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FRANCIS BALODIS

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LATVIA AND THE LATVIANS

by Francis Balodis

LATVIA is situated in Northern Europe, on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea.¹ The country lies between Estonia and Lithuania, opposite to and parallel with South Sweden.

The borders of the Latvian Free State—subsequently the Latvian Democratic Republic—were established on the following bases: *with Estonia*,² in accordance with the treaties of March 22, 1920, November 1, 1923, and March 30, 1927, and with the decisions of the British Major Tallent, arbitrator, on July 1-3, 1920; *with the Soviet Union*, in accordance with the treaty of August 11, 1920, and the protocol of April 7, 1923; *with Lithuania*, in accordance with the treaty of September 25, 1920, the protocol of March 20, 1921 (based on the arbitration proceedings under the presidency of Prof. J. W. Simpson), and the protocol of October 15, 1927; *with Poland*, in accordance with the treaty of 1929. These borders comprise: a frontier with Estonia of 375 km., to the north, with the northernmost point situated on the property of Garlidumi, commune of Ipiki, Valmiera; a frontier with the Soviet Union, to the east, of 352 km., with the easternmost point situated in the rural commune Pasiene on the farm Sapatni; to the south, a frontier with Lithuania (570 km.) and Poland (105 km.), with the southernmost point situated on the property of Paseki, commune of Demene, in Ilukste. To the west Latvia borders on the Baltic Sea and on the Gulf of Riga, stretching from the River Svete, in the south, to a point north of Ainazi, a length of 496 km., or 26.1% of the entire length of Latvia's borders (1898 km.).

Thus, Latvia comprises 65,791 square kilometers,³ inhabited—according to the 1935 census—by 1,950,502 persons (675,282 in the towns and 1,275,220 in rural communities). The population, including foreign who

¹ N. Malta and P. Galeniēks, *Latvijas Zeme, daba un tauta* (Riga, 1936-1937) i-iii; M. Skujeniēks, *Latvia* (Riga, 1927), 3rd ed.; M. Skujeniēks, *Latvija starp Eiropas valstīm* (Riga 1929); M. Skujeniēks, *Latvijas statistiskais atlās (Atlas statistique de la Lettonie)* Riga, 1938; K. R. Kupfer, *Baltische, Landeskunde* (Riga, 1910); F. Balodis, A. Tentelis and P. Smits, *Die Letten* (Riga, 1930-32), i-ii.

² G. Albat, *Recueil des principaux traités* (Riga, 1930-1938), i-ii.

³ At the request of the British arbitral judges, Colonel Tallent and Prof. Simpson, the following border regions inhabited by Latvians were assigned to Estonia: a narrow strip to the North of Ainazi, the province of Lauri ("Lauri Kolonija"), on the Livonian plateau, a small portion of the land near Ipiki, and the greater part of the town of Valka; to Lithuania, Latvian portions of the commune of Rucava and the surroundings of the watering-place of Polangen (in order to give Lithuania free access to the Baltic Sea), small tracts on the Missa and upper Venta Rivers (on the latter a stretch of the Liepaja-Jelgava-

were temporary residents, consisted of: Latvians, 1,472,612; Great-Russians, 206,499; Jews, 93,479; Germans, 62,144; Poles, 48,949; White-Russians, 26,867; Ukrainians, 1,844; Lithuanians, 22,913; Estonians, 7,014; Gipsies, 3,833; Livs, 944; British, 319; Swedes, 292; Danes, 236; Czechs, 200; French, 182; Finns, 118, Greeks 118, etc. The entire German minority mentioned above was repatriated to Germany in 1939 and thus disappears from the picture completely. Of all Latvian citizens Latvians by race constituted 77% or the absolute majority. According to information given in the Latvian paper "Tevija", a census, taken on August 1, 1941, revealed the total population of the country to be 1,795,997. This information stresses, besides the fact of the repatriation of the Germans during the years 1939-1940, that during the Soviet occupation of 1940-1941 35,828 Latvians were either shot or deported (1488 shot). The Jews are "not included" in the total population (these figures represent, of course, official data given out by the German occupation authorities).

* * *

Latvia stretches in a general west-east direction, the longest distance in this direction being 445 km., the straight line from Liepaja (Libau), on the Baltic Sea, to Zilupe, on the Soviet border. Latvia is separated from the eastern confines of Europe by the marshes of Velikaya, with the rivers Ritupe, Ludza and Zilupe, and the district of Rosica-Drissa, watered by affluents of the Daugava River. In fact, to the east of the Baltic region, stretching from the River Narva and the Finnish Gulf southward to the marshes of Pinsk, a well-defined and almost unbroken water-barrier lies

Riga railroad); to the Soviet Union were assigned Latvian lands in Surash and Velish (Gubernia of Vitebsk) and there are also Latvian colonies in the Gubernias of Novgorod and Pskov. Border settlements had to conform in part to the strategic requirements of the neighboring states. A part of the Latvian population of the Soviet Union proper was returned to Latvia during the years 1941-1942, according to the papers.

⁴ Latvia, with an area of 65,791 square Kilometers, is larger than:

Lithuania (56,000 sq. Km. or 85%)

Estonia (48,000 sq. Km. or 70%)

Denmark (43,000 sq. Km. or 65%)

Switzerland (41,000 sq. Km. or 63%)

Holland (34,000 sq. Km. or 52%)

Albania (28,000 sq. Km. or 42%)

Belgium (30,000 sq. Km. or 46%)

Luxembourg, Andorra and Lichtenstein;

Latvia is almost as large as Eire (69,000 sq. Km.) and it is larger than Dominica, Costa Rica, Haiti and Salvador.

The population count gave Latvia 1,950,502 in 1935 and in 1940, before the Soviet occupation, approximately 2,000,000. In 1941, after the Soviet occupation, there were 1,795,997 inhabitants (according to German figures, which do not include the Jews and

between the Baltic States and the Soviet Union, forming an excellent strategic frontier.⁵

Like Estonia and Lithuania, Latvia is marked, with the exception of the valley of the Lielupe region, which is a continuation of the Gulf of Riga toward the south, by many undulations, hills, ravines and steep

the 10,000 German nationals). From the point of view of the population, therefore, Latvia is larger than Estonia, Albania, Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama.

The number of inhabitants to the square Kilometer is 29 (in 1935); hence Latvia is more densely populated than Estonia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Soviet Union and even the United States.

⁵ The strategic situation of Latvia is created by the country's geography and by the nature of her relations with the neighboring states. The marshy stretches that mark the eastern confines of the European plateau can be well fortified and defended. They lie between Latvia and the Soviet Union and form a natural frontier. Of the 353 Km. stretch of the Kudupe River that separates the Soviet Union from Latvia, from the villages of Babino and Vymorskoye to the North down to the junction of the Rosica River with the Duna to the South (Piedruja, in Daugavpils province), 262 Km. run along river courses and only 89 through marshes or firm land. In addition to this, the banks of the rivers are mostly marshy. The highlands run in the general direction of this barrier and can be easily fortified. To the West, along the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Riga, the sand dunes rise to a height of 90 feet, and these provide good defensive positions. The mouths of the Duna, Venta and Barta Rivers were fortified throughout antiquity, and there were strong-points erected even higher up on these rivers, as for instance, at Daugavpils, not far from the Latvian-Soviet border.

The relations of Latvia with Estonia and with Lithuania can, naturally, be only excellent. Yet, the frontiers in the north end and in the south were also drawn with an eye to the strategic advantages of both neighbors. Of the 375 Km. length of the Latvian-Estonian border, only 58 Km. are formed by river-or lake-banks; the remaining 317 Km. go over marshes and forests. Of the 570 Km. length of the Latvian-Lithuanian border, 306 Km. follow water-courses and 26 cross marshes and dryland. The 105 Km. of the Latvian-Polish frontier have 66 Km. following water barriers and 39 Km. going over dry, hilly land.

The geographical situation of the three Baltic Republics presents a common strategic situation for all; they are similarly exposed to attack and their defenses are analogous.

Not only Russia, but also Poland repeatedly tried in the past to expand to the Baltic Sea. On almost every occasion the invasion of Latvia was carried out along the Duna River, through East Latvia, Latgale (Latgallia) or through East Lithuania, especially through the Vilna region. This consideration led Latvia to take the initiative of calling a conference of the three Baltic States in Bulduri, (August 3-September 4, 1920), designed to bind the three countries more closely together.

Thereupon Latvia and Estonia signed a political treaty on November 1, 1923. A similar treaty among all three was postponed by the events leading up to the Polish occupation of Vilna and was only signed in Geneva on September 12, 1934.

On March 17, 1922, a friendship treaty in the same sense was signed between Latvia, Estonia, Poland and Finland, in Warsaw; it was not, however, ratified by Finland.

A Latvian-Soviet non-aggression treaty was signed on February 5, 1932. It was renewed on April 4, 1934, at the emphasized wish of the Soviet Union. It was dishonored by that great power on June 16, and 17, 1940.

river-banks, sharply distinguishing the Latvian landscape from the flat uniformity of the Russian lands lying beyond the eastern confines of Europe proper. Latvia has 2980 lakes, totaling 1.64% of the entire area (108,143 square km.), numerous rivers capable of floating rafts, and several large rivers accessible in part to shipping. The total usable length of these many rivers amounts to some 3,000 km., while the entire waterpower of Latvia⁶ is capable of rendering some three hundred thousand kilowatts of electric power. Electric energy is generated particularly by the Daugava (at Kegums), the Brasla, the Amata and the Jugla rivers. The rivers of Latvia undoubtedly play an important rôle in the country's economic life. They are extremely favorable to the culture of cereals, hence also to cattle-raising, besides serving unnumbered water-mills and saw-mills, as well as several spinning mills. Twenty-six of the sixty towns of Latvia lie on rivers, the Daugava alone having ten on its banks.

Latvia belongs, furthermore, to the northwest section of Europe, which, on account of the Gulf Stream, has a generally mild, soft climate, unequalled by any other region lying so close to the North Pole. This fact distinguishes Latvia from the regions lying beyond the east-European confines along the same parallels (55°-58°) and may also account for the sharp difference between the cultural development of the Baltic region and that of Russia.

The marshy barrier to the east was instrumental in preserving a relatively unmixed population in Latvia. It is an unmistakable fact that the higher cultural development of the Latvian people has been demonstrated in the case of the uprooted Latvian communities living beyond the eastern frontiers. These Latvians, partly refugees from the harsh social and political conditions that marked the country's troubled past and partly deported peasants, have yet clung to their national characteristics in a most remarkable way.

The Baltic Sea and the larger rivers of Latvia, the Daugava or Duna,⁷ Gauja, Lielupe, Venta or Vindava and Barta, have played an important rôle in the development of the Baltic region, fostering trade and transit in Latvia herself. A great part was also played by the Latvian ports, Riga, Liepaja (Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), whose rapid development and excellent harbor facilities were supported by flourishing industry. Especially during the period of Latvia's independent existence that country played a successful part in world trade. In that period, the Latvian merchant

⁶ Stakle, *Die Wasserkräfte Lettlands* (Riga, 1927).

⁷ Daugava is a Latvian word and means "great water"; Duna (also Don) is a Gothic word and means river.

fleet grew from 87,959 net tons in 1914, at the beginning of the first World War (although registering a bare 8,916 net tons in 1920 at the end of the war for liberation), to a total of 113,661 net tons registered in 1938. These figures show an increase of 29.2% over the entire period from 1914 to 1938: but particularly an increase of 1175% during the period of Latvia's independence. This development naturally meant a corresponding increase in Latvia's material and cultural development, which increase is indeed clearly discernible when one compares the period of 1938-1939 to any other period of the past as well as with the corresponding year within the Soviet Union.

Simultaneously with material and cultural development came western civilizing influences, following the trade routes. Even in prehistoric times, as is demonstrated by Prof. L. Niederle,⁸ the influence of the West distinguished the Latvian and Lithuanian cultural development from that of the nearby regions of Russia, the latter, indeed, being strongly colored by the superior Baltic culture, up to around 1000 A.D. when Greek-Orthodox Christianity, spreading through Russia, reached the confines of the Baltic region. The Baltic region fell early under the influence of Western Catholicism and later of the Reformation, while Roman law and Western European style swept eastward through this region, stopping short at the confines of Russia. Latvia's eastern borders mark the limits of such cultural phenomena as the rich Occidental vocabulary, Latin characters and western costumes.

But Latvia's geographical situation also brought war from the West and the East, as the inevitable result of the endeavors of her more powerful neighbors to conquer the Baltic lands and the regions of the Daugava. The Germans in particular, from the time of their first appearance during the thirteenth century, to the present, have played havoc with the Latvian folk and land. The Russians, too, from Ivan the Terrible to Peter the Great, from the Czarist gendarmerie and the Cossacks of Nicholas II, in 1905, down to the Russian armies and the evacuation ordered during the first World War, in the time of Lenin's Tcheka of 1919 and the GPU of Stalin in 1940-1941, and again in 1944-1945, have added their full share of destruction.

Latvia lost approximately one million inhabitants during the first World War, sinking from a total population of 2,552,000 in 1914 to only 1,596,000 in 1920. Riga, which in 1897 had 282,230 inhabitants, had 517,522 on January 1, 1914, before the beginning of the first World War, but only

⁸ *Byt i kultura slavjanů* (Prague, 1924).

188,662 on June 14, 1920. After this date the increase was rapid: 337,699 in 1925, 377,443 in 1930, 385,063 in 1935 and in the spring of 1940 approximately 400,000. The material damages suffered by Latvia at the hands of her powerful neighbors were enormous. We will return to them in this study.

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The Latvians,⁹ a Nordic race, related to the Lithuanians¹⁰ and to the ancient West-Baltic Prussians, the language of which has become extinct since the end of the seventeenth century, form together with these two peoples the "Baltic language group," belonging to the "satem" branch of Indo-Europeans.¹¹ Like the Lithuanian language, Latvian preserves to this day the original phonetic characteristics of the ancient mother tongue to a far greater degree than any other of the still existing Indo-European languages. This phenomenon indicates that the Latvians and Lithuanians have not mixed to any appreciable degree with other peoples.

An independent Latvian language, distinct from ancient Baltic and from Lithuanian, was manifested as early as the first or second century of the Christian era. It was preceded by a still earlier distinction between the ancient Prussian—as the "West-Baltic" tongue"—and the still unseparated Latvian-Lithuanian or "East-Baltic." In fact, Old-Prussian, more subject to

⁹ *Die Letten* (Riga, 1930); J. Endzelins, *Lettsche Grammatik* (Riga, 1922); K. Milenbachs and J. Endzelins, *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* (Riga, 1923-1932) I-IV. J. Endzelins and K. Milenbachs, *Latviešu gramatika* (Riga, 1934); N. Malta and P. Galenieks, *Latvijas zeme, daba un tauta* (Riga, 1937) iii; M. Skujenieks, *Latvijas statistiskais atlāss* (Riga, 1938); O. Waeber, *Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Letten* (Dorpat, 1879); G. Knorre, "Kranologische Untersuchungen ans Schädeln und Skelettgrabern Lettgallens," *Zeitschrift fuer Morphologie und Anthropologie*, Band XXVII, 3, Stuttgart, 1930; G. Backmann, *Anthropologische Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Bevölkerung Lettlands* (Riga, 1925); F. Balodis, *Det Aldsta Lettland* (Stockholm, 1940); F. Balodis, *L'ancienne frontière slavo-latvienne* (Warsawa, 1928); F. Balodis, "Die baltisch-finnisch-ugrische Grenze in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit," *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*. No. 67. F. Balodis, *Ethnische Probleme und die archäologischen Untersuchungen der letzten Jahre* (Riga, 1935).

¹⁰ The Latvians and the Lithuanians differ today only through their respective national cultures, particularly by virtue of the fact that the Lithuanians are almost all Catholics, while the Latvians are 68.28% Lutheran-evangelical, 3.91% Greek Orthodox, 0.84% Baptists, 0.01% Calvinists, 0.19% Adventists, 0.3% Methodists and 0.69% of other Christian persuasions, having a bare 26.36% Catholics. It must be admitted that in the course of the Swedish occupation of Latvia (1629-1710) the Lutheran-Evangelical faith made great progress, while the Latvian people were drawn closer to the Northern (Scandinavian) culture. While Sweden did much for the cultural development and for the schools of Latvia, the people of Lithuania, during the time of the Polish-Lithuanian union, was strongly influenced by Poland.

¹¹ The first grammar of the Latvian language, *Manūductio ad linguam Lettonicam*, was put together in 1644 by Preacher Rehenhusen. The first Latvian dictionary *Letnūs* was composed by Mancelius in 1638.

western cultural and linguistic influences, having its own roots and dialects, marks a separate entity, in people as well as in language, that was recognized as such in old historical sources, notably by Ptolemy, in the second century A.D.

The earliest Balts arrived in the region of the Daugava toward the year 200 B.C., supposedly migrating from the Baltic region and East Prussia. Later, about the year 100 A.D., the Latvian branch conquered the territories to the north of the Duna from the ancient Ugro-Finnish inhabitants and thus laid the foundation of contemporary Latvia.

It is certain that the Balts (that is to say the early Latvians) are distinct both from their northern neighbors, the Ugro-Finns, and from their Slavic neighbors in the east. Language and culture divide them sharply from the ancestors of the present-day Russians, who did not arrive in the vicinity of the Baltic and Ugro-Finnish lands until the seventh century, populating what is today central and eastern Russia.

Archeological research along the Baltic-Slavic (that is to say Latvian-Russian) borders reveal that in the course of the seventh to the twelfth centuries of our era there were not only great material differences (as in jewelry, etc.), but also physical ones to be observed in the study of the skeletons found on each side of the dividing line. This line, incidentally, corresponds almost precisely with the modern frontier between Latvia and the Soviet Union. In contrast with skeletons found both in Ugro-Finnish and ancient Slavic (Russian) burial grounds, dating from the second to the twelfth centuries, the powerful build of the Latvian skeletons, 171 to 195 cms. long and with dolichocephalous crania, notably long in the face, are quite recognizable. Their characteristics, indicating beyond doubt their Northern race, are still to be observed to this day among their descendants, the modern Latvians.

It is only later, particularly after the fifteenth century, that a further somatic development is to be observed in the Latvians. Later graves yield, particularly in respect to cranial characteristics, evidences that point to an absorption of foreign ethnical elements, notably Livs, into the original Latvian stock. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that similar processes of absorption took place at later dates. Thus, such fusions are to be observed in the seventeenth century in the west with Swedish and Finnish elements; to the southeast, during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries with the Poles; since the thirteenth century and up to recent times, throughout the land with the Germans; and in the twelfth century and later from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries with Russian stocks, in the east.

In graves dating from before the seventh century, crania with the index 70 to 74.9 and very long ones with indices of 65 to 69.9 are predominant; medium crania are very rare, and short ones are completely absent during this period. After the seventh and up to the twelfth century, the number of shorter crania with indices of 75 to 79.9 increases, while since the fifteenth century they become more frequent and even some quite short ones have been found, though these remain rare.

It is obvious that absorptions have taken place at later dates, in addition to that of the Livs, some admixtures occurring during more recent times. This is shown to some extent also by the Latvian language, which contains, in addition to some few Ugro-Finnish traces, principally Liv influences, others which can be traced in accordance with the country's history to German, Swedish and even Slavic sources. It remains certain, however, that the Latvian language, in spite of these various influences, is a thoroughly Baltic tongue; and, like the Latvian; themselves, whose physical characteristics so closely resemble those of their ancestors, it has remained basically the same throughout the ages. Similarly the Lithuanians, kinsfolk and neighbors of the Latvians, have remained closely related through time.

* * *

Speaking of the Old-Prussians, on the Baltic Sea, eastward beyond the Passargi River, and of the descendants of the earliest Balts in Latvia (the Latvian stock of the Cūroniani) dwelling between the "Kurisches Haff" and the Venta, Tacitus (98 A.D.) says in his *Germania* "The Svevian sea bathes the shores of the Aestorum [i.e. Baltic] peoples. The customs and apparel of these peoples are Svevian . . . their speech is akin to that of the Britains [Celts] . . . they bring greater care and patience to the growing of their cereals and other fruits than do the Germans . . . they explore the seas and are the only people to gather amber." This testimony is the oldest we have on the cultural development of the Baltic.¹²

We learn from the Gutasage and from archaeological findings that in the course of the sixth century of our era an unsuccessful invasion of the Latvian land of Semigallia (Zemgale) was attempted by emigrants from Gotland. Later, toward the seventh century, the Slavs, forefathers of the Russians, arrived on the confines of eastern Europe, to the eastern borders of the Baltic lands, resulting in the active construction of defensive forts along these borders. On the further testimony of Snorre Sturleson,

¹² F. Balodis, "Letten und lettische Kulture in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit," *Geogr. Annalen*, 1929.

of the *Hervarsaga* and of the *Historia Norvegiae*, we find that these lands were invaded several times during the seventh to the ninth centuries, the invaders arriving from central Sweden, from Denmark and from Norway.¹³ According to Rimbert's *Vita S. Anscharii*, King Olav (b. 855 A.D.) marked the culmination of these invasions by taking the well-defended Curonian harbor of Seeburg and the provincial center of Apulia. The magnitude of these conquests can be measured by the known fact that the Curonians had 7,000 men in Seeburg and a garrison of 15,000 warriors in Apulia. Yet Rimbert tells us in the work quoted above that: "jam tunc diu erat, quod rebellando (Chori) eis (Sveonibus) subjici dedig-mabantur" . . . this coming around 875, when the *Vita S. Anscharii* was being written. Apparently the Scandinavian conquests were relatively short lived, in spite of the fact that the presence of an important colony of Scandinavian merchants and perhaps even craftsmen is known to us in Seeburg, which is the modern Grobina. This colony continued for quite some time and attained a flourishing development.

The continued incursions from the East and from the West and the concomitant pressure from both the Scandinavians and the Slavs, led not only to an increasingly strong fortification of the ethnical borders, but at the same time caused the peoples of ancient Latvia to strengthen their political and national organization.¹⁴

The sites of the ancient Latvian forts testify to the excellence of the construction and of the overall planning of the entire system of defense. They would indicate a corresponding development in political and social organization. And indeed we know that toward this period the ancient Latvians lived not in villages, but in "villulae," or individual separate farmsteads, as we may gather also from the chronicles of Henricus de Lettis. Assuredly, too, a powerful and orderly state authority must have existed in order to allow such important constructions as fortresses to be undertaken. It is evident that the peoples were developing a sense of unity and of common purpose.

Archaeological discoveries and historical sources allow us, in any case, to speak of the following state organizations in the territories of Latvia,¹⁵ as early as the tenth century: the Kingdom of *Lettia* in the east, with the

¹³ F. Balodis, "Det äldsta Lettland," Stockholm, 1940. B. Nerman.

¹⁴ F. Balodis, "Die Burgberge Lettlands," *Studi Baltici*, VIII, Roma, 1942.

¹⁵ F. Balodis, *Det äldsta Lettland* (Stockholm, 1940); Aug. Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes* (St. Petersburg, 1892); F. Balodis, "Die Burgberge Lettlands," *Studi Baltici*, VIII (Roma, 1942); F. Balodis, "Ein Denkmal der Vikingerzeit in Semgallen," *E.S.A.*, IX (Helsinki, 1930); F. Balodis, *La Lettonie du 9ème au 12ème*

capital Gerzeke, on the Daugava, comprising five relatively large provinces (Autina, Ciesove, Gerzeke, Ludza and Sela); the principality of *Tholowa* in the north, along the Estonian frontier, with the capital Tricatua, with 15 districts and the sister-land of the "Ymera Latvians" (to the west); the kingdom of *Semigallia* in the south, in the Lielupe region, comprising 7 provinces and having two residences—Mesothen and Terwethen—as well as the important harbor, the "portus Semigallorum" of Henricus de Lettis, established by archaeological research to have occupied the site of modern Daugmala, on the Daugava, and also possibly referred to by the inscriptions of the runic stone of Mervalla (dating from 1040 A. D.); the kingdom of *Curonia* in the southwest, with 5 counties (North-Curonia, Dovzare, "Terra inter Scrunden et Semigalliam", Ceklís and the Memeland) and including a province conquered by the Livs (Vredecuronia, in Liv "Wannema," today an integral part of Northern Courland), with the capital Kuldiga (Goldingen) and three other provincial centers on the Baltic Sea: Winda (Ventspils—Windau), Seeburg (today Grobina on Libau Lake) and Pilsaten (the modern Klaipeda or Memel). To the east of the Riga Gulf and to the west of Tholowa and Lettia, there is mentioned during the tenth and twelfth centuries the "terra Livonum," situated along the sandy strip bordering the eastern coast of the Gulf of Riga. According to Henricus de Lettis, the ruler of the "terra Livonum" is referred to in the chronicle only as "quasi rex et senior."¹⁶ Last, we find toward the end of the twelfth century and in the early part of the thirteenth century Koknese (Kokenhausen) on the Daugava, mentioned in the chronicle of Henricus de Lettis as an important trading center of Latvians, Livs and Russians of Polotsk. Koknese was ruled by a "regulus."

The 434 fortress sites that have been registered up to the present, forming a system of defense that girds the country, seem to have the utmost importance in the existence of the earliest independent Latvian states mentioned above. Thus, in 1035, an attack by the Vikings Anund and Ingvar was repulsed, and in 1106 even the King of Polotsk (David Vseslavitch?) was sorely defeated in Semigallia, apparently before the "portus

(Riga, 1936); F. Balodis, *L'ancienne frontière slavo-latvienne* (Warsawa, 1928); P. Dreimanis, *Senlatvijas politiska iekarta* (Jelgava, 1934); A. Svabe, *Talava* (Sejeis, 1936); A. Svabe, *Straumes un Avoti* (Riga, 1938), I; A. Svabe, "Jersikas karalvalsts," *Senatne un Maksla* 1936, I; F. Balodis, *Jersika* (Riga, 1940).

¹⁶ Caupo, the last of the Livonian kings, made a present of his country (also called "Livland") to the Catholic Church. Through this gift, after the German conquest of the Gauja-Duna region and of South Latvia, Livonia became an inclusive designation for a much larger territory, which later became the province of Livonia under the successive Swedish and Russian occupations.

Semigallorum." According to the Russian chronicle of Laurentius, nine thousand Russians fell in this battle. Similar attacks on Curonia seem to have been repulsed; and the Curonians became so powerful that in 1049, under Sven Estridsen, and in 1051, under King Magnus, they were even mentioned in Danish church prayers: "Save us from the Curonians, oh merciful Lord God!" This sounds very like the "Pomozī Boze" on the Daugava stone left by the Russian travelers on the Daugava in the twelfth century. From Henricus de Lettis we learn, too, that the Curonians were in the habit of raiding and plundering Sweden and Denmark. It was only Tholowa that had much to suffer from the continual battles against her neighbors, particularly the Russians. The country seems to have suffered heavily, according to the ancient Russian chronicles, in the year 1111 and 1180 at the hands of Novgorod and, according to Henricus, in 1200 from the Pleskovians. Lettia seems to have been perhaps the most important and powerful of these states. It has some 28,000 square kilometers (being as large as modern Albania), and its kings seem to have had treaty relations with Polotsk and with the Lithuanians. This may have accounted in part for the fact that as late as 1209 the country was relatively well defended, independent and secure. The system of defensive forts of Lettia was particularly formidable along the eastern borders.

Archaeological excavations, coins and written sources indicate that Latvian economic development and culture flourished after the tenth century.¹⁷

Foreign trade played an important rôle during this period. The Runic stone of Mervalla reveals the voyages of a Swedish merchant into Semigallia (Simkala), and Henricus speaks of the travels of the Curonians toward Sweden and Denmark as "in regno Danie et Svecie hactenus facere consueverant . . ." It would seem also, according to the charter of Friedrich I of 1188 to the city of Lübeck, that the lands of the Baltic (hence also Latvia) sent their ships to Lübeck and could leave the port without paying any duties. This is further confirmed by the discovery of great quantities of German coins, particularly of the tenth and eleventh centuries, throughout Latvian territories, which indicate a brisk trade as early as the tenth century. There have also been found numerous Arab coins from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, many Byzantine coins of the tenth and

¹⁷ F. Balodis, "Det äldsta Lettland" (Stockholm, 1940); F. Balodis, "Die Burgberge Lettlands," *Studi Baltici* (Roma, 1942); F. Balodis, "L'agriculture chez les Lettons," *Filologu Biedrības Raksti*, X, (Riga, 1930); F. Balodis, "Latviešu starptautiskie sakari ap 1000 gadu pēc Kr.," *Latvijas Vestuves Instituta Zurnals*, III, i (Riga, 1939); B. Abers, "Latviešu zemkopība un sadiedriba vācu ienākšanas laikā," *Senatne & Moksli*, 1940 (II).

eleventh centuries, as well as eleventh-century coins of Anglo-Saxon, Polish, Hungarian and Bohemian origin. A rather important Swedish import trade flourished during this period.

Thanks to the intensive trade, to the Latvian voyages abroad, and to the visits of foreign merchants, Christianity began to spread as early as the eleventh century, especially in Tholowa and Lettia. Numerous archaeological finds confirm this, and Henricus testifies to the existence of Christian (Greek-Orthodox) churches in Latvia even before 1209. He speaks of the plundering in that year by the Germans under Bishop Albert of the churches ("de ecclesiis") of the city of Gerzeke, when "they [the Germans] took churchbells, ikons and other church treasures, as well as money and other valuable things."

It is evident from this and other testimony that it was the Greek Orthodox Church which first took root in Tholowa and Lettia as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and not the Roman Catholic Church. Yet it would appear that Danish merchants founded a church in Latvia in the year 1048, to wit, a Roman Catholic church in Courland.

Agriculture and cattle raising were flourishing throughout the Latvian lands well before 1200. Wheat, oats, rye, beans, barley, peas, lentils, hemp and flax were cultivated. Henricus speaks also of the "fruges hiemales" among other things. It would appear that there were fairly large properties, belonging to the "nobiles" (or "divites," "primores," "meliores"). The common domestic animals were horses, cows, sheep, pigs, goats and chickens as excavations have shown. Hunting and fishing constituted only secondary occupations. It may likewise be asserted that it was chiefly agriculture that decided the development and character of the Latvian "villula" and played an important rôle in forming the people's economic life.

In addition to considerable exports of pelts, leather, wool, wax, honey, amber, fish and even textiles, grain was the most important item of foreign trade, just as it was in Russian Novgorod. In exchange, metals, (bronze and silver) were particularly sought after, while weapons and even horses were imported from Gotland, as testified by written sources.

Known to us through excavations and through the writings of Henricus are several cities that flourished during these times. Thus King Visvaldis of Lettia referred to his town ("civitas") Gerzeke as "hereditas patrum meorum." Intricate stone and timber constructions have been found in excavations: houses, forts, mills, barns, bath-houses, cellars, smithies and foundries, the sites of manufactures using leather, bone and bronze, spinneries and looms, together with magnificent textiles, tools for the working of bronze, half finished silver objects, instruments used in metal-

lurgy and other trades, gold, silver and bronze ornaments, weapons, iron-bound wooden objects, iron lighting appliances and locks, keys of iron and bronze, weighing devices and the most diverse forms of metalware. We find, indeed, a flourishing and prosperous land and a well-developed culture in Latvia from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. The material culture was closely akin to that of Lithuania and Scandinavia (the latter particularly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries) but sharply distinct from that of the Slavic regions to the East, with which the Latvians had only the Greek Orthodox Church in common during the eleventh, twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries.

* * *

The German economic expansion that began toward the twelfth century in the direction of Gotland and eastward, toward the Baltic lands and Russia, was to bring heavy ordeals to the Land of the Livs (beginning in 1186) and to the Latvian principalities (beginning in 1200).¹⁸

Roman Catholic missionaries began to accompany the German merchants, protected by them, to the Liv-land, on the lower reaches of the Duna. The first to come seems to have been the Augustine monk, Meinhard, a priest from the monastery of Sieberg, in Holstein, who was subsequently named Bishop of Livonia (in 1186). He was followed closely by the Cistercian monk, Theodoric, later Bishop of Estonia. After the death of Meinhard (in 1196) came Bishop Berthold, a Cistercian abbot of the province of Hanover, and when Berthold was killed in battle in 1198, he was followed by Albert, canon of Bremen, who was ordained Bishop of the Livs by Pope Innocent III on March 28, 1199. His nomination was made in agreement with the German King Philip, the Danish King Canute (whose brother Waldemar, Duke of Schleswig, also agreed to this nomination), and the Archbishop of Lund.

Albert appears to have been exceptionally energetic. It seems to have been his intention to found on the banks of the Daugava a state that would be independent of the Archbishopric of Bremen. With a fleet of twenty-three ships and a well armed retinue, he arrived in 1200 in the land of the

¹⁸ Compare particularly the chronicle of Henricus de Lettis with the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle; also: A. Richter, *Geschichte der Deutschen Ostseeprovinzen* (Riga, 1857), I; A. Tentelis, "Die Letten in der Ordenszeit," in *Letten* (Riga, 1930); F. Balodis, *Jersika* (Riga, 1940); P. Dreimanis, *Senlatvijas politiskā iekārta un zemgalu simtgadu cīņas* (Jelgava, 1934); A. Švabe, "Jersikas karalvalsts," *Senatne & Māksla*, 1936; A. Švabe, *Straumes un Avoti* (Riga, 1938); A. Švabe, *Talava* (Sejējs, 1936); A. Švabe, "Rīgas senvēsture," *Senatne & Māksla*, 1936; the respective sources and texts: A. Švabe, ed., "Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti," I, in *Latvijas vēstures avoti* (Riga, 1937), II, and Bunge, *Urkundenbuch* (Riga, 1853-1914), I-II.

Livs, in order allegedly to "introduce Christianity." Innocent III had indeed promised absolution to all Crusaders to the Land of the Livs in his bull of October 33, 1199, just as the sins of those going to the Holy Land were being forgiven. It was the intention of Innocent III, as it was later that of his successor, Honorius II, to hold these conquered lands as the direct dependency of the Holy See. A double intrigue entered the picture with Albert, who swore allegiance to the Pope and yet remained with his newly-won lands as semi-dependency of the Archbishop of Lund and Bremen, while he partially recognized the overlordship of Denmark (particularly the time of King Waldemar), at the same time becoming the vassal of German King Philip in 1207.

After Albert's death, which occurred in 1229, his successors were forced to follow the more pronounced pro-German tendencies of the Bishop himself. This gained for the Livonian Bishopric the protection of the Order of the Swordbearing Brothers (after 1202) and later, after 1237, when this Order was dissolved, the protection of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. This protection created at the same time political aspirations of supremacy. The Masters of the Order tried to dominate the Archbishops, regardless of subsequent threats, commands, anathemas and interdicts that were heaped upon them from Rome. Bishop Albert's new state was to become one of the eastern outposts of German economic and political expansion.

In order to eliminate any local Latvian competition with the now German but formerly Liv trade settlements the entry into the "portus Semigallorum" (called at present "Daugmale") was closed to western ships and merchants through an interdict of the Church and by the expedient of murdering those who disobeyed. Near the "portus Semigallorum," on the upper Daugava, only 25 km. away from the Curonian-Livian city of Riga, two strongholds were established by the Germans: Burg-Holm (today Salaspils), and Uexkül, with the first Catholic church built in Livonia. In 1201, with the assent of the local Liv chieftains Kaupo, Anno and others, who had been caught in a trap through a stratagem, a German fort and city were built near the ancient (about 900 A. D.) settlement of Riga, belonging to the Livs and the Kuronians. This new German stronghold was easier to reach from the sea and less perilous of approach. It was destined to become not only a trading port and residence of the Bishopric, but also a sallying-point for the later expeditions that had still to conquer the rest of the Baltic lands. On the testimony of archaeological findings, it seems

that soon thereafter the fortress and city of the "portus Semigallorum"¹⁹ were destroyed through fire and were never able to come to life again.

Owing to the help of the Order of the Swordbearers and the various crusades the Bishop soon conquered the whole of Livonia. The Livonian Elder Kaupo, received graciously in Rome by the Pope and presented by him with gifts in the year 1203, remained up to the time of his death, in 1217, a humble instrument in the hands of the Bishop. On his deathbed he made over his entire possessions to the Catholic Church.

* * *

Parallel with the conquest of Livonia, German expansion throughout the Estonian and Latvian lands met with success. In Latvia, the conquerors proceeded first to Lettia and Tholowa and, by way of the Gauja and Duna rivers, they opened free trade routes toward Russia (Polotsk and Pskov). Later came the turn of Semigallia and Curonia. In 1209 and again in 1214 Bishop Albert succeeded in surprising the town of Gerzeke and burned it down, taking the queen (a Lithuanian princess) prisoner. Visvaldis, the king of Lettia, was forced to accept a peace treaty dictated by the Bishop, a treaty according to whose terms he had to "present" his hereditary Kingdom of Lettia ("hereditario jure sibi pertinentem") to Albert, retaining only a part thereof for himself, and that only as a fief. At any rate, Visvaldis succeeded in rebuilding his city of Gerzeke and even tried to achieve a coalition against the Bishop, together with his ally and father-in-law, Dagerute of Lithuania, and with the "rex magnus" of Novgorod. But Gerzeke was finally destroyed in 1239 and Visvaldis himself seems to have met his death on this occasion. His kingdom passed thereby wholly into the hands of his liege-lord, the Bishop.

A similar fate had befallen Tholowa in 1224, although this Latvian duchy had entered into several treaty relations with the Bishopric and had loyally aided the Bishop with arms as an ally against foreign foes.

In 1230 and 1231 the Curonian king, Lammehinus (Lamekins), had treaties forced upon him, treaties that ostentatiously accorded "eternal liberty" and self-government to Curonia, under the overlordship of the Pope. In fact, however, these treaties led to the complete subjugation of the country. What remains remarkable is the way in which the name and the authority of the Pope were made use of by the German Bishop in order to further strictly German interests.

¹⁹ F. Balodis, "Zemgales osta" (in *Dzīvei Pateim*) Riga, 1936); R. Dukurs, "Vai Daugmales pilskaļns ir Indriķa Livonijas *Chronikā* minētā Zemgales osta?" *Senatne un Māksla*, 1939 (1).

²⁰ Mitau, 1944), vol. I.

Yet in the year 1236, at the battle of Saule, the German Order of the Swordbearing Brothers was met and defeated by revolting Latvians, aided by Lithuanian troops. The defeat was, in fact, a thorough annihilation. But, following the incorporation of the Sword-bearers into the Teutonic Order, and in spite of a further defeat administered to the Germans at Durben in 1260, the conquest of Curonia was finally achieved in the year 1267. The situation forced the Order to recognize certain privileges of the Curonian nobility in the ensuing negotiations, while the peasants saw their rights to personal freedom and to their customary hunting likewise upheld.

Semigallia was conquered by the Germans with the greatest difficulty and with fluctuating success that lasted a long time. The Order was several times severely defeated, in 1219 on the Missa River, where the Germans were badly beaten by King Vesthard and his Semigallians, in 1261 on the Daugava River, helped by Lithuanians, and in 1279 near Aizkraukle (Ascheraden) and on the Lake of Babite. In 1280 King Nameisis even succeeded in pressing on to Riga itself. Yet in the year 1281 Nameisis of Semigallia took part in a campaign in Prussia and died a hero's death on the battlefield far from his own beloved land. Thereupon the leading Semigallian nobles were invited to take part in peace negotiations by the Order and were treacherously assassinated. A forced peace followed and soon, in 1286 and in 1287, new Semigallian uprisings were so successful that they threatened Riga. However, this resurgence did not last long, and the last Semigallian strongholds succumbed to the ill fortunes of war. The year 1290 saw the last of the free Semigallians. A hundred thousand men and women, the bravest of the land, were forced to leave their country and emigrate to Lithuania, in order to continue on alien but friendly soil their fight against the Germans. This event marked the final downfall of the ancient and independent states of Latvia and the definitive mastery of the German occupation, after ninety years of the bitterest fighting. O. Mirbach, a Baltic-German writer, in his *Letters to and from Courland*, says: "Never has a people defended its liberty with smaller means and yet with greater courage." Indeed, the Master of the Order established in 1351 that in the course of these battles there fell on the German side: six Masters of the Order, 28 dukes and counts, 49 other members of the high nobility, 11,000 knights and gentry and many warrior-servants, a total number of German dead that reaches 117,000.

* * *

The period of German rule in Latvia²¹ during and after the complete

²¹ A Richter, *Geschichte der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen* (1857-58); O. Rutenberg, *Geschichte der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen* (1859-1860); L. Arbusov, *Grundriss der Gesch.*

subjugation of the land up to 1561, meant for the Latvian people a time of endless suffering marked by the grimmest robberies and murders. As early as 1225 Pope Innocent was forced to send his legate, Bishop William of Modena, to the lands ruled by Bishop Albert. The legate ordered, according to Henricus de Lettis, that the Sword-bearers and other Germans "should avoid unlawful impositions and demands from their wards that might embitter the latter." Latvian leaders, like King Visvaldis and King Vesthard, brought their complaints before the papal legate. In 1233 another legate was sent, this time Bishop Baldwin, who was forced to pronounce excommunication against the Order, for its terrorism, plunderings and complete irresponsibility, in order to obtain some measure of relief for the conquered Latvians and a modicum of order in the land. After 1290 the situation became even worse. The heavy oppression of the land was further embittered by conflicts between the Bishop, the Order and the city of Riga. Civil wars added to wars against foreign lands made life still more unbearable. The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order particularly distinguished itself by its utter irresponsibility, quarrelsome disposition and complete lack of discipline. Riga, too, which since 1282 had become a member of the Hansa, was striving increasingly to gain the ascendancy and was even manifesting designs on such outlying lands as some in Semigallia. As late as 1299 two Semigallian "ambasiatores" came to Rome in order to lay their wrongs before the Pope and to complain of the Germans. But everything was in vain. The Teutonic Order continued unrestrained as hitherto, in defiance of the Papal anathemas of 1305 and of 1354 and of the interdicts concerning the ostensibly papal lands. The Order defeated the obstreperous city of Riga in 1330 and during 1330-1397 one member of the Teutonic Brotherhood became Archbishop.

It was only the final downfall of the Order at the famous battle of Tannenberg (1410) and the concomitant rise in the fight of the Hansa, to which already several more towns had been added, that brought about a change. After 1421 a new institution, the Landtag, came into being,

ichte Liv.-Est.- und Kurlands (Riga, 1918); J. Krodznieks, *Iz Baltijas vēstures*, A. Tentelis, "Die Letten in der Ordenszeit," in *Letten* (Riga, 1930); A. Spēkke, *Latvieši un Livonija 16 g.s.* (Riga, 1935); A. Svābe, *Latvju kultūras vēsture* (Riga, 1921), I; A. Svābe, *Straumes un avoti* (Riga, 1938); H. Bruiningk *Livländische Güterurkunden* (Riga, 1908), I; P. Johansen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Esten* (Dorpat, 1923); P. Johansen, *Liber census Daniæ* (Reval, 1933); A. Svābe, *Grundriss der Agrargeschichte Lettlands* (Riga, 1928); R. Vipper, *Latviešu zemniecības tiesības un stāvoklis pirms dyimtsbūšanas ieviešanas, Vēstures atziņas un ielōjumi* (Riga, 1937). The following from *Senatne un Māksla*: A. Tentelis, "Senās Rīgas tirgotāji un amatnieki latvieši," 1936, III; B. Abers, "Kuršu brīvības gramata," 1937, IV; A. Svābe, "Kas bija latviešu Indrikis?" 1938, IV and A. Svābe, "Jersikas karalvalsts," 1936, I.

bringing together representatives of the Church, of the Order and of the vassals and cities. Even this hardly succeeded in curbing the selfish and wayward Order. It is almost impossible to imagine a more dreadful and oppressive existence than that under the feudal authority of the Bishop (later Archbishop) and under the actual power of the Order in Latvia.

The country suffered, in addition, a number of years of ruthless wars. In 1466 the Order was forced to abandon several territories to Poland, recognizing at the same time Polish supremacy in some other regions. The Poles, however, had designs on the whole of Latvia. In the meantime, the Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan III, had subdued the Tartars and conquered Pskov and Novgorod. In 1481, he marched on Latvia. Here the civil war between the Order and the city of Riga had flared up again. The energetic authority of Walter von Plettenberg (1494-1535) was no longer able to prevent the disintegration of the Order. At the same time, the Lutheran Reform movement was reaching Latvia, leading to still further disruptions and disorganization. In 1502 von Plettenberg defeated the Russians at Pskov; but, with Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible, Latvia began a new period of sufferings and damage in spite of an alliance with Poland (1557). For almost twenty years the country endured the "Livonian wars" of Ivan IV, the first between 1558 and 1570 and the second from 1577 to 1582.

These "Livonian wars," marking the westward expansion of Russia, the march toward the more prosperous West, were still further encouraged by the selfish and power-mad policies and conflicts of the Archbishop and the Order, now fully disorganized. The continual friction between the contestants for power and the newly-arisen "landed aristocracy," which was striving for more and more recognition, were well calculated to make these wars drag on. Archbishop William, seeking to overthrow the Order, tried to establish an episcopal supremacy and succeeded in bringing about another civil war imperiling the country still more. With the capture of Archbishop William in 1556, it came to an end, but not before it had opened the way for the invasion by the Muscovite armies.

Gotthard Kettler, the last of the Grand Masters of the Order, in spite of his alliance with the Poles, was unable to stop either the Russian hordes or their acts of terrorism and brigandage. Here and there, sporadic acts of heroism by isolated townships were even less able to dispel the menace of the conqueror. It was during these wars that the entire city of Wenden (Cesis or Kesj), men, women and children, blew itself up in a tower of the citadel, rather than fall alive into the hands of the victorious besieging Muscovites (1577). As late as the seventeenth century thanks were being given in church services throughout the land on the anniversary of the peace

with Russia. This is mentioned in the "Latvian Postill" of Mancelius of 1649, where the sermon mentioning this event says: "The Great Russians frightfully destroyed the land of Livonia—that is to say the ancient lands of Tholowa, Lettia and the Land of the Livs—and they also tortured the inhabitants, martyrizng them, quartering them alive and burning them at the stake . . ." The chronicle of Russow states that in the opening years of the second of the "Livonian wars" there were so many dwellings destroyed and so many people killed that there were "a multitude of wild dogs that fed on corpses . . ." Also "many tens of thousands" were taken to Russia in captivity and enslaved there. As late as 1610 Bishop Schenking of Wenden could write to the Pope that "the situation of Livonia is deplorable and the greatness of her sufferings surpasses all tears . . . all castles and farms are now destroyed and overgrown with bushes, sheltering the wild beasts only . . . the churches are burned down . . . of the numerous inhabitants few remain alive . . . corpses lie everywhere, making a terrible impression."

. . .

Seldom has there been a more inefficient rule than that of the Germans (the Bishop and the Order) in Latvia; it can well be imagined that the relations between the Germans and the Latvians were not of the best. As we have seen, papal legates were sent as arbitrators and Latvian "ambasiatores" went to Rome in vain. There were revolts. As late as 1492 prominent Semigallian elders were making well-founded complaints to the Master of the Order against unjustly imposed burdens.

Yet, in spite of the German oppression, the productive capacities and the activities of the Latvians did not cease. Even under oppression Latvian merchants and craftsmen of all sorts settled in the cities, and there they continued their work. They seem even to have taken some part in the strife between the cities and the Order. In the Riga register of debts for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be found a series of Latvian names such as Plikke, Darbeslave, Wadune, Veisbalde, Virebalde, Meservarde, and "Johannis piscator Semigallus." Since 1220 Latvian fishermen in Riga enjoyed a special privilege. In the year 1252 we hear of Latvian craftsmen mentioned in connection with the "Brethren of the Holy Cross"; these "brethren" were Latvian fishermen who had an altar in the St. James church in Riga. It was in this church that Latvian smiths, masons and weavers attended prayers. In the year 1458 we find two Latvian sculptors, the brothers Evert and Hans Besup, making the statues of St. Christopher and Erasmus. In 1464 the Latvian burghers obtained a new altar in

the St. Peter church as well. Also in Riga there have been preserved some scripts of various guilds, notably one relating to the smiths, dated 1382, another concerning the masons of 1390, and a third relating to the weavers from 1458. Since 1150, as well as later, the guilds of the salt-and-beer-handlers, of the hemp-workers, granary-wardens and the weighing-masters were exclusively Latvian. These guilds, which regulated the traffic of the harbor, were at the same time the most ancient fire-fighting organizations of Riga. These are but a few examples of Latvian urban activities chosen from the most recent collected archival material.

Historical sources mention Latvian intellectuals during this period. Thus, Henricus de Lettis, writer of the *Chronicon Livoniae vetus*, which is the oldest Latin chronicle of Latvia and of Livonia, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century (it was ended in 1225-1227), was himself of Latvian stock. The first editor of this chronicle, J. D. Gruber (1740), believed that Henricus was a disciple of Bishop Albert himself and a Roman Catholic priest in the district of Ymera, where he was born. The remains of what seems to have been his church have been discovered in Tilgali (department of Dugeri, in Volmar, or Valmiera), while the tomb of Henricus was identified in the nearby cemetery of Kapukalne (near Dunckeri), which dates from the thirteenth century. The researches of Professor A. Schwabe have finally established the Latvian origin of Henricus.

The Greek-Catholic monk, Georgius, the son of a Latvian priest in Gerzeke city, ("Jurgi syn popow") was a scribe and miniaturist. He composed the "Moscow Manuscript" of the New Testament of 1270.

The city of Gerzeke had a number of Christian churches prior to the German occupation; these were subsequently burned down by Bishop Albert in 1209, as has already been mentioned.

It is regrettable that we do not yet know the names of the other Latvian priests of that particular period with certainty; but one may hope that further research will reveal such names to us. The Vatican archives should yield much precious information in this matter.

The Latvian nobles, too, continued to exist and to enjoy a measure of freedom in the possession of their lands in the period of the Bishops and of the Order. Dr. August Bielenstein has established the fact that the majority of Latvian manors were situated in the immediate vicinity of the ancient castle-mounds that were the seats of the "labiesi," the "seniores," "divites," "primores" or "meliores" of the old Latin texts. The archives of Semigallia, particularly those referring to the districts of Sparnene and Dobene, show that several descendants of these "nobiles" continued to possess their lands even during the German occupation. There are instances

of the leasing of such properties, motivated by the fact that they were too far distant from one another. The honors attached to such "seniores" also continued to exist, even in the case of a "princeps" or "dux," often remaining hereditary in the family. An example is furnished by the hereditary privileges attached to the family of the Count of Tholowa, Thalibaldus, in Tricatua. Tricatua was in 1224 the "termini possessionum viri Rameke" of Thalibaldus' son (Thalibaldus: Latvian Talvaldis," that is to say "the far-reaching ruler"). Some forty families, descendants of the Curonian King (in Latvian "konini") and of his nobles, have continued throughout the centuries down to our times to retain possession of their properties not far from Goldingen (Kuldiga), and to enjoy "rare privileges."

From earliest times these people have kept their family arms and some have in their possession documents dating back as early as 1320. General M. Penikis, commanding general of the Latvian army from 1928 to 1934, is a descendant of such "Kings." During the Russian rule, as late as the nineteenth century, the descendants of the Curonian "Kings" were exempt from compulsory military service. In the year 1208, we find a certain Maneginte of Ydove receiving a grant of land near Nitau; in 1316 his descendants exchanged this property for one near Segewold, where as late as 1500 the death of the Brothers Theodoricus, Conradus and Nicolaus Idewen was commemorated. It is likewise known that the family of the Freiherr von Maydell was not of German origin; according to the family traditions it can trace its origin to Old-Prussian stocks. However, in Estonian and Livian, "maidel" means "groundling," which would indicate that the family is more probably from the later Curonian provinces of Vredecuronia (if it really came from the South) from the Old-Prussian-Curonian lands. Also from Curonia, finally, came the family of von Hahn (it was originally "Gailis" in 1520 Gaile, in 1570 becoming Gayll). "Hahn" is the translation of the Latvian "gailis," or "cock."

As late as the fourteenth century, the Latvian nobles enjoyed the same privileges as the Brethren of the Order, with jurisdiction over "neck and hands." For instance, the charter granted in 1320 to the Latvian noble Tontegode of Curonia contains exactly the same formula as that granted to the German Albert von Helmwardeshusen, a fact which was pointed out by Dr. P. Johansen. We have already mentioned the recognition granted to King Visvaldis by Bishop Albert after the Germans had conquered Latvia. Visvaldis continued to enjoy possession of three of his five provinces "as a liege." The letter confirming this on behalf of Bishop Albert was still to be found in 1939 in the archives of Warsaw. The grant was solemnly

made in 1209, in the presence of potentates, both laymen and churchmen, in front of the church of St. Peter in Riga, where three banners symbolized the investiture. The Princes Lieven were descended from King Kaupo, from whom they had inherited the latter's most valuable possessions which he had been allowed to keep, even after his kingdom had been made over to the Church, in recognition of his loyalty to the Christian faith. As late as 1492 the Order consulted the Latvian elders of Semigallia in the matter of the peasants' demands. Even at a later date the Latvian peasantry were allowed to elect their own elders to the "Stadmark" of Riga.

The peasants during the early times of the Bishop's and Order's rule retained the property of their lands; their personal possessions and liberty and the "right to complain of injustices" were also recognized. Remembering the Curonian-German treaty, we find that, in addition to the above, the peasants were guaranteed their traditional hunting rights. Yet we must also remember that this treaty was stolen from the Curonians through treacherous machinations of the Order. These privileges, however, did not prevent the peasants from suffering most severely, particularly during the numerous wars, under the ever-increasing burdens that were placed upon them throughout the land. The impositions exacted of them during these wars were almost unbearable. By the fifteenth century the servitude of the peasants was thoroughly established and, after 1424, even their personal liberty was almost completely lost, though they may have retained the rights to their personal possessions. It is evident that the Latvian peasant could not have considered the German rule, characteristic for its injustice and mismanagement, anything but oppressive and hateful.

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Hated throughout the land, divided within itself, unable to defend the subjected country against external foes the German supremacy finally had to fall apart. In 1560 the Master of the Order, Gotthard Kettler, found himself obliged to cede to Sigismund August II of Poland nine castles for the latter's help against the Russians. He also had to part with a series of Curonian strongholds and even whole provinces, in order to guarantee the sums of money he was obliged to borrow continually. The Bishop of Courland actually sold his own lands to Denmark. During the course of the fourth and ninth year of the Russian wars, Gotthard Kettler found himself further pressed to conclude two new treaties (1561 and 1566); in 1562 the Archbishop of Riga had to do likewise. As the result of these treaties, Lithuania obtained the "Ducatus Ultraduniensis," or Livonia and Lettgallia, the lands of the former Lettia, Tholowa and "Terra Livonum,"

north of the Daugava (Duna) River, together with the administrative districts of Riga, Wenden and Dunaburg (Daugavpils, or Dvinsk). Gotthard Kettler himself became Duke of Courland and Semigallia south of the Duna, but with the King of Poland as Suzerain. After the union between Poland and Lithuania, in 1569, the complete incorporation of North Latvia and nominal incorporation of the "Duchy of Courland and of Semigallia" followed.

Thus began a new era, from 1561 to 1721 (or, more precisely, to 1710) in the history of Latvia.²² During this period the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia flourished remarkably, while Latgale (East Tholowa and East Lettia) remained throughout, and indeed up to the year 1772, a province of Poland. Livonia, however, composed of West Tholcwa, West Lettia and the land of the Livs, after several wars (1600-1629) and after some fifty years of Polish rule, became, in accordance with the peace treaty of Altmärk (November 16, 1629) a province of Sweden.

Polish rule proved to be relatively favorable for the nobles and for the cities; but for the peasants, subjected to the same rules that applied to the Polish peasants, it was a time of great tribulation and suffering. Among these oppressive statutes we may cite the laws of 1496 establishing the obligations of the peasantry, those of 1557 concerning land ownership, and those of 1573 subjecting the peasantry to the final judgment of the squire, who had the right to impose even the death penalty and from whose sentences there was no appeal. Thus the juridical, personal and material rights of the Latvian peasant were jeopardized, and he finally sank into servitude. If he fled, he was arrested and sent back, even to a possible new master; he had to furnish new heavy services to "his master"; he lost the right to his own land and he fell completely under the domination of the squire, who obtained the right of life and death over him.

It was only with regard to vassal properties that the rights of the squires were somewhat circumscribed, while the householders, unlike those in Poland, were allowed to acquire landed properties. Also in contrast to

²² O. Rutenberg, *Geschichte der Ostseeprovinzen* (Riga, 1859-1860); Th. Schiemann, *Russland, Polen und Livland* (1887) II; K. Landers, *Latvju vēsture* (1908-1909); A. Svabe, *Latvju kultūras vēsture* (1921-1922); A. Svabe, *Grundriss der Agrargeschichte Lettlands* (1928); J. Vasar, *Die grosse livl. Güterreduktion* (1931); R. Vipper, "Vom XV bis XVIII Jahrh.," in *Letten* (Riga, 1930) I; V. Liljendahl, *Svensk förvaltning i Livland, 1617-1634* (1933); J. Juškevics, *Herzoga Jekaba laikmets Kurzemē* (Riga, 1932); *Vēstures atzinās un ielojumi* (Riga, 1937) (articles by R. Vippers, J. Berzins and M. Stepermanis); *Senatne un Māksla*; M. Stepermanis, "Kurzemes hercoga Jekaba palīdzība Anglijas kēninam Kārlim I" (1936-II); R. Vippers, "Kurzemes Zemnieka tiesiskais stāvoklis 1617 (1937-I); E. Dunsdorfs, "Latviešu Zemnieku turība XVII.gs." (1937-IV).

the situation in Poland, the Latvian peasantry was allowed to own movable property and the peasants were still not quite in the situation of slaves, even though their yoke became increasingly heavy. King Stephen Bathory tried in 1586 to lighten the burden of the Latvian peasants; in fact, by 1582 a revision of the rights of the squires and of the peasants' servitude had already been decreed. It was, however, only much later, during the subsequent period, that the situation of the Latvian peasantry began to be effectively ameliorated. By 1601 King Charles IX of Sweden had found it possible to promise to better the conditions of the Baltic peasants; they were to become beneficiaries of a "free Landstand," and were allowed to send their children to schools or to have them learn a trade. Gustav II Adolphus, Queen Christina and particularly Charles XI decreed a series of liberal reforms for the peasants, which were greeted with the utmost enthusiasm throughout the land. By 1629 the peasants had been taken from under the jurisdiction of their squires and placed under that of the Swedish laws. To this effect courts were established in 1630 in Riga, Wenden and Kokenhusen, under whose jurisdiction those belonging to other civil clans were also to come. Likewise an Orphans' Court also for the peasants was ordered established in 1648, higher courts of appeal and lesser judiciary bodies were decreed in 1671, and in 1696 the common courts were also established. The Swedish government also founded schools, accessible to the peasants, whose children were even allowed to go to the higher schools of Riga and of Tartu (Dorpat) and to enjoy bursaries during their studies.

When the University of Tartu was founded on June 30, 1632, J. Skytte stated in the opening speech that Sweden had the widest sympathies for the masses of the Latvian people, sympathies that were fully reciprocated. That the Latvians were well disposed toward the Swedish crown is evidenced by the fact that numerous Latvians took part as volunteers in the wars against the Russians. The archives prove, for instance, that in 1704 the Latvian peasants, Inkis and Schmide of Wenden, loaned Charles XII 615 and 430 thalers, to help in the war against the Russians. Similarly we find the peasant, Jukums Ziemelis, of Jaunburtnieki, in 1705, donating 650 thalers; and the following year the peasant, Juris Voitins, donated 225 thalers for the same cause.

In 1701 a voluntary detachment of peasants had helped to repulse the first attack against Livonia of Peter I of Russia. We know also that the Latvian peasant, Krauklinsh, acted as guide for the armies of Charles XII marching on Narva and helped to avoid an enemy trap. All these instances show the traditional fear and hatred of the Russians that were characteristic

throughout Latvian lands as a consequence of the wars of Ivan IV and Peter I.

* * * *

The situation inside the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia was similar to that of the Swedish province of Livonia. In addition to the agricultural development of the fertile Lielupe region, a rich industry was flourishing in the Duchy, especially during the time of Duke William, Duke James (Jekabs), and their successors. Duke William (1587-1616) had built in Windau both shipyards and iron foundries; in 1605 he even exported to Holland 38,000 ship-buildings nails. During his reign there was a ship-owner in Goldingen, a Curonian, who had no less than twelve ships.

Duke James (1642-1682) owned seventeen iron-and steel-foundries, seven copper foundries, a prosperous timber industry, ten wool-mills, three sailcloth-mills, four tapestry-weaveries, of which one specialized in Gobelin tapestries and one in brocade, ten glass and cut glass factories and numerous dye factories, mills, powder-plants, chemical factories and an important navy of forty-four men-of-war, fifteen unarmed vessels and sixty merchant ships. He even acquired colonies in the tropical South Seas: first Gambia (1651) and then Tobago (1664) with its rich tobacco and sugar-cane plantations. This island he obtained from England, in exchange for the former colony (Gambia), but he maintained even there, in spite of the vassal position vis-à-vis the English crown, full navigation and commerce rights on the Gambia River. Duke James' good relations with England were based also on the help he had given to Charles I during 1646-1649 when a shipload of grain, 200 quintals of powder, 48 guns and 1000 muskets were shipped from Courland to England, in addition to six fully manned ships with 256 guns. His subsequent relations with Cromwell were also very good, and it cannot be denied that the Duke took the greatest pains to maintain the best of ties with England herself, without regard to her rulers. Characteristic of his policies was also the fact that, like the other Duke of Courland, he tried to loosen the bonds of vassalage that bound the Duchy to Poland. This, too, may explain his efforts to maintain the friendship of England and to bring about similar ties with Holland and France, as well as his purchase for 7521 Gulden from the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Ferdinand III, of the rights attached to a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire.

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The Russian domination formally began in Livonia with the Peace of Nystad in 1721, but existed in practice in 1710. In Lattgallia it existed

after the partition of Poland in 1772, while in Courland it dated from 1795 and lasted until 1918. The Russian domination imposed heavy ordeals on the Latvian people,²³ which were until 1819, even more unbearable than in any previous century, and therefore especially strongly felt after the period of Swedish domination. It was only later, toward the very end of the nineteenth century that the Russian court and tsarist governments began to be influenced by more liberal ideas. Conditions at the time of Catherine II are reflected in the writings of Johann G. Eisen, those during the reign of Alexander I in the works of G. Merkel, whose books *Die Letten* (1796), *Early Livonia* (1797-1799) and *Vanem Imanta* (1802) vividly portray the situation. The writings of Merkel and the efforts of A. W. Hupel (*Topography of Livonia, Estonia and Courland*) and of J. Jannau (*History of Slavery*) finally resulted in a modicum of amelioration, notably in 1817 the abolition of servitude in Courland in 1819 followed by the same measure in Livonia, thus bringing to an end the fearful conditions that had been imposed during the course of the preceding centuries. During the nineteenth century the Russian and German social oppression of the land began to yield ground. However, toward the end of this century it was replaced with an increasingly forcible Russification, beginning with religious persecutions, based on advantages granted to the Russian Orthodox Church. In fact, the Russian occupation was and remained hateful and oppressive, and it strengthened the traditional mistrust and hatred of all things Russian in the spirit of the Latvian people. The great "Northern Wars" and the Russian mass murders and other cruelties remain to mark an almost unparalleled misfortune for the Latvians.

Tsar Peter I, being quite uncertain of succeeding in the conquest of the Latvian province, ordered Sheremetiev "to spare nothing"; cities, manors and farms in the enemy lands were to be destroyed and plundered, cattle were to be slain and the people were to be either killed or deported,

²³ Th. Shiemann, *Russland, Polen und Livland* (1887); E. Seraphim, *Livlaendische Geschichte* (1904) III; A. Svabe, *Latvju kulturas vēsture* (1922) II; A. Tobien, *Die Agrargesetzgebung Livlands im XIX Jahrh.* (1899-1911 I-II); L. Arbusov, *Grundriss der Geschichte Est-, Liv- und Kurlands* (1908); A. Svabe, *Grundriss der Agrargeschichte Lettlands* (1928); *Latvieši* (Riga, 1932) II; R. Vippers, "Vidzemes apgaismotāji XVIII g.s."; L. Adamovics, "Latviešu brāļu draudze dzimtbūšanas laikos"; L. Berzins, "Tautas atmoda latv. rakstniecībā" and A. Tentelis, "Latviešu brīvības ticksmes"; R. Endrupe and A. Feldmanis, 1905.g. revolūcija (1930); O. Nonacs, *Mācītāju ziņojumi par 1905.g. revolūciju* (1930); K. Bachmanis, *1905.g. revolūcijas cēnu un sodu dienas* (1926). A. Hedenström, *Rigaer Kriegeschronik 1914-1917* (Riga, 1922); A. Plensners, *Latvijas atbrīvošana* (Riga, 1928); *Semaine un Māksla*: R. Vippers "Budberga-Sradera kodeka projekta izstrādāšana," 1936, IV; K. Ozolins, "Latviešu skolas līdz XVIII g.s. beigām," 1936, IV; R. Vippers, "Dzimtbūšana Vidzemes juridisko dokumentu gaismā," 1937, I; B. Abers, "Latgalu zemnieku grūtī dzimtaiki" 1940, I; F. Balodis, *Valdoh Frihet* (Stockholm, 1941).

"because they are favorable to the Swedes." By 1705 many thousands had been murdered in the most atrocious manner and Sheremetiev was able to report to the Tsar that "there was nothing left to destroy." Contemporary testimony shows that, after the famines and pestilences which followed the atrocities of Sheremetiev, "there was no human voice to be heard for miles; no dogs barked and no cocks crowed."

The fate of the surviving peasantry became especially terrible, since under the Russian rule the peasant became completely dependent upon the will of the squire, the latter obtaining a "jus domini" not only over the former's property but also over his very person. The squire could now impose any servitude he saw fit upon his luckless dependent. An unexampled trade in human labor and slavery began, men being separated from their wives and parents from their children. The schools founded in Swedish times gradually disappeared, and it is evident that the Latvian peasantry endured not only severe property and civil losses, but also suffered an intellectual decline during the eighteenth century, contrasting sharply with their condition throughout the preceding hundred years of Swedish rule. It was only in isolated cases that, owing to the strong traditions of national feeling as well as to those of religious life, some measure of continuity could be maintained and preserved. There were examples of community readings on Sundays and feast days from the Bible, from the sermons of Mancelius' *Latvian Postill* and some choir singing of spiritual songs. At the end of the day's work, when the women were spinning or weaving in the dim light of a burning chip, the older people would recount ancient tales and legends, and folk-songs would be sung. These customs were responsible for the preservation to our day (and this is certainly most unusual) of no less than 650,000 Latvian folk-songs (including variations) and of 51,905 ancient tales and sayings, which have been scientifically collected in modern times. It is easy to understand that, since the squire's will was law and since it was enforced by Russian military garrisons without any previous examination of the case, the hatred against both the squirearchy and the Russians grew steadily. It continued unabated even after the abolition of actual servitude, and led to a number of peasant uprisings, like those of 1771, 1784, 1805, 1802-1823, 1844 and 1899. In Latgallia, which was considered a part of the Russian Gubernia of Vitebsk, the abolition of servitude came into effect only in 1862, at which date it was abolished throughout Russia proper. The school system continued to be execrable for much longer.

A characteristic of Russian rule was the steadily mounting influence upon the tsarist court of the reactionary German nobility. During the

time of Tsar Paul, for instance, in the years 1796-1797, a "Russian commission," composed of four German senators, succeeded in quashing a project of relatively liberal reforms for Latvia. This same influence caused the naming of German nobles as governors of the Latvian provinces of Livonia and Courland, they were as a rule, conspicuously reactionary in their views. Thus in 1803 the governor of Livonia was able to countermand all reforms by his efforts. So, too, it was that the final reforms throughout Latvia were held back until the eighteen-sixties, when the Latvian peasantry began at last to see their material and social conditions improved. Many instances might be cited to show that the intention of the Russian government, partly influenced by the German advisers, seems to have been to circumscribe progressively Latvian prosperity and co-operation even in the cities. The life and tribulations of the Latvian merchant, Steinhauer, provided an outstanding example of this policy.

Latvian schools and literature were persistently oppressed; yet, in spite of this, the country's national intellectual life began to develop, particularly since the twenties of the nineteenth century. Latvian teachers appeared in ever-increasing numbers. Teachers' seminaries were opened in 1823 in Cirava, in 1839 in Valka, and in 1840, in Irlava. In 1822, the first Latvian political periodical was allowed to appear in Mitau, the *Latvieshu Awibses* followed in 1832 by *Tas Latvieshu Draugs*. The latter was, however, forbidden to appear in 1846. In 1856 the *Majas Viesis* began to appear while, between the years 1862 and 1865, we find the very active political paper *Peterburgas Avizes* coming out in St. Petersburg, thus avoiding the pressure and the censorship of the local officials in Latvia. The number of Latvian students grew so considerably at the Tartu (Dorpat) University that by 1850 the idea of a Latvian student fraternity could be seriously considered. It was from among the students of Tartu of this period that the two ideologists of the Latvian freedom movements arose. They were K. Waldemars (1850) and A. Kronvalds (1860). The number of Latvian papers was allowed to grow, and after 1864 the periodical Latvian singing festivals began to be a national feature. It was these festivals that brought about a strong national awakening, a powerful spiritual consciousness, and a growing Latvian patriotism.

In the eighteen-eighties the Latvian influence began to be felt in the administration of the cities and to develop still more in consequence. In 1868 a Latvian national-political club was founded in Riga, the "Rigas Latvieshu Biedriba", although great difficulties had to be overcome to obtain the necessary authorization. It began to activate an ever-growing number

of similar organizations throughout the country, in addition to those of a purely economic character.

A Russian revision of conditions in Latvia, brought about by Senator Manasein, established in 1887 a series of reforms strongly colored with tsarist Russian tendencies. It was only later that the economic and national life began to shed its Russian tinge. The Russians took up the task of thoroughly Russifying the language, the faith and the culture, while at the same time Latvia's economic life was forced to integrate itself ever more in that of the tsarist Empire. In 1887 the teaching of Russian became obligatory, and all schools, including the higher ones, underwent a thorough Russification, which was closely followed by severe restrictions of the churches in favor of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Russian government strove at the same time to increase its land holdings by bringing Russian colonists into Latvia. The political police and the gendarmerie were greatly strengthened. Political arrests of Latvian citizens followed in increasing numbers. Deportations to Siberia and executions became more frequent.

All these oppressive steps, however, succeeded only in building up increasing resistance and strengthening the national movement, which now aimed at complete liberation from tsarist Russia and the establishment of an independent Latvian republic. The revolutions of 1905 and 1917 followed. The first was soon suppressed in blood by powerful Cossack and Guard troops under the command of Generals Beckmann, Zwegintsev, Orlov, Wendt and Chorunchenko. An inconsiderate and ruthless administrator, Governor General Baron Möller-Sakomeljskij, finally achieved the pacification of the country. This German-Russian general was responsible for mass shootings, terrible tortures, wholesale deportations and the destruction of innumerable houses in towns and in rural districts.

The fate of the second revolution, that of 1917, was different. It was coeval with the final dissolution of the Russian Empire, so that its development and success merged with the wars of liberation which culminated in 1920. The event was hastened by the extremely rigorous measures taken in the country, in the course of the Russian retreat, which embittered the people of Latvia to the point where liberation from Russian oppression became imperative. The capricious and badly organized evacuations cost the Latvian people much loss of life and completely disrupted the country's economy through the dismantling and transportation into the interior of Russia of all means of production. Not only factories, shops and plants were thus taken away, but also libraries and scientific establishments. They were heavily damaged in transport and often failed to

reach their destinations. Peasants, too, were forced to leave their homes and to proceed together with all their cattle and movable property in long caravans eastward, marking their progress with rows of hastily dug graves and improvised crosses. Thousands of Latvians, intellectuals, pastors, industrialists, teachers and state officials, were forced to retire to Siberia, freely if agreed to, under arrest if not. Obviously this could not last forever, although the governor general of that time, General Kurlow, contemplated the forcible evacuation of the entire population of Latvia to Siberia. The natural Latvian reaction was armed revolt. Successful rebellion was made easier by the fact that the fortunes of war were going sorely against Russia and that the downfall of tsarism brought in its train unrest throughout the Empire.

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Both the World War itself and the Latvian troops in the Russian armies were to play important rôles in the final liberation of Latvia from Tsarist Russia.²⁴ The misfortunes of the Russian Empire allowed the Latvian people to organize their own armed forces to strike an effective blow for the country's liberation. In order to stop further evacuations of Latvians, the German invaders had to be halted, at least on the line of the Duna. On August 1, 1915, the Latvian troops were organized with the aid of the Russian High Command and from the following August 16 up to March 16, 1916, eight Latvian battalions, which later became regiments, the "Latvian Rifles," were put together. These troops took part in several battles in the years 1915, 1916 and 1917 and by their valor did much to enhance Latvian national consciousness. Then they played an active part in the revolutionary movement and helped in the overthrow of tsarism.

German occupation of Latvia followed close on the heels of the revolution of 1917 and the downfall of the tsarist Empire, which was marked by the almost complete disintegration of the Russian armies. One year later, however, Germany's collapse followed, and the armistice of November 11, 1918, brought with it a still more favorable opportunity for the Latvian national movement to proclaim the full independence of the new state.

Already some time before this, during 1917, certain Latvians in Russia had actively and energetically worked for the idea of an independent Latvian state. The Latvian newspaper *Dzimtenes Atbalsis*, which appeared in Mos-

²⁴ M. Valters, *Le peuple letton* (Riga, 1926); A. Winning, *Am Ausgang der Deutschen Ostpolitik* (Berlin, 1921); S. Paegle, *Kā Latvijas valsts tapa* (Riga, 1928); J. Ligoņis, *Latvijas valsts dibināšana* (Riga, 1925); A. Plensners, *Latvijas atbrīvošana* (Riga, 1928); P. Zalīts, *Kā Latvija tapa* (Riga, 1928); F. Balodis, *Vald och Frihet* (Stockholm, 1941); F. Balodis, "Lettland under framlingsöket." *Svensk Tidskrift*, 1943, III, part 6, pp. 385 ff.

cow, propagated this idea openly. In the autumn of 1917 there had been founded in Walka a Latvian "National Council," which, in the name of the people remaining in the country, on November 18, 1917, declared Latvia's secession from Soviet Russia. In German-occupied Riga, too, a "Latvian democratic bloc" was organized for the same ends; its activities had to be pursued secretly for a long time, since a "Democratic Latvian Republic" could hardly have met with the approval of the German occupation authorities. The German government had the fullest intention of annexing to Germany the Estonian-Latvian Principality. Events decided differently.

The "Latvian National Council" on November 11, 1918, recognized by Great Britain as Latvia's *de facto* government, and the "Democratic Bloc" established contact and merged, giving birth to the "Latvian National Assembly." On November 18, 1918, this new organization proclaimed in Riga the Free State of the Latvian Democratic Republic, electing J. Tschakste as President of the Assembly, with Messrs. M. Skujenieks and G. Zemgals as Vice-Presidents. K. Ulmanis was chosen to be the first Latvian Premier and entrusted with the formation of the new government.

But there were some heavy battles yet to be fought before the young state could be effectively established. In December, 1918 an attempt was made by the Soviets to overrun Latvia anew, and for five whole months (January-May, 1919) a large part of the country, including even Riga, was occupied by the Russians. The population was harshly treated by the Soviet troops and suffered great damage. In April, 1919 came a putsch by the German Landeswehr, stationed in Liepaja, and a German-supported illegal government was set up by Pastor A. Niedra. For several weeks the legal Ulmanis government had to flee temporarily on the steamship Saratow. Eventually the Niedra government vanished like the wind. In October, 1919 a joint German-Russian attack, under Bermont-Awalow, an adventurer from old Russia, took place. But the Latvian military forces and the Latvian youth, particularly the students and schoolboys, were most enthusiastically with the Ulmanis government, and placed themselves at its entire disposal. The Latvian commanders, Colonel O. Kalpaks, General Balodis and Berkis, and Colonel Zemitans succeeded in securing the borders of their newly-won land, after much bloody fighting on several fronts at once. Latvia was completely liberated in January, 1920.

Democratic and free elections were held on April 17 and 18, 1920, which allowed the Latvian Constituent Assembly to come into being on May 1, 1920. The Constituent Assembly proclaimed on May 27, 1920, "the free and independent democratic Republic of Latvia" and the sover-

eighty of the Latvian people, sole masters of their land. This was also confirmed in articles 1 and 2 of the Constitution, as it was accepted by the Constituent Assembly of February 15, 1922, and published on June 30 of that same year. The land became free and independent, and the future of the democratic Latvian republic was assured. The new state was soon recognized by the other countries of Europe and by the rest of the world. Latvia was recognized by the neighboring big powers in 1920 at the conclusion of peace negotiations, by Germany on July 15 and by Russia on August 11, both solemnly giving up any claims against the Republic of Latvia. In the treaty with Russia the latter renounced for all times the territory of Latvia.

It is evident that the first World War and the fight for freedom caused the country losses in men and material goods. By 1920 the whole country was in ruins; of the 2,552,000 inhabitants which it had in 1914, there remained in 1920 only a scant 1,596,000 alive in the whole of Latvia. Yet, through unexampled energy and work that entailed the most complete self sacrifice, the ruins were rebuilt, schools were established anew, the sciences prospered (aided by a newly established Fund for the propagation of culture) the devastated countryside and factories were rehabilitated, the land enriched and cattle-raising started afresh. The peasant was especially helped in his life and activities. Shipping was revived and Latvian commerce prospered again; railroads were repaired and built anew; roads were put in good condition; the country's cities were rebuilt and new constructions appeared; electrification proceeded energetically to provide the country with light and power. The entire country worked and once more became prosperous. Its culture flourished richly. By the summer of 1940, Latvia was a rich and progressive country. It would still be so today, if the Russian occupation had not intervened on June 17, 1940, followed by that of the Germans in June, 1941. These new misfortunes brought ruin and death once more to the Latvian people.

Yet during the first period of Latvian independence, between 1920, (after peace with Germany and with Russia had been gained), and 1940, the most important advances of Latvian life were achieved. In the first place, we must turn to the economic rehabilitation, truly remarkable when we consider how thoroughly ruined the country was when it emerged from the first World War and from its wars of liberation. It is not our purpose in this study to quote the abundant statistics which prove this. However, we can give here a few available figures, proving in particular the concrete results of the industrious efforts of the Latvian peasant and showing the improvements achieved during the period under consideration. In 1920

Latvia possessed only 261,000 horses, most of which were unfit for work. In 1937 there were 391,900 good working-horses of fine breed. In 1920 only 196,700 ha. rye, 15,700 ha. wheat, 123,800 ha. barley and 215,600 ha. oats were planted; these yielded as follows (in quintals): 1,131,200 rye, 106,000 wheat, 665,500 barley and 1,130,700 oats. Whereas in 1937 the Latvian peasant had already under rye 288,500 ha., wheat 136,700 ha., barley 181,700 ha. and oats 335,700 ha., and these yielded as follows (in quintals): 4,214,500 rye, 1,715,200 wheat, 2,184,200 barley and 4,050,100 oats. Flax was cultivated only on 30,500 ha. in 1920; in 1937; 69,300 ha. The average yearly crop of flax for the years 1935-1937 was 195,200 quintals. In 1920 only 1430 industrial establishments could operate employing 61,054 workmen. In 1937 there were 5717 establishments, employing 205,000 workers. The industrial production for the year 1937 was totaled at 637,000,000 Lats. Whereas Latvian exports in 1921 amounted to only 29,300,000 Lats and the sum for that year's imports was 73,000,000 Lats, the 1937 exports were valued at 260,000,000 Lats, the imports for that year being 231,200,000. The bank deposits of Latvia (private) were in 1938 estimated at 379,000,000 Lats, while the Latvian National Bank possessed gold and foreign currency holdings amounting to 91,700,000 Lats.

All these are dry figures to be sure. But they are sober representations that allow an idea to be formed of the measure of material progress achieved by Latvia during twenty years of her independent existence. It should be stressed, however, that this remarkable achievement was not due solely to the diligence and work of the Latvians. It was to a great extent conditioned by the peaceful social situation that obtained, largely as the result of the Agrarian Reform, which had been instituted on September 16, and 17, 1920, by the Constituent Assembly.

A total of 1,695,823 hectares, expropriated from school, church, communal, state and private estates, were divided among a numerous and able mass of peasants. At the same time, in 1920 to 1934, the East-Latvian villages were divided into individual holdings, which likewise, allowed an intensification of agricultural production to take place.

The urban workers were taken care of through liberal social legislation. The eight-hour working day was established, child labor forbidden, collective contracts enforced, professional and labor unions came into being, state inspections were instituted, and state-organized insurance against accidents, unemployment and sickness. The enlightened intervention of the state was felt in all matters pertaining to the workers' security and well-being, and created an atmosphere of trust and contentment.

The Latvian state also paid great attention to the development of national culture. In 1933 there were 2057 elementary schools, 96 high schools, 16 commercial schools, 8 teachers' colleges, 25 professional schools (elementary), 46 agricultural schools, 15 technical trade schools, 2 navigation schools, 5 middle agricultural schools, 4 state and 6 private higher institutions (including the German Herder Institute, with 192 students and 35 German teachers, and the Russian University courses, with 109 students and 13 Russian and Jewish teachers).

It must not be forgotten that the ethnical minorities had not only their own universities, but also elementary and secondary grade schools. Twenty-nine and nine-tenths per cent of all elementary schools belonged to the minorities, and they were state-supported like the others. The minorities had also 14.4% of the high-schools, likewise state-supported, or supported by various cities. Characteristic of the liberal educational policies of Latvia is the fact that there was one state-supported elementary school for every 929 Latvians, while the State similarly supported one elementary school for every 74 Germans and one for every 855 Russians.

The University of Riga had in 1939, on its twentieth anniversary, 446 professors and 7247 students, distributed among 12 departments. There have been no less than 6841 pupils graduated "summa cum laude" up to date, and the part played by the University in the development of Latvian national culture can hardly be exaggerated. It has not only prepared whole series of specialists in the various branches of knowledge, but it has also been instrumental in the production of numerous works of permanent value, research and original theses, most particularly studies bearing on Latvia and the Latvian people. During the period of 1919 to 1940, Latvian scientists have started to explore fields that had remained unexplored in the past, and they have done so with outstanding success.

A full survey of the development of Latvian science and art would be out of place in the present study. The numerous international scientific congresses that have met in Riga, the art exhibitions of Latvian artists and the numerous recitals and guest performances of the Latvian Opera Company and of many individual artists have given the world ample opportunity for an objective appraisal.

Latvia's international position seemed to be assured from the moral, cultural and economic points of view. Numerous international treaties and accords further strengthened and confirmed this belief.

In disregard of the existing solemn obligations, Russia saw fit to occupy Latvia forcibly, to "nationalize" by force her wealth, to Russify

the land and, finally, to incorporate the country into the Soviet Union. Both country and people suffered severely as the result of this indefensible procedure. Germany, the Soviet Union's foe, upon occupying Latvia in her turn, far from attempting to remedy the situation, brought still greater tribulations to the unhappy victims.

Germany, indeed, disregarding the provisions of the repatriation treaty of 1939, whereby all Germans living in Latvia returned to the Reich and renounced forever their immovable properties in exchange for adequate payment, showed nothing of the "everlasting friendship" expressed in that treaty.

The years 1940-1944 were destined to be the blackest in Latvia's history. Soon after the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty of August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union began to put forward a series of demands that marked a breach of treaties almost without parallel in modern European history. In addition to the peace treaty of August 11, 1920, by which the Soviet Union recognized Latvia and renounced forever all territorial claims, a treaty of commerce regulated the economic relations between the two countries, non-aggression treaties had been signed on February 5, 1932, which were prolonged for 10 years on April 4, 1934. Both nations were signatories of the treaty of 1933, which defined an aggressor.

Yet on October 5, 1939, under successful pressure from the Reich, Latvia was forced by the Soviet Union to sign an additional "reciprocal guarantee pact", providing the latter with defense bases on Latvian soil, which the Soviet Union solemnly promised would in no way constitute an interference with Latvian internal affairs.

In spite of all these treaties, on June 16, 1940 (at a moment when all Latvian transportation facilities were overtaxed with conveying some 16,000 performers and a numerous public to the singing festival in Daugavpils) the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum that implied evident interference in Latvia's internal affairs. This ultimatum demanded neither more nor less than an immediate change of government and announced the entry of Russian troops into the country "for the protection of Soviet interests." The twenty-four hours allowed by the ultimatum had not even expired before a large Russian army, estimated at 200,000 men, marched over the border, accompanied by numerous tanks and hundreds of airplanes. The Latvian government was forced to surrender.

The occupation of Latvia was followed up by the appointment of a new government, under an old and characterless man, August Kirchensteins, under the threat of overwhelming Soviet military power. Spurious

elections set up a so-called Parliament and, under open threats of the Soviets, the alleged vote of this constitution transformed Latvia into a Russian province, though the ostensible title was that of "the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic."

The next step was the deportation into the interior of the Soviet Union of 34,340 Latvian patriots and the murder of 1488 of their outstanding leaders. Latvia's entire economy was geared to that of the Soviet Union, which meant that the country's entire resources were ruthlessly plundered, while her cultural life was brought to a standstill.

Latvia's large resources of timber, so important to a country that has neither coal nor oil of its own, were considerably decimated. Grains, cattle, horses, and other domestic animals, railroad equipment and rolling-stock, automobiles, trucks, ships, everything was plundered and taken out of the country. Securities valued at 800 million Lats (one Lat = 19.3 cents), savings totaling 30 million Lats, gold to the amount of 9.8 million Lats, nickel coins for 6.6 million Lats, bronze coins (500,000 Lats), in addition to capital goods and stockpiles valued at 220 million Lats, either left the country or were stolen from their rightful owners. The country's soil, including individual properties large and small, was nationalized and divided into Kolkhoz establishments. The Latvians were forced to subscribe 110 million Lats to internal loans of the Soviet Union, while some 50 million were lost through the forcible introduction of the Soviet ruble at an artificial rate of exchange. The Soviet occupation led to the wanton destruction of 328 bridges, while 6437 buildings were demolished and 4516 partially ruined.

In June, 1941 an uprising of Latvian patriot partisans took place and in July German armies marched into the country. The Germans brought with them not freedom, but a new foreign occupation and further oppression. and sufferings to Latvia.

The German official news agency, *Deutsches Nachrichtenbureau*, declared on July 31, 1941, a month after the German occupation of Riga, that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia henceforth were going to be parts of the new German colony, *Ostland*. The German official press organ, *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland*, declared on October 19, 1941, that all property nationalized by the Bolsheviks since August 6, 1940, would be considered the "legal inheritance" of the Reich. The Berlin radio broadcast to the world on November 1, 1941 that "Latvia has no chance to regain its independence," because "The twenty years of Latvian independence have proved to be a succession of fatal mistakes . . ."

There could be no doubt after such declarations that Germany intended to annex Latvia and the other Baltic countries. This notion was confirmed by the creation of a ministry for the *Ostland*, with Alfred Rosenberg in charge who, on his part, appointed a Reichs-commissar for the Baltic, and a commissar-general for Latvia. The German designs of annexation were further confirmed by an address of the commissar-general on the occasion of a Nazi-sponsored convention, June 21, 1943, in the auditorium of the Latvian University at Riga.

Thus the Germans prepared for Latvia a new martyrdom, being eager to exploit the resources and the energy of the Latvian nation for the benefit of Germany and its total warfare, just as they did in Norway, Holland and Belgium. The German military and civil authorities tried, with all means at their command, to impress their will and overlordship on the Latvian people. The German commissar, F. Witrock, for instance, renamed ninety-two streets of Riga, capital of Latvia, in honor of prominent Germans and Nazi officials; Baron von Medem, another German commissar of Baltic descent, did not hesitate to boast to an assembly of high-school graduates, that "Latvia must return to the orbit of German civilization, as a child returns to its parental home."

Mass arrests and deportations of Latvian patriots into German concentration camps started as soon as the German occupation was completed; but when the Eastern Front once again approached the frontiers of the Latvian republic, the activities of the German political police increased considerably. The Gestapo was supported by a host of spies and paid informers, among them many Russian refugees and released Russian prisoners-of-war.

After February, 1943, a severe censorship was clamped down on the Latvian press. On April 15, 1943, a decree was issued which forbade all travel without special permission. On May 1, 1943, the free use of radio receiving sets was prohibited, and on May 12 the use of private automobiles. All correspondence with foreign countries was suppressed.

German imposition on Latvia's national economy was severe beyond measure. The Germans confiscated all stocks of metals, even church bells. They imposed special taxes on the national production of meat, butter, milk, wool, flax and grain. By utilizing the Bolshevik nationalization of wealth and means of production, and not returning the bulk of private property to the lawful owners, the Germans seized 170,000,000 Lats worth of deposits in savings banks, 306,900,000 Lats from credit banks, and 119,300,000 Lats in bank funds. All plants, factories and other gainful enterprises were declared the "legal inheritance" of the German state. When

the Germans, owing to reverses on the Eastern Front, deemed it wise to decree, on February 18, 1943, the "reprivatization" of nationalized property, they restored only such property and enterprises as did not yield profits. The rest remained under the management or ownership of various German organized companies.

On February 19, 1943, the Nazis came forth with a decree of mobilization into the armed forces; on May 11, labor conscription followed. These measures served as signals to the Latvian youth to hide in forests and to organize guerrilla groups. But the mobilized Latvian "legionnaires" defied German orders to move to front sectors outside the Latvian frontiers. Yet, they were alert and prepared to defend their homes and country against a new and bigger menace, gathering in the East. When the Bolsheviks in the summer months of 1944 once again succeeded in invading the eastern part of Latvia, their pillaging, looting, killing, rape and burning were signs of evil augury.

In April and the beginning of May, 1945, when the German military might was already on the verge of collapse, the Latvian patriots, at last, organized in Courland an underground National Council of seventy-three nationally elected members, resolving to fight for the restoration of a free Latvian republic. In May the Council endorsed a Provisional Government under the premiership of Colonel Osis. This attempt, unfortunately, came too late. Between May 8 and May 12 the Red Army occupied Courland. New punitive expeditions against Latvian patriots were organized by the Reds, and the Latvian people were worse off than during the first Russian occupation in 1940-41.

At the end of 1944, when the Red Army had already conquered all Latvian provinces, except Courland, the Bolsheviks started to mobilize all men, except those born after 1926, and sent them untrained to their fate in the front lines, as a measure of revenge and punishment. The Reds did not spare either the old or sick or crippled. They all had to go, to be mowed down by German machine guns or left wounded in the wintry battlefields without care or medical aid.

Up until March 1945, 8,000 inhabitants of Riga were deported to Siberia, but between January 15th and May 1st, 14,000 Latvian farmers, labeled as "kulaks" and members of their families, about 50,000 men, women and children, were sent away under the "care" of the NKVD. Their property and land was turned over to colonists from Russia, 50,000 "landless proletarians," according to Soviet radio comments. Some 38,000 Latvian laborers, according to other Soviet reports, had already "volun-

tarily" left their homes and country, "hitch-hiking" into Russia, eager to take part in "building up socialism." The remaining Latvian farmers were entitled to hold not more than 15 hectares (38 acres) of land for cultivation, but all means of production and gainful enterprises again became the property of the Soviet Union.

As much as the Latvian people in general had to suffer, the severest fate was reserved for Courland, the last province subjected to Bolshevik rule. Beginning with March 31, 1945, the Communist-controlled Madona broadcast station repeatedly threatened Soviet revenge for those who refused to recognize the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union and still dreamed about the restoration of a free and independent republic. The broadcast openly threatened them with "deportation to Siberia" and with "elimination". After May 7 these threats increased in violence. The Soviet announcer demanded in superlatives that Liepaja, the last unoccupied big city in Latvia, should be occupied at once, in order to get even with the hostile Latvian capitalists.

According to reports received after May 12, 1945, all men from 16 to 60 years of age, and women from 18 to 45 years, were mobilized in Bolshevik-occupied Courland. All of them, no doubt, were deported to Russia, because they were instructed to prepare themselves for a long journey and to take along food for ten days.

Such was the answer of the Bolsheviks to the will of the Latvian nation to regain its freedom, as declared by the National Council on May 7, 1945. The fate of Latvia depends now on the conscience of the civilized world.

* * *

We have tried here to give a brief review of the many centuries of Latvia's history. We have spoken of the country's geographical features and have attempted to give a sober picture of the Latvian people.

The Latvians belong neither to the Russians nor to the Germans. They have had close cultural ties with Scandinavia in the past, ties that have been strengthened repeatedly. We hope that we have succeeded in demonstrating that the Latvians neither desire nor can accept union with either the Soviet Union or with Germany.

It was stated in a solemn sermon given in Westminster Abbey on February 21, 1943, that: "Every people has the right to fight for its freedom, since the idea of liberation from foreign oppression is rooted in the nature of man and it is in agreement with the teachings of the Church." The people of Latvia have every right to their liberty and independence.

Fate seems to have tried in the course of many centuries to break the Latvians. Fate has not succeeded. In spite of wars, in spite of starvation and in spite of pestilences; in defiance of foreign oppression and the yoke of slavery, the Latvians have not been broken.

They have the full right to expect to regain their freedom. The Atlantic Charter, beacon of hope of all peoples, great and small, whether occupied by the enemy or free, recognizes and affirms that right.

The thesis upheld by Mr. S. Zaslowski in *Pravda* of February 8, 1943 and by other Russian sources, which has also been accepted by the *Economist* and the *Times*, of London, corresponds neither to justice nor to reality. It is absurd to consider the Baltic States as necessary to the security of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union seized these States solely on the way toward further expansion to the West.

The American journalist and "specialist" in Soviet affairs, Negley Farson, resorted to prevarication when he wrote in the *Daily Mail* that "a trustworthy plebiscite after the war in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would show that everyone in these countries desires incorporation with the Soviet Union."

We have seen above that the Latvian Free State, proclaimed on November 18, 1918, was fulfilling the warmest desires of the Latvian people; we have likewise seen that the Constituent Assembly, which was lawfully and freely elected on April 17 and 18, 1920, proclaimed an "independent and free democratic republic" as the country's form of government and furthermore recognized that "the sovereign power in the country belongs only to the Latvian people." These decisions, solemnly made, can be changed only through a plebiscite, according to Article 77 of the Latvian Constitution. Parliament alone does not constitutionally have this right. The last Latvian government of Karlis Ulmanis declared formally on May 16, 1934, that the democratic form of government and the sovereign powers of the people remained forever intact, even though reforms intervened in a legal manner. Hence, Latvia was at the time of the Russian occupation and remains to this day an "independent and free democratic republic," whose destinies only the Latvian people may decide, by means of a general plebiscite. This Latvian Republic was, as we have seen, formally recognized by both the Soviet Union and Germany.

The Soviet Union followed up the military occupation of Latvia (1940) with the imposition of a new government. This government carried out elections for a new parliament, which in turn decided the incorporation of Latvia in the Soviet Union. By this procedure, the Soviet

Union and its tools have clearly disregarded the lawful constitutional provisions. This they did knowingly and willfully. The incorporation should have been decided upon by a plebiscite and, in any case, the parliament should, in order to correspond to the constitutional requirements, have been elected "by a general election with an equal, direct, free, proportional and secret ballot." Instead, the provisions of the electoral law were utterly ignored.

An electoral commission, appointed by the Soviet Legation in Riga with the advice of the juridical Councillor of the Soviet Legation in Riga (Buševics), who presided over the commission, nominated a list of candidates chosen by Moscow, a list which even included twenty Soviet citizens, communists sent from Moscow for the purpose. The people were constrained to march to the polls in ranks, according to their occupations, factories, institutions and commercial establishments, under communist supervision and even with "military protection." The ballot tickets, i.e. the only list admitted, had to be placed in the urns openly, in full sight of the presiding officials.

Under these circumstances, it is impossible to speak of "free and secret" elections in connection with the tragi-comedy of July 14 and 15, 1940. Neither is it possible to consider the resulting parliament anything but a fraud.

Nevertheless, on the very first day of its session, the parliament thus "elected," under Soviet menaces, passed a resolution (July 21, 1940) proclaiming the "Latvian Soviet Republic" and requesting its incorporation into the Soviet Union.

Latvia was certainly not thus incorporated by the will of its people; it was transformed into a Russian province by force of arms. This was amply proven during the months immediately following. Indeed, according to the Communist dogma itself and according to the Stalin Constitution, which provides for "free" entry into and "free" secession from the Soviet Union, the act we have just described was nothing more than outright annexation. Lenin himself stated that such acts are forcible annexations, when there is no free consultation of the people, preceded by the withdrawal of the troops of the stronger nation.

We must affirm with warm candor that the people of Latvia have never at any time expressed the desire to join the German Reich. Germany throughout her forcible occupation of Latvia and the other two Baltic States considered them to constitute her own *Ostland*, rightfully conquered from the Soviet Union. Germany, moreover, declared the lands and properties of the Baltic States, which had been illegally nationalized by the

Soviets, to be her "rightful heritage." This was completely at variance with international law, as was the forcible mobilization for military duty of the youth of the Baltic States.²⁵

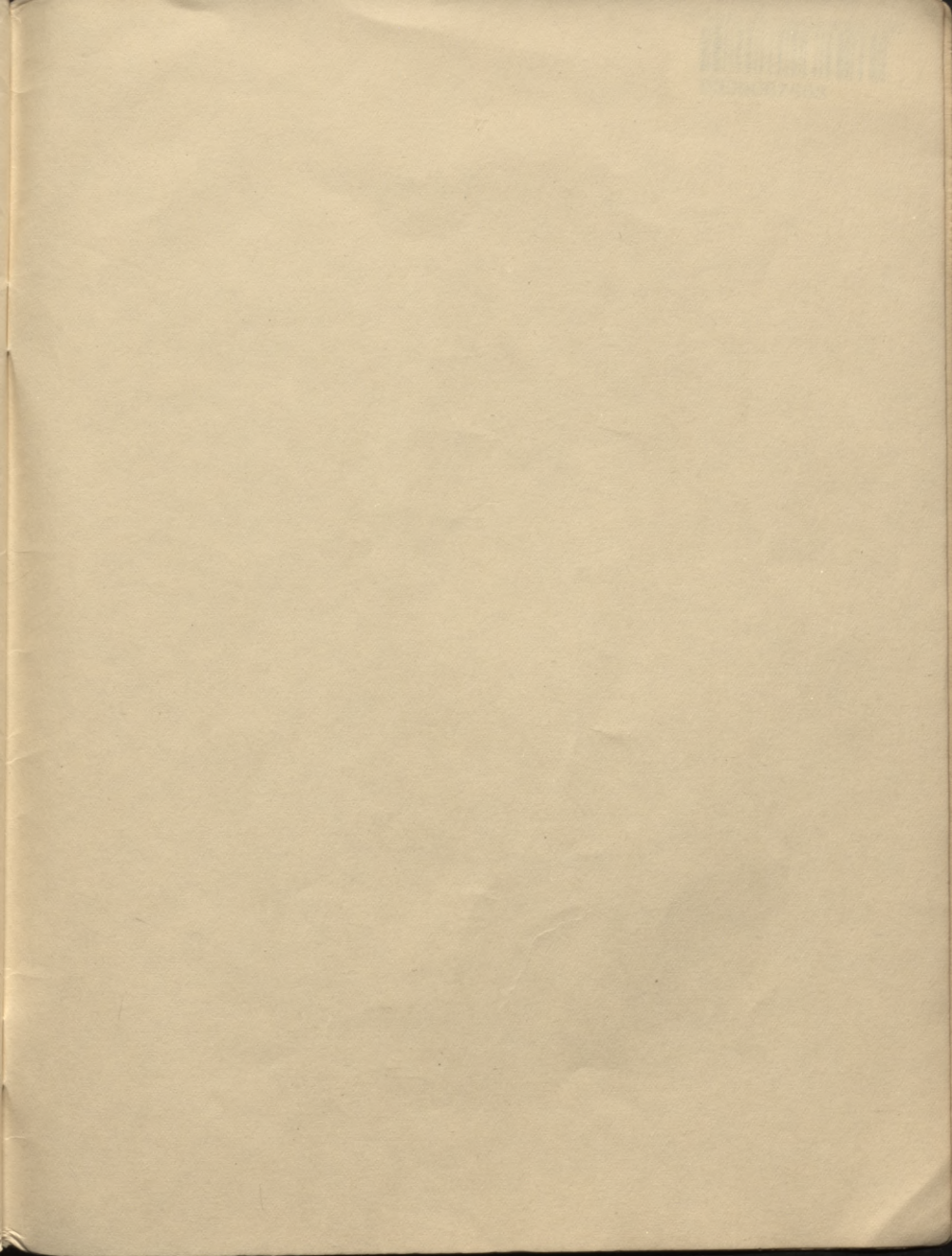
During the twenty-two years of her independence, Latvia gave ample proof of mature statehood; politically, socially, economically, and culturally, the endeavors of her people are undeniable. The first World War cost Latvia 700,000 lives, and her land was more thoroughly ruined than that of any other country. By 1940 these severe wounds had healed and the country was prosperously marching toward the future with confidence. At the end of this second world struggle, Latvia, having suffered even more than in the first, can and must be allowed to rise again.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

²⁵ F. Balodis, *Vald och Frihet* (Stockholm, 1941); F. Balodis, "Lettland under framlingsoket," *Svensk Tidskrift*, 1943, III, part 6, pp. 385 ff.

Note for measurements in metric system given in this work:

- 1 hectar: approximately 2½ acres
- 1 Kilometer = 0.6214 mile (8 kilometers = 5 miles approx.)
- 1 square Kilometer = 247 acres.
- 1 metric quintal = 100 kilograms : 220 lbs. Avoir.
- 1 Lat (unit of currency in Latvia): 19.3 U.S.A. cents.



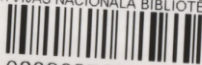
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