1684, says that, after doing the examination work, a master-to-be was supposed to pay the guild two thalers as an entrance fee and to give a feast for the guild members.²² In the seventeenth century, giving a feast was required by the glass-maker guild.²³ In the sixteenth century, feasts were given by apprentices of the blacksmith guild. The statute of 1601 specifies that due to the turn of circumstances, feasts will no longer have to be given, and eight *kapas* of groats will have to be given instead, of which four *kapas* will be allocated for the guild's military needs, while the remaining four, the elders will be free to use at their discretion.²⁴ This requirement seems to have been of a temporary character. As we learn from the Magistrate's letter dated November 14, 1725, the elders of the blacksmith guild took from Kornelijus Valteris, who had taken the master's position, 19 thalers instead of him giving a feast, and used that money for the guild's matters.²⁵ Since the feast was not given, the junior masters did not acknowledge him as a master. The matter appeared before the Magistrate which, on the grounds that Valteris had paid the money and it had been used for the needs of the guild, considered him "a true master" and threatened those who did not acknowledge him with a fine of 30 zloty.²⁶ This fact attests that giving a feast in the blacksmith guild by that time had become a deep-rooted tradition breaking which was met with resistance.

²⁰ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 4, p. 8, § 24.

²¹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 92, p. 112, § 6.

²² ACW, d. 1, Nr. 30, p. 11.

²³ ACW, d. [1], Nr. 274, p. 271, § 18.

²⁴ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 106, p. 130, § 4.

²⁵ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 613, p. 69.

²⁶ Ibid.

The 1664 statute of the ceramist guild required allocation of 5 *kapas* of groats for the giving of a feast.²⁷ Whereas the statute of the guild of white hide processors and glove makers of 1680 provides that not only an apprentice shifting to the master position must, according to their means, organize “a dinner to the brothers-in-the guild,” but also that “the brothers” must be treated to beer, and the guild’s elders and “szafary” – to mead.²⁸

Feasts were not only given as apprentices adopted the master’s position, but on other occasions too. That this is not a groundless guess, is attested by the October 8, 1604 decision of the Episcopal College of Vilnius regarding the tailors residing in its *jurydyka* joining the guild. Among other things, the decision says that tailors who are in the Episcopal College of Vilnius’ *jurydyka* and who join the tailor guild must organize a dinner for the guild masters.²⁹

We find information on feasts that took place in guilds not only in the above-named sources, most of which are guild statutes, but in other documents as well.

For example, a December 27, 1698 record in the register of the wheelwright guild shows that the dinner for the guild masters that day was organized by this guild’s “szafar,” Jakub Schlichta. The masters came to it with their wives and were pleased about the treats, which was recorded in the register with all participants’ consent.³⁰ On November 14, 1697, Petras Bajorūnas, a master to be, treated the guild “brothers” in the premises of that same guild. The clerk who made the record indicates that the members of the guild were pleased about the treats. As a further matter, at Bajorūnas’ request, on that same day, he was allocated a place in the guild on the left of Tamošius Kirbida- vičius.³¹ Apparently, this has to do with a permanent place of the guild members during their meetings. As attested by the

²⁷ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 280, p. 298, § 8.

²⁸ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 415, p. 404, § 10.

²⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 115, p. 137, § 12.

³⁰ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 469, p. 471.

³¹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 475, p. 479.

complaint of tailor Teodoras Grigoravičius written to the Court of the Benchers (Lith. *suolininkų teismas*) on June 22, 1729, on the 16th day of that month, after the Feast of Corpus Christi procession, a dinner took place in the tailor guild, which was attended by this guild's members, with meat served for the Catholics and fish for the Orthodox.³²

Hence, traditional artisan feasts took place in guild houses as well. It is assumed such meetings of guild members took place in the same premises as meetings during which various guild matters were considered. In the research of the history of artisan guilds and their houses we first of all need to give at least a short overview of the earliest known Vilnius townsfolk organizations with a professional profile, and try to ascertain if they had houses of their own, where, and, if they did, what these houses were used for and what they looked like.

Mead brotherhoods are the oldest known Lithuanian townsfolk organizations of both manufacturing-professional and religious character. Though they included the townsfolk of certain professions, businesses and occupations, priests, nobles and other townsfolk could belong to them too. They came to be known as mead brotherhoods due to the established tradition to produce mead and give feasts – parties. Generally, production and selling of alcohol was subjected to a state tax. Yet brotherhoods enjoyed privileges granted to them by grand dukes of Lithuania: they could produce mead for themselves and organize feasts lasting for a full three days six times a year without paying taxes. A lot of interesting information about such feasts, their order and prevailing traditions is recorded in the privileges and statutes of the furrier (“kuszners”) brotherhood which was founded in 1458. The members of this brotherhood were engaged in the processing of and trade in precious furs. As this trade developed, the membership of the brotherhood increased rapidly. The brotherhood came into possession of an own house in the suburb of Rasų.

³² ACW, d. 2, Nr. 630, p. 77.

This house was the venue for the meetings of the members and mead feasts. Not only members of the brotherhood participated in feasts; each “brother” could invite people from the outside. It seems, though, that an invitation was at the same time a certain recommendation that the invitees would behave themselves in the company. Without an invitation, as attested by the December 31, 1538 statute of (the Guild) of Furriers, one could buy oneself the right to participate in the feast by paying a set fee. Normally, one paid for a whole-day feast. However, those willing, if they paid for the feast and behaved themselves, could participate for the whole three days.³³

In those days, the townsfolk, not to mention the nobles, often walked armed. Therefore, as often as not, upon the eruption of strife in taverns and streets, bloody fights took place. To avoid armed clashes, armed people were not allowed to enter the brotherhood’s feast hall. Everyone had to leave their weapons in the anteroom. No one had the right to require a more honorable seat in the feast hall. The seat for the invitee was a choice of the brotherhood’s elders. It is true, though, that the statute has it that the elders who decided the seat for a guest were supposed to take into consideration their caste.

During a feast, the order was looked after by the elders of the brotherhood apart from the key holders in whose disposition the till of the brotherhood was. The elders and the key holders were supposed to make sure “that the brothers entered on the list of the brotherhood and guests, and upon coming to the brotherhood’s house, do sit in a duly respectful manner, do not use indecent language among themselves, do not get on the table and do not spill the brotherhood’s mead, drink obediently and moderately, and do not inflict any harm.”³⁴ Offenders were warned, and if this was no use, they were subjected to pecuniary penalties.

Mead feasts attracted to the house of the “*kuszners*” brotherhood a fair number of residents of Vilnius wishing to enjoy

³³ Jurginis et al., *Vilniaus miesto istorija*, 91.

³⁴ Ibid.

themselves in good company. This was not only a festival of the brotherhood with old traditions but a high-culture entertainment as well. On the other hand, feasts derived additional income for the brotherhood. As mentioned above, people on the outside who arrived to a mead feast, paid. If, after a three-day feast, any mead remained not consumed, the privileges granted by grand dukes of Lithuania allowed to sell it without paying the set taxes on spirits.

Efforts to come across a more detailed description of this house of the furrier guild and its premises have failed. The information presented above attests that there was a feast hall in it. It may have been a fairly large premises as the available historical material is not suggestive of the possibility of feasts having taken place in other premises of the house as well. We can state that access to the feast and the meeting hall was through a passage where the participants' weapons were kept during a feast. It seems there stood a large, long table in the hall with benches around it. Mind that the furrier guild, as well as other brotherhoods and guilds, had a till and kept different things, sometimes quite expensive. There was a need for a well-protected premises to keep them. On the other hand, there must have lived a person there who heated the brotherhood's house, looked after it and kept it safe, and was also engaged in the production of mead. Hence, near the brotherhood's house, there must have been a small building or premises for the production of mead.

It should be noted that the sources from the 1530s bear information about one more house of the Furriers. The letter of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Sigismund the Old, dated September 9, 1536, regulating the relations between the Magistrate of Vilnius and the townsfolk refers to the house of "kuszners" ("*dom kusznerskij*"). The letter shows that this house was built near the city's masonry *klėtkos* using the funds of the city. It was in this house and not anywhere else that trade in the products and goods of persons of this profession must have been carried out.³⁵

³⁵ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 13, p. 16.

Yet this letter only refers to the building in Vilnius Marketplace in which the Furriers must have traded. The letter does not show that meetings of the members of the furrier brotherhood or other gatherings took place there. This gives us grounds to assume that this “kuszners” house was used for trade needs alone.

That in the second half of the sixteenth century, the furrier brotherhood was in possession of a house where meetings of its members and other gatherings as well as the aforementioned annual mead feasts took place, is attested by the privilege granted to it by Sigismund Augustus on August 5, 1561, with a supplement made by Grand Duke Stephan Bathory of Lithuania, approved by sovereign Stephan Bathory on February 24, 1582. It not only entitled the brotherhood to tax-free sale of mead for feast purposes produced six times a year and after that sold for three days, but also provided that the house of the brotherhood was exempted from all kinds of obligations to allocate a flat, including the sovereign’s arrival in Vilnius.³⁶

As was previously stated, the house of the furrier brotherhood, in the sixteenth century, stood in Rasų suburb. Yet later, the brotherhood relocated its headquarters to another locale. There is no information about the time when this took place in the available sources. In the mid-seventeenth century, the brotherhood’s headquarters beyond doubt were already located on Arklių Street. A letter of the Magistrate of Vilnius of March 26, 1670, bears testament to that. It not only reads that the masonry house of the brotherhood, referred to as the “furrier brotherhood” (*“bratstwo kusznerskie”*) was on Arklių Street, but also that the Furriers possessed this house there long “before the conquest”, i.e. before the seizure of Vilnius and of a large part of Lithuania by The Muscovite army in 1655.³⁷ Consequently, as early as the seventeenth century, the headquarters of the furrier brotherhood was based in the aforementioned house. The brotherhood had it in its hands in the second half of the seventeenth century and

³⁶ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 66, p. 88.

³⁷ AVAC, 1879, t. 10, Nr. 93, p. 386–387.

in later times. The list of the yard (called an “estate”) tax (Lith. *padūmės*) of the Magistrate of Vilnius of 1721, notes “a small masonry house of the ‘kuszners’ brotherhood”. It is, however, noted therein that it stood empty at the time.³⁸ It is hard to say anything about its condition in later times due to a lack of information. This building is again mentioned in the Magistrate’s list of the “estate” taxpayers of 1761. As well as in the source mentioned above, the building is called “a small masonry house of the ‘kuszner’ brotherhood.” The list also notes that “Mr. Zmėjauskas has nailed up the gate so that the brotherhood is not heaped up in manure.”³⁹ This shows that the furrier brotherhood’s house was not in use at that time. No additional information has been found about this house.

Attention should be drawn to the fact that in Rasų suburb, there had once been a house of the guild of the makers of caps, coarse homespun overcoats (Lith. *sermėga*) and stockings (“*nogavičnikov*”) as well. We learn this from this guild’s statute of May 10, 1582, which was approved on the 21st day of that year by Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Stephan Bathory. The sovereign released the guild’s house from guest accommodation, noting that it was in the aforementioned suburb, “not far from the [Saint] Prechysta Tserkov [in the suburb near] the house of Chomy Roskogo.”⁴⁰ Its more precise location has not been ascertained though.

The statute of the guild of cap-makers and other manufacturers approved by the Magistrate of Vilnius on December 3, 1636, provides that the house in which the guild’s coffer will be kept must be released from the obligation of guest accommodation.⁴¹ However, there is no indication in this source of this guild having had its own house at that time. Whereas paragraph 2 of

³⁸ Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Lithuanian State Historical Archives] (hereinafter – LVIA), f. 458, apr. 1, b. 75, l. 2v.

³⁹ Ibid., b. 229, l. 5v–6.

⁴⁰ Archeografičeskij sbornik dokumentov, otnosiaščichsia k istorii Severo-Zapadnoi Rusi, [?], 1867, t. 1, Nr. 57, p. 165.

⁴¹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 209, p. 209, § 3.

the statute provides that the guild's coffer must be kept with an elder residing in the *jurydyka* of the city.⁴² This makes us think that at that time, the guild was not in possession of its own house in which the guild would have kept its property and hold meetings of its members.

From a letter of July 14, 1753, it turns out that a manufacturer of saddles, Dičius, did not arrive at the guild, sending to the masonry house of the Vaitas, which housed the Guild of Saddle Makers, a message of his non-arrival instead.⁴³ The fact of the absence of the mention of the house of this guild, gives us grounds to assume that the artisans of this trade were not in possession of their own house.

Available sources bear no information about a house belonging to the Wheelwrights-Carriage Makers either. Apparently, these craftsmen, too, did not have one. The only available message of the locale of the guild's meetings is from March 11, 1726 – with reference to the relocation of the guild's money coffer. That day, “for reasons of better order and a quieter place,” it was relocated to a masonry house which was in disposition of the parsonage of the Catholic [church] of St. Trinity.⁴⁴

In the Magistrate of Vilnius' book of income and expenses of 1663, at the point where the imposed tax on gates is specified, there is a record of the house of the Guild of Blacksmiths.⁴⁵ Whether it was wooden or masonry, this source does not specify. Also, nothing is said to this point in the Magistrate's book of income and expenses of 1667. The list of houses in the city's second block (“*kwaterij wtórej*”) includes “the guild of blacksmiths.” Yet neither the building nor its location is characterized more precisely. The presence of the house of the blacksmith guild in the aforementioned block is attested by a record in an identical book of income and expenses of 1673. The list of houses in the city's second block (“*kwaterij wtórej*”) therein includes “the

⁴² Ibid., § 2.

⁴³ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 791, p. 180; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5227, l. 7–10.

⁴⁴ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 615, p. 69.

⁴⁵ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 19, l. 27.

guild of blacksmiths.”⁴⁶ Regretfully, neither the building nor its location are defined more specifically.⁴⁷ More information about this house, its location and the then condition is provided in the letter of July 18, 1666 of Jonas and Ona Rolas to the guild. It says that these persons have taken over the house of the guild of blacksmiths, cauldron-makers, saber-makers and knife-makers. It seems, the house was derelict or partly destroyed during the 1655–1661 war as the husband and wife Rolas undertook to “re-store” it by rebuilding it on the side of the street and also its second floor (“*izbę z ulicy i na górze także wystanowić*”). The letter notes that the house was located on Vilniaus Street.⁴⁸

The statute of the Guild of Smiths which, in the opinion of the Polish historian Henryk Lowmianski, was produced no later than 1663, says: “That house in which meetings of the brothers-in-this-smithcraft will be held must always be free from guest accommodation.”⁴⁹ Unfortunately, efforts to come across any information about the presence of a house of the smith guild in Vilnius have failed.

There is mention of a house of saber-makers in the early eighteenth century. We find some information to the point in *Kronikinė knyga*.⁵⁰ The book relies on a document dated August 15, 11737, which affords evidence that the house inherited at that time by Mykolas and Elena Dolmatas, in the early eighteenth century was in the disposition of the Guild of Saber-Makers, having been lodged as a security. The fact that the guild had paid a contribution for the house and carried out its repairs would suggest that it was in the Saber-Makers’ disposition for a lengthy period. The aforementioned document shows that the house stood with its front reaching the former Japų Street and, in the late eighteenth century, was marked as possession No. 222.

⁴⁶ Ibid., b. 23, l. 27.

⁴⁷ Ibid., b. 29, l. 29.

⁴⁸ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 319, p. 341.

⁴⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 275, p. 277, § 9.

⁵⁰ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 534, p. 19; [LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 532], *Kronikinė knyga* [Księga Kronikalna], t. 3, l. 16.

Before WWII it was Gaono Street.⁵¹ There is, however, no information about the presence of the guild's headquarters here.

The earliest available knowledge of the house of the Guild of Butchers is from the late 1620s. A document dated October 19, 1629, reveals that that year, a benchner (Lith. *suolininkas*) (a court official in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) of the city of Vilnius, Baltramiejus Domin[i]kavičius, on behalf of a Vilnius townswoman, Antanina Fonendenienė, officially introduced ("*prezaprowadzają intromisję*") the Guild of Butchers into the house referred to as the Prokuda house ("*domus Prokudzinski*").⁵²

The Magistrate's letter to the Guild of Butchers of July 20, 1631, refers to the introduction of a water supply into this house. At the request of Pavasaraitis and Jonas Ločys and after the guild has paid 20 *kapas* of Lithuanian groats into the city till, the Magistrate permitted to introduce a water supply into the house, the water coming from the wellspring of Župrėnai.⁵³

There is no doubt that this has to do with the same house, which is mentioned in the document of 1629, since the Magistrate's letter reads that it had been referred to as the Prokuda house before, and notes it having been on Vokiečių Street.⁵⁴

The Statute of the Guild of Butchers was supplemented on March 30, 1635, with new provisions. One of them says that the guild has its own house and the guild's coffer must be kept in this house and not anywhere else. It is also noted therein that the house is being released from the obligation of accommodation.⁵⁵ It seems that the privileges granted were not always complied with. A complaint of the Guild of Butchers was forwarded to the Marshal Court on November 28, 1643. The Butchers filed a complaint against the royal "quartermaster," Arnolfas Bartoševskis for breaking the privilege concerning the house on Vokiečių

⁵¹ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 534, p. 19–20.

⁵² ACW, d. 1, Nr. 169, p. 176–177.

⁵³ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 175, p. 179–180.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 95, p. 196, § 4.

Street.⁵⁶ This building figures as “the masonry house of the Guild of Butchers” in the Magistrate’s books of income and expenses of 1663 and 1667.⁵⁷ As can be seen from the Guild of Butchers’ letter of November 5, 1667, the guild had let their house to a Vilnius merchant, Jokūbas Ambrosevičius, for six years for 999 gold zloty. Since the house had no water supply, it was to be installed jointly by the lessee and the guild at their expense. The letter says that the lessee can live in the house and derive any other benefit from it. The lessee did not own all the premises in the house though. The document provides that the contract on the lease excludes the premises on the second floor (“*izbę naszą, na górze będaćę*”), which is used for the gatherings of the guild members.⁵⁸

The presence of the Butcher’s house here in 1673 is attested by that year’s Magistrate’s book of income and expenses.⁵⁹ Three years later, the Magistrate, in satisfaction of the Guild’s request and on the grounds that before the 1655–1661 war, there had been a water supply in the guild’s house, permitted to install it again.⁶⁰

This house is on the list of payers of the “estate” tax in 1721. The entry shows that butcher Astrauskas was its actual manager and resident (Lith. *gaspadorius*).⁶¹ One more resident abided in this possession apart from him. That same year, the Instigator of the Commissar (Lith. *komisorių*) Court, in breach of the sovereign’s privileges granted to the guild, had turned the house into a “corps de garde” (Lith. *kordegardija*).⁶² This house is also mentioned in a September 5, 1721 document⁶³ and taken down in the Magistrate’s book of income and expenses of 1731.⁶⁴ In 1754, the Butchers paid a tax on maintaining cleanliness in their house.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 95, p. 196, § 4.

⁵⁷ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 19, l. 29v; b. 23, l. 28–29v.

⁵⁸ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 334, p. 348–349.

⁵⁹ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 29, l. 31.

⁶⁰ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 397, p. 391–392.

⁶¹ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 75, l. 8.

⁶² ACW, d. 2, Nr. 572, p. 37–38.

⁶³ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 579, p. 48.

⁶⁴ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 107, l. 18.

⁶⁵ Ibid., b. 203, l. 18.

The list of tariffs for the yards (“estates”) in Vilnius of 1790 has an entry of “a masonry house referred to as “the Guild of Butchers”, which is marked in it as possession No. 310.⁶⁶ It is marked by the same number in one more list of the houses of Vilnius which in 1801 was handed over to the city archives.⁶⁷ It is currently residential house No. 6/1 on Muziejaus [Vokiečių] Street. Additional information on the history of this house is provided in its historical sketch.⁶⁸

Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Sigismund Vasa approved the Guild of Butchers’ previous privilege on March 30, 1635, supplementing their statute with new provisions. The supplement sets forth that no one can sell meat during lent except for four “brothers-in-the-guild” who sell meat to sick people in the guild’s house.⁶⁹

No information has been found that it also would have been traded in a similar way in other houses or guild headquarters.

In 1740, the Vilnius’ Guild of Butchers bought one more residential house in possession No. 310 [Vokiečių Street 6/1] apart from the described guild house on Vokiečių Street. It was a small shack, apparently wooden (“*chatupa*”) that Ona Zbrozkienė sold to the Butchers of Vilnius on April 20th of that year. The guild bought it as the asylum for its impoverished members. The shack stood beyond the Aštrieji (Medininkai) Gate of the defensive wall. According to *Kronikinė knyga*, this plot was marked as possession No. 1286.⁷⁰

This guild had possessions elsewhere too.

As an example, the dean of Ariogala, priest Andrijauskas (Je-drzejewski), transferred a plot in Vilnius to the Guild of Butchers on March 15, 1664. According to *Kronikinė knyga*, the plot was

⁶⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 15.

⁶⁷ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 567, l. 12v.

⁶⁸ Dambrauskaitė, T. and A. Kazlauskas. *Vilniaus senamiesčio 61 kvartalas. Istorinė apybraiža*. Vilnius, 1974, 16–23. Archive of Paminklų Konservavimo institutas (Monument Conservation Institute) (hereinafter – PKI).

⁶⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 195, p. 196, § 4.

⁷⁰ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 690, p. 106; [LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 532]. *Kronikinė knyga*, t. 10, l. 11.

part of the city land in possession No. 732 in the territory of the Magistrate.⁷¹

A similar fact is mentioned in the agreement between “the dean of Vilnius,” Vaitiekus Surauskas (Surowski) and the Guild of Surgeons approved by the Bishop of Vilnius, Abraomas Vainius (Woyna) on January 23, 1641. With reference to apprentices, it provides that they must pay 3 groats into the apprentice till. It also provides that a house should be purchased for the disabled apprentices by collecting a fair amount of money and adding previous savings. This letter refers to several premises in the future house for dealing with such matters.⁷² Yet if the house for these needs was purchased, has not been ascertained. On the other hand, no data that the Guild of Surgeons would have been in possession of its own house for administrative needs is available.

The presented facts bear obvious testament to individual guilds having had several houses in their disposition. Hence, not every house of the guild was also its headquarters and can be considered “a guild house.”

The Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Stephan Bathory on May 26, 1579, approved the brotherhood of tanners, which had long been active under the altar of the Saint Virgin Mary of the Franciscan Church. At the same time, he released this brotherhood’s masonry house “in Vilnius, near Trakai Gate, from the obligation of accommodation.” According to *Kronikinė knyga*, this house was in possession No. 387.⁷³ Based on the data of 1630, the house near Trakai Gate belonged to the guild of the processors of grey or colorless (“szaroskurniki”), red and white hides.⁷⁴

Seventeenth-century sources bear mention of a house of the Vilnius guild of the processors of white hides (“*cechu baltuszniczego*”). In the Magistrate’s books of 1667, 1672 and 1673 it figures

⁷¹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 277, p. 278; [LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 532]. *Kronikinė knyga*, t. 2, l. 65.

⁷² ACW, d. 1, Nr. 22, p. 222.

⁷³ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 58, p. 72.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, b. 172, 178–179.

as a masonry house of this guild.⁷⁵ Attention should be drawn to the fact that, besides the craftsmen mentioned above, this guild also included suede processors and manufacturers of leather gloves. Paragraph 3 of the statute of this combined guild, which was given to it by sovereign Jan Sobieski on January 18, 1680, deals with the guild's house. It notes that the masonry house ("*dom albo kamienica bracka*") stood on Šv. Mikalojaus Street. The guild was supposed to hold its member meetings in this house, and also to keep its till, privileges, and other documents in it. This paragraph provides that the guild's house has been long released from guest accommodation upon the arrival of sovereigns and commissars or when sessions of the tribunal court of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania take place, and also in other cases. It is also noted that, to protect the house from the obligation of accommodation, the house is allowed to have inscribed on its gate "the house is free, privileged", along with the coats of arms of the State and of the Franciscan monastery ("*przy herbie naszym królewskim < ... > wolno będzie herb zakonu Franciszka świętego na wrotach mieć*").⁷⁶ Beyond doubt, this has to do with a signboard in regards to the obligation to provide accommodation, which was usually hung above the drive-in.

We come across a house of white hide processors in eighteenth-century sources as well. As an example, in the Magistrate's book of income and expenses of 1731, it is referred to as "a masonry house of the guild of *baltušnikai* (Lith. *baltas* – white)."⁷⁷ Whereas in the identical books of 1721, 1761 and 1767, it figures as "a small house of the *baltušnikai* guild."⁷⁸

It should be noted that in 1721, as can be seen from the list of payers of the "estate" tax, the small masonry house of the *baltušnikai* guild at that time belonged to Pensienė.

On July 23, 1727, the guild of the processors of grey or colorless and white hides ("*cech szaro ir białoskórników*") sold its

⁷⁵ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 23, l. 29v; b. 28, l. 32; b. 29, l. 31.

⁷⁶ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 412, p. 402, § 3.

⁷⁷ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 75, l. 9; b. 229, l. 9; b. 258, l. 8.

⁷⁸ Ibid., b. 75, l. 9.

house with a plot to the camp organizer (Lith. *stovyklininkas*) of Ašmena, Jonas Chodzka and his wife Elena. They officially came to own this house and took over the aforementioned property on September 22 of that same year. *Kronikinė knyga* indicates that “before the union” (undoubtedly, the Union of Lublin concluded on July 1, 1569), by the privileges granted by Stephan Bathory, Sigismund III and Władysław IV Vasas, and Michal Korybut Wiśniowiecki, the house had been and, after it, was released from obligations, accommodation, and was exempted from taxes. In the description of the possession, it is said that it is located in Vilnius, near Trakai Gate, i.e., on one side near the masonry Trakai Gate and the city rampart, on the other – from the bystreet where Mr. Venckovičius’ house stands, and abuts the *jurydyka* of the Franciscan Monks’ Suffering of God Brotherhood, reaching the street in front of Trakai Gate with its front.⁷⁹

It looks like in the sources mentioned above reference is made to two houses.

The statute of the Guild of the Producers of Malt, which was approved by the sovereign of the State, Augustus II on March 9, 1669, mentions the guild’s house several times without characterizing it. Just paragraph 5 of the statute sets forth that the house selected for that purpose (“*dom albo kamienicę, na to obroną*”) is released from the accommodation of both the military and civilians, except for the visits of the sovereign himself in Vilnius.⁸⁰ However, it is impossible to judge from this paragraph and other mention in this statute that the guild would have been in possession of its own house at that time.

What raises no doubt though is that in the mid-eighteenth century, this guild, too, acquired its own premises. This we learn from the letter of the royal [secretary, city] clerk, Aleksandras Končevskis of February 20, 1748. It indicates that this person sold half of a masonry house to the Guild of the Producers of Malt for 1000 Polish zloty in silver coins. The house had previ-

⁷⁹ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 622, p. 72; [LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 532]. *Kronikinė knyga*, t. 8, l. 39–40.

⁸⁰ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 483, p. 487, § 5.

ously belonged to Burba since at the time of selling it, it was referred to as Burba's house ("*kamienica Burbińska*"). It stood on Vokiečių Street. In describing the situation, the house is said to have been located on the left-hand side of Vokiečių Street if walking from the Town Hall, on the corner of this street and the bypass leading to the Church of All Saints and St. Michael.⁸¹

It should be noted that this is not the earliest knowledge of the malt producer "guild house." As early as 1731, "a masonry house of the Guild of the Producers of Malt" was put on the Magistrate's list of houses that paid the "estate" tax.⁸² In the identical book's list of houses of 1761 it is referred to as "a large house of the Guild of the Producers of Malt." The same source indicates it having been "admitted" to the palace of Bishop Tiškevičius.⁸³ However, what this indication means, is hard to tell exactly. One thing is clear is that this house had to do with the possession of Bishop Tiškevičius of Samogitia. The Magistrate's book of income and expenses of 1772 bears testament to that. In this book's list of the "estate" tax payers, with reference to the taxes paid by the city's third block ("*trzecia kwatery*"), the house of Balmačevskis, the masonry house of the Guild of the Producers of Malt, and the palace of Bishop Tiškevičius of Samogitia are recorded as No. 22. A total of 8 zloty paid is indicated.⁸⁴ The historical sketch of this building [Vokiečių g. 4] points out that it was used for administrative purposes.⁸⁵ It also bears additional information pertaining to its history.

A complaint of the elders of the small tanners, or the Guild of Small Hide Processors ("*garbarskiego małoskórników*"), of November 22, 1708, has it that the guild's house was located beyond the city's defensive wall – Vilnius Gate. They accused Sebestionavičienė (according to her first husband – Olšauskienė) of

⁸¹ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 745, p. 156.

⁸² LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 107, l. 18.

⁸³ Ibid., b. 229, l. 9.

⁸⁴ Ibid., b. 257, l. 8.

⁸⁵ M. Banikonienė. *Vilniaus senamiesčio gyv. namas Muziejaus g. 4 (pos. 300). Istoriniai tyrimai*. PKI archive, f. 5-283.

having not paid the lease for two years, having burnt the fences and the logs that had been carried over for construction purposes, also for ruining the doors, windows, benches, furnaces and dirtying the house, as well as for moving out without notifying the guild of that.⁸⁶ These facts are repeated in a letter of September 10, 1709, pertaining to this matter.⁸⁷

A letter of the *vaznis* (a general) of the Voivodeship of Vilnius of August 30, 1719, notes that he has handed over a "mandate" to the elders of the small tanners and other tanners within this trade at the house of the guild.⁸⁸ This would suggest that this building was used as the guild's headquarters at the time. A general meeting of the members of the Guild of the Small Tanners on June 23, 1726, made a decision to sell the house due to a lack of funds for its repairs, which was done. The house, totally run down and fallen into ruin, was sold by the guild to a resident of Vilnius, Jokūbas Vlošinskas for 120 zloty. However, even after selling the house, the guild reserved the right, by paying the annual fee, to have its headquarters in this building. The description of the building says that it was located beyond Vilnius Gate, in a suburb, "on a side street, on the left-hand side, walking towards the masonry bridge." On one side of it, there was a house of the Order of Saint Benedict ("*dom*") and a possession of the Dominican Monastery on the other.⁸⁹

Some archival sources from the seventeenth-eighteen century bear mention of a house of the Guild of the Processors of Morocco (tanners-morocco processors). The Magistrate's book of income and expense of 1663, among the houses that paid the "gate" (Lith. *pavartės*) tax, included the house of morocco processors ("*kamienica Saffjanowska*"). It is true though that in the list, it is not mentioned as a house and its location is not specified.

All that we can see in this list is that the house was located in the first block ("*kwatery pierwszej*"). In the list, it is entered

⁸⁶ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 503, p. 6; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5343, l. 389.

⁸⁷ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 505, f. 6–7, LVIA, f. SA, b. 5343, l. 449–450.

⁸⁸ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 558, p. 30.

⁸⁹ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 617, l. 10.

between the masonry houses of the Sienkievičius family and Kutenpka.⁹⁰

This guild's possession is again mentioned in the list of tariffs applicable to the yards ("estates") in Vilnius of 1790. Here, it is defined as "a small estate of the Guild of Morocco Processors" and is marked as possession No. 535.⁹¹ Some facts about the guild's house are presented. Goldsmith Juozas Bohaterovičius, by letter of December 27, 1642, left his masonry house he had purchased from shoemaker Balcevičius to his wife, and after her death – to the chapel of the goldsmith guild [in the Church of St. John]. The house stood on Filipovska Street ("*na ulicy Filipowskiej*"), between the masonry houses of the burgomaster Simonas Balandis of the Magistrate and merchant Grigas Pukienis. After Bohaterovičius's death, the house was to be taken over by the Guild of Goldsmiths, to let it, and to allocate the funds for the needs of the chapel. Attention should be paid to the instruction in the letter of inheritance to the effect that, as long as Bohaterovičius' wife is alive, the Goldsmiths cannot use it otherwise than for holding their meetings as usual.⁹² This would suggest that meetings of the members of this guild took place when the owner was still alive. This house is also mentioned in a letter of 1700 with reference to the repairs and decoration of the chapel of St. Barbara which was maintained by the Guild of Goldsmiths in the Church of St. John.⁹³

The list of houses which were to pay the "estate" tax compiled by the Magistrate in 1721 includes a house of the Guild of Goldsmiths. In the list, it is referred to as "a small masonry house" and is entered between the former house of Daukševičius, which at that time belonged to Simonas Bartlevičius, and a small masonry house of harness maker, Savickas, which had previously belonged to Potovska.⁹⁴ In the list of houses that paid these taxes of 1731, this

⁹⁰ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 19, 26v.

⁹¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 23.

⁹² ACW, d. 1, Nr. 229, p. 227–30.

⁹³ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 487, p. 492–493.

⁹⁴ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 75, l. 11v.

house is included between a masonry house of the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi and a similar house previously owned by tailor Dambrauskas.⁹⁵ “A small masonry house of the goldsmith guild also figures in the lists of houses to pay the aforementioned taxes of 1761 and 1772.”⁹⁶ In the latter list, the guild’s house is put after the masonry house owned by Ignotas Melceris that was still named after Potovska. This shows that this has to do with the same building of the guild as that put on the list of 1721.

The historical sketch of the Old Town of Vilnius’ block 36, based on a document from 1768, states that the house of the goldsmith guild belonged to different persons. In 1690, it belonged to lawyer Pomarnackis of Smolensk [Voivodeship]. At that time, the house had: “2 large, 5 middle-size, 3 small rooms. To let: 5 rooms, 1 small room, 2 large cellars, a stable for 6 horses, a coach-house.”⁹⁷ Current address of the house is Stiklių g 6.

There is some valuable material about the house of the shoemaker guild.

On February 13, 1588, husband and wife Eustachijus and Ona Janavičius sold their possession to the shoemaker guild. On one side, it abutted the house of tailor Steponas, on the other – that of a harness maker, Povilas, and on the front – Smilenska Street (“*frontem od ulicy Smilenskiej*”).⁹⁸

Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Władysław IV Vasa issued a letter to the Guild of Shoemakers on August 18, 1636. This document states that the guild’s house, in which its statutes and privileges are kept and meetings of its members are held, is released from the obligation of accommodation.⁹⁹

The Magistrate of Vilnius’ book of income and expenses of 1663 presents a list of houses on which the gate tax is imposed. It includes a masonry house of the shoemaker guild.¹⁰⁰ This

⁹⁵ Ibid., b. 107, l. 18v.

⁹⁶ Ibid., b. 229, l. 11v.; b. 257, l. 10.

⁹⁷ Dambrauskaitė, T. and M. Vaitkunskaitytė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio 36 kvartalas. Istoriniai tyrimai*. Vilnius, 1963, 121–122. PKI archyvas, f. 5-265.

⁹⁸ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 82, p. 105.

⁹⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 205, p. 205–206.

¹⁰⁰ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 19, l. 26v.

guild's house, without saying it was masonry, is taken down in the Magistrate's identical book of 1667.¹⁰¹

Unfortunately, these books do not expressly state if, at that time, the guild's house functioned as the headquarters of this craftsmen organization. We can just presume that it was used for the guild's aforementioned needs, as there is no information in the lists in the above-named books that it stood empty and was not in use. On the other hand, sometimes we come across sources attesting to the guild's house having been used according to the purpose. For instance, apprentices of the Vilnius shoemaker guild, as can be seen from its statute of July 9, 1689, participated in meetings in the guild's house that were held separately from those of the guild masters.¹⁰² Gatherings of the guild's masters undoubtedly took place there too. The guild's wealth was safely kept in this house too. The masonry house of the shoemaker guild is included in the Magistrate's book of income and expenses of 1731.¹⁰³

A complaint of the elder of the shoemaker guild, Jokūbas Virvičius, and of Motiejus Butkevičius to the Magistrate of Vilnius of August 18, 1737, says that the guild's flag, in contravention to the statute, is kept "in an alien *jurydyka*." As can be seen from the complaint, the guild's house had burnt down. The aforementioned persons accused Vaitiekus Suldzevičius, Antanas Žilinskas and Stanislovas Jundzelevičius to the effect that they, without the consent of a general meeting of members, took 80 thalers from the guild's till to restore the guild's masonry house. Moreover, they were accused of having borrowed 50 thalers [*ta-larów bitych*] from Saldzevičius, lodging the guild's silver candlesticks as a security, and also wanted to take the cross, lamp and other things which had been saved from the fire by Virvičius.¹⁰⁴

In the list of tariffs applicable to the houses of Vilnius compiled in 1797, this building is referred to as "the masonry house

¹⁰¹ Ibid., b. 23, l. 26v.

¹⁰² Ibid., b. 19, l. 26v.

¹⁰³ Ibid., b. 23, l. 26v.

¹⁰⁴ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 672, p. 99; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5221, l. 134–135.

so called by the shoemaker guild.”¹⁰⁵ We come across this name in another list of Vilnius’ houses too. This dateless list was transferred by the assessor of the Magistrate of Vilnius, Bžozievskis, to the city archives on July 20, 1801.¹⁰⁶ In both lists, this building is marked as possession No. 80. It should be noted that the possession which passed into the hands of this guild in 1588 was also located at this place.¹⁰⁷

T. Dambrauskaitė who researched this house indicates that

in 1806, there were 5 large rooms and 4 small ones in the house.

On the first [floor], in the guild’s house, there was a *karczma*. Due to it being in bad condition, it did not generate any profit. Therefore, in 1828, an estimate of its repairs was drawn up.

Before letting this house in 1830, its inventory was compiled. According to this inventory, the house was of a closed quadrangular plan. Its one wall adjoined the Puslovskis palace, the other – the house of the tailor guild, near Savičiaus and Latako streets. The gate from the street was decorated. Upon passing through the gate, on the right-hand side, there [was] an anteroom. The flooring was of brick and the ceiling masonry. In the anteroom – the ceiling masonry. In the anteroom – a kitchen. On the right-hand side of the anteroom – entrance into the *karczma*, four windows on the left-hand side, two of which from the side of the street and two from the yard. The windows on the yard side had sixteen windowpanes each, on the street side – six, all with shutters. The flooring was of wood, the ceiling rested on beams. The second door into the street – double. Inside the *karczma*, two wooden partition walls, in its walls – two recessions. On the opposite side of the anteroom, a room. Inside, two windows with 16 windowpanes each, the ceiling of wood. Near this room, an entrance into a cellar. In the cellar, three premises. Upon coming out of the cellar, in front of the staircase, there was a small store, which at that time was newly built, one-floor with a shingle roof; the door led into the street. When out of the store,

¹⁰⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4068, l. 5.

¹⁰⁶ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 567, l. 4v.

¹⁰⁷ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 82, p. 105.

on the side of the house, a flat. Access to it is through an anteroom. The anteroom floor is stone paved, the ceiling wooden. There is a kitchen in the anteroom. On the left-hand side of the anteroom – a room with three windows: two on the street side with 6 windowpanes, and one on the yard side with also 6 windowpanes each. The flooring is brick, the ceiling wooden. On the opposite side of the anteroom, a store-room premises. It has one window with 4 windowpanes, the ceiling is wooden, the flooring of tiles. Below this wing, a cellar comprised of three premises. A wooden balcony – a gallery covered with roof tiles extended throughout the entire second floor. From the gallery, one first enters an anteroom in the north-western wing. The floor is brick, the ceiling masonry. In the anteroom, a kitchen. From the anteroom, on the left, a door into a room. There are two windows overlooking the yard in it, the flooring and the ceiling are wooden; there also four recessions. On the right-hand side of the anteroom, a door leads into a room which is referred to as “*izba sądowa*”, i.e., the guild’s court room. Its ceiling and flooring are wooden. Four windows: two from the street side and two from the yard side. Upon coming out into the anteroom, one would walk down the gallery straight to the other side, first accessing an anteroom with brick flooring and a wooden ceiling. In the anteroom, there is a kitchen. On the left, a door leads into a room with three windows: two from the street, and one from the yard side. Wooden ceiling and flooring, one recession. On the other side of the anteroom, a room. Its flooring and ceiling are wooden, there are two windows, two recessions. A roofed staircase leads from the gallery on the second floor to the third floor. Only the north-western wing had a third floor. It was of the same plan as the first and the second floor. The room on the street side also four-windowed, the windows with shutters. On the other side of the anteroom, a treasury room. It is vaulted, with small windows with fine panes, with bars.

The inventory information is supplemented with the plan structure of the house displayed in the city of Vilnius plans. In the possession, there stood two separate houses, their backs overlooking the street, with a common gate (and, probably, a fence). Their north-western wing was three-floored, the other wing – two-floored. They had a common gallery/balcony on the second

floor which surrounded the yard on three sides. On the second floor, in the north-western wing premises, near the street, there was a premises for the guild's meetings. The house was in poor condition at that time: the roof was to be re-laid, the ceilings and windows needed a repair.¹⁰⁸

Of premises typical of guild houses, the guild's meeting premises, treasury room, and court room are mentioned. There was also a tavern in the house that the author (Dambrauskaitė) calls a *karczma*.

Hence, the shoemaker guild house is mentioned in the historical sources from 1588 to the early nineteenth century. Its location never changed throughout this period. The guild house saw quite a few changes. There is though no doubt that during a few centuries, the building, in satisfaction of the shoemaker guild's needs, was adapted to its activities. The current address of the building is Bokšto g. 3.

The earliest knowledge of the tailor guild house that we have, is from 1530. According to *Kronikinė knyga*, that year, tailor Petras Litvangas or, as was the guess of the Polish historian Henryk Łowmiański, Lietuvis, assigned it to the guild.¹⁰⁹

The tailor guild came into possession of one more house in the early seventeenth century. A letter dated December 7, 1617, shows that Jonas Velička sold a plot with a house and masonry buildings ("*dom a placem i z mурowaniem*") to the Vilnius tailor guild for 600 Lithuanian groats. Velička had acquired this plot from the nuns Darata Brozberskytė and sisters Zuzana and Raina Novakovaitė of Nesvyžius. Whereas he himself, built the house and other buildings. This bears testament to these buildings having been built in the early seventeenth or late sixteenth century. In the description of the location of the possession, it is said that it was located in the bystreet leading to the Evangelical Church,

¹⁰⁸ Dambrauskaitė, T. *Vilniaus senamiesčio 43 kvartalas. Istorinė apybraiža*, Vilnius, 1975, p. 77–79. PKI archive.

¹⁰⁹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 11, p. 15.

between the plot of the Church of St. John the Apostle and the plot and house of Duke Albrechtas Radvila (Albrycht Radziwiłł). Whereas the gate of the house purchased by the tailor guild was in front of the house of the husband and wife Rajeckis.¹¹⁰ The house of the tailor guild, as standing in the *jurydyka* of the metropolitan bishop, is mentioned in the letter of bishop Aleksandras Sapiega and other royal commissars of March 25, 1671.¹¹¹ On April 4 of the next year, the metropolitan bishop Gabrielius Koldenda renounced the tailor guild house and one more house in favor of the Magistrate.¹¹²

The masonry house of the tailor guild is recorded in the Magistrate's books of income and expenses of 1667 and 1672.¹¹³ In the same book of 1673, two houses of the tailor guild are recorded.¹¹⁴ They both figure in the book's list as masonry buildings. We come across similar facts in books of income and expenses from a later period. The book of 1721 refers to one of them as a masonry house of the tailor guild, and as this guild's large masonry house to the other.¹¹⁵ The Magistrate's book of income and expenses of 1731 describes them as masonry houses of this guild without saying that one of them was large and the other small.¹¹⁶

A June 13, 1721 complaint of tailor Feodoras Hrehorovičius to the Vilnius Court of Vaitas [more specifically, the benchers court] adds a little to the scanty information about the house of this guild available to us. It tells us that after a meeting of the guild members, tailor Kazimieras Zdanavičius, together with other two tailors, beat Hrehorovičius in the guild's house. As he went out of the meeting premises ("*z izby cechowej*"), Zdanavičius

¹¹⁰ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 11, p. 15.

¹¹¹ ACW, d. 1, Nr. 368, p. 372; Akty zdavaemyje Vilenskoyu archeografičeskojy komisijeju (hereinafter – AVAK), 1893, t. 20, Nr. 293, p. 431.

¹¹² ACW, d. 1, Nr. 374, p. 377; AVAK, 1893, t. 20, Nr. 298, p. 448.

¹¹³ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 23, l. 26; b. 28, l. 28.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., b. 29, l. 28.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., b. 75, l. 7.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., b. 107, l. 17v.

beat him, dragged him out into “*ganek*” (“*na ganek wyprowadził*”) (Lith. *gonkos*), pushed him down the stairs, then continued to beat him in the yard and took away a few things from him.¹¹⁷

It is not clear what was meant by the word “*ganek*”. The word “*ganek*” can denote a gallery or an anteroom. However, the above description, as well as the indication that after pushing Hrehorovičius down the stairs, the fight took place in the yard, suggests that the “*gonkos*” with stairs were in the yard of the guild house.

On October 24, 1743, the tailor guild sold the house which had been assigned to it by Piotr Litwang in 1530, to the husband and wife Jonas and Brigita Veineris. In the description of its location, it is specified that the house is on the street of the city which was previously referred to as Kotova (currently Pilies g.), walking from the city towards the castle, on the right-hand side.¹¹⁸ In another letter written at that time, the new owners of the house undertake, when sessions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Tribunal take place, to provide lodging to the deputies and not to send them to the tailor guild’s other house.¹¹⁹ *Kronikinė knyga* indicates that the sold property was located in possession No. 109.¹²⁰

Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Magistrate’s book of income and expenses of 1761 indicates two houses of the Tailors: both of them are referred to as small masonry houses (“*mała kamienica*”).¹²¹ In such book of 1772, two houses of this guild are also noted. As in the previous source, in this book, they were considered small masonry houses.¹²²

It was earlier mentioned that in 1743, the tailor guild sold one house to the husband and wife Veineris. Therefore, it is hardly possible to categorically claim that in the second half of the eigh-

¹¹⁷ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 377, p. 47; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5344, l. 374–375.

¹¹⁸ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 721, p. 134–135; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5128, l. 794.

¹¹⁹ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 722, p. 135; LVIA, f. SA, b. 5128, l. 797–798.

¹²⁰ ACW, d. 2, Nr. 721, p. 135; [LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 532]. *Kronikinė knyga*, t. 3, l. 74.

¹²¹ LVIA, f. 458, apr. 1, b. 229, l. 7–7v.

¹²² *Ibid.*, b. 275, l. 6–6v.

teenth century, this guild was in possession of two houses. It is quite possible that in the aforementioned books of income and expenses of the Magistrate from the second half of the eighteenth century, the sold house continued to be called the house of the tailor guild by tradition. As a partial support of this line of thinking, in the 1790 list of tariffs applicable to the yards ("estates") in the city of Vilnius, only one house of this guild is entered. In this list, it is called a masonry house ("*kamienica*") and is said to be located in possession No. 79 (currently Bokšto g. 11).¹²³

None of the guild's houses was built specifically for its administrative purposes. The address of the headquarters in which the guild stayed the longest is the current Bokšto g. 1, which should be considered the actual "guild house." The history of this building is highlighted in the historical sketch of block 43 of the Old Town of Vilnius, which contains some additional information.¹²⁴

The historical research of the 13 Rūdninkų Street house indicates that this house, referred to as ["*kamienica*] Nohawiczniowska", in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century belonged to the guild of the manufacturers of sharp weapons.¹²⁵

The analyzed material leads us to the following conclusions.

The oldest professional organizations of the townsfolk, known from 1458, were mead brotherhoods. In the fifteenth-sixteenth century, the brotherhood of furriers ("*kusznery*") owned a house in Rasų suburb. Meetings of its members and mead feasts took place there. There was a large hall for holding meetings and feasts in the house, access to which was through an anteroom. Also, there must have been a well-protected premises for keeping the brotherhood's valuable possessions. A part of the house must have been living premises and a meadery. In the mid-seventeenth century, the headquarters of the brotherhood was located on the then Arklių Street. In the sixteenth century, in Vil-

¹²³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 4086, l. 5.

¹²⁴ Dambrauskaitė, *Vilniaus senamiesčio*, p. 8, PKI archive.

¹²⁵ Vojevodskaite A., *Vilniaus senamiesčio 57 kvartalo namų Rūdninkų g. Nr. 11, 13 ir 15 istorinių tyrimų ataskaita*. Vilnius, 1986, p. 15. PKI archyvas, f. 5-3820.

nus Marketplace, there stood a house of the furriers which was used for trade matters.

Artisan guilds were active in Vilnius from 1495 to 1893. A few dozen guilds of artisans of different professions had been established in the period under review. According to the feudal city tradition, they were supposed to have their own house, yet not every guild in our capital city could afford to acquire one. Those who did not own a house constituted a far larger portion of the guilds operating in Vilnius. The headquarters of these guilds normally were based in the house of their elder or hired premises.

Guild statutes required their houses to be in the territory of the Magistrate which was surrounded by the defensive wall of the city.

The locations of the houses of the guilds of cap-makers, processors of small hides, and of morocco are the examples that these provisions were not observed at all times.

Not every house owned by these organizations was their headquarters. The houses of some guilds housed an asylum for their members or were used for other purposes. Only buildings in which the property of the guild was safely kept, meetings of their members, legal proceedings and feasts took place; where various other matters of these organizations were dealt with, shall be considered "guild houses." Goods were manufactured in the workshops of individual craftsmen. A guild was an association of manufacturers, yet it was not directly engaged either in the manufacturing or realization of goods manufactured by members of a guild.

The following houses are known from the period under review:

1. The house of the blacksmith guild (2nd part of the seventeenth century, Vilniaus St.).
2. The house of the smith guild (the seventeenth century, location not ascertained).
3. The house of the guild of cap, coarse homespun overcoat and stocking makers (mid-sixteenth century, Rasų suburb).
4. The house of *baltušnikai*, or the processors of white color hides (1st half of the eighteenth century, precise location not ascertained).

5. The house of the guild of the processors of grey, red and white color hides (currently Trakų g., former possession No. 387).
6. The house of the guild of small tanners (1st half of the eighteenth century, beyond the city's defensive wall – Vilnius Gate).
7. The house of the guild of morocco processors (Užupis, former possession No. 535).
8. The house of the goldsmith guild (seventeenth–eighteenth century, currently Stiklių g.).
9. The house of the butcher guild (sixteenth–eighteenth century, currently Vokiečių g. 6/1).
10. The house of the guild of malt producers (eighteenth century, currently Vokiečių g. 4).
11. The house of the tailor guild (seventeenth–nineteenth century, currently Bokšto g. 1).
12. The house of the shoemaker guild (fifteenth–nineteenth century, currently Bokšto g. 3).
13. The house of the guild of the manufacturers of sharp weapons (?) (sixteenth–seventeenth century, currently Rūdninkų g. 13).

No written documents attesting to the above-named houses having been built specifically as guild headquarters have been found. Guilds mostly came into possession of them and, following their restructuring, adapted them to the guild's needs.

Guild houses usually housed a meeting hall, a treasury, sometimes – special premises for the guild's legal proceedings, a tavern, a residential premises of the manager of the guild house (Lith. *gaspadorius*), and sometimes – also a premises for apprentices arriving from abroad to stay the night. In case there was a tavern in a guild house, there was a brewery in it as well.

A meeting hall was the major premises, which was also made into a hall for food and drink, for giving feasts. There usually stood a large table and benches for the guild members to sit on. The premises, as in other houses, was heated by a furnace of color decorative tiles. We have reasonable grounds to believe that religious pictures and those depicting sovereigns decorated the walls of this premises. Religious pictures must have depicted patrons of the guild crafts.

One more important premises was a treasury. It normally had barred windows with a strong, well-bound door and shutters. This was a room where the guild till coffer, the guild's drums, flag, weapons and most other precious and important property were kept. We could assume that the archives of a guild were kept in this premises too.

The so-called *gaspadorius* (manager) safely kept, heated, repaired and otherwise looked after guild houses. Where he was also a craftsman, he could have his own workshop in the guild house. No institutions other than manufacturing and trade institutions, operated in guild houses, except for meat stores in the house of the butcher guild.

Guild houses are not only valuable in terms of their architecture, characteristic plan structure, and the history of construction – they are the living witnesses of the life of the craftsmen organization, the guild, in the past centuries, with its centuries-old traditions and interesting ceremonies, and are important historical monuments and cultural monuments in general.

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Shops in Seventeenth–Eighteenth Century Vilnius

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

Doing projects of the science-based interiors has to do with the corresponding historic research. Knowledge of the old trade institutions has an important role in this regard. This article describes what the interiors of those trade institutions looked like in the past.

Most of the material about them has been collected from trader property inventories. It should be noted that establishing the value of goods, equipment, and accessories that were present in a shop was key in compiling their inventories. What that equipment and accessories looked like, was of little concern for the compilers. Moreover, those items were no novelty for them, so they did not describe their properties. Hence, this kind of information is scarce in the sources, and only of a general character.

In order to derive corresponding conclusions, sufficient information had to be collected and quite a few sources had to be looked through. In addition, material about the interior of shops was to be picked out from those sources.

The main attention was devoted to shop equipment, furniture and colors, internal attributes, also scales, weights, and measuring vessels that were used in them.

In the seventeenth-eighteenth century, there were quite many large or smaller shops in Vilnius. Less rich traders normally owned one shop. Members of the Magistrate of the city and rich merchants as often as not owned several shops. One person could own a shop of goods both of one type (e.g., fabrics) and different types (e.g., grocery, fabrics, iron).

The sources mostly mention the shops of salt, fabrics, groceries, iron, and iron products. Salt shops sold herrings, oils, imported salted butter, wax; some shops – even dried mushrooms apart from salt.

Fabric shops differed among themselves. Some of them sold just fabrics, others, in addition to fabrics, traded in articles of fabrics, ready-made clothes, furs and goods that were sold in grocery, haberdashery and iron shops as well.

The vast majority of shops were grocery and haberdashers. They sold a particularly wide assortment of merchandise – one could buy different things in them, from imported food products to cultural goods. However, they, as well as fabric shops, were different in character. In some, groceries and haberdasheries prevailed, in others – haberdasheries, household and cultural goods.

Iron and iron products shops traded in iron and articles thereof, different metal implements, construction instruments, weapons and their components, various household and even cultural goods. There had been iron shops which sold some haberdasheries and even groceries in addition to the above-named merchandise.

Shops, as well as most of other trade and service institutions in cities in the feudal period, were established near markets and the busiest streets. Vilnius was no exception in this regard. In the seventeenth-eighteenth century, shops in it were concentrated around the Town Hall and in the market itself [in the Town Hall square]. The shops standing there were masonry and wooden and varied a lot in size and architectural design. In the south-eastern part of the market, along the present-day Town Hall Square, there stood “the old granaries”. There were lots of iron shops in them. On the other side of the market, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there also stood a long, narrow building, in the sources referred to as “the new granaries” which was used for trade too. On that same side of the market, in the seventeenth-eighteenth century, there had been small salt shops referred to in the sources as “salt rows.” Many different-sized small one-floor shops operated near the houses that formed the

market. In the second half of the nineteenth century, few of them had remained, and even they were demolished later. Shops also operated in the houses around the market. They were also established on Vokiečių, Antokolskio, Stiklių and other streets of the Old Town.

Shops mostly occupied the first floor of buildings. In the districts that were active in terms of trade, they were sometimes based in basements. There are mentions of several shops having operated in one house.

The most sumptuous shops were of members of the Magistrate and other rich merchants; as often as not they were situated in their houses. Large-sized merchants were also engaged in wholesale trade. There were many small-sized shop owners next to them who held smaller shops that were usually in worse locations in terms of trade, sometimes in small annexes of houses.

Shop windows, as also the windows of residential buildings in the period under review, were enclosed in wood and lead frames. For the night, they would be covered with massive iron and wood shutters with metal reinforcements. The shutters of ornate shops of wealthy people sometimes were bound with tinned and ground metal. Windows normally had iron smith-made bars.

The external doors of shops were mostly made of the same metal or bound in the same way as their shutters. As often as not metal doors and shutters were decorated with reliefs of plant motifs or other embellishments.

Where the doors or shutters were of tinned and ground metal or bound with metal, their hooks, hinges and other binding and details were of the same material.

The flooring in shops was usually wooden. Sometimes, however, there was brick flooring or that of special floor tiles.

The ceiling in the shops based in the homes of wealthy merchants was mostly vaulted, especially of those equipped in basements and the first floor. A fair number of shops had a wooden ceiling, normally with massive beams projecting from it.

As for the color of the walls of shops, the way their walls and ceilings were decorated, no information was found in the archival material. There are, however, quite a few sources with a mention of shops' internal equipment and specifying their value.

For example, the property inventory of the owner of a grocery shop, J. Rafalovičius, of May 2, 1691, specifies that the drawers, small barrels and other accessories in the shop were estimated at 50 zloty.¹ The accessories in J. Feltner's grocery: drawers, small boxes, the counter, and all the rest including a table were estimated in 1692 at 40 zloty.² The drawers, small boxes and a chest in a similar shop of S. Studnevičius' were estimated at 35 zloty. An inventory of his property drawn up in the 1690s bears testament to that. It also lists three old brass weighing pans estimated separately at 6 zloty, and bronze, brass and iron weights – at 10 zloty.³ The drawers for holding goods and other wooden equipment in Svencicka's grocery shop (*"aparencyja kramu z szufladami i innym drzewem"*) were estimated in 1744 at 50 zloty.⁴

In some sources, shop equipment and accessories have been estimated at larger sums. For example, when compiling the property inventory of a grocery shop owned by S. Bernatovičius in 1693, it was specified that the equipment, accessories and the balance scale with weights in this person's shop were estimated at 100 zloty.⁵

The examples provided above show the presence in shops of special equipment for keeping goods, furniture, and other equipment that ranged between several tens to 100 zloty in value. Hence, the equipment and accessories used for selling goods

¹ Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Lithuanian State Historical Archives] (hereinafter – LVIA), f. SA, b. 5118, l. 59.

² LVIA, f. SA, b. 5111, l. 1429.

³ Ibid., p. 1243.

⁴ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5128, l. 1276.

⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5111, l. 1536.

in shops were not identical. And yet just ascertaining these facts is not enough. We need to try to ascertain what was that equipment, furniture, and other attributes of the design of shops and trade accessories.

Let us first give an overview of the attributes of the then salt shops. Although the sources from the seventeenth-eighteenth century mention shops quite often, information about their interior in the available sources is rather scarce. There is some more knowledge of them from the mid-eighteenth century.

A merchant of salt, B. Adamavičius, who owned three salt shops, died in the early 1750s. The inventory of his property from 1752 shows that one of the shops was near butchers' shops and the other two – in the house of the *vaitas* (Chief City Administrator). This source has noted the goods held in these shops and specified where they were held as well as listed the accessories that were used in them.

In the shop that stood near butchers' shops, two full and one non-full barrels with herring, as well as one full barrel with salt were found when compiling the shop property inventory. In addition to this merchandise, the following accessories were present in the shop: a tin *garc* for oil, a tin quart, a tin half-quart, three tin burettes, and a drawer for keeping money in.

In Adamavičius' shop which was based in the *vaitas*' house, a barrel with some sold amount of salt, a barrel of salt, and a non-full barrel of herring were found. The list drawn up of the shop's accessories included four different-sized barrels and one small vat for oil, and several barrels for herring; there is also mention of a tin *garc*, a quart and a half-quart for oil as well as a *garc*, a half-*garc* and a quart to measure salt of the same material; a large and a small burette and a drawer for keeping money in.

In the third shop of this person, there was a non-full barrel of salt, a non-full barrel of herring, and twelve garlands of mushrooms. These were the items specified in the list of goods. As to the shop's accessories, it was indicated that there was a large cupboard worth 20 zloty, a chest without a top, a barrel for her-

ring, a vat for groats, and three more vats, a small trough for salt and a money drawer.⁶

As to the furniture of shops, it turns out that the descriptions of their interior only bear mention of a cupboard and drawers for keeping money in. The merchandise of salt shops (salt, herring, oil) was held in different-sized barrels and vats. To measure salt and oil, tin measures and metal burettes were used.

Most of the collected material has to do with grocery and haberdashery shops, their equipment, furniture, holding and measuring accessories, scales as well as other attributes. The available sources are from both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The inventory of Heliasevičius' property from 1683 reads that there were fourteen drawers and twenty small barrels for holding groceries in his shop. Moreover, six more barrels were used to keep this kind of merchandise, which were separately estimated at 6 zloty each.

The inventory reveals that there was an iron 12-pound weight in the shop. There were also other weights which were bronze and weighed 36 pounds taken all together, as well as three weighing pans of a different size. A tin vessel half-*garc* in volume to measure oil is also mentioned in addition to the items mentioned above.⁷

The list of the property of J. Bonfilis from 1683 reveals the presence of drawers along the walls ("*[...] szuflady circum circa w kramie [...]*") and a special table with drawers ("*stoł do kramu z szufladami [...]*") in his shop.⁸ The way these items looked like, what color they were, and how much they cost, is not indicated.

The items recorded in Z. Hubrik's grocery shop in 1689 include drawers, small boxes, small barrels and other vessels for holding groceries as well as two tables with drawers. There was a large bronze mortar and a few tin vessels to measure spirits apart from the above-named items. The list of weights and scales

⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5131, l. 305 (561).

⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5111, p. 375–376.

⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5113, l. 305 (561).

shows that there were two iron scales in the shop as well. Two large bronze weights are also mentioned: a stone and a half-stone in weight, and three pairs of different-sized brass weighing pans.⁹

The above facts are from the seventeenth century. A wealth of valuable additional material was derived from eighteenth-century sources; therefore, the reader can be better enlightened on the issue under review.

K. Lidertienė's grocery shop in 1711 had no less than twelve large drawers within a counter, eighty-six small drawers and a table with drawers. In this shop, several scales and weights were found: a 40-pound stone weight, 36, 13, 12 and 6-pound iron weights, a 2-pound lead weight, a one-pound bronze and one-pound folding brass weight. There was also an iron mortar with a pestle and a tin container for oil ("*antwas blaszany do oliwy*").¹⁰

In the research of shops, the inventory of the shop of P. Hramovičius, burgomaster of the Magistrate of Vilnius, compiled on August 14, 1721, is worth noting.¹¹ In the description of this grocery shop's equipment, furniture and accessories, the shop is specified as having had one chest of twenty-one drawers of different sizes. There were two tables in the shop. One of them, called a large shop-table, had eighteen drawers; the other, small table, lockable with an inner catch, – nine drawers. There stood three cupboards in the shop: one with three drawers, a large one without drawers and a large one with a grid ("*szafa duża z kratami*"). The same inventory reads that there was an oak chest 3 cubits long and a grid for keeping papers and documents ("*kratka do papiera*") in the shop. As also in other shops, there were a couple of different-sized scales with weighing pans and a weight one of which was similar to a weight lifted by weightlifters with one hand ("*1 hira mata*"). The other five iron weights are called balls ("*kul żelaznych*"). Mention is also made of one Gdansk-pound weight, one lead weight, three pounds of small weights, and five weighing pans. The inventory mentions a Königsberg-type wick-

⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5111, p. 1131–1132.

¹⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5122, l. 548–549.

¹¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5124, l 325–334v.

er basket ("*kosz królewiecki*"), nineteen different boxes ("*jaszczyków różnych*"), and two marble boards ("*tablicy marmurowe*").

More information about shop equipment can be derived from the May 5, 1735 property inventory of merchant Bonenberg.¹² The mention of haberdashery in this document with reference to equipment is suggestive of him having owned a haberdashery shop. The Bonenberg inventory does not describe his shop in detail. The mention of the shop's equipment and accessories is made among its furniture and Bonenberg's other belongings.

After listing beds, it is specified that two frames for haberdashery painted in red without glass and iron-barred have been estimated at 1 zloty and 8 groszy ("*2 ramów czerwono farbowanych bez szkła, do kramu do galanteriji należące z zawiaskami żelaznemi zł 1 gr. 8*"). One shelf in the shop with a board for slicing, a little bench and a black frame have been estimated at the same amount as the frame mentioned above ("*1 regała do kramu z stolniczką, 1 ławką o jednej nodce będącą z ramami czarnemi ogółem taksowano zł 1 gr. 8*"). Bonenberg's shop also had shelves with drawers ("*regały kramne z szufladami*") and value estimators (Lith. *taksatorius*) estimated at 24 zloty apart from the above-named equipment. At two points, the inventory mentions scales and their separate components. In the description of vessels and candlesticks, it is indicated that this person held different-sized weighing pans of four types. The small weighing pans were brass and cost 4 zloty and 16 groszy. What the material of the larger and deeper pans was, remains unknown; the records just indicate that they cost more than 5 zloty. The other two pairs of weighing pans were called larger. One pair was estimated at one zloty and 8 groszy, the other one – at one zloty and 16 groszy. At another point of the inventory, it was said that the iron arms of the weighing scale with wooden pans were estimated at 8 zloty, whereas two lead weights weighing 37 pounds – at 8 zloty and 27.5 groszy.

The inventory information provided herein about grocery and haberdashery shops allows us to make a picture of their

¹² LVIA, f. SA, b. 5126, l. 1051–1056.

interior. Along the walls of shops there usually stood wooden frames or structures with drawers for keeping goods in. There used to be about a hundred of them in large shops and more than a dozen to a few dozens in smaller ones.

Shops which sold mainly haberdasheries sometimes had frames glazed with glass to keep goods in. The archival sources do not let us decide whether they stood in a vertical position and were reminiscent of the cupboards of the time or were similar to the present-day counters in which goods are arranged under glass. Goods were held in boxes, barrels, vats and similar containers of a different size. Sometimes, even wicker baskets are mentioned.

The fact that in the period under review, different products were usually carried in barrels, wicker baskets and boxes, leads us to the conclusion that in shops, goods were often kept in the same type of receptacles. Some shops also used cupboards and chests for holding goods in. Whether the cupboards and chests in shops were different in any way from those that were present in the apartments of townsfolk, is hard to tell since no data about that has been found in the sources.

In grocery and haberdashery shops, there usually stood a large shop-table with more than ten drawers.

In large shops, there sometimes stood a smaller table with a few drawers in which money for trading was kept in addition to the large shop-table. The tables are believed to have been used also for keeping small precious goods in them apart from money. These tables served as present-day counters and divided the premises in two.

In this context it is important to describe the interior of iron and iron products shops, and that of fabric shops.

We come across some data about a fabric shop in the property inventory of P. Hramovičius from 1721. The inventory specifies the presence of a large table in his shop. Of the shop's accessories, there is mention of an iron hammer, a cubit of the same metal, and a scale with half-a-pound weight.¹³ In J. Satrava's

¹³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5124, l. 330.

fabric shop, as can be seen from his 1738 property inventory, there was a chest bound with leather.¹⁴ What color it was and where it stood, is not indicated.

Hence, the sources mention large tables and chests in fabric shops. They must presumably have had special shelves for the storage of fabrics and other accessories for smaller goods, although there is no mention of this in the sources. The same holds good in part for iron and iron products shops.

No description is provided of the internal equipment in the shop of the Burokevičius family, which in 1738 traded in iron and iron products as well as weapons; the inventory of its furniture mentions two “sepetai” (“sepety”). One of them was old and out of order, estimated at 25 groszy, the other, bound with moose leather, at 5 zloty. A large mirror which was present in the shop was estimated the same.¹⁵ The place of these articles and what they were used for, is not indicated in the inventory.

In K. Tumilovičius’ shop of iron products, a chair worth one zloty and 12 groszy and a small chair worth 10 groszy are mentioned as well as wooden and brass weighing pans. In addition, a shelf hung on a wall in this shop (“*policy ze wszelką przynależnością do kramu*”).¹⁶ We learn nothing new about iron shops from other sources either.

Hence, there had been pieces of furniture in the shops of iron that, judging from their listing as inventory items, had been in place in the apartments of townsfolk at that time as well.

In the shop of iron and articles thereof of the Burokevičius family whose inventory was compiled in 1738, as mentioned above, there was a mirror. The property inventory of the shop owner, Svencicka from 1744 also takes notes that there was a framed Moscow-type mirror worth 8 zloty in the shop (“*1 zwierciadło arkuszone, w ramy oprawione moskiewskie*”).¹⁷

¹⁴ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 370v.

¹⁵ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 448–449v.

¹⁶ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5129, l. 1136.

¹⁷ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5128, l. 1266v.

Consequently, we could presume that the two mirrors were among these shops' attributes of design.

Some shop inventories from the period under review mention pictures. For example, mention is made in 1753 of a large religious picture in Żurobinski's grocery and haberdashery shop, which was estimated at 3 zloty and 24 groszy.¹⁸ The records in the property inventory of J. Śatrava from 1738 show that in his shop, two religious pictures were found apart from furniture. One is described as "a small picture painted on tin, silver-plated" ("*obraz N[ajświętszej] Panny Częstochowskiej mały na blasie, w koło srebrem obłożony*").¹⁹ Since, in the property inventory, these pictures are recorded among this person's other pictures and furniture, and had not been evaluated as his other household goods (whereas the prices of the shop goods are specified), we could presume that they were the shop's attributes of design. This source, though, does not specify where they hung; sometimes, however, the place of hanging of a picture is indicated in a source, although on very rare occasions. For example, in 1748, a picture hung in K. Tumilovičius' shop of iron products above a door.²⁰

The data provided herein shows that in grocery and haberdashery, fabric, iron and iron products shops, one or even a few religious pictures were attributes of their design. One picture usually hung above a shop's door. Hanging pictures above the door presumably was traditional.

After describing the interior and attributes of shops, we need to draw attention to their equipment and the color of furniture. It was already mentioned that the property inventory of merchant Heliasevičius' shop from 1683, in describing its equipment and accessories, had noted that there had been fourteen green painted drawers in it.²¹ In the above-named Bonenberg's haber-

¹⁸ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5131, l. 1121v.

¹⁹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 370–371v.

²⁰ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 1136.

²¹ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5111, l. 375.

dashery shop, red and black equipment for keeping goods was mentioned in 1735.²²

In the examples provided, three colors of equipment and furniture are mentioned: green, red, and black. We could presume that these colors were highly prevalent in the shops of that time since green, red and black color furniture was characteristic of the apartments of Vilnius residents at that time, too.

Determining the purpose of marble boards that are mentioned in merchant property inventories should be discussed on a separate basis. First of all, we will try to answer the question if marble boards were only used in some shops or in different types of shops.

A property inventory from 1721 reveals that two marble boards were present in Hramovičius' haberdashery shop. This source shows that there were two items of this kind in this person's fabric shop as well.²³ The same amount of marble boards, one of which was damaged, were also mentioned to have been present in the shop of the Burokevičius family in 1738 who traded in iron and articles thereof.²⁴

Consequently, marble boards were present in different types of shops in the period under review. Their purpose was for a long time in question since they are just mentioned in shop owner property inventories, and sometimes their value is also specified. It is only in the recently discovered 1759 inventory of the property of a Vilnius merchant's wife, Leonavičienė, that a broken marble board, used for writing ("*tablica marmurowa zbita, do notowania*"), was said to have been found among her furniture and other household goods.

Hence, we can state that in the shops of the period under review, one or two marble boards, used for calculation, were in place. However, the sources do not indicate what size they were, how they looked like, where they stood or hung.

²² LVIA, f. SA, b. 5126, l. 1052.

²³ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5124, l. 327v, 330.

²⁴ LVIA, f. SA, b. 5127, l. 449v.

Based on the analyzed material and in summary of the specific facts, the following conclusions can be derived.

There used to be special equipment for keeping goods in shops, usually made from wood, that ranged from a few tens to 100 zloty in value. It is mostly mentioned in grocery and haberdashery shops, but it must have been in place in the shops of fabrics, iron, and iron products as well.

With reference to furniture, mention should be made of boxes, drawers, special large shop counters with lots of drawers, suspended shelves and grids, cupboards, chests and other furniture that were also present in the apartments of townsfolk.

The interior of salt shops was the scantiest. Salt, oil, herring and other merchandise was kept in different- sized wooden barrels, vats, and similar vessels. In every shop, there was a special drawer for keeping money in, and in some shops – a cupboard or a chest used as a repository in addition.

In grocery and haberdashery shops, there used to stand wooden structures with drawers for keeping goods in along the walls. They were of different sizes. In small shops, there used to be more than ten, in large ones – about a hundred of them. The counter was comprised of one or two tables with drawers to keep small goods and money in. The large shop-table had more than ten drawers, the smaller one – several. Haberdasheries were sometimes arranged in special-purpose glass showcases. A fair amount of goods was kept in small barrels, vats, boxes, sometimes – in cupboards and chests.

In fabric shops, fabric rolls were held on shelves along the walls and on the counter. There used to be chests in these shops in which smaller goods were kept.

In the shops of iron and articles thereof, there used to be chests, shelves on the walls, and other furniture.

Three colors of equipment and furniture prevailed in shops: green, red and black. In some shops, the equipment and furniture could be of one or a few colors.

Some shops had framed mirrors hanging on the walls, whose role was both functional and decorative.

There often hung one or several religious pictures inside shops – attributes of the design of their interior. One picture traditionally hung above the shop's door. Scales of a different size were employed in shops. The arms of larger scales were iron, and the pans – wooden or iron. The weights were stone, iron, lead or bronze, while the pans – wooden or iron. Smaller scales and their weights were mostly brass.

Measures of the time (*garcy*, quarts, etc.) corresponding to tin vessels were usually used to measure dry and liquid goods.

Iron cubits were used in fabric shops to measure cloth, ribbons and other goods.

Special marble boards were used for calculation, and the buyer normally observed the process. There was one or, more often, two of them in a shop.

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Poems

AL ZOLYNAS

A GRAIN OF SALT

True, the map is not
the territory, the menu not
the meal, the itinerary not
the journey, and the word not

the thing, but even
the thing—*die ding*—is not
the thing. Ain't no
such thing as *a thing*.

So when we pass the salt
we pass the Universe.
Tasting the salt, we swallow
the seven seas.

STILTS

Once my father made me
a pair of stilts, the envy of everyone
on Petunia Avenue. I became
an expert at hobbling around,
could even perform
grotesque versions of running,
hopping, skipping.

Soon, stilts appeared
up and down the block.
Georgie, next door, built a pair
that shot him up
well over six feet,
and his sister—
graceful, athletic Rhonda—
could pirouette
and balance herself impossibly long
on one stilt. I remember

one long summer evening
all of us clumping around
on the pavement in front of my house,
the huge pepper tree across the street
looming over us
full of countless Christmas beetles,
the one street lamp
raining down its benediction
of light
as the sky turned
that particular deep magenta
I've never seen since.

AT THE MEMORY CARE FACILITY

—for Ona Smilgevičiūtė Žolynas

The old folks
show up by ones and twos,
file into the room for Morning Stretch,
shuffling, leaning on canes and walkers, assisted
by aides and nurses.
They're mostly quiet, though Cathy and Meg,
apparently the resident cut-ups,
chortle and elbow each other as they settle
side by side into high-backed chairs.

Becky, the young exercise leader, comes in,
brisk and happy, young and beautiful.
She engages them in banter; it's clear they love her.
She takes them through the motions—
stretching, flexing wrists and ankles,
raising arms, kicking legs.
Some follow along,
others sit as still as Buddhas.
They are deep in the mysterious
meditation of dementia.
One sleeps lolled over in her chair.

One of the resident dogs trots in, appraises all
with intelligent yellow eyes, accepts a few fondles
behind the ears and leaves.

After some Sit and Stay Fit, we move
to Exercises for the Brain.
Meg says she's lost hers. Becky says,
No, don't worry, we'll dig it out
and begins with *A*, asking for words
that start with *A*.

Slowly we build a list—*Arizona... Arkansas...
apple... action... ask...*
and from my mother beside me... *Anton...*
which causes Becky the leader to say
Ona, could you repeat that please?
I jump in for my mother, spelling it out.
Becky, I can tell, has never heard that name.
How could she, a name from Eastern Europe,
from two generations ago, the name
of one of my parents' dearest friends,
long gone from this Vale of Tears, as my
father used to say before
he departed the Vale himself.

We finish a flip-chart page's worth of *B's*
and it's time for Sing-Along,
while Becky goes off
to prepare a Sweet Treat for everyone.
We follow along in the songbook
as a woman accompanied by a piano on a CD sings
the old songs in a voice that makes
me lower my head and squeeze back tears.
I notice one of the deep meditators
is back with us now mouthing the words
of a song she must have known in her girlhood.
I sing along a little, too—*Daisy Daisy, A Bicycle Built
For Two, Irene Goodnight...*

A different dog wanders in, a small
longhaired black and white
Chihuahua who jumps in my lap until
the treats arrive, two small pieces each of
yellow pound cake. Everyone eats
slowly, attentively. No one is in a hurry,
no one has anywhere they need to go.

Becky hand feeds a piece of cake
to the woman on my right, a quiet,
dignified Asian lady, still as a daguerreotype.
She barely remembers how to open her
mouth and chew.

And now, as always, it's time
for the next thing, time for the residents
to return to their rooms where
they will re-check their meager closets,
their small treasures,
take a nap before lunch.
And it hits me like the most obvious revelation,
the most ordinary epiphany:
the old folks are not yet dead;
they have a life they are actually
living right now, even here, so far
removed from all they used to know.
They're surrounded by care and even love
in the midst of their sufferings.
They bear those sufferings
with patience and acceptance.
If my life comes to this, will
I be able to as well?...
Will I, too, be able to take this life
just as it's given, just as it always is?

TĖTULIUI MIRUS

Ramu numirt mažutėj mano žemėj
Ir tris dienas gulėti tarp žvakių ir gėlių
Ant balto lino ir mažoj trobelėj,
Paskui keliaut siauru gimtinės keleliu.

Čia susirinks geri, nuoširdūs žmonės,
Šventas giesmes, rožančių mirusiam giedos,
Bučiuos kryželį "Garbė Jėzui" pašlovins,
Graudens jautrioj širdij užuojauta gyva.

O trečiaryt suplauks į kiemą minios,
Atveš medinį karstą kvepiantį sakais.
"Iš gilumos..." užves vaikai arimu,
Išves tavo negrižtamai gimtų laukų takais.

Girgždės vežimas paskutinį kartą
O tu gulėsi išbalęs ir tylus,
Gyvenimo knygą būsi jau užvertęs
Namop pasuksi tu laimingas ir ramus.

Ramu numirt mažutėj mano žemėj
Ir iškeliaut siauru gimtinės keleliu,
Kada žinai, kad varganoj grytelėj –
Visi atleis, užmirš skiaudas pilkų dienų.

Kostas Žolynas (?)

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: After my father died, I found this poem deeply buried in his computer. It was not familiar to me, nor to various Lithuanian friends and colleagues. I concluded that my father must have written it himself. I have no proof of this, except the internal evidence from the poem itself, i.e., that my father's father, who was from the small village of Žvirgždaičiai died and may have been buried in similar circumstances as described in the poem. I like to think that perhaps my father was writing about something that he'd like for himself. Alas, he died in a hospital, attached to an oxygen tank, in Boulder, Colorado many miles and years away from that kind of bucolic funeral.

FOR FATHER, WHO DIED

How peaceful to die in my small homeland,
to lie for three days among candles and flowers on
white linen in the little farmhouse,
later to travel down my narrow childhood's path.

Here, righteous, sincere folk will gather
to chant holy hymns and rosaries for the dead;
they'll kiss the crucifix—"Glory to Jesus"—
and sorrow and be moved in their living hearts.

On the third morning, the crowd will arrive
carrying the wooden coffin smelling of cut branches.
"From the depths..." children will bring some plowed soil.
They'll carry you down the unreturnable paths of your birth place.

The wagon will creak for the last time,
And you'll be lying pale and silent,
Having closed the book of life.
Homeward you'll head, fortunate and at peace.

How peaceful to die in my little homeland
and to travel off down the narrow native paths,
when you know that in the suffering farmhouse
all will forgive you, will forget all the hurts of grey days.

Translated by AL ZOLYNAS

On the Shores of the Baltic: An Excerpt from *Griūvantis dangus (The Collapsing Sky)* – A Book of Memoirs

ROMUALDAS LANKAUSKAS

Days that have disappeared... They are gone and will never return, but they have not died out completely because they have remained in my memory along with everything that was experienced, seen, and lived through during the past years of my life. And perhaps it is worth recounting what happened so that the past does not vanish without a trace into the shadows of time gone by.

For it is words alone that can preserve the past. *Scripta manent*. What has been written down lasts. The Romans were right when they said that. That is why I will try to write about various episodes from the past beginning with the days of my early childhood in Klaipėda, the city where I was born, where I was fated to come into this strange, restless, dangerous, fascinating and brutal, constantly changing world. Today it is completely different from what it was many years ago, when I first saw it that early morning of the third day of April from a hospital room at the municipal Red Cross Hospital, as spring was roaring about by the Baltic Sea. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the sea has always remained dear to me and has never ceased bidding me to return to this place. That is why I miss the sandy shores of the Baltic and the sound of the sea waves so often. The sea has always remained in my heart. It constantly invites me to come back.

ROMUALDAS LANKAUSKAS (1932–2020) was a well-known Lithuanian writer and a painter of abstract art, the author of more than 40 books, including collections of short stories, novels, travel books and books on current events. In 1989 he founded the Lithuanian PEN center.



Romualdas Lankauskas

It is a pity that I do not know what kind of morning dawned that first hour of my life, what kind of day it was – cloudy or sunny, calm or rainy? Unfortunately, this is something I will never find out, since for a long time there has not been anyone around to ask. I cannot ask the mother who gave birth to me, nor the father who rejoiced at the birth of a son. I was a firstborn. And a son at that! How can you not rejoice? I can imagine his happy, beaming face when his greatest wish was fulfilled.

This was in 1932, and my Lithuanian-German birth certificate confirms the date. How distant those times seem from the perspective of the present! How many different events have taken place in the world in the intervening years, events which have brought about the greatest of transformations! I inevitably became a witness to a long line of historical events, and a participant as well. Some have become entrenched deeply in my memory, others have become dim memories over time, but all of them are an inseparable part of my life. It seems that particular circumstances always shift life in a certain direction regardless of

our will or consent, and that is why life turns out one particular way and not another, as if its course from beginning to end had been foreseen in advance.

I was brought from the hospital to the house of my parents on Pievų Street (in German it was called *Wiesenstraße*), whose address I think was number seven. The house was several stories high and was not too far from the center of town, near the spot where a monument to Mažvydas now stands, and where during the Soviet era an anti-tank cannon was displayed on a tall obelisk. I think this street still has the same name, but it is called Pievų Lane. I do not remember any talk of an apartment in a different location, and so it is most likely that my parents always lived here after they moved from Kaunas, at least from the time of my birth. Later, in the spring of 1939, when Hitler seized Klaipėda, we had to abandon it and depart quickly to Samogitia. I had not yet started attending school. As far as I know, I would have attended the newly built Vytautas Didysis (Vytautas the Great) School.

Unfortunately, I never walked through its doors... But my childhood house and the school avoided bombardment during the war, even though bombs and cannon balls turned many buildings on Liepoja Street in the center of town into horrible rubble. They marred the historical face of the city in an especially disgusting way. Of course, it could not have been otherwise, once newcomers became its landlords and left their footprints here.

My parents were Juozas Lankauskas and Ona Nekrošaitė. She was from the villages of Viduklė and Nėmakščiai in the region of Raseiniai. My mother was the daughter of a Samogitian nobleman who had come on hard times (as I remember my mother saying on many occasions). My parents met and got married in Kaunas, in the Church of Vytautas Didysis. The priest who blessed their marriage after having them exchange rings was Tumas Vaižgantas. My mother had requested more burning candles, which prompted Tumas Vaižgantas to say, "Oh, so the young lady wants to put on some airs; well, then that will cost

you an extra ten lits." It apparently was a small wedding. There were not many invited guests. Apparently that is what the groom wanted, and maybe the bride agreed with him. They probably celebrated their wedding at some restaurant (possibly *Metropolis*), and so from that day forward their life together began. It lasted until the terrible times after the war, until the second Russian occupation. My father was descended from a family that belonged to the class of landowners. (Old handwritten Russian documents from the time when the Czar ruled Lithuania bear witness to that fact.) For some reason the family lost its aristocratic status. My great-grandfather was listed in those documents as a *dvorianin* (nobleman).

My father had a good position in Kaunas (at one time he was vice-president of the *Pienocentras* company), but he moved to Klaipėda and began working there as an inspector of Lithuanian exports. He checked the quality of butter being exported. He remained at this job until the loss of Klaipėda. Government control of exports required someone with his expertise, and the fact that the government offered those moving to Klaipėda a significant increase in salary was an added incentive to leave Kaunas. Despite the fact that Klaipėda and the area around it had been annexed to Lithuania, a strong German influence still lingered over the region. The long-lasting policy of Germanization had left a clear imprint. Undoubtedly, this circumstance provided an incentive to the Lithuanians in the temporary capital of Lithuania to try to make Lithuania Minor more Lithuanian and to show the Germans who the true landlords of these old Lithuanian lands were. Admittedly, newcomers who came to the area later, after the war, did not always act properly. They considered the local inhabitants to be Germans, and they dismantled their more advanced order, as their own culture was inferior.

Lithuanians had a hard time establishing themselves in this area, however, since the Klaipėda region had its own mini-parliament, its own autonomy and governor, and many of the important positions were still in the hands of Germans, who were opposed to the local Lithuanians and to newcomers from

other parts of Lithuania. Meanwhile, the Nazis were already planning riots and a coup. The Germans could not accept the idea that after Germany had lost the First World War and had signed the Treaty of Versailles, and after our rebels had liberated the Klaipėda region in 1923, they, the Germans, had lost this land for all times. For they had ruled the lands they had conquered in western Samogitia for about seven hundred years, and while there, they had Germanized the local inhabitants and caused many to lose a sense of their own national identity. They were even more successful in East Prussia. After they crushed the rebellion of Herkus Mantas and seized those lands on the other side of the Nemunas River, they began colonizing the region. This continued there in earnest over a period of several centuries, especially after the plague which devastated the land in the first part of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, there remained a good number of Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants in the areas around Tilžė (Tilsit), Gumbinė (Gumbinnen) and Isrutis (Insterburg) even up to the end of the Second World War. Klaipėda and the western part of Lithuania, as we know, was recovered thanks to the 1923 rebellion which liberated it from the French who were temporarily ruling the land. That was one of the most valiant feats in the history of Lithuania. The fierce determination, courage, and self-sacrifice of the rebels and volunteer soldiers and the resolute actions of Officer M. Kalmantavičius-Kalmantas and other fighters in attacking and capturing Klaipėda, ensured victory. In the exchange of gunfire, there were casualties. We should never forget the names of these heroes and the struggles they went through. However, in Klaipėda no monument was built to honor their memory, and to this day no monument has been built... But these men who lost their lives surely deserve such a monument for their historical acts of bravery.

My father spent many years here working in the harbor's refrigerated plants and controlling the quality of butter being exported overseas (its quality improved continually). I think these were the happiest and most pleasant years of his not very long

life. It was a time when he lacked nothing. He was young, healthy, less than forty years old. He earned a good salary and was capable of supporting not only a family, but also a maid, who looked after his newborn son. He had a fine, quite spacious apartment. He had enough money to buy an expensive American *Harley Davidson* motorcycle, which today is the dream of many a man.

A few yellowed and ragged pages from a newspaper published in Klaipėda called *Vakarai* (The West), from the date of November 12, 1937, have survived all of the horrible confusion after the war. On page 6 there is an article entitled “Sviesto Kontrolei 10 m.” (Ten years of Butter Control). Next to it there is an article about my father with the heading “Pirmas Lietuvoje sviesto kontrolierius Juozas Lankauskas” (Juozas Lankauskas – the First Butter Controller in Lithuania). A photograph is included. A handsome, elegant man, wearing a well-tailored suit, stares out from it.

Under the photograph is a text with my father’s biography. It states that he was born on March 20, 1893 in Vyžuonai, where he attended primary school. Later, he attended middle school in Utena and the six-year high school in St. Petersburg. After that, he completed the dairy farming and cattle breeding school in Andromer, Russia, and during the First World War he completed the military school at Oranienbaum. In 1913 he returned to his birthplace and worked at the model manor of E. Meistavičius in Vyžuonai, but afterwards he went back to St. Petersburg and worked there as a specialist-instructor in the Department of Agriculture. It is interesting that the registry book of weddings from Czarist times contains an entry for a Juozas Lankauskas, born in 1835. My father, who began his earthly journey at the end of the nineteenth century, has the same name. In any case, some of my father’s aristocratic manners may have had a particular origin in the distant past. But that is hard to know for certain now.

My father was in Russia when the February Revolution and the Bolshevik coup of 1917 broke out. He stayed in what was for him a foreign country for a while after these fateful events, and he apparently could have had a successful career there. But he was horrified by the bloody terror practiced by the Chekists and

the inhuman Bolshevik order, and in 1923 he returned for good to Lithuania, which had restored its independence. Apparently, he wanted to bring his knowledge and expertise to Lithuania. The knowledge and experience he had acquired in Russia were very useful in Lithuania as dairies were being established and dairy farming was being developed. His efforts contributed considerably to the establishment of a government agency to control butter. Thus his responsibilities as a controller of butter exports (later also egg exports) in Klaipėda were a logical extension of his earlier activities. The Lithuanian government acknowledged this productive work by awarding him the Order of Gediminas, which at that time was given only to persons who had actually earned it, unlike what happened a half century later, when Lithuania was re-established as a country. Then that medal in effect was discredited by being conferred often on those who did not deserve it.

The family of my grandfather Vincas Lankauskas was not well-to-do, even though, as I mentioned, nineteenth century archives attest to the fact that its members were once landowners. They lived somewhere near Švenčionėliai, if not somewhere else in Samogitia. What happened later is unclear – how they fell from the class of the wealthy, and why they moved to Vyžuonai. It probably was not a voluntary move. Most likely various unfortunate circumstances, mistakes and significant failures brought it about. My grandfather was the blacksmith of Vyžuonai. He was very industrious and so highly skilled. He designed and carried out the artistic metalwork for the churchyard of the church of Vyžuonai. However, he had to support a wife, my grandmother Teklė Sedelskytė, five growing sons – Juozas, Kazys, Vincas, Povilas, Jonas, and several daughters – Bronislava, Domicelė and Genovaitė. Clearly, as the owner of only one hectare of land, he had a heavy burden on his shoulders. When his oldest son Juozas got ready to go to Russia to continue his studies, he only got three rubles from his father for the trip to that distant, unfamiliar country. With those rubles he had to begin his journey into a nebulous future (although in those days the

value of these rubles was in fact considerable). I think that he must have had a hard time at first, but he did not perish in Russia. He acquired a profession and achieved the goal he had set for himself. As to my grandfather, he apparently was quite a strong and interesting man. During the war the Germans ordered him to remove the church bell (or several bells) from the bell tower of the Vyžuonai church. He did so, but perhaps this task, which required great physical strain, took its toll. Later he contracted what I think was pneumonia and died a short time after that, even though he was not very old. I would not dare to swear that this is what actually happened, but I did hear this explanation from relatives.

My father probably enjoyed living in Klaipėda, which at that time was a comfortable Western city, and he was satisfied with his job. A. Vilūnas and V. Dirvianskis, his old-time friends, worked with him in the refrigerated plants by the harbor. The first was a Highlander from the city of Utena, while the second was a Samogitian. Both of them were fine, upstanding men who lived into their old age. Fate was kinder to them, but they both died in Vilnius during the Soviet era. It turned out that after I moved from the Antakalnis neighborhood of Vilnius to the Žirmūnai neighborhood, I discovered that A. Vilūnas was living near me. Sometimes I would visit him. It was interesting to hear his stories about my father and the years before the war. I tried to fill in the gaps in my memory regarding my father and his job in Klaipėda. For that was a blissful time, when no painful events disturbed our family. Unfortunately, it ended very quickly...

The city of my birth in those days differed greatly in many respects from other cities in Lithuania. First of all, it was a largely modern Western city. Most of its inhabitants were Germans (or Germanized Lithuanians from Lithuania Minor), and so Germanic traits of order and culture gave it a clear and unique identity. In addition, there was the Baltic Sea and an ice-free port – Lithuania's window to the world, as the press liked to call it, and this window was enormously important for a nation of farmers,

an agricultural country. That is why the government in Kaunas was interested in establishing and maintaining a strong maritime fleet. It realized, even though the realization came very late, that it was time for Lithuania to become a sea-faring country and to turn towards the West.

In a word, Klaipėda was completely different from Kaunas, Šiauliai or Panevėžys. Signs of a more advanced civilization and culture were immediately visible. Kaunas had been a provincial city of the Russian czarist empire, and in 1918, when independence had been regained, wooden sidewalks still lined its dusty streets, and wooden horse-drawn carts known as “konkės” rattled as they transported people (such was the means of transportation in the city at that time). In Klaipėda, however, even before the First World War, the inhabitants were already using gas, electricity, and the telegraph, and enjoyed a swimming pool and even taxi services. Comfortable electric trams drove on well-maintained city streets that were paved in stone.

In the city many cafés, restaurants, and beer halls opened their doors, the stores were full of goods from around the world, and in the summer yacht regattas were held on the sea. Beyond a doubt, there was an enormous difference between the Germany ruled by the Kaiser and the backward Russian empire ruled by the Czar. It is not surprising that in a book about Klaipėda published in German in 1914 the author remarked with a smirk that just a few kilometers over the border in Kretinga a traveler who found himself in a measly snack bar could order nothing more than some boiled eggs and tea...

People of various nationalities lived in Klaipėda from time immemorial (Germans, Lithuanians, Jews, even some English and Scots), the faithful attended Evangelical or Catholic churches, the Anglicans had their own church, a stock exchange was in operation, and there were at least seven foreign consulates. By the middle of the nineteenth century, newspapers in Lithuanian and German and books were already being published there. Naturally, all of these things together with the city's Western architecture gave this old Hanseatic city a specific character and cre-

ated a corresponding atmosphere. (The old town of Klaipėda alone is so very distinctive!) It is an interesting fact that later, when Lithuania regained Klaipėda, the area was autonomous – it had its own mini-parliament and governor. Consequently, executive power rested in a directory. Industry and trade were not the only subjects of concern. A radio station operated in Klaipėda, the Vytautas Didysis School was built, young people could attend a music school, an institute of commerce and a teachers' institute were established, the modern *Rytas* printing house began operating. To this day, I still use the German-Lithuanian dictionary published by this printing house in 1932 (whose authors are listed as V. K. Gailius and M. Šlaža). I purchased it in an antique store during the Soviet period. The dictionary is interesting in that it has some very strange and at times incomprehensible Lithuanian words, which may be from dialects...

So much for an introduction into the city of Klaipėda of those times and some of its distinctive features, even though, of course, there were many more, as the weighty book prepared by professor Domas Kaunas and published in 2004 so vividly demonstrates. That book contains old photographs of the city and the whole distinctive region: the architecture is different, the faces and clothes of the people are different, their bright faces display seriousness, human dignity and spirituality. You can see that they are people whose life is quite calm, settled, who are not strangers to culture and Lithuanian matters. Those photographs show what an old epoch which has sunk into the past looks like. It was a time when long-standing traditions and their attendant values were still vibrant, when human beings had not yet become confused and degraded and had not lost the fundamental reference points of their existence. That is something that happened later, after various horrible events caused havoc and everything changed so much as to become unrecognizable.

Now, at what age does the memory of a child begin to take note of the images in his surroundings and to form various impressions of them? At three? At four? Perhaps that depends on

the individual, and so it is hard to define precisely. However, it is undisputed that some things impress themselves upon the memory more deeply, while other moments disappear for some reason, and they cannot be remembered.

Nonetheless there are episodes which create a kind of mosaic and which time cannot erase. Every person remembers more or less clearly the days of his early childhood, since it is in those days that we inevitably encounter the realities of the world around us for the first time. These realities are often insignificant and familiar to adults, but they are important and exciting to someone who has just started to stand up on his own legs, who has started to look around with curiosity, and who sees and experiences something new, something hitherto unseen.

Fragments of impressions from those first years of childhood occasionally flash before my eyes through the veil of the distant past, obscured by elapsed time. In this way now one, now another scene from my past life or some event that is not very significant emerges. But it is something a child remembers. It stays undeleted in the cassette of his memory along with certain details, colors and smells. This is the essence of our individuality. And the longer we live, the dearer and more precious does it often become for us, especially since we know that nothing will ever be repeated.

...Winter. A thaw. That happens quite often in Klaipėda. Outside youngsters are throwing snow balls at each other. One snowball hits me in the face and hurts me. The young German boys scream and laugh. Maybe I should report them to the policeman who lives next door so that they would not hurt me again? I did not do them any harm. Why are those young German boys so bad?

But sometimes they are friendly and shout out to me: "*Komm spielen, Kamerad!*" Then I am not afraid of them. Being outside is not scary then... And it is as if there had never been any hostility between us. We can play without getting in each other's way, and for a time we seem to get along quite well, since con-

cocting all sorts of games to play together is much more enjoyable than being angry with each other.

...Strange men wearing clothes with stripes are walking down the street. Armed guards are herding them on. Who are these people? Where are they walking in such a large group? Mother says they are prisoners. Prisoners? What does that mean? Undoubtedly it is something I am not yet able to understand. I am taken for a walk in the direction of the red brick barracks or further into the pine forest on the Melnragė side. I am wearing very nice clothes. I am all dressed up, immaculately white. I have to be careful not to fall and get my clothes dirty, or I probably will get a scolding. That is why every time I remember that I could be punished, I fearfully ask my mother: "Are you going to hit me?" I had already gotten a licking once for not making sure that my pretty clothes stayed clean. They must be spotlessly clean at all times. But how can you avoid soiling them! That was a real problem for me.

...I am also very afraid of the bridge in the center of town. It gets turned to the side when boats sail down the canal. For some reason, it seems to me that if I am on the bridge and it starts to move under my feet, I will inevitably fall into the dark water. As a matter of fact, I like this place very much, since in the evening high up on the wall of a nearby building colorful advertisements are projected, and I stare at them with great interest. Colors and inscriptions keep changing, everything shines and flickers. And how the store windows sparkle! There are so many different things in them. You cannot pass by them quickly. I spot a magnificent motorboat made out of shining red wood, with a big glass windshield in front and a glittering lamp on its side. Naturally, I would like to have something like that so that I could sail out into the sea!.. That would be great fun! But mother is dragging me on, not letting me gape at that beautiful boat, which I would like to have so much.

...There are even more colors and lights visible by the sea as you walk through the pine forest. (Mother and father call the

promontory on the other side of the harbor ‘Smiltynė’ or *Sandkrug*.) Joyful brass band music can be heard there, and next to open-air coffee shops colored paper ribbons and paper lanterns, stirred by a warm summer wind, swing on the tree branches. The people who promenade there are neatly and impeccably dressed. That is why being at that ‘Smiltynė’ promontory, where the sea wind brings in a pleasant smell, is simply a delight. Especially when your parents buy you some delicious lemonade or some even more delicious ice cream... The ice cream has a wonderful smell, and it melts in my mouth, but I am afraid that a drop might land on my clothes, which are impeccably clean. That would be a major infraction, and, as always, I would get all sorts of reprimands. And I have really had enough of that.

From the perspective of the present – that world seems to be somehow unreal, almost like a fairy tale, whose reality could be seriously doubted, but I know that *it really existed*, that my childish eyes observed it at that time. Clearly, I did not make it up, just as I did not make up many scenes from the distant days of my childhood which have remained in my memory. Fragments of those scenes surface through the mist of lost time, appearing sometimes clearly, sometimes dimly.

Klaipėda was a truly unique Western city, very comfortable, orderly and with many pleasant pastimes for adults and children alike. Its uniqueness was due first to the harbor with its ships that had sailed in from various foreign countries, and to the seashore, which drew large crowds of urban dwellers during the summer. Some people went swimming at Melnragė, others preferred Smiltynė. In the winter, an ice-skating rink operated in the city. It was very popular not only with children, but with adults as well (mostly Germans, it seems). Cheerful music was broadcast there through loudspeakers. You could go sledding near the lighthouse, which stood high on a hill by the sea.

That, perhaps, is where I had an accident. My sled rushed down and hit a pine tree hard. I had quite a fright, and there were a lot of tears. I got a big bump on my forehead. That ride

did not end well. However, many other more dangerous things happened to me, which could have had much more dire consequences.

I am referring to the illnesses which plagued me. It seemed to me they would never end. Later, when I had grown up, my mother told me on more than one occasion that I had gotten sick with all the possible illnesses that children could get – starting with whooping-cough, scarlet fever, chicken pox, and including diphtheria and purulent pleurisy. My parents guessed that a priest who visited us at Christmas time may have infected me with diphtheria, and I had a very hard time getting over it. Purulent pleurisy was also hard to cure because there were no antibiotics for it yet. Nevertheless, the doctors succeeded in saving me, even though I can imagine how much worrying and anxiety those illnesses caused my parents, how their nerves were frayed, not to mention the medical expenses. Fortunately, my father was well-off, and so he sought out the help of experienced doctors. The diphtheria choked but did not suffocate me, and I gradually overcame the pleurisy, once the pus was extracted.

Maybe I was overly spoiled. Maybe my nanny did not look after me properly when she took me for strolls. It is hard to say why I got sick so often and so seriously. Eventually I contracted appendicitis, and to the surprise of everyone, I survived. That occurred when I was three or four years old, possibly after I had eaten some smoked country sausage.

The appendicitis was not caught in time, it was diagnosed late, and so pus developed. I ended up in the recently built Red Cross Hospital. The operation had to be done right away, but the German doctors refused to do it because they did not want to take the risk or to accept responsibility for such a patient, whom they undoubtedly considered hopeless. My parents must have experienced hours and minutes of great desperation, as the appendicitis was supposed to finish me off shortly.

Based on my mother's accounts, which I later heard many times, events developed in the following manner: my father got on a motorcycle and sped off to Palanga to look for a famous

surgeon who was vacationing there. He succeeded in finding him, returned with him to Klaipėda, and this surgeon agreed to operate. My mother hurried to Kretinga to pray at the painting of Saint Anthony, which was thought to be miraculous, and she prayed fervently that I would be saved from the claws of death.

Did Saint Anthony hear her prayer and perform a miracle as she knelt in front of this painting? Or was Doctor Kanauka the miracle worker? (I believe that was his name, but it could have been Kudžma, another famous surgeon. I am no longer sure.) Whoever it was, since I do not remember the name accurately from my mother's accounts, it is clear that one of them, either Saint Anthony or a wonderful surgeon, saved me, when there was not much hope left... It is to them that I must be grateful for saving my life. Thanks to them the angel of death went away from my little hospital bed, which was in the ward for those suffering from fatal illnesses. In fact, many years later, in 1998, I met Algirdas, the son of Kanauka, a former American Air Force pilot, in Vilnius during a meeting at City Hall, where I had been invited to give a talk about important problems in Lithuania. That is when I told him that in all likelihood I overcame a very horrible illness when I was a child thanks to the efforts of his father.

The German doctors used to stop by the hospital ward where I was and would ask in astonishment: "*Der Kleine lebt noch?*" Yes, the little one was still alive. He was suffering from a horrible thirst, someone kept applying a moistened ball of cotton to his burning lips, but he kept clinging to life and getting stronger as he came back from the threshold of nonexistence.

In those days purulent appendicitis, once it developed into peritonitis, was often a fatal disease. Doctors were not yet prescribing penicillin for it. My recovery, it may be said, was miraculous. One way or another, what happened to me at the Red Cross Hospital probably made the doctors shake their heads. It really was something to marvel at.

For it seemed that my fate had been sealed just a short time ago...

After that unfortunate case of appendicitis, which was almost the end of me, I soon recovered and got stronger. A photograph taken back in those days at a photo studio has survived. It is quite informative: I am standing there looking cheerful. I look almost chubby. I am dressed in fine children's clothes, with a white ribbon under my neck. I look as pretty as an angel from some old painting. As I was being photographed I was told not to move and to look at the eye of the camera until a little bird flew out of it... How can you not stay still when you are waiting for something as interesting as that to happen? Another photograph (maybe it was done earlier?), shows my father, my mother and me standing by the Tiškevičius Mansion in Palanga. Apparently my parents would go there often, since Palanga was not far away. Father is wearing an elegant light-colored suit and leaning on a cane like a real dandy, and mother is also dressed very beautifully. Later, after a number of years, when life had changed completely, they never looked like that again.

I was spoiled and pampered. I was given plenty of oranges, bananas and fish oil, which I hated with a passion. I always had to be coaxed to drink it, and for such commendable behavior I could expect some reward, maybe a present I wanted... Well, nothing amazing. My parents were well off. They could permit themselves a lot of things and could choose not to begrudge me anything. They associated with people of the same class and would usher in the New Year at the fancy *Viktorija* restaurant in the center of Klaipėda. Mother would often take me to the nice *Sommer* coffee shop for a delicious piece of nut cake. She would drink coffee, while sampling some cake or pastry herself, and would listen to music being played by a small orchestra. Sometimes she would drag me to the large *Lass* store on the other side of the Dangė River right by the old town. (In Soviet times the splendid nineteenth century interior of this store was destroyed and turned into a department store.) For some reason, musical instruments always bewitched me. I especially liked the flute (as if it had magical powers). That is why I repeatedly asked my parents to buy me one.

Truthfully, I did not know what I would have done with it. But is that important for a child? For him, an interesting object is often just an attractive and desirable toy.

I was also very interested in the fish market and in the fishermen who would sell fresh fish right out of their boats by the citadel. Wooden boxes were full of all kinds of fish – cod, herring, flounder, writhing eels. All around, you could smell a very peculiar and strong odor of fresh and smoked fish. However, you could even buy freshly caught fish near your own house when in the early morning hours shouts of *Flunder! Flunder!* could be heard in the street. That meant that newly caught flounder was for sale. And fresh milk was also delivered to regular customers – buy it and drink to your health!

I was wild about the merchant ships standing in the harbor, when I saw them for the first time. I got a look at them when my father took me to his workplace which was next to the refrigerators that held Lithuanian bacon, butter, and eggs ready for export. Generally, most of Lithuania's exports (which also included bacon) were sent to England and Germany. Later a conflict with Germany arose because of the activities of some Nazis in the Klaipėda region. After they were convicted, the Germans refused to buy Lithuanian products.

Men and women in white robes worked with my father, but they were not doctors, and so I was not afraid of them. I was not scared here like I had been in the hospital. I stared at unfamiliar people with curiosity, at strange laboratory dishes made of glass, but especially at the ships flying flags of foreign countries, at moving metal cranes, at the barrels of butter which workers rolled and loaded into the holds of the ships. Naturally, the harbor was endlessly fascinating for me.

It could not be otherwise! Wherever you looked, there were so many different colors, so many previously unseen things! The harbor was mysterious, and as I looked around with curiosity, everything surprised me. Perhaps it was at this time that our excellent watercolorist Kajetonas Šklėrius visited the harbor. When I was older, I often admired his watercolor paintings which

depicted boats moored by the shore. The artist saw what I did not notice, what did not interest me at the time. Those boats are long gone, but they survive for all times in the watercolor paintings of K. Šklėrius. That is how art triumphs over forgetfulness. Photographs likewise preserve what would be destined to disappear for all time.

However, what made the greatest impression on me was a play for children which I saw in a theater. I was taken there once, and I waited impatiently for the play to begin. I was sure that something really unusual was going to take place, something that I had never seen before. How could I not be excited when the curtain parted? In that hall with its chairs upholstered in red cloth (for some reason I am convinced to this day that their color was indeed red), before my greatly amazed eyes, sights appeared that were unusual and very exciting, sights that you did not see every day, that simply took your breath away. On stage, huge black birds flapped their wings and moved, lights dimmed and went out, the voices of talking birds rang out as the story of the brothers who had been turned into black crows began. I had a hard time following what was happening. It was a little frightening but wildly interesting, since I wanted to find out how this strange, bewitching play was going to end. It was something so different from life on the street where people were always in a hurry to get somewhere, where there were automobiles and horse-drawn carts filled with barrels of beer. A totally different world opened up on the stage. I believed in the reality of this world, and the fate of the brothers who had become black crows affected me deeply. And apparently it is not just a coincidence that everything I saw then has remained in my memory to this day.

That exciting story was none other than the play *Dvylika brolių juodvarniais laksčiusių* (Twelve brothers who scurried about as black crows), written by Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė. What else could it have been? It was definitely that play. To this day I have no doubts that this was the play I saw.

This was my first experience of the theater. It probably was the one that made the greatest impression on me. Nothing else was comparable. It encouraged me to be interested in theater long after my childhood had ended. It happened that many years later I was fated to meet the author of this play in Vilnius. I was a young writer, and I had stopped by the Writers' Union when I noticed there a pleasant-looking elderly woman who had come from Kaunas to take care of some matters. It was the wife of M.K. Čiurlionis – Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė. Maybe I should have told her that before the war, when I was still running around in shorts, I had seen her play in a theater in Klaipėda, but I was afraid to speak to her about that. Now I regret that I did not do so. It could very well have been a very pleasant surprise for her, and it would have reminded her of the distant days of Independent Lithuania.

Winters in Klaipėda were not particularly severe because the coastal climate was milder. A fierce cold spell would push in suddenly, but the weather quickly got warmer, the air became lukewarm, a thaw would begin, and the sidewalks were covered with slushy snow. This was a time when you just had to build a snowman, and you had to make it as impressive as possible. It had to be big and with black eyes made with pieces of coal imbedded into a head of white snow. (Chimney smoke had the same smell as that coal.) It had to be better than the snowman next door. It could not be inferior to the one built by those German boys. I was not going to let them brag about their snowman continuously!

But it was not all kinds of games that gave me the most joy. Rather it was the approaching Christmas holiday, which put me in a special mood. I especially enjoyed decorating the Christmas tree my father had bought with sparkling ornaments. This task was endlessly enjoyable and something I looked forward to for a long time. Beautiful presents that were so very dear to me lay under the tree on the festive morning of Christmas. That meant that I would get some new toys, maybe a train running on rail-

road tracks or a yellow and blue motorcycle with a trailer that a cyclist was straddling. After you wound the motorcycle with a small key, it would run on the floor for a while until it finally stopped. That was one of my favorite toys. I was very unhappy when it broke down.

Nonetheless, the best pastime was sledding. No, not down a hill, but in a completely different way. When there was enough snow on the streets, a large sled to which a horse was harnessed would come flying down the street, and children and adults would tie their small sleds to this large one (in this way a whole caravan was created). The horse would trot on the street to the sound of the copper bells on the harness and would pull after itself that whole happy and loudly screeching cavalcade.

The life in pre-war Klaipėda was cheerful and pleasant enough – at least that was how it seemed to me. I was a child who grew up without hardship and who was provided with everything he needed. However, former inhabitants of Klaipėda confirm that living in the city really was pleasant, there was a sufficiently civilized order there, and people who worked in factories and various companies, as well those who worked in the harbor or in the old beer brewery or in government agencies, earned good salaries. When summer came they could enjoy themselves in the beach houses of 'Smiltynė' or at a wine bar or pub. Poverty-stricken people were nowhere to be seen. There were no beggars here standing with outstretched hands.

The relations between Germans and Lithuanians were relatively normal at that time (even though open or hidden antagonism did surface from time to time). There were no major open conflicts or violent instances of intolerance, although maybe some did occur. Of course, not all the time. Those fierce Nazis – Neumann and Sass – did everything in their power to incite hatred of Lithuanians and their government in the whole Klaipėda region. They prepared an armed insurrection, for which the government in Kaunas put them on trial. The Nazis became ever more arrogant. In 1938 a Lithuanian, P. Kontautas, was killed

during riots that the Nazis instigated. It was tragic and very ironic that not only real Germans, but also a significant number of Lithuanians from Lithuania Minor, who had lost their sense of national identity due to years of Germanization, supported those terrible German chauvinists and did not hide their strong disdain for their own people. Nevertheless, scandalous open clashes between Lithuanians and those who supported the annexation of the Klaipėda region by the German Reich did not occur, except in a few instances. Or perhaps such occurrences were relatively infrequent. Those members of the two communities who were more peacefully inclined probably displayed a sufficient amount of restraint, even though the Germans did not feel much sympathy toward local Lithuanians and even less towards Lithuanians who had arrived from Greater Lithuania. The Germans were convinced that from time immemorial Klaipėda belonged to them alone, since seven centuries ago they had invaded and had entrenched themselves in the land by building a fort there. The Samogitians failed to destroy the fort and force the aggressors out. The rulers of Lithuania made a significant mistake when they failed to undertake the persistent efforts needed to prevent Klaipėda from being given over to the invaders. Lithuania failed to turn towards the West, and so lost the ability to have closer ties with the West. That had major negative consequences. Instead of experiencing the influence of Western culture and civilization, a Lithuanian-Slavic empire was created.

Unfortunately, Lithuania did not enjoy Klaipėda for long. Everything changed in the spring of 1939: Berlin presented Lithuania with an ultimatum demanding that the Klaipėda region be again returned to Germany. The ultimatum was accepted very quickly. The army did not even try to resist. Apparently it was thought that resistance would be futile, and perhaps this view had a basis. But did not the government of Lithuania make a huge mistake? For even if there had been a quick defeat, if the attack by the German army could not be repulsed, an unexpected result may have occurred. If the Reich occupied all of Lithuania (which could very well have happened), it would have been too

late for Moscow to deal with Lithuania, and in this way the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union would have been avoided. Sometimes a single event can have huge and fateful consequences and can completely upset the plans of another aggressor. But Kaunas humbly accepted the ultimatum. Soon thereafter the cruiser *Deutschland* sailed into Klaipėda with the Führer himself on board. That occurred as both the month of March and our life in Klaipėda drew to a close.

We did not get to take advantage of Klaipėda for long, not much more than ten years. The region had an especially important modern port for Lithuania, and its land stretched out towards Samogitia. Lithuanian-speaking city dwellers and farmers who worked the land lived there. A beautiful, very green land with orderly farms, (farmers who came to the market in Klaipėda were called 'būrai') and homesteads that had red-tiled roofs, a land where lush willows and birch trees lined the roadsides by Šilutė, Priekulė and Pagėgiai, all was painfully and abruptly lost again. And no one knew for how long. Would it all be lost for as many ages as the land had been suffocating under the heavy heels of Kaiser's Germany until then? Nonetheless, this region, which was closest to Western Europe, had made economic and cultural progress at a much faster rate than the part of Lithuania that was left on the other side of the border. I have stressed this earlier. As we know, many enlightened people, who significantly enriched our culture with their accomplishments, came from here and from East Prussia and Königsberg as well. Their contributions were very significant during the years of Czarist oppression when the Lithuanian press was banned. It was there that the newspaper *Aušra* (The Dawn), edited by Jonas Basanavičius, appeared. It encouraged a dawn of freedom for Lithuania. The newspaper *Varpas* (The Bell), edited by Vincas Kudirka, rang out from Tilsit and awakened the national consciousness of enslaved Lithuanians. These facts are well-known to us, but it may be useful to be reminded of them again, so that we can understand their historical significance more clearly.

From early morning on the day when the occupation of Klaipėda began, the greatest confusion reigned in our apartment on Plevų Street. Of course, I was not able to understand adequately what all of that meant (I was almost seven years old then), but I understood that a huge, maybe even a horrible misfortune had befallen us. Father and mother had tears in their eyes and were very worried. They quickly packed the most essential things, dressed my little brother Algimantas, who had been born just a few years earlier, and prepared for a journey. But that undoubtedly was a forced journey, which actually should be called a flight from the city of my birth, a city which so recently had been so very dear and pleasant.

But what had happened? Why did we have to hurry to a village in Samogitia? Why were my father and mother so worried and dejected? What was forcing us to leave our home? I could not understand this, but I felt that something horrible had happened. However, I did understand some things as I looked out the window of our apartment at the house across the street and saw brown-shirted German SA (Sturmabteilung) soldiers coming out of the basement there. I understood that they were not rushing into the streets for no reason. They were very arrogant and bold. Their long-awaited hour of jubilation had come. Just as it had come for the men of the *Hitlerjugend*.

Life in Klaipėda up to then had been calm, mundane, normal. It had not been darkened by any dangers or calamities. (In fact, I was supposed to start going to school soon.) In a few hours everything fell to pieces like a weakly-constructed dwelling hit by an unexpected and fierce storm. Nothing was left of it. For a while we became homeless. Apparently everything was endlessly fragile and unstable.

An oppressive anxiety and despair hovered over Lithuanians. However, the Germans spilled into the streets and rejoiced. Planes buzzed menacingly in the sky, but they were not ours. They were foreign planes which had flown in from Germany. Hitler's soldiers dressed in brown uniforms confidently marched in the streets. How could they not rejoice, now that Memel was

again annexed to the greater Reich, now that Germans again were the true masters of the city and the whole region! Yes, there was good reason to vent heightened emotions. Flags with swastikas were waved in the streets as Hitler drove through the city in a black open-air automobile and shouted his speech from the balcony of the theater. Bouquets of flowers flew towards the Führer's automobile, thrown from balconies by Adolph's countrymen. The slogan *Heil, Hitler!* rang out. Clearly a day of emotional triumph, but, actually, not every German was overcome with joy... And those who swooned with joy perhaps would not have greeted the Führer so warmly, with outstretched arms, had they anticipated or known what awaited them in the future thanks to his adventures... Unfortunately, later they experienced a very painful awakening. It was marked by a Hitler-like order, material problems, massive suffering for the German nation and various fateful losses.

However, as of the end of March, 1939, Klaipėda no longer belonged to us. We became refugees from Nazism. Much time passed before we could return to Klaipėda, and we could do so only under completely different circumstances once the Second World War ended and Russian occupying forces and colonists thronged into it from the vast Soviet homeland and became the rulers of the largely destroyed city... Of course, Klaipėda then was not the same city as the one I had seen in the days of my childhood. The pleasant atmosphere of the city was gone without a trace. It was quite a sad and off-putting city, which in many places had been reduced to horrible rubble.

Translated by Rimās Černius

JUOZAS SKIRIUS

**Homeland Lovers Association in 1896–1904:
Formation of the Organization and Issuance
of Lithuanian Books (2)**

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. The establishment of the Homeland Lovers Association in 1896 coincided with and was caused by the end of the activities of the Lithuanian Scientific Society and the futile efforts of the Lithuanian Alliance in America organization to convince the tsarist authorities to lift the bans on the Lithuanians.

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

Guild Houses in Seventeenth–Eighteenth Century Vilnius

A guild is a well-organized association of artisans of one or a few related trades in a feudal city. Guilds aimed to organize the production of individual artisans by way of competition among the members of a guild, thus ensuring their high professional preparation and high-quality products, as well as, in case of need, to aid members that faced difficulties or had become impoverished. In Vilnius, the first guilds – of goldsmiths and tailors – were founded in 1495. Tanners, shoemakers, producers of malt, weavers, cap-makers and many other artisans followed their example. In the late sixteenth century, guilds encompassed artisans of 27 trades. In the next century, 21 new guilds were founded in Vilnius. Even though at a slower pace, new guilds were formed in the eighteenth century too. In Vilnius, guilds were active until 1893, though their functions had changed. According to the feudal city tradition, guilds had to have their own house. The author of the article has examined the activities of guilds that were active in Lithuania's capital city during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and provided his findings into how guild houses looked like and in what places they were located in Vilnius city.

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

Shops in Seventeenth–Eighteenth Century Vilnius

In the seventeenth-eighteenth century, there were quite many large or smaller shops in Vilnius. The sources mostly mention the shops of salt, fabrics, groceries, iron, and iron products. Salt shops sold herrings, oils, imported salted butter, wax; some shops – even dried mushrooms apart from salt. Fabric shops differed among themselves. Some of them sold just fabrics, oth-

ers, in addition to fabrics, traded in articles of fabrics, ready-made clothes, furs and goods that. Most of the material about them has been collected from trader property inventories.

ROMUALDAS LANKAUSKAS

**On the Shores of the Baltic: An Excerpt from
Griūvantis dangus (The Collapsing Sky) –
A Book of Memoirs**

The author of the memoirs was a well-known Lithuanian writer and painter who wrote more than forty books. In this particular book the writer provides his colorful memories of Klaipėda city before World War II and explains what the city was like, how it functioned and how it differed from other Lithuanian cities. He vividly describes how the city was occupied by the Nazi Germany shortly before WWII and how his family was forced to leave Klaipėda.

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Linas LIANDZBERGIS. *Tymas market patrol*. 2014. Acrylic, canvas, 100 x 100

MOVING?

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

FRONT COVER: Alumnatas (17th century) yard in Vilnius

Photo by Almantas Samalavičius